



ANNALS OF MORRIS COUNTY

BY

From JOSEPH F. TUTTLE.

PRESIDENT OF WABASH COLLEGE.

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Annals of Morris County.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF MORRIS COUNTY.*

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It is not my design to write an elaborate history of the County of Morris, but rather to make a few statements concerning it which seem to me to be interesting and important, since every community has a history which, if properly related, must be interesting and even important, at least to those who belong to it. In its beginnings and progress it may have borne a very humble part in the grand drama which the world is acting, and yet humble as that part may be, it was grand to those who acted it. There is not an old community or church in any old county in our State whose history has not a very considerable interest to the local antiquary and historian. It may never have held a very prominent position as related to the general commonwealth. It may be neither a Wittenburg or a Geneva, the center of moral revolution, a Runymede or Philadelphia, rendered famous by some immortal scene, the birth of a Magna Charta or the publication of a Declaration of Independence. Its history spread out on the pages of general history might seem out of place or be eclipsed by the more distinguished deeds recorded on the same pages, and yet that humble history has the merit of being in a sense personal to ourselves. Here the fathers of such a community fought the battle of life, wrestled with the problems of moral responsibility, loved the loving, pitied the sorrowful, helped the weak, wept over the dying; here they laid the foundations of the social fabric as best they could, often in a very blind yet honest method, lived life as we now live it, and they died leaving their graves to us as silent monitors not to permit them to sink into forgetfulness. Although

*Read before the N. J. Historical Society, May 20th, 1869.

not as great as many who have lived, they are our forefathers, and the work they did for us merits a grateful record at our hands.

The beginners of society in Morris County were plain people, many of whom had very little education. The records of the county and of several churches which date back far toward the first settlement on the Whippany River, prove this. I have spent not a little time and effort to fix a precise date to the foundation of society in the county, but with no marked success. In the year 1767, the Rev. Jacob Green, the third pastor of the Hanover Church, wrote what he called a "History of the Hanover Presbyterian Church." This is copied from a book in which Mr. Green recorded baptisms. In a preface to this manuscript record Mr. Green writes that "about the year 1710 a few families removed from Newark and Elizabeth, &c., and settled on the west side of the Pessaick River in that which is now Morris County. Not long after the settlers erected an house for the publick worship of God on the bank of the Whippenung River (about three miles west of the Pessaick River), about one hundred rods below the Forge which is and has long been known by the name of The Old Iron Works. There was a church gathered in the year 17—. Mr. Nathaniel Hubbel was ordained and settled by the Presbytery of New York. About this time this place obtained the name of Hanover and became a township, but the place was most commonly known by the Indian name Whippenung. Mr. Hubbel continued to minister here till —, when for some uneasiness between him and the people he was dismissed. This church then had no proper book of Records. And if Mr. Hubbel kept any church records of his own they were not left to those who came after."

Mr. Green began his ministry in 1746, when some of his pioneers were still living, and he could have easily found the date of settlement

and given the names of the settlers and many facts of interest, but it is too often true that to those who are near the facts of which history is composed, those facts do not seem of great value, at least not enough to cause them to be carefully preserved. By way of extenuating "Parson Green" for not securing in permanent form these un-merchutable statements as to who the early settlers were and when they came and what they did, all of which were then within his easy reach, it may be alleged that he was a man of many callings, a very busy man. His salary was small, and he says this "led him to take more worldly cares and business than he could have chosen." His people encouraged him in this course, assuring him "that country congregations could not have ministers unless ministers would take some care to provide and help support their own families." He studied and practiced medicine, he had a school under his care, often wrote and executed wills for his patients and had a share both in a grist mill and a distillery. Some wag is said to have directed a letter to him with this somewhat comprehensive superscription :

"To the Rev. Jacob Green, Preacher,
And the Rev. Jacob Green, Teacher ;
To the Rev. Jacob Green, Doctor,
And t.e Rev. Jacob Green, Proctor ;
To the Rev. Jacob Green, Miller,
And the Rev. Jacob Green, Distiller."

In regard to his numerous avocations, he said in his autobiography: "When I entered upon worldly schemes I found them in general a plague, a vexation, and a snare. If I somewhat increased my worldly estate, I also increased sorrow and incurred blame in all things except the practice of physick.*"

It is not hard to account for such a man's neglect to collect and record history which was then too recent to seem of much importance, and yet it is very annoying that the good man who as pastor and physician was constantly meeting those who could have told him the very facts we so much desire to know, should not have interrogated the witnesses and recorded their answers.

The earliest reference to Morris County that I find, is in a letter of David Barclay, Arthur Forbes and Gawen Lawrie, to the Scots Proprietors of East Jersey, under date of March 29, 1684. In answer to query seventh, they say: "There are also hills up in the country, but how much ground they take up we know not, they are said to be stony and covered with wood and beyond them is said to be excellent land.† At that time the region thus mentioned must have been *TERRA INCOGNITA*. How early it was explored and surveyed, I have not with certain-

ty ascertained. The unvarying tradition has been that the first settlement was made at Whippany, and another tradition declares that Abraham Kitchel, grandson of the Rev. Abraham Pierson, Sen., of Newark, and the two brothers Timothy and Joseph Tuttle, were among the earliest settlers, but this is not verified by an examination of their deeds,* which fix the date of Abraham Kitchel's removal to Hanover in 1724, at least fourteen years after the original settlement is supposed to have been made. On the 2d of April 1726, Timothy Tuttle conveyed to his "loving brother Joseph Tuttle, of Newark," certain real estate in that place. It is supposed—the deeds are now to be had—that Timothy Tuttle removed to Morris County the year he sold real estate to his brother. On the 23d of January, 1733-4, John and Samuel Johnson, of Newark, deeded to Joseph Tuttle, of the same place, some real estate in Newark, so that he was then still a resident there. Meanwhile he had purchased, in 1725, a large tract of land on Hanover Neck, a part of which is still occupied by one of his descendants.

Who then did settle first at Whippany, and when did they settle there? It is very certain that there had been some settlement previous to 1718, for on the second day of that year one "John Richards, of Whipanong, in the County of Hunterdon, in the Province of New Jersey, Schoolmaster," was the owner of a tract of land which is now known as the Whippany Burying Yard, in the northwest corner of which, for many years, stood the First Presbyterian Church. At that date the "Schoolmaster," "for and in consideration," as he said, "of the love, good will and affection which I have and do bear toward my Christian friends and neighbours in Whippanung aforesaid, as also for the desire and regard I have to promote and advance the publick interest," gave the described tract of land for the site of "a decent and suitable meeting house for the publick worship of God," as also for "a school-house, Burying Ground, Training field, and such like publick uses." The lot contained three and a half acres. In the deed he speaks of his land as being "in the township of Whipanong, on that part commonly called Peurpenong, on the northeasterly side of the Whipanong River."

It is fair to infer that considerable progress had been already made, but at present I can

*A deed still in possession of a descendant of Abraham Kitchel, dated May 5, 1713, and given by "John Prudden, quondam minister," conveys a tract of ground in Newark to Abraham Kitchel, of Newark. In 1718 John Baldwin conveys a tract of ground to Abraham Kitchel, of Newark. On the 20th of May, 1724, "Rebecca Wheeler, of Burlington," deeded to Abraham Kitchel 1075 acres east of Whippany River, a part of which is still occupied by one of his descendants, Joseph Kitchel, of Hanover Neck.

*Dr. Green's Christian Advocate, X. 52.

†E. Jersey under the Proprietors, 291.

give no information as to the precise facts. My conjecture is that the original settlers may have been squatters, making iron from the Succasunna iron ore, with the boundless forests in the region which they converted into coal. The tradition is that the ore was brought in leather bags on pack-horses from the great mine now known as "the Dickerson Mine," which at that time and for many years afterward exposed vast quantities of ore above ground.

As bearing on the question, it may be said that the copy of a deed may be seen in Trenton which indicates that in 1715 a tract of land had been surveyed in the present township of Morris.* No doubt somewhere still remain the facts in books of records, or unrecorded deeds and wills, which shall throw light on the settlement at Whippany.

In 1713 James Wills, an Englishman, bought of the East Jersey Proprietors a large tract of land in and about what is now called Ralstonville, about one mile west of Mendham. In 1722 James Pitney bought land of his brother which had previously been purchased of the Proprietors. It is impossible to determine at what date Mendham was settled. Even the proximate date of the founding of that church is only inferred as being previous to 1738, when its name is mentioned in connection with the Presbytery of New Brunswick. Dr. Hastings thinks it was organized about 1735 or 1736.† In 1745 Edmund Burnet made a deed of its yard and site to the Mendham Church, in which, with original orthography, he speaks of himself as "Edmun Burnunt, of Rocksitieus, in ye County of Summerset in East nu Jareses In Amaraeah," for certain reasons giving the congregation "A scairtain pees of parcel of Land on which the meeting Hows Now Standeth."

It will be remembered that thus far the earliest definite fact ascertained is that in 1713 James Wills purchased a tract of land at Mendham, and that he probably settled on it at that time or soon after. At Hanover the settlement was "about 1710," but the actual dates as derived from deeds do not go back of 1715 and 1718, although it is evident that earlier purchases had been made. If we now cross the mountains west of Hanover, we come to the region in which another actual purchase was made at an early date. These facts were received from the late Richard Brotherton, of Randolph Township, a very intelligent and worthy friend, who professed to make the statements from documents to which he had access and which are supposed to be still in existence. Mr. Brotherton says that one Joseph Kirkbride

located a tract of land in the present township of Randolph, in Morris County, as early as 1713, containing 4,525 acres, besides the usual allowance for highways, also in the same year a tract of 1,254 acres bounded on the southwesterly line of the first tract. The Succasunna Mine lot was located in 1716, by John Kirkbride, and sold the same year to Joseph Kirkbride, containing 558 acres,* and after his death the tract was divided between his three sons, Joseph, John and Mahlon Kirkbride, except the mine lot, which was held by them in common until such time as the same should be sold.†

Mr. Richard Brotherton further states that the home-farm of Hartshorn Fitz Randolph was located July 30, 1713 (the survey being made by John Reading), and by him conveyed to Joseph Latham, who conveyed the same to John Jackson in 1722. The Executors of Edward Fitz Randolph (Nathan and Hartshorn Fitz Randolph), obtained a judgment against Jackson, and on the 15th of August, 1753, John Ford, the Sheriff of Morris County, sold the land which was purchased by Hartshorn Fitz Randolph, who occupied it until his death, which occurred in 1807. He bought other lands adjoining until his farm contained 800 acres,

This Hartshorn Fitz Randolph is said to have been a devout Friend, and to have had in his employ a man who was a singular character and allowed by his master almost as many liberties as "the King's fool." Tradition has preserved the following anecdote relating to the two, of the truth of which as much belief may be entertained as the circumstances may seem to warrant. It is said that on a certain Sunday morning Mr. Fitz Randolph wished to go to the Quaker Meeting House on the opposite hill, but the brook was so swollen with rain as not to be very easily crossed. The man offered to carry him across on his back. When in the midst of the stream he stopped and said to Mr. Fitz R. "Will thee give me a quart of apple-jack if I take thee safely over?" "No, I will not; go on," said Mr. Fitz R. "But say, will thee give it me? for if thee does not, I will let thee down into the water!" "I must not give thee that which will do thee harm." "But I say thee must give it me or I will let thee down into the water quickly!" was the reply of the impudent fellow, whose motions indicated that he

*Bounded on the northwest line and corners at the north corners of the said tract of 4,525 acres, making together 6,337 acres, besides the usual allowance for highways, which belonged to the said Joseph Kirkbride.

†In 1744 Henry Brotherton, the grandfather of Richard—my informant—bought 125 acres of one of the Kirkbride heirs, and in 1753 his brother, James Brotherton, bought 200 or 300 acres on Mine Hill of the same estate.

*East Jersey Records, Liber F. 3, p 28.

†Hasting's M. S. on Mendham.

meant what he said, "Well I promise it, to give thee the apple-jack now go on," said the Quaker. "But SWEAR that thee will give it me!" persisted the man. "Thee knows that I must not swear!" "But I say thee must swear that thee will give me the apple-jack, or I swear I will put thee quickly into this water!" "Well, well," said Mr. Fitz R., "thee is very unreasonable, but thee has me in thy power, and so I swear that I will give thee the rum!" "There, now, Mr. Fitz Randolph, thee has done it!" exclaimed the man with an ill-concealed chuckle. "Thee has done it now! for thee has always said that a MAN THAT WILL SWEAR WILL LIE, and so I will let thee down into the water at any rate!" and he at once suited the action to the word, leaving his employer in no good plight physically or spiritually for the service he was designing to attend.

Mr. Brotherton states that Schooley's Mountain received its name from one William Schooley, who was an early settler on it. His son William came to Randolph Township in 1713 and purchased several hundred acres—about 600—of the Kirkbride family, including what is now Mill Brook, some three miles southeast of Dover. There his son Robert Schooley built the first grist mill in that section of Morris County. Henry and Richard Brotherton, two brothers, and Richard Dell, married daughters of William Schooley, of Schooley's Mountain. Dell removed from Schooley's Mountain in 1759, to a tract of land which he purchased from the heirs of William Penn. This farm is two miles east of Dover, and on the south side of the Rockaway River. His son Thomas Dell bought land of the Kirkbride heirs a mile east of Mine Hill in the year 1786 and lived there until his death in 1850, when he was over ninety years of age. In 1756 that remarkable man, Gen. William Winds, from the east end of Long Island, purchased 275 acres of Thomas and Richard Penn and lived on the same until his death, October 12th, 1789. This farm is east of the village of Dover nearly a mile, and south of the point of Pine Hill. In 1757 Josiah Beaman, the brother-in-law of Gen. Winds, purchased 107 acres where Dover now is, and principally on the north side of the Rockaway River.

The tract of land south of the river where Dover stands, and including the water power which drives the Iron Mills at that place, was located and purchased in the year 1745. In 1739 one Daniel Carrell purchased a tract of the Kirkbride estate in the vicinity of Dover, and a part of it is still occupied by his descendants. It is said that during the hard winter of 1740, when the snow was very deep, this Daniel Carrel was obliged to carry hay on his back two miles and a half to keep his cattle and horses alive.*

* Richard Brotherton's MS. in hands of Rev.

It has already been stated that in 1713 John Reading surveyed a tract of land which was conveyed to Joseph Latham, who, in 1722, sold it to one John Jackson, who built a forge on the little stream which puts into the Rockaway near the residence of Mr. Jacob Hurd. The forge was nearly in front of Mr. Hurd's house. The first forge in Morris county was at Whippany, and this one, built by Jackson, a mile west of Dover, was probably the second. The wood for charcoal was abundant, and the mine on the hill not far distant. For some reason Jackson did not succeed in his iron manufacture, and was sold out by the Sheriff in 1753. I am not sure as to this John Jackson. James Jackson, of Newtown, L. I., the great-grandfather of the late Col. Joseph Jackson of Rockaway, had a son John among his twenty children. He was born March 9th, 1701. Joseph Jackson, son of the aforesaid James, was a resident near Dover, and with his son Stephen, was joint owner of what was "commonly known as Schooley's Forge," the beginning corner of which was "about one chain from Josiah Beaman's house." When John Jackson was sold out by the Sheriff, Josiah Beaman bought the forge, and it seems very probable that John Jackson's brother and nephew were the purchasers of a part of the forge built by John. This purchase was made in 1768, and the next year Joseph sold his right in that forge to "Stephen Jackson of Mendon, Bloomer." Stephen Jackson thus began his fortune in this humble way, and after a few years became the owner of the fine mill property at Rockaway with large tracts of valuable lands. He once had the honor of entertaining Gen. Washington at his house, and was a man of great energy. He died in 1812.

My attempts to reach the earliest DOCUMENTARY dates concerning Rockaway have not been successful; but from careful examination I am led to conjecture that the settlement began not long after that at Dover, about 1725 or possibly as late as 1730, at which time a small iron forge was built near where the upper forge now stands in Rockaway. This statement embodies the opinion of some very aged men whose fathers had lived in the region from an early period. Among the men who worked that forge (whether the earliest is not known) were Abner Beach, grandfather of the late Col. S. S. Beach, and Isaac Beach, a nephew of his. The latter told his son Isaac, who died about twenty years ago, that he remembered to have seen an encampment of the Rockaway Indians a half mile south of the present village. The savages disappeared from the region a few years after the whites began to settle here, and were said to have been merged in the tribe of Delawares.

B. C. Mogie.

There was the remnant of an encampment also near where the Steel Furnace stands.

Among the early settlers in the vicinity of Rockaway and Dover, in addition to those named, may be mentioned Gilbert Hedden, spoken of in one deed as "a citizen of North Carolina," who built the first grist mill about half a mile below the Rolling Mill; David Beaman, a deacon in the church, chorister, miller, forgerman and a very busy man, who left property and numerous descendants, but whose grave is without a monument; Capt. Job Allen, a carpenter, a very public spirited man and good citizen, whose influence in founding the church was very marked; Deacon John Clarke a most devout man, universally honored and "powerful in prayer," and some others. There are two men who deserve special mention; Moses Tuttle of Mount Pleasant, and John Jacob Fæsch of Mount Hope. Moses Tuttle was the son of Col. Joseph Tuttle, of Hanover, and was born in 1732. His death occurred in 1819. He married Jane, the daughter of Col. Jacob Ford, sen., a great land holder in Morris county. About the time of his marriage, in 1756, he removed to Mount Pleasant, three miles west of Rockaway, for the purpose of managing his father-in-law's iron works. By inheritance and prudence he became possessed of a fine tract of land, on which several valuable mines were discovered. He was a justice of the peace and a leader in society. Anecdotes are told which show his shrewdness. A very athletic young woman made oath that a young man had committed an atrocious assault upon her. Squire Tuttle advised the young man to settle with her by offering her a sum of money tied up in a bag, which she at once received. The squire then directed the young man to take the bag from her by force, but she at once flung him from her as if he were a child, proving the falsity of the charge. She was at once arrested and punished for perjury.* Mr. Tuttle as the thrifty manager of a large forge property and real estate, once found himself to be a creditor to a considerable amount when the State Legislature made its worthless bills of credit a legal tender. This act of course reversed the course of nature, so that the strange sight was to be seen of debtors chasing down their creditors. Mr. Tuttle left the country as if he were a criminal fleeing justice, and spent two years in the wilderness State of Kentucky to escape his too willing debtors! He has left many descendants who are among our most estimable people.

John Jacob Fæsch was a native of Hesse Cassel, and came to this country in the service of the London Company, who owned extensive tracts of land at Ringwood, Long Pond and

*Statement of Richard Brotherton.

Charlott-nburgh, at each of which places they erected furnaces and forges. These were built and for a time managed by a German, whose name was Hasenclever, who brought over a number of Germans and among them Mr. Fæsch, who for a time assisted and then superseded him about 1766. His successor, early in 1772 and possibly in 1771, was another remarkable man, Mr. Robert Erskine, of Scotland, a large number of whose papers have been deposited with the New Jersey Historical Society. In passing it may be stated that Hasenclever is said to have gone to Mount Hope with Fæsch, and died there. It has been currently reported that he left thirty pounds to the Rockaway church, on condition that his body should be buried under the pulpit, but I can find no record of any such money having been paid to the trustees, nor of his having been buried at Rockaway, although I suppose from the statements of old people, that he was buried there.

The London Company, as it was called, seems not to have been very successful pecuniarily, in the manufacture of iron. It could only make the crude iron and send it to England, all rolling and slitting mills in America being prohibited by the mother country, so that the business was conducted to the worst advantage. To cart the blooms and pigs thirty miles to New York, and then ship them three thousand miles, for conversion, was too heavy a cost for profit.

The reputation of Mr. Fæsch in the community was good, both as a man of business and integrity. That Mr. Erskine had no confidence in him, in either respect, is evident from his private letters and from the fact that as the London Company's agent he sued him to compel him to refund property alleged to be retained unlawfully by him. In his letter to Cortlandt Skinner, Esq., in reference to "the bills in Chancery, filed against Mr. Fæsch," he names £400 as the sum in litigation. In his correspondence with his employers, in 1772 and '73, he criticises his predecessor mercilessly as one who "without the consequence your business gives, any man will be a cipher; if he has conducted it dishonestly will be less than one. * * * * I cannot say I have observed in him, or any of his works, the least spark of genius. * * * * It is a criterion of genius I think, to be communicative from inclination, of which Mr. Fæsch is the reverse." In one of these letters he says that "the farmers in the invirous have been spoil by Hasenclever." The Scotchman probably underrated the German's integrity, but as to his abilities as a business man we know that he finally came to bankruptcy, or nearly so, although the Mount Hope estate was a very productive one during the war, through government contracts. Fæsch's reputation, in Morris county, as a man of honor was very high,

and his mistakes at Ringwood were probably not the results of dishonesty but such as any man in such a place might easily and without blame make.

It was a popular and widely believed tradition, that the English government, believing that the Americans were mainly dependent on the London Company's works for iron, made an arrangement with that Company to destroy them, in order to injure the Colonies in the difficulties which were evidently approaching. It is very possible that some such proposition may have been made, but the only evidence I can find at any attempt to carry it out is in the destruction of the works at Charlottenburgh, and the fact, stated to me by some old men, that in the forests about those works, they have often seen coal-pits which seem to have been burned down many years before, but the coal was not used, showing a violent suspension of business at some time. These works were destroyed and the common belief is that it was done by direction of the Home Company. Still it must be admitted that the basis of the rumor is quite shadowy. For an iron mill to burn up is not very extraordinary, certainly not so extraordinary, as for a conspiracy to burn several mills to have escaped the notice and record of such a vigilant manager and patriot as Mr. Erskine.

And here let me indicate a few meager facts about Ringwood, the headquarters of the London Company, as possibly aiding some one who may attempt to write its history as it deserves. I infer from records at Trenton, that "the Ringwood Company" preceded the London Company. April 15, 1740, Cornelius Board sells to Josiah Ogden, John Ogden, Jr., David Ogden, Sen., David Ogden, Jr., and Usal Ogden, all of Newark, called "the Ringwood Company," sixteen acres of land at Ringwood for sixty-three pounds. February 1st, 1764, Joseph Board sells to Nicholas Gouverneur of New York and David Ogden, Sen., six acres and a half for six pounds ten shillings. The same day Joseph Board conveys to the company "a tract of land situate lying and being at Ringwood, near the Old Forge and dwelling house of Walter Erwin." The tract was of the same size and price as the previous one. July 5th, 1764, The Ringwood Company sell to "Peter Hasenclever, late of London, Merchant," for 5,000 pounds, all the company's lands at Ringwood, in Bergen—now Passaic—County. The deed states that on the property there are "erected and standing a Furnace, two forges, and several dwelling houses." It speaks of "Timothy Ward's forge," also of the "Old Forge at Ringwood." The deed is signed by David Ogden, Sen., David Ogden, Jr., Samuel Gouverneur and Nicholas Gouverneur. John and Usal Ogden deed their share to Hasenclever on the

same day, but in a separate conveyance. Hasenclever also bought land in the vicinity of Ringwood of Joseph Wilcox and Walter Erwin the same year, also a tract of sixty-eight acres of David Ogden, "lying in the mountains between the two rivers, Romapoek on the east and Wanque River on the west at a place called Rotten Pond, in the County of Bergen." He also bought of one Delaney and others 10,000 acres, three miles from Ringwood, at 30 pounds per 100 acres. October 28, 1765, Hasenclever bought ninety-eight acres and also some other lands of Lord Stirling.† The extent of the company's estates may be inferred from these scanty notes, and at the same time the date of the London Company's organization may be fixed as in 1764, when Peter Hasenclever, their agent, began the purchase of those forges and tracts of land at Pompton, Ringwood, Long Pond and Charlottenburg, all in Bergen County as then constituted. From some intimations in the letters of Joseph Hoff at the Hibernia Works with Lord Stirling, I infer that the company claimed some right in the mines at Hibernia.

Hasenclever at once began to enlarge the old works and build new ones at each of the places just named. After a time, as already stated, Mr. Faesch became the manager in place of Hasenclever, who probably was not equal to the task on account of ill health. Almost the only knowledge we have of Faesch's stewardship at Ringwood and its dependencies, we derive from his successor, Erskine. It is evident, however, that the London capitalists had grown weary of furnishing capital to carry on works which were unproductive of dividends, and for that reason sent a man in whom they had entire confidence to look after their interests and manage them with plenipotentiary powers. What he thought of Mr. Faesch is intimated in his letters, as already cited, but to his personal friend Ewing, in Scotland, he speaks without reserve, but I think with unnecessary harshness. Mr. Faesch's entire subsequent career refutes the charge, to which there is only one fact that suggests the unpleasant suspicion of having misappropriated his employer's funds. I refer to his purchase of several thousand acres at Mt. Hope, immediately after leaving Ringwood.

I have in my possession the copies of letters of Mr. Robert Erskine, in his own handwriting, to Mr. Walter Ewing and his "very dear cousin Rev. Mr. Fisher." The first is dated March 17, 1773, and the second March 18th, and both written at New York. The first letter contains some items of interest concerning the extent of the London Company's business and Mr. Er-

†East Jersey Records Liber B 3, pp. 66-73, 78, 84, 118, 234.

kin's opinion as to its management previous to his taking charge. He speaks of its being "two whole years and upwards since I saw them"—certain relatives in Scotland. The date of this and the following letter so early in 1773—March 17—and the particular knowledge shown of the company's business, makes it evident that he must have reached Ringwood at least as early as the previous year, 1772, if not in 1771. Mr. Erskine continues, "but let me apologize for my partial silence and leave it to those concerned to find an excuse for their total. The concerns of the company for whom I am engaged are very great, the amount of their inventories at New Year in iron, goods, cattle and moveables alone was upwards of £30,000 currency; the annual circulation of cash and supplies is between £20,000 and £30,000. Before I came here this property was in the hands of a set of rascals, as I can now fully prove: the company suffered impositions from all quarters, many of which I have put a stop to, but not all. I have rid me of the greatest part of those who deserved no confidence, have discovered my predecessor in the management to have been guilty of a most infamous breach of trust, confirmed under his own hand, and which makes it necessary to commence a suit in Chancery against him. The bringing things to the length I have done has required all my address. The affairs of my employers still require the whole of my attention. I am convinced the works may be carried on to profit were all those concerned honest. I have eight clerks, about as many overseers, forgers, founders, colliers, wood cutters, carters and laborers to the amount of five or six hundred. The care of this centers in me, besides cash accounts of 1,000 or 1,500 pounds per month rendered monthly, to bring such an undertaking into a proper train of going on, is certainly not a small task. This is my apology."

The second letter, to his "Rev'd and very dear cousin," presents the writer in another phase and a better one, and at the same time furnishes a view of the condition of society among the mountains as related to church privileges. "I heard of the loss of my Dear Cousin Mrs. Fisher (by Mr. Pajan's son, who arrived here last summer), with no small concern. The God whom you serve has no doubt supported you and will carry you through this valley of tears with joy, but oh, my dear cousin, I beg an interest in your prayers. You will see by my letter of apology to Mr. Ewing for writing so seldom, how I am involved in the cares of this world. Were it not for a wicked heart, however, the business I am engaged in ought rather to lead me to God than make me forget him, as I have seen much of his Providence since I came here. There is no place of wor-

ship near where I live. Some German clergymen come only about five or six times a year. I have of late, however, procured supplies from the Presbytery here, and have agreed for supplies once in two months, which they have promised to appoint. This expense I defray, and if the farmers and neighbors join in subscription we may have a clergyman once a month or oftener."

How extended the trust of Mr. Erskine was, may be inferred further from the fact that he applied to the general Congress after the war began, and also to Gen. Washington, to have his men exempt from military duty except in special exigencies. He had a company of his own men organized, equipped and drilled, and ready on very short notice to march. Erskine himself was for a time the captain of the company. He was in the American service as Geographer or Topographer, and there are some maps still in existence of his drafting. The papers in the possession of the Historical Society show that he was a very ingenious draftsman and mathematician.

The difficulties of his position and also the manner of his meeting them are set forth in his letters to his London employers during the years 1774, '5 and '6. They also present the state of affairs and of public sentiment at that time as seen by a very intelligent witness. Thus in June, 1774, he says: "I have no doubt that a total suspension of commerce to and from Great Britain will certainly take place. Such I know are the sentiments of those who even wished a chastisement to Boston. If in want of friends here, it will be difficult even with microscopic search to find them. Gracious God avert the consequences." June 17 he writes: "The Virginians, who are the soul of America, take the lead. We have not yet heard from the southward, but from what has appeared hitherto, the whole colonies seem to look on that of New England as a common cause." In August he writes: "The southern colonies as they are more warmly situated, so they seem more warmly to oppose the present measure; the Carolinians exceed those of Virginia, if possible, but over the whole continent there is a feeling and sensibility for the mother country. They have not yet forgot their friends, their relations and their benefactors. These will powerfully plead in the breasts of the Congress, and I hope in a great degree counterbalance that warmth which injuries, real or imaginary, naturally create. What is concluded on then may be the dictates of necessity and not of resentment, and therefore I think a non-exportation plan will be a dernier resort and not entered into at present."

In October 1774 he writes, that "the Oliverian spirit in New England is effectually roused

and diffuses over the whole continent, which though it is now pent up within bounds, a few drops of blood let run would make it break out in torrents which 40,000 men could not stem, much less the handful Gen. Gage has, whose situation is far from agreeable. The masons and carpenters who began to build barracks have left off work. Tradesmen of the same kind have been engaged here—New York—but on second thoughts have refused to go. Were he to come to extremities he no doubt might sacrifice thousands, but in the end would be cut off. I don't see, therefore, how he can procure comfortable winter quarters without either abandoning the place or, like Hutchinson's addresses, publicly recant. The rulers at home have gone too far. The Boston Port bill would have been very difficult of digestion, but not allowing Charters the due course of justice, and the Canada bills, are emetics which cannot possibly be swallowed and must be thrown up again to the bedaubing of the administration, who seem to have utterly forgot that they had the same spirit to contend with as at home, without the same advantages of turning it into a different channel by bribery and corruption. I have never disguised my thoughts to you on any subject since I came to this country. You will therefore excuse my freedom on political concerns."

The rhetoric of the last letter was more forcible than elegant, but the writer is evidently in earnest in his attempt to arrest the unwise measures of the home Government. In October 1775 he thus writes: "The communication with my native country may soon be cut off. The prospect is very gloomy and avulul. God in his providence seems to have determined the fate of the British Empire, which is likely to be rent in pieces. I do not believe, however, that there is a man of sense on this continent who desires such a disjunction provided they are not drove to it by absolute necessity, but if forcible measures are persisted in the dire event must take place, which may God in his mercy yet prevent." In the same month he writes again; "The situation of this country and my own makes me truly anxious. * * * I shall add that the generality of people at home are totally wrong in their ideas of this country and its inhabitants, who being now in arms must by next spring be looked upon as equal to the same number of regular troops not only to do them justice, but that their opponents may have proper ideas of the business they go upon if the enterprise of subduing them be persisted in, which, however, I hope in God will not be the case. Perhaps the petition of Congress may afford a proper opening for a negotiation. Should that be rejected as the last, then God have mercy on us all. All

hope of reconciliation will be cut off. That sword which has hitherto been drawn with reluctance will then be whet with rage, madness and despair, and the ports thrown open to all nations for assistance and trade, which it is impossible for the British Navy totally to prevent. Gracious Heaven prevent things from being brought to this pass, or that a total separation should take place between friends so dear!" In the same letter Mr. Erskine speaks of "the general orders of Congress for all the colonists to be arrayed from 16 to 50 years of age," and of some inconveniences he is suffering at the Works by "several stout fellows going off and enlisting." "It will be moved at the Congress to-night for the inhabitants of this place to provide for the safety of their wives, children and valuable effects. God knows, therefore, how long the communication with England may remain open and when you will have an opportunity to hear in a regular way again."

May 3, 1775. From New York, Mr. Erskine writes: "The people, as I have said before in private letters, are sincerely in earnest everywhere. I have even been applied to for gunpowder by the principal people of the County of Bergen in the Jerseys, in which your Iron Works are situated, where they, who till now hardly thought anything of the matter, are forming into regular disciplined bodies as fast as possible, which is the only business attended to at present anywhere. Gen. Gage is shut up upon salt provisions in Boston, from whence it is allowed he could not stir ten miles had he 10,000 men; for 20,000 men who now beyond doubt can fight, are entrenched without the town, and 50,000 more were sent home again as superfluous at present. But I leave particulars to the newspapers, and am sorry the times have furnished a subject so foreign to my former correspondence. The present subject I have adopted from the general voice which held it necessary that all who corresponded, with England should be explicit in declaring the situation of this country, which is beyond dispute indissolubly united against the British Ministry and their acts, to which the Americans will never subscribe but in characters of blood; nor since blood has been shed do I believe a hearty reconciliation can again take place unless blood seals the contract." A week afterward he writes: "Nothing now is attended to but arms and discipline. Even the Quakers of Philadelphia have taken arms, and two companies of that persuasion were formed last week. * * * The seaport towns may be beaten down if the ministry think proper, but no force they can send will be able to penetrate ten miles inland. 'Tis perfectly astonishing they have carried things so far. The fishery bill, the allegations of cowardice, &c., have exasperated the

whole continent to the last degree." Again of the 10th of June, he writes: "I beg leave to give you my sentiments respecting an accommodation, which there is not the least prospect of being effected by force of arms, soon if at all, for the universal diligence in learning and application given to military affairs must soon convert the people of this continent into regular troops. * * * They have their eyes about them and are determined to be free or die. There is no doubt, however, that a hearty reconciliation would immediately take place were they put on the same footing as in '63 and the right of taxation given up, for independency is not their aim. Such a wish was never expressed or hinted at either in the last or present Congress."

In a letter May 23, 1775, he exclaims: "My heart bleeds for my native country." In August he writes, that "had the ministry designed to render the opposition to their measures as effectual as possible, they could not have hit upon a better method than the steps they have pursued." "Sept. 5. The people are in general longing for intelligence from England, but however ardent and sincere their desires are for a happy and amicable reconciliation, they are in general prepared and preparing for the worst." Dec. 5th, he tells his employers that whatever takes place "I shall continue to act for your interests and the preservation of your property as well as I can." Dec. 6th, he is in great trouble about protested bills in consequence of the troubles of the country, and then he exclaims: "Oh! my country! to what art thou driving? This gives me piquant distress indeed. How long will madness and infatuation continue? Oh God, justice and judgment are the habitation of thy throne; mercy and truth shall go before thy face. Excuse me, it is neither treason nor rebellion to wish the kings of the earth would imitate the Sovereign of the Universe. Civil war, subjects and kindred blood shed, and for what? Because the Ministry of Britain have adopted the prejudices and resentments of a Governor and his petty partisans of one of the provinces. Heavens! what a figure the present annals will make in history!"

In a communication dated December 2, 1775, to the "Colonel and other officers of the 1st Battalion of Continental Troops raising in the Jerseys," Mr. Erskine give a copy of his own commission, which deserves to be reported in full. "In Provincial Congress, Trenton, New Jersey, 17 August, 1775. This Congress being informed by John Fell, Esq., one of the Deputies for the County of Bergen, that Robert Erskine, Esq., bath at his own expense provided arms and accoutred an independent company of Foot Militia in said County, do highly ap-

prove of his zeal in the same, and do order that he be commissioned as Captain of said company. A true copy from the Minutes. Wm. Paterson, Sec'y."

This commission Erskine copies in order to have the officers of the battalion rectify the irregular proceedings of one Yelas Meade, who was enlisting his men contrary to the exemption of Congress; such enlistments seriously interfering with the business at the Works. He says his company "consists of forgersmen, carpenters, blacksmiths and other hands, whose attendance is daily required. I dare say, however, that there is not a man belonging to it but would willingly lend his aid in a case of extremity when every consideration must give way to the salvation of the country." He further says, "I have been at a very great expense in arms, uniform and discipline, and he closes his letter "with the sincerest wishes of success to the friends of the British Constitution and the Liberties of America."

On the 10th of February, 1776, he wrote to his London employers, among other things, that "brave Gen. Montgomery has fallen before Quebec, and makes the third hero who has expired before its walls. We have some extracts from the English papers to the 17th of November; it makes me happy to see their complexion a little more favorable to a reconciliation. But shilly-shally undetermined procrastination and insidious maneuvers will not do. This country is too much on their guard, too well prepared and too much exasperated to attend to anything but plain English. It is the height of folly to hope to disjoin them. Unless the Ministry treat with the Congress they need not attempt treating at all, for were any colony base enough to break the Union, could they dare do it? No. Open on all sides, their being attacked on their skirts and sea-coasts by their European enemies is an happy alternative to that of being destroyed from all quarters; besides it is not in human nature to deliberate in the alternative, after engagements so short in a quarrel that has gone so far, a fact so obvious that I hope all scrupulous punctilios will be got over and a cessation of arms and a repeal of the obnoxious acts take place, and then I trust Great Britain will regain the confidence and esteem of this country, provided she shows a hearty and speedy disposition to do them justice." Under the same date he encloses his "cash account for January, and adds, "this—the profitable running of the Works—with a speedy settlement of the present disputer, would give me the highest satisfaction, but speedy the settlement must be if at all. A continuance of hostilities and another campaign and the burning a few more defenceless towns and such acts of wanton mischief, will most nu-

doubtedly make the breach irreparable."

These quotations present the Ringwood manager in a light that reflects credit on him as one who clearly read the signs of the times and interpreted those signs honestly to his British employers. It is very evident that he desired the Revolution to be arrested by the honest retraction of their odious measures by the British ministry, and the faithful cession to the American colonies of the rights which they justly claimed. Were there no other sources of information than these letters, it would be evident that their writer was a warm advocate of the Americans in their dispute with the mother country, but taken with other proofs, they present Robert Erskine in a noble attitude in the struggle which he predicted in such strong language, together with its issue.

He died at Ringwood, and his grave occupies a retired spot about a quarter of a mile from the ruins of the old Ringwood Furnace, near the road leading from Ringwood to West Milford. There are only two graves at this place, these laying side by side, the one that of Robert Erskine and the other that of his former clerk, Robert Monteath. Mr. Erskine's monument is of gray marble, is supported in a recumbent position by a brick wall about one foot high, and bears the following inscription:

"In memory of
ROBERT ERSKINE, F. R. S.
Geographer and Surveyor General
To the Army of
The United States;
SON of the Rev. RALPH ERSKINE,
Late Minister at Dunfermline
in Scotland.
Born
September 7th, 1735.
Died
October 2d, 1780,
Aged 45 years
And 25 days."

I am tempted here to copy an autograph letter from Margaret Erskine, "the loving and affectionate mother" of Robert, which shows the canny Scotch woman not too prudent about "the Lottery tickets, their being a few that gets anything that way," and yet who says "I will be glad to hear if you get anything that way, and what you paid for your ticket." It is evident from the letter that he had sought a Professorship at Glasgow.

"Dear Robbie, I received your's this day I wrot to you this day eight days with a ship-masters receipt for a box to you with some linings which you have got by this time. I shall be very glad that I am in a mistake about your being obliged to be present as a candidat for ye vacancy at Glasgow it was the openau of

your Brother and many others that you should be present but if it is needless it may be they may cause you yet for to be sure the professors is not pleased with that Bachannan but it is like as ve D of Argyl is hear he will oblige them to take him fit or unfit if it serves him than I think you have got a sufficient swack of his Gress as I hope you will expect no favours from him it would be a great mercy if you could think of doing something bear for I am afraid you will get some offers to go to Jeamekv Gebreater or some of the colonys abroad which would be very disagreeable to me. You may be sure I would be very glad to see you hear for I almost desper of ever seeing you and if you go lather abroad it will certainly be the case I hope you will take care not to medle with Lotry tickets their being few gets anything that way Garvok give out 100 pounds ster for tickets and they came out all blanks. I will be glad to hear if you get anything that way and what you payed for your ticket. I hope it will be as you say that the people you stay with are religens sober folk but I thought it best to let you see my Brothers letter that you might be on your gaird—I hope the Lord himself will keep his hand about you and keep you out of evel company for to be sure their are many tentations in and about London and ollmost in every place I am Dear Robie your loving and affectuat

Mother MARGARET ERSKINE."

Dunferm (date torn off).

As already said, it was in 1772 that Mr. Faesch was superceded in the management of the London Company's Works by Mr. Erskine. Previous to 1770, Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., of Morristown—his widow was Washington's hostess during his second winter in Morristown—is said to have purchased some 2,000 acres of the land which afterward constituted a considerable part of the large tract bought by Mr. Faesch. Col. Ford built a forge some three miles north of the Mount Hope mansion, then known as Bugut Meadow, but subsequently Denmark. He there built a house and lived a year or two. Col. Ford was at Denmark as early as 1768, because that year he is mentioned in the Rockaway Trustee book as occupying "Pine No. 5," in the first meeting house. For some reason he was dissatisfied with Denmark as a residence, and in 1770 built the stone mansion at Mount Hope. This is still standing, and I may add that I saw a pane of glass in one of its windows on which was the diamond-ent autograph of Samuel Ogden, of Boonton, with a date which I have forgotten. This relic was lost on repairs being made on the house.

In 1772 Mr. Faesch removed to Mt. Hope.*

* I have not seen the deed for lands purchased from Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., but the fact is

and the late Col. Joseph Jackson, of Rockaway, says that Faesch built the Mount Hope Furnace in that year, and gradually enlarged his purchases until he was said to own ten thousand acres, the most of which was wood land. He became the lessee of the Hibernia Works at some time during the war and cast a large amount of shot and shell for the Government. Gen. Washington and staff once visited him at Mount Hope, and he was regarded as a thoroughly loyal man, entering into the war with great zeal. It is said that he was successful in his business as an iron master until, at the close of the war, foreign importations broke him down. After the war he removed to Morristown and purchased the old magazine which stood on the southeast corner of the Square. This he converted into a dwelling and occupied it until his wife died, Feb. 25, 1788. After this he removed to Old Boonton, and died of dropsy May 26, 1799, at that place, aged 70 years. He was buried at Morristown. Mr. Faesch was said to be skeptical in his religious opinions, but one of the promptest supporters of the Rockaway church, giving as a reason for the apparent inconsistency, that "religion was a very good thing to keep the lower classes in proper subordination!" His autograph may be seen on several subscription papers of the parish, and the flourish at the end was in form like a pipe. He married Miss Elizabeth Brinkerhoff, of Parsippany, and left two sons and two daughters. The sons, John Jacob and Richard, never married, and died whilst yet young men. One of the daughters died about 1848. She was not married. The other married a Mr. Wm. H. Robinson and had two daughters, one of whom married Robert I. Girard, of New York, and died about 1848 or '9, leaving children, and the other was living in California in 1851. Mr. Faesch himself married for his second wife a widow Lawrence, whose maiden name was Leonard, her mother being a Kearney.* There were no children by this marriage.

In his day John Jacob Faesch was one of the great men of Morris County, regarded as its

known that he bought the Mount Hope house and a large tract of land with it that year. Sept. 12, 1772, he bought of William Burnet and John Johnson for 1,246 pounds, 7s. 6d. Proclamation, a tract of land in Pequannock, measuring 6,200 acres, out of which certain tracts are reserved. May 8, 1772, he bought of "Abraham Ogden a tract in Mendham Township known and called Jackson's Mine, containing ten acres for 16 pounds." He also bought, Nov. 6, 1772, another tract in same township of four 42-100 acres for 33 pounds 18s. 6d. And Feb. 1st, 1773, he bought of Jacob Ford, Jr.—"both of Pequannock Township"—a small tract of land "at a place known as Mount Hope," for 5 pounds. East Jersey Records, Liber G, 3 pp. 96, 237, 9, and 290.

*Whitehead's Amboy, p. 92.

greatest iron-master, one of its richest men and one of its most loyal citizens. The robbers Moody and Claudius Smith several times attempted to rob his house, but provided with arms by the Government and surrounded with his own men, he was not a very pleasant object of attack by the bandits.

As mention has been made of Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., as one of the early settlers of the upper part of Morris County, I may add that he was the son of Col. Jacob Ford, Sen., and that after his sale of Mount Hope to Mr. Faesch, he returned to Morristown. He held a commission in the American army, built a powder mill at Morristown, and saw some service, but shortly after Washington led his army into winter quarters, early in January, 1777, Col. Ford died of pneumonia, Jan. 11, aged thirty-nine. Eight days afterward—Jan. 19—his father, Col. Jacob Ford, Sen., died of fever aged seventy-three years.* By order of Gen. Washington, the son was honored with a military funeral. His descendants are among the most honored citizens of the County.

Not far from Mount Hope is Hibernia, at the head of the "Horse Pound" Valley, and situated between two steep mountains about four miles north of Rockaway. At one time no little interest was connected with this place and some men who figured there. The land was taken up and the works built earlier than either at Denmark or Mount Hope. I am not able to give the precise date, only it was prior to October 28, 1765.†

It will be noticed that in 1765 John Johnson had iron works at "Horse Pound," as Beach Glen was then called, from the fact that near

* Morristown Bill of Mortality, 29.

† At this time Samuel Ford and his wife Grace—daughter of Abraham Kitchel—for the sum of 265 pounds, 13s. 4d. sold to James Anderson, of Newtown, Sussex County, "one equal and undivided third part of all and every of the respective five following lots of land hereinafter mentioned, and situate in the Township of Pequannock, in the County of Morris aforesaid, about one mile and a half above John Johnson's Iron Works, &c." Lots number one, two, three and four contain ten acres each, strict measure, and number five ten acres and thirty-four hundredths. This land is described as part of a "lot of land returned to Col. Jacob Ford, and recorded at Perth Amboy in Book 8, 4 p. 350." The same conveyance of Ford to Anderson speaks of "outhouses, buildings, barns, Furnaces, &c., mines and minerals, &c.," as included in the deed. The deed is acknowledged "before me, Joseph Tuttle, Esq., one of the Judges of His Majesty's inferior Court of Common Pleas, held at Morristown, July 9, 1766." On the same day, Oct. 28, 1765, Samuel Ford and his wife Grace, sold to Benjamin Cooper, of Newtown, Sussex County, for the same sum, "one equal and undivided third part of all and every" of the same "five lots of land" as described in the conveyance to Anderson—East Jersey Records Liber D. 3 pp 42-6.

the upper end of the valley the Indians, and perhaps early settlers, had a log enclosure made, in which to catch the horses that had been running wild over the mountains during the summer. The names of Lord Stirling, Benjamin Cooper and Samuel Ford, are connected with the original building and ownership of the Hibernia Works. The history of Lord Stirling is fully set forth in a volume published under the auspices of the Historical Society.

Benjamin Cooper was the son of Judge Daniel Cooper, and in 1768 I find that "Benjamin Cooper & Co." held "pew No. 6" in the old Rockaway meeting house. Lord Stirling was the "Company." It is said that Ford and Lord Stirling built Hibernia Works. The former became a notorious character, and as a part of his villainous career was run at Hibernia, it will be interesting to record a few things concerning him.

Mr. Whitehead, in his paper on "The Robbery of the Treasury in 1768," describes Ford as "an artful rogue, an Englishman by birth but married and having relations in New Jersey."* In this he is mistaken. In the census of New Jersey, taken in 1771-2,† is the following item: "Widow Elizabeth Lindsley, mother of Col. Jacob Ford, was born in the city of Axford, in Old England, came to Philadelphia when there was but one hour in it, and into this Province—New Jersey—when she was but one and a half year old. Deceased April 21st, 1772, aged 91 years and one month." Samuel Ford was the grandson of this estimable lady.‡ He was regarded as a very ingenious man, and from Benjamin Cooper's confession, and Ford's rejoinder, I infer that the business of counterfeiting was agitated before the latter sold out his Hibernia interests to Anderson and Cooper, in 1765. Mr. Whitehead intimates that Ford went to Ireland in 1769, "for improvement in the profession,"§ but Livingston's New York Gazette of July 22d, 1773, says that "Ford went to Ireland six years ago, and to England eighteen months ago." He made two trips across the ocean in the prosecution of his business. The date of the Hibernia Works I suppose was to raise the means to make the voyage in 1765. He was back in 1766 and we find under date of June 28, 1766, in the minutes

* Proceedings N. J. Historical Society, V, p. 53.

† Historical Society Library.

‡ His father's name was Samuel. He married Grace, the daughter of Abraham Kitchel, of Hanover, and sister of Aaron the Congressman. Her great-grandfather was the Rev. Abraham Pierson, sen., of Newark. Her niece Mrs. Eunice Pierson, of Rockaway, who lived to the extraordinary age of ninety-three years, once told me that Samuel Ford was a handsome man but "he was a great grief to his friends."

§ Proceedings N. J. Historical Society, V, 53.

of Privy Council of New Jersey, that the Governor signed a warrant on the Treasury "to the Hon. John Stevens, Esq., for sending an express into this Colony to inform the inhabitants of a large sum of Jersey bills of credit being arrived in a vessel from England." There can be little doubt that this was the fruit of Ford's professional visit to Ireland, then reputed to furnish the most skillful counterfeiters in the world. "Whilst in Ireland he married an interesting young Irish girl, with whom he is said to have received some money. On reaching this country she was well nigh crazed on finding that Ford had a wife and children. This was one of the worst acts of his wicked life."*

In the letter which Ford wrote to Cooper, after his own escape from the Morris jail, he berates Cooper for his "atrocious falsehood" in charging on him the robbery of the Treasury at Perth Amboy, and then speaks in terms of virtuous indignation because in the confession "You describe me as being the chiefest promoter and first introducer of the money making affair," as he pleasantly denominates counterfeiting. He then adds this sentence, "Did you not in the time of our distressed circumstances at the furnace [Hibernia] first move such a scheme to me?" From the deed of two-thirds of the Hibernia property in 1765, it is fair to infer that he then sold out all his interest there, and in connection with his own letter just quoted, it seems to me clear that "the money-making affair" was in progress as early as that time. Further it seems probable that he sold his property in order to go to Ireland that very fall or the next spring, and that his return was made known by the arrival in June, 1766, of a ship with "a large sum of counterfeit Jersey bills of credit." With this harmonises the fact that in 1767 he was residing in New York, where he was arrested "on a charge of uttering false New Jersey bills of credit."†

It is evident that after his return from Ireland he sought a more secluded place for his business, and found it in a swamp-island on the Hammock, midway between Morristown and Hanover. The late Sheriff Robertson, of Morris county, became the owner of the house Ford lived in, on the Hammock, and in repairing it found some of his counterfeiting tools in the walls where they had been secreted by Ford, many years before. In July, 1768, the robbery of the Treasury took place, and Ford's

* Dr. Timothy Kitchel heard his father say that this young woman was afterward married to an Irishman, and lived at Whippany many years.

† Mr. Whitehead's Paper, Proceedings of N. J. Historical Society, V, 52.

letter to Cooper with other testimony leaves the strong suspicion that he was the planner and executor of that crime. This is confirmed by the confessions which Cooper, Haynes and Budd made under the gallows, all pointing as is said, to Ford as the Treasury robber, but there is no direct proof of the charge, and Ford himself denies it.

In the Pennsylvania Gazette, of Sept. 29th, 1773, we find the substance of Cooper's confession. "He confessed himself privy to the robbery of the Treasury at Amboy, and that he received 300 pounds of the money; that it was concerted by Ford, and perpetrated by him and three soldiers then quartered there; that the plan was first to attempt to carry off the iron chest, and if that failed, next to take the key from Mr. Skinner's bed room, and to kill him or any person who should discover them, and that afterwards if any of them should be suspected or convicted, they were to turn King's evidence and accuse Mr. Skinner as being an accomplice with them. When some of them were shocked at this proposal, as thereby an innocent person might lose his life, Ford replied, "No, do—him, he will only be condemned, he has friends enough to save him from the gallows." That after breaking into the Treasurer's office, adjoining his bed-room, they attempted to carry off the chest, but finding it difficult set it down again, and breaking open a desk in the room in hopes of finding money, they there found an old key to the money chest, which was rusty and thought unfit for use (the key then in use being in Mr. Skinner's bed-room); with this old key they opened the iron chest, and thereby the lives that would have been exposed were probably preserved." I copy this not to vouch for its truth but as supplying a needed document in this singular history.*

The emission of counterfeit money had grown into an alarming evil, and it was generally believed that Samuel Ford was the leader of the gang. Accordingly, on the 16th of July, 1773, he was arrested and imprisoned at Morristown. During the night, or the next day after his arrest, he escaped, "being aided," as Mr. Whitehead says, "by his confederate, King—a rival veteran in villainy." This John King was probably "John King, late under-Sheriff of Morris county," and thus was able to aid in his jail-breaking. Moreover, deputy-Sheriff King was before the Privy Council in February, 1744. The Sheriff, Kinney, was himself indicted for allowing the escape of so dangerous a prisoner. Indeed some pretended to believe that Kinney,

* Mr. Whitehead's paper, already referred to, gives a succinct narrative of the principal circumstances, and their bearing upon subsequent events.

and others higher in society, were implicated in the crime.* Certain it is that very little care was taken to hold the rogue, and the pursuit of him was not very vigorous. He first fled to a lonely spot on the mountain, between Mount Hope and Hibernia, and staid in "Smultz' Cabin," a deserted cabin in an old colliery.† The late James Kitchel, of Rockaway,‡ when fourteen years old, was one Sunday at the Rockaway meeting house, and saw Sheriff Kinney arrest Abraham Kitchel as a guide for his posse to Ford's hiding place. Greatly excited, the boy ran home, but on the way stopped to tell one John Herriman the occurrence. He says that this man stripped off his coat and ran straight over the meadows for Hibernia, for "Smultz' Cabin." The Sheriff took the matter leisurely, although Mr. Kitchel, his guide, said to him publicly, "I know where Ford is and will take you to the spot, but you know you dare not, for your own sake, arrest him!" At last, at a leisurely pace, they reached the cabin, and sure enough Ford was gone. "There, Sheriff," said Kitchel, as they entered the cabin, "is where Sam Ford has been secreted, and you would rather give your horse, saddle and bridle than to find him here now!" The Privy Council regarded Kinney as "blameable for negligence in his office, respecting the escape of Ford." He was indicted for it, and the Council advised the Governor "to prosecute the said indictment at the next court."§

It was a widely prevalent opinion in Morris County, as has been stated, that some men in high positions were interested in Ford's "money-making business," which he pleasantly calls "a piece of ingenuity." Four men were convicted in Morris County and one in Sussex County, and all sentenced to be hung; Benjamin Cooper of Hibernia, Dr. Bern Budd, Samuel Haynes, David Reynolds and one Ayers. Reynolds was a common man, with no strong social connections, but Cooper, Haynes and Ayers were Justices of the Peace. Cooper's own father, Daniel Cooper, was one of the Judges of the Court that tried him. Dr. Budd was a physician greatly esteemed in the County for his social position, and also for his reputed skill in his profession. Indeed, so great was the latter, that this bad business and his having been sentenced to death in consequence of it, did not prevent his retaining his practice. One of his patients, a very inquisitive woman,

* When the Sheriff sold out what little property Ford had left, even to a tin cup filled with milk for the babe, his son said to him "I have seen you in my father's shop."

† Statement of his niece, Mrs. Eunice Pierson.

‡ Mrs. Pierson's brother.

§ MS minutes of Privy Council.

the first time she had occasion for his services, asked him very naively "how he kind of felt when he came so near being hanged?" Dr. Budd died of putrid fever Dec. 14, 1777, aged thirty-nine years.* Of the four Morris County convicts, Cooper, Haynes and Budd were relieved the morning of the day appointed for their execution.† The substance of Cooper's confession has already been given, and the minutes of Privy Council show that in a trial instituted by Lord Stirling against Col. Samuel Ogden and Samuel Tutbill, Esqs., for unfair dealing in the taking of affidavits and confessions "in the County of Morris, in or about the months of August, September and October last—1773—relative to the counterfeiting of the paper bills of credit in this province and the Robery of the Treasury of this Province," Budd and Haynes had both made confessions, for the minutes direct that "Wm. DeHart, Esq., bring with him the affidavits of Budd and Haynes, taken after they were released from Gaol, and the original paper which he—DeHart—received from Haynes' wife." These affidavits I have not seen, nor the substance of them, but the whole series of incidents, taken together, looks as if they also told the same story as Cooper did, charging on Ford the Amboy robbery. And I cannot refrain from expressing the feeling which an examination of all the accessible records as well as traditions leave on my mind, that whilst Samuel Ford was a very great villain, he was acting his villainy in very respectable company, a part of which did not get to court and the scaffold as some others did. Reynolds, the least guilty of the whole, was hung, having been arrested on the testimony of a brother Irishman, who after the execution manifested the most lively grief.

How long Ford was concealed in the vicinity of Hibernia is not known, but his letter to Cooper was proved by Joseph Morris, his brother-in-law, and Jonathan Ford, his brother, September 8, 1773. I have carefully examined the files of the Pennsylvania Gazette for 1773, and also Livingston's New York Gazette, and am surprised to find how dilatory the Sheriff and Governor were in their efforts to arrest Ford. He broke jail on the 18th of July, and was known to be in concealment not far away during the entire month of August, and perhaps longer, yet Sheriff Kinney does not get his offer of reward published until August 5th in the Livingston; and the Pennsylvania Gazette does not get the Governor's proclamation until December 1st. It is not until September of the same year that the last named paper begins to publish items concerning the pursuit of

Ford, and then we have items in the issues of September 22d, 29th, October 20th, December 1st and 9th, 1773, and January 26th, 1774.

From the best authority, I learn that Ford made his way to what was called the Green Brier Country, among the mountains of Virginia, where he assumed the name of his mother's family, Baldwin. He there was a silversmith, and formed a partnership with another man. During a severe illness he disclosed his real history to his partner's wife, who so sympathized with him that after his recovery and the death of her own husband she married him, so that he had his third living wife. His oldest son, William Ford, and Stephen Halsey (son of Ananias), visited him in Virginia, where they found him with "a great property," a new wife and some promising young Baldwins. It is possible that this distinguished Jerseyman, "who left his country for his country's good," may be the ancestor of some of the Virginia Baldwins who have figured in public life. The Jersey visitors asked the new wife if he had not deceived her, but she said she knew all his past history, and she had no fear of his returning to New Jersey. They described Ford as a "most melancholy man." He professed to his son and Mr. Halsey his penitence, a grace that led to a religious life, which must have been somewhat weak in its nature, as it did not lead him to abandon his adulterous relations and do justice to the excellent woman in New Jersey, whom he left to sustain her family without a farthing's aid from him.

Probably about the time of Cooper's arrest, or previous to it, he sold his interest at Hibernia to Lord Stirling, who was already a joint owner, and his arrest was at Hibernia in 1773.

I have seen no deed of sale by either Cooper or Henderson, but can only say that Lord Stirling was reported to be the sole owner of the works when he rented them to Mr. Faesch. This must have been subsequent to July 10, 1778, at which date I find a letter to Lord Stirling, from Charles Hoff, his manager at Hibernia, reporting to him what he was doing. Joseph Hoff, the son of Charles Hoff, Sen., of Hunterdon County, was for some time the manager of the Hibernia Works.* The letters of which I have copies from the brothers Joseph and Charles Hoff, reach from May 17, 1775, to July 10, 1778. From these we learn that powder was scarce, that "the weather is so very

* I have copies of several letters from him to Robert Erskine, Lord Stirling, "Messrs. Robt. and Jno. Murray," Col. Moylan, Murray, Samson & Co., and "Col. Knox, at Fort Washington, in the State of New York;" also some from his younger brother, Charles Hoff, who at his death succeeded him in the management. The original book is in the possession of Joseph T. Hoff, Esq., of Mount Pleasant—P. O. address, Dover, N. J.

* Morristown Bill of Mortality, 41.

† Minutes Privy Council MS., Proceedings N. J. Hist. Soc. V, p. 51.

warm (August 25, 1775) that if I do not have rum for the people I fear they will be more sickly;" that, June 30, 1775, "in conversation with Lord Stirling, this week at this place, he told me it was his candid opinion that every kind of intercourse between New York and Jersey would be immediately cut off by the port of the former being shut;" that in the spring and summer of 1776 attempts were made to cast cannon at Hibernia, with no great success, although "last night we made a tryal at casting one of the guns, but, unfortunately for us, we brought the furnace too low and it missed in the Breech, all the rest was sound and good;" that, Sept. 2, 1776, "I lament much Lord Stirling's situation at present;"* hope, however, he may be exchanged for some persons of equal rank in our custody; the dangerous situation of property of all kinds gives me sensible concern for you in particular and the province in general; I hope, however, to hear more favorable accounts soon, tho' indeed the crisis seems to be arrived, which must decide the fate of New York one way or the other; happy for us that we have so secure an asylum from danger." He then tells his correspondent "we have made two small cannon," which he asks to have tried. He writes to Col. Knox for help "to support the business and complete the job." July 27, 1777, Charles Hoff, who succeeded Joseph, writes to Governor Livingston that "we are now boring and preparing for trial four or five cannon of three pounders, and are of opinion that they will prove good, which would be of great use in the artillery. We made last year, for the publick service, upwards of one hundred and twenty tons of shot of different kinds, many tons of which are here still. I shall ever think myself happy and in my duty to my country, to contribute by every means in my power in opposing that tyrannical spirit which is now exhibited in the British nation, and shall be ready to obey any commands from your Excellency for that end." That their capacity for iron making was not large, is evident from the statement of the manager to his New York correspondents, that "we make 15 or 16 tons weekly," which "pig-metal, I have sold some for 12 pounds, some for 15 pounds, some for 20 pounds and some for 30 pounds per ton." The Hoff's wanted to make cannon, and so write to Col. Knox, saying, "we would willingly engage to make a quantity of shot of any kind and try at some cannon—say 6 or 9 pounders—&c. We are persuaded our iron will answer for cannon, as we have proved the first we made to be good." Charles Hoff, in 1778, says the government gave exemption to twenty-five men for the Hibernia Works,

* Then a prisoner with the English. See Collections Hist. Soc., Vol. II, p. 163.

which caused an abundance of candidates for the places. The same year (July 4, 1778), Mr. Hoff wrote a card on the subject of "a good many deserters, both of the British troops and Hessians, who are come in and sent to Philadelphia." He seeks to engage some of these for cutting wood, making charcoal, doing work as mechanics, and other employments. His brother, John Hoff, was sent to Philadelphia with particular instructions as to kind, numbers and pay. He did not succeed in the plan. Mr. Faesch employed several Hessians at Mount Hope, most of whom remained in this country after the war.*

It will be seen that Hibernia and Mount Hope both have claims on our interest, in discussing the early history of Morris County.

Let me before closing this paper gather up a few dates and facts concerning other parts of the county. From a manuscript "history of the Congregational Church,"† I learn that "the tract of land now constituting the township of Chester, was surveyed and run into lots in 1713 and 1714, and began soon after to be settled with emigrants from Southold, L. I., who had been brought up in the Congregational church planted there by their fathers, and were by conviction and profession attached to its doctrines and customs. It was in their hearts to do as their fathers had done, plant a church of the same faith and form of government as that in which they had been baptised and to which they owed so much. Having settled from one to three miles apart, in a country to be cleared of heavy timber, with their private buildings to erect, roads, bridges and fences to make, and families to support, it is wonderful that they, as early as 1747, should have been able to erect a commodious house of worship with pews and galleries to seat an audience of 400. This house stood about six rods west of the present meeting house."

The Presbyterian church, at Chester, was organized in 1752, and began its meeting house about 1755.

A manuscript account of "the Evangelical Lutheran church of German Valley, Morris

* Among the incidents of the war was the robbery of Charles Hoff's house and stables, by a gang of fellows from the neighborhood of Ramapo, led, as was said, by the notorious Claudius Smith. They came suddenly into the house in the early evening, compelled the family to get supper for them, stole what jewelry plate, fine goods and horses they could, and made off for the mountains again with their plunder. In 1790 Capt. Joseph Board, who resided in the vicinity of Ringwood, wrote Mr. Hoff concerning some of the miscreants who came to a bad end. Smith and his party shot down one Lieut. Clark, who had been their pursuer, but the murderers were themselves overtaken in their hiding place and all shot.

† Compiled by Rev. Abner Morse.

county, New Jersey," has this record: "This part of our county appears to have been settled in part by Protestant Germans, some time about the year 1740. This settlement of Germans, together with others in Hunterdon and Sussex counties, was visited as early as the year 1745, by the Rev. H. M. Mullenbergh, D.D., so justly distinguished for his learning, piety and patriotism. With his name, and the names of his sons, the early history of these German settlements, as well as the history of the entire American Lutheran church, is richly interwoven. The Lutheran church of German Valley, was originally incorporated with Lutheran churches in the above named counties, the principal one of which was located at New Germantown, Hunterdon county. The more distinct history of these churches commenced with the year 1767, at which time, through the agency of the Rev. H. Mullenbergh, those churches obtained a charter of incorporation from George III, King of Great Britain, executed by William Franklin, Esq., Captain-General and Governor of the Colony of New Jersey, "at his office in Burlington." The first church built at German Valley was a log house of very rude construction, which, in 1775 gave place to the Union church owned by the Presbyterians and Lutherans.*

In the north-eastern part of the county settlements were made very early. Dr. Schenck, for several years the pastor of the Reformed church at Pompton Plains, says that the first settlements in that region were made on the east side of the Pompton river, in what is now Passaic county. "At the opening of the year 1700, it is probable that there were but five or six white families in this valley—that is on the east side—and probably none on the Plains, or west side of the river. The first families came from New York, and were, some of them at least, members of the Dutch church, or their fathers were. A few families also settled in 1700 in the vicinity of the Ponds. The earliest notice we have of preaching, in this region of country, was at the Ponds, in 1710. The first house of worship was built in 1735-6, and dedicated April 7th, 1736. This was also on the east bank of the Pompton river, a little below where what was then called the Pompton river empties into the Pequanae, and on lands formerly belonging to the Schayler family. It was probably taken down in 1770." The first church erection at Pompton Plains was planned in 1769, and finished, so far as to be used, in 1771. Its pews were not made until afterwards.† Dr. Schenck says, the first purchase

of lands in the Pompton valley, from Indians and proprietors, included the great body of the land in the valley. If some lover of local history would spend a few days among the Ryerson, and other old families, of Pompton, Kingwood, and Bloomingdale, in the examination of deeds, and compare these with the Records at Amboy and Trenton, the date of settlement in that region could probably be settled, since these families are said to have been among the first in that region, and their descendants still live there.

The NAME of the county and its shiretown has elicited some inquiry. A few paragraphs concerning the genealogy and name of the county will close this paper. In 1709 the Provincial Legislature passed an act defining and naming several counties. The county of Burlington then included all the present counties of Hunterdon, Mercer, Morris, Sussex and Warren. In 1713 the same authority divided Burlington county so as to set off by itself the county of Hunterdon, in honor of Robert Hunter, the Governor of New York and New Jersey. Hunterdon then included the present counties of Hunterdon, Mercer, Morris, Warren and Sussex. On the 15th of March, 1738-9, the Provincial Legislature passed an act which set off from Hunterdon the territory included in Morris, Sussex and Warren, and named it MORRIS, evidently in honor of its Governor, Lewis Morris, who about a month previous had been appointed the first Governor of New Jersey as a Province distinct from New York.* For several years, according to Allinson, the most of the citizens of Morris county must have been practically disfranchised, since it appears that until the passage of an act, May 10th, 1768, and confirmed by the King, in Council, December 9th, 1770, they voted in Hunterdon as formerly; being allowed "from time to time, as occasion shall be, to appear at PRENTON, OR ELSEWHERE IN SAID COUNTY OF HUNTERDON, and there to vote and help to elect and choose Representatives for the said county of Hunterdon, after the same manner as formerly before the making of this act.†

As to the early settlement of MORRISTOWN my information is quite meager, although I have given a great deal of time to the search for it, and must now hand it over to the local historian. A single record at Trenton shows that surveys had been made in Morris township about the time of the surveys in Mendham, Chester, Randolph and Hanover townships. The first purchase on the west side of Pompton river, according to Dr. Schenck, was made about the year 1700; those in Mendham,

* MS sketch of German Valley Lutheran church, by Rev. E. D.

† Copy of Dr. Schenck's Paper in Minutes of Pompton Plains Church.

* Papers of Governor L. Morris, 29.

† Allinson's Laws of New Jersey, 109, 306-7.

Chester, Randolph, in 1713-14; on the 27th of November, 1758, Frederick Miller bought land in Rockaway valley, above Beonton, of "William Allen and Edward Shippen, executor of Humphrey Murray, deceased, of Philadelphia," which land belonged to a tract surveyed unto James Bollen, for Legatees of George Hutchinson, deceased, containing 1666 acres.*

As late as 1738 the name of Morristown was West Hanover, as is evident from the record made by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent of his visit, in July of that year, to "West Hanover." I suppose it must have been a question agitated among the people soon after the county of MORRIS was set off from Hunterdon, whether the county town should not receive the name of the Governor also; but the first official use of it, that I have discovered, is two years after the organization of the county. The following record in the first volume of minutes of the Court of Common Pleas, for Morris county, is an important addition to the history of the county and is given entire.

"MARCH 25TH, MDCCLX.

GENERAL SESSIONS OF THE PEACE.

"The Court taking into consideration the necessity of dividing the county of Morris into Proper Townships or Districts, for having proper officers within every such Township or District, and more especially for such officers as are to act in concert with other Townships, we therefore order and Determine that from henceforth a certain Township, bounded on Pissaic river, Poquanock river, to the lower end of the great pond at the head thereof, and by Rockaway river and the west branch thereof, to the head thereof, and thence cross to the lower end of said pond, and shall henceforth be called Poquanock Township, District or Precinct.

"And that a certain road from the Bridge, by John Days, up to the Place where the same road passes between Benjamin and Abraham Pierson's, and thence up the same road to the corner of Samuel Ford's fence, thence leaving

* This warrant bears date March 14th, 1714-15. This tract is said in the deed to be surveyed to the said James Bollen, for the legatees of Hutchinson, dec'd, "for his Lot, of No. 21, within the New Purchase made of the Indians, above the falls of the Delaware river," and it is said to have been "surveyed unto the said James Bollen, in three several pieces, and near a place called Wippanng, in the county of Hunterdon, in the month of May, 1715." (E. Jersey Records, Liber F. 3.) On the 1st of June, 1769, "the Right Honorable William, Earle of Stirling, and Lady Sarah, Countess of Stirling, for the sum of £2,902, sold to Col. Staats Long Morris, of New York, 967 37-100 acres in the TOWNSHIP and COUNTY of MORRIS, which tract is said in the deed to have been originally surveyed in 1715. (E. Jersey Records, Liber F 3, p. 23.)

Samuel Ford to the right hand, thence running up to the road that leads from the Old Iron Works towards Succasunung, and crossing Whippenung Bridge, and from thence to Succasunung, and from thence to the great pond on the head of Musconegung, do part the Township of Hanover from the Township of Morris, which part of the county of Morris, lying, as aforesaid, to the Southward and Westward of said roads, lines and places, is ordered by the Court to be and remain a Township, District or Precinct and to be CALLED AND DISTINGUISHED BY THE NAME OF MORRIS TOWN."

"The court adjourned till nine o'clock tomorrow evening."*

It seems probable that the court acted thus in view of petitions from the people; but, however that may be, this settles definitely the name of the town and, as I think, disposes of a suggestion of a different origin for the name made by myself on a previous occasion.†

It is worth while here to state that the First Presbyterian church of Morristown was actually organized the same year with the county of Morris, 1738, although its organization was attempted three years previous; but, as is stated in a deed made by the trustees of that church to the Justices and Freeholders of the county, September 7th, 1771, "on the 8th day of September, A. D. 1756, his late Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Captain General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in, and over, the Province of New Jersey, &c., did make and grant, under the great seal of said province, unto Benjamin Hathaway, Charles Howell, Henry Primrose, Benjamin Bayles, Thomas Kent, Benjamin Cox and Samuel Roberts (by the name or the Trustees of Presbyterian church of Morristown), a CHARTER, investing them and their successors with full powers to receive, and give grants of lands for the use and benefit of said Presbyterian church, &c." The object of this conditional conveyance, in 1771, was to furnish the Justices and Freeholders of the county with right to "a certain Lot of Land, commonly called the Gally," "containing one acre, strict measure," "for the sole use and purposes of a Court House, Gaol, and other necessary uses, for the Court House, Gaol, &c., as long as the said Court House shall remain on said lot, or the said county applies the same to those purposes only, and no longer." The consideration was "the sum of £5, current money of the Province aforesaid.

* Minutes of Court of Common Pleas for Morris county, N. J., Book No. 1, p. 2. In July of same year John Kinney was proclaimed Sheriff, and licensed to keep tavern in Hanover.

† Pres. Quar. Rev., vol. VI, 289, April, 1868.

at eight shillings the ounce, to them in hand paid, &c., and also that said Justices and Freeholders, do constantly and continually keep full and in passable repair, that part of the hereafter mentioned lot of land commonly called the Gully." The names of the church trustees in September, 1771, were Henry Primrose, Benjamin Bayles, Benjamin Cox, Samuel Roberts, Joseph Stiles, Samuel Tuthill, Stephen Conkling. The name of Benjamin Bayles is signed with "his mark."

The Justices and Freeholders of Morris county, at the same date, were Robert Gould, Lemuel Bowers and Josiah Broadwell, Esquires, Justices; and Freeholders, Matthew Lum, Matthias Burnet, Noah Beach, Jacob Gould, Jacob Ford, jr., Hartzhorn Fitz Randolph, Jacob Drake, Jabesh Bell and John Stark. The subscribing witnesses to the deed were Timothy Mills, jr., and Joseph King, and it was acknowledged before Jacob Ford, sen.* The court house and jail were on the northwest corner of the square. On the 1st of April, 1816, the Trustees of the church, for the sum of sixteen hundred dollars, made over their reserved rights in what is now the public square, to certain gentlemen named in certain conditions that the ground might be ornamented and improved, but not built on "except for a meeting house, a court house and jail, and a market house;" and if "at any time thereafter the county of Morris should cease to use the land now occupied for a court house and lot, for that purpose, the same should be considered a part of the green or common, subject to the conditions aforesaid."

This paper, already too long, must be concluded. I regret that it cannot be made fuller and more explicit. The older members of the Society, who may have tried their hand at writing local history, will appreciate my difficulties, and the young members will do so as soon as they attempt the same thing for any locality east of the Delaware, or west of the Hudson.

Let me then sum up the facts ascertained with more or less certainty.

The earliest purchases of lands in the County of Morris, so far as I can learn, were in Pequannock Township, in the vicinity of Pompton Plains, on the west side of the river, from the Proprietors and Indians, as early as "the

* I regret not to be able to give my authority for these facts. By some mistake, at the time I made the quotations, I neglected to note the reference, but from the fact that these deeds, alluded to, are among notes which were taken when examining the East Jersey Records at Trenton, I infer that I found these also in Liber F. 3, East Jersey Records, but am not sure. I am too far from Trenton to verify my inference.

opening of 1700," when there "were five or six families" on the opposite side of the river. The first settlers were from New York, Long Island, and probably Bergen County, New Jersey, as then constituted.

The church there dates back to 1735 or '6.

The next PROBABLE date is that at Hanover, near Whippany Presbyterian Church, at the Old Iron Works, and is "about 1710." The earliest ACTUAL date is the deed to James Bollen, "near a place called Whippenung," in the County of Hunterdon, in the month of May, 1715." The same year we find a tract surveyed in the town and County of MORRIS. In 1718 John Richards, schoolmaster, deeded to his neighbors, for use of a church, school house, training ground, burying yard, &c., the ground now occupied for the cemetery at Whippany. This defines the date of Hanover Church as 1718.

The earliest surveys and purchases at Mendham, Chester, Randolph and Mill Brook (near Dover), were made in 1713. The great Dickerson Mine was purchased in 1716. Iron Works were built at Whippany "about 1710," and a forge near Dover in 1722. This defines the beginning of things at Dover.

About 1725 or '30 settlements began at Rockaway, and forges were built on different streams at Rockaway, Denmark, Middle Forge, Ninckel, Shauguni, Franklin and other places from the year 1725 to 1770.

Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., built Mount Hope in 1770, and sold to Mr. Faesch in 1772, in which year the furnace was built by the latter.

The "Ringwood Company" organized in 1740, and sold out to the "London Company" in 1764. Haseuclever was the first manager of the London Company, then Faesch, and then Robert Erskine. The lands of this company are said to have been confiscated during the Revolution.

German Valley was settled by Germans about 1740, visited by Dr. Muhlenberg in 1745, and its church actually built in 1747.

The Rockaway Presbyterian Church dates back to 1758, some thirty years after the first settlement.

The County of MORRIS was organized in 1738, and its first Township of Hanover a region of country of indefinite extent, previous to this date, while it belonged to Hunterdon.

MORRISTOWN received its name in 1740 from the Court of Common Pleas, and three townships deferred, viz., Hanover, Morris and Pequannock.

Pompton Plains, indeed, we may say Pequannock, as a section, was settled by Holland Dutch; Hanover, Morristown and Chatham, by people from Newark, Elizabeth and New England; Meadham and Chester, from Long

and New England; Randolph and Rockaway, by Holland Dutch and a promiscuous assemblage of people from various localities, among them what was then Essex County; and German Valley by Germans. Not a few Quakers from Burlington County were among the pioneers.

It would be pleasant to note some changes in the country since Reading first struck his tripod in Morris County, and the trip hammer at Hanover, Dover and Rockaway first rang its music among the forests, and the last remnants of the Indians vanished from the Rockaway and Musconetcong; but this would transcend my purpose. Let me commend the work of collecting the early history of this beautiful County to our young historians.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF GEN. WILLIAM WINDS.*

Much of the early history of Morris County is lost beyond recovery, and with it the character and deeds of many who figured largely in that history have faded from the memory of man. In gathering the materials for this paper, my mind has been agitated with regret that so little can now be known concerning the men and the events connected even with our Revolution, and with indignation at the criminal negligence which has permitted the loss. By way of extenuation it may be said, however, that Morris County was settled by a plain and unpretending people, who cared but little for the honors of ancestry, and who judged that posterity would be able to care for themselves.

Marked by great integrity of character, and devoted to the cause of religion, honored with a competence which their simple habits converted into abundance, and little thinking that posterity would look back so far into the past with a real desire to know its history, they kept but few records to which we may now refer, and these generally pertaining to the titles of their lands, and the common transactions of their churches. As for any extended records of men distinguished among them as civilians, statesmen, or patriots, or of the origin, progress and success of any expeditions in defence of their rights as a community, or in aid of the country at large, there are scarcely any in existence. It is certainly not a little strange, in a county, the patriotism of which furnished the men and large supplies to our army during the war for Independence, and which is justly honored as containing the winter quarters of the American army, a county which has been the theatre of bold exploits, and the anx-

ious consultations of Washington and his men who constantly attended him, unable to furnish so few authentic materials for history. The last of her Revolutionary patriots of 1776, are only just departing when we attempt even a meagre history of the county, or of any prominent individual. We are compelled to resort to "unwritten traditions of the elders," with a full knowledge of their probable uncertainties and exaggerations. But it is too late to enter complaints, since they cannot now be redressed. The fathers of Morris County are dead, and although we much regret that they left so little from which their children might construct a fitting memorial to their virtues as citizens, and as patriots we can only say, "Peace to their ashes."

When the Revolutionary war began, the people of Morris County generally sympathized with it, and in proportion to their means, did as much to sustain it as any other section of the state. Here, as elsewhere, there were Tories who showed their hostility to the Patriots by deeds of violence and robbery, which were sometimes even marked with bloodshed; but the masses of the people, tracing their ancestral lines back to New England, were thrilled with a patriotism which scrupled at no sacrifice for an end esteemed so desirable. In many cases, all the male members of the family old enough to carry a musket were enrolled either in the regular army or among the "minute men." The mothers, the wives and the daughters tilled the soil, while their sons, husbands and fathers contended with the enemy. One woman was urged to get a "protection" from the British, and she asked, "Would it be right or womanly for me to secure a protection from the British when I have a husband, a father, and five brothers fighting the British? I think not, and therefore I will not do it." For the safety of her family she was urged to that course, but with the magnanimity of a Spartan and the faith of a Christian, she replied, "I will not get a 'protection' from the British: if the God of battles will not take care of us, then we will fare with the rest!" She was not alone in her resolve. Morris County could boast of hundreds of women who would endure any hardship and encounter any danger, rather than sanction by a word the presence of an invader, and the impertinence of a foe.

As for the men, the first alarm sent them to the rescue, leaving the plough and reaping-hook to the women, whilst they should repel the enemy. One man was stacking his grain when he heard the sound of the alarm cannon booming over the hills. In an instant, he sprang down with the exclamation, "I cannot stand this!" seized his gun and hurried to M

*before the New Jersey Historical Society, 13th, 1853.

The Kitchels, the Condicts, the Dickinsons, the Howells, the Deane Jacksons, the Tuttle, and other like stuff, threw themselves with animosity into the contest, to share its dangers and its glory.

There were, if not all the townships in the county, many patriotic associations, both to guard the liberties and to further the general interests of the American cause. The original paper signed by one hundred and seventy-seven citizens of "Pequanock" township, is among the curiosities to be seen in the Library of this Society. This township embraced the present township of Rockaway, and the article itself which was signed by the male inhabitants of the town, may stand as an index to the feelings which pervaded the County. "The Association of Whigs in Pequanock township in 1776," adopted the following pledges:

"We the subscribers, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the township of Pequanock, in the County of Morris, and Province of New Jersey, having long viewed with Concern the avowed Design of the Ministry of Great Britain to raise a revenue in America; being deeply affected with the cruel Hostilities already commenced in Massachusetts Bay for carrying that arbitrary Design into Execution; convinced that the Preservation of the Rights and Privileges of America depends, under GOD, on the firm Union of its Inhabitants, Do, with hearts abhorring Slavery, and ardently wishing for a Reconciliation with our Parent State on Constitutional Principles, solemnly ASSOCIATE and RESOLVE, under the Sacred Ties of Virtue, Honor, and Love to our Country, that we will personally, and as far as our Influence extend, endeavor to support and carry into Execution whatever Measures may be recommended by the Continental and Provincial Congresses, for defending our Constitution, and preserving the same inviolate.

"According to the Resolutions of the aforesaid Continental and Provincial Congresses, we are firmly determined by all means in our power to guard against the Disorders and Confusions to which the peculiar circumstances of the Times may expose us.

"WE DO ALSO FURTHER ASSOCIATE AND AGREE, as far as shall be consistent with the Measures adopted for the preservation of American Freedom, to support the Magistrates and other Civil Officers in the Execution of their Duty agreeable to the laws of this Colony, and to observe the Directions of our Committee acting."

To the honor of the Morris County yeomanry let it be said, that the British never succeeded in lodging a detachment of troops within its borders, although many attempts were made.

A powder mill, not far from Morristown, the

magazine situated in the town, together with the character of the County as a hot-bed of rebellion, acted as so many incitements to the enemy to make the attempt to reach the mountains of Morris. The enemy were twice repulsed at Springfield, (in 1777 and 1780,) and on another occasion a detachment penetrated as far as the Passaic at Chatham. The British officer sent word to Gen. Winds that he proposed to take dinner at Morristown the next day. The General, who was not remarkably select in his terms when excited, sent word back to the braggart—"If you dine in Morristown to-morrow noon, you will sup in hell to-morrow night!"

The people were ready at a moment's warning to fly to the rescue of their soil from the invader, and some eye-witnesses have told me that, on the slightest alarm, the county seemed alive with men who were hastening to the rendezvous to be led against the enemy.

"Parson Green," of Hanover, was the exponent of the Church to which he ministered, and of the whole Presbyterian community. He was sent to the Provincial Congress; he preached and prayed in behalf of our armies; and although he did not join the army at Springfield in 1780, he was present to encourage his countrymen in their resistance to the enemy. The mothers and the ministers, the men and the muskets, the powder and the pulpits of Morris County all were pledged to encourage and aid her soldiers in the general cause of freedom. Her Whig Associations contained the bone and sinew of her independent yeoman, and her Vigilance Committees kept so sharp a look-out for treason at home, that toriyism could do more than show its rage by a few violent and bloody acts. Her soil was the home and the hospital of American soldiers, and was consecrated by the frequent presence of Washington. Her grain fields, her herds and flocks, afforded food to the patriots of the army, and her iron mines furnished cannon balls with which to fight the enemy. In such men as Lord Sterling of Baskingridge, and General Winds of Rockaway, Colonel Dayton of Succasunna, Captain DeHart and Benoni Hathaway of Morristown, Aaron Kitchel, William Tuttle and Samuel Beach of Hanover, were found competent leaders for every emergency, and they stood ready to go where they might lead. The cause of American independence was everywhere a popular cause in Morris County, to the rich and the poor, the old and the young of the soil and makers of iron, all pledged themselves with admirable enthusiasm. In there were not the most liberal means of education, but all the men and some of the women had been educated to the use of fire-arms whilst their Whig Associations numbed

who signed the pledges of freedom by making their mark," all of them knew how to wing the bullet to another kind of mark, even the heart of any enemy to the sacred cause they had espoused.

Among the patriots of Morris County, we must assign a prominent position to William Winds, of Rockaway. By wealth as a landholder, and by natural gifts, he was a leader of the people. It cannot be too much regretted that the history of such a man should have been left unwritten, and thus at the mercy of Time. His name will never be forgotten, and the numerous anecdotes concerning him will be handed down from generation to generation. He will be a favorite hero of local tradition for ages to come; but tradition makes sad work with the finer elements of history, retaining and retailing as it does only the disconnected anecdotes which are calculated to gratify the popular taste for something striking. The popular memory is very strong in its impressions concerning men; but connected narratives made of facts are as fleeting as tracks on the sea-shore. It will be the object of this paper to gather up, so far as possible, what remains of General Winds's history; and in doing this, it will be proper also to delineate the man as he lives in the traditions of Morris County.

William Winds was born in Southhold, Long Island, in the year 1727 or 8. The Hon. Mahlon Dickerson informs me that a few years since he saw the house in which Winds was born; but so careless or ignorant are those who ought to know these things, that I am only able to guess the year of his birth from the record on his monument that he died "October 12th, 1789, in the 62d year of his age." From "a list of the names of old and young, Christians and heathens, Freemen and servants, white and black, &c. inhabiting within the Townshipp of Southhold," it would appear that the Winds family, early in the last century, was quite numerous. (Documentary List., New York, vol. i, p. 453.) William removed to New Jersey when he was a young man, and purchased a part of the Burroughs tract of land, on Pigeon Hill." After improving several acres of his purchase, he ascertained that the title, under which he held it, was not reliable, and with a frank statement of the fact he sold his right, giving a quit-claim deed. He then bought a large tract of land only a short distance from the village of Dover. Here he resided until his death. The barn which he built is still standing, and the foundations of his house are yet to be seen. He sold from his original purchase several farms, retaining for his own use what is still known as "the old farm." For these facts I am indebted

to Jacob Losey, Esq., a very aged man, who is still living.

His wealth as a landholder, and his natural force of character, gave Winds great influence in the community, at a time when the savages yet infested New Jersey, and the whole country was agitated with the contest between England and France. At such a period a leader, who might be looked up to for counsel, would be in great demand. Besides this, Winds was so chivalric in his bravery, and so decided in his views, and withal there was in him such a blending of courage with great physical powers, that his fellow citizens naturally turned to him in times where ordinary gifts were insufficient to meet the emergencies which were constantly arising.

In conversing with an aged native of Rockaway, I was informed by her of a tradition which had been currently reported ever since she was a child, which seems worthy of being sifted, as she was twenty-three years old when Gen. Winds died, and she had lived a neighbor to him all that time. Her father, Deacon John Clarke, was intimate with Winds, and in this way she received the story.

As Mrs. Anderson related the tradition,* it was without dates or places. In the old French war a brigade was raised in New Jersey to aid in the conquest of Canada, and in this brigade Winds was commissioned as an officer. On their march, a great way north of Albany, the New Jersey troops were exposed to the enemy, and whilst being attacked were forbidden by their own commander to fire again, or offer any resistance. Winds, although a subordinate, ran up to the general officer, and remonstrated with him, but he drew his sword on him. The warm blooded Winds seconded by the enraged troops made such an answer to this, that the commander put spur to his horse and fled for his life. Winds now assumed the command and brought off the troops with honor.

Such is the statement of an old lady, who retained the cheerfulness and vivacity of youth, until she nearly attained ninety years of age. In consulting Mr. Losey, the aged man already alluded to, I ascertained that a battalion was raised in New Jersey in 1758, the term of enlistment being for one year, and Winds received a royal commission in this battalion as a major, but Mr. Losey is mistaken in the rank he assigns Winds at that period, since in the records of the Presbyterian Parish of Rockaway on Jan. 29th, 1771, he is called Captain Winds,

* There is so much that is improbable in this tradition, that the Committee on Publications are unwilling to allow it to be printed and their direction without stating their belief that it is not in any way confirmed by contemporary records.

... given to ...
 ... April 20th, 17 ... He was a cap-
 ... that war. The name of the delinquent
 ... remainder he is not able to state, nor the
 ... place at which the scene described by Mrs.
 ... Anderson occurred, but he has no doubt that
 ... some such incident did occur, since it was a
 ... common talk when he was a young man. He
 ... was acquainted with Winds, having lived several
 ... years in his neighborhood. In comparing
 ... his version of this incident with that of my
 ... other informant, I find a very great correspon-
 ... dence between the testimony of the two wit-
 ... nesses, but Mr. Losey further states that
 ... Winds was not present at the capture of Que-
 ... bec by Wolfe, in 1759, the term for which the
 ... New Jersey troops were enlisted having expired.
 ... Yet Winds was present in many skirmishes, and
 ... assisted in taking many prisoners. His treat-
 ... ment of these was so generous, that several ac-
 ... companied him back to New Jersey, and set-
 ... tled there. Among these was a man named
 ... Cubbey, whom Mr. Losey knew, and to whom
 ... Gen. Winds became so attached, as to present
 ... him with a deed for twelve acres of land in the
 ... vicinity of Dover. This man acted as a sort of
 ... body servant to Gen. Winds for many years.
 ... The conduct of Winds in this campaign was
 ... favorably reported by his soldiers, and he be-
 ... came more than ever a popular man at home.
 ... In this as in all his future campaigns he gained
 ... the love of his troops by his standin- between
 ... them and greedy speculators, who thus were
 ... not able to push a merciless warfare on the
 ... means of the common soldiers.

With slight variations the tradition is con-
 ... firmed by Col. Joseph Jackson, of Buckaway,
 ... who was personally acquainted with Winds,
 ... and whose father repeatedly served under him
 ... during the revolutionary war.

That New Jersey sent troops to Canada in
 ... 1755 is certain,* and that they formed a part
 ... of the army which Abercrombie led to the at-
 ... tack on Ticonderoga, in July of that year, is
 ... also certain. This probably affords us the clue
 ... to the tradition here related concerning Winds.
 ... In that disastrous battle, the gifted Montcalm
 ... commanded the French, gathering laurels
 ... which only served to render the wreath of vic-
 ... tory, which fortune on the succeeding year
 ... gave to the dying Wolfe, the more fadeless.
 ... In spite of the sound advice of Stark, the hus-
 ... band of "Molly Stark," and also some English
 ... officers, Abercrombie calling them "Rehoboth
 ... counsellors," precipitated his gallant troops
 ... upon a foolish and bloody defeat. His conduct
 ... was severely reprobated by the survivors of his
 ... army, and by the authorities at home.†

Here is the seed out of which grew in a
 ... probability the Morris county tradition. ...
 ... home Winds was not merely a brave man, but
 ... "the bravest of the brave." In some res- ...
 ... he was the most noted man in the county, and
 ... he held there a relative position which was not
 ... so obvious in an army made up of brave men
 ... from England and Scotland, and the New Eng-
 ... land Colonies who, among other noted spirits,
 ... had sent Wolfe, Putnam, and Molly Stark's
 ... man. With communities as with individuals,
 ... there is a natural tendency to vanity, and with
 ... the former this is gratified by dilating to their
 ... utmost dimensions the heroic deeds of their
 ... representative men. Thus it was not un-
 ... natural for the good people of Morris
 ... county to discuss, by blazing hickory fires,
 ... and over mugs of cider, the deeds of their
 ... soldiers in that bloody campaign. Among
 ... these reminiscences, under the general inspira-
 ... tion of such occasions, the important share
 ... which such an eccentric, brave, and popular
 ... man as Winds, took in those scenes, would re-
 ... ceive a large allowance, for thus not only did
 ... they find the theme of good fireside stories, but
 ... food for their vanity as a community.

But be this as it may, there can be little
 ... doubt that Winds was a commissioned captain,
 ... in active service, in the severe campaign at
 ... the north in 1758, and that he there gained himself
 ... the reputation of being a bold and trusty officer.

I have not been able to learn whether Winds
 ... engaged in military service at any time during
 ... the period intervening between the French
 ... War and the Revolution. Meanwhile he re-
 ... ceived a commission from the English authori-
 ... ties as one of the King's Justices of the Peace
 ... for the county of Morris. This was previous
 ... to 1765, a year famous in American history for
 ... the passage of the odious Stamp Act. In com-
 ... mon with the masses of his countrymen, he re-
 ... garded this act as an intolerable oppression,
 ... and resisted its practical enforcement, a thing
 ... more difficult than common in his case as a
 ... Justice of the Peace. The bold resistance of
 ... the New England Colonies has found a place in
 ... history, and yet the mountains of Morris county
 ... furnished as singular an evasion of the Act
 ... as any on record. To avoid the use of the
 ... stamped paper, Justice Winds substituted the
 ... bark of the white birch. Warrants and writs,
 ... bonds and executions were not then so num-
 ... erous as in these days of litigation, and the sim-
 ... plicity of the times allowed a brevity in these
 ... legal documents which might now be con-
 ... sidered indelicate, but when the constable
 ... presented a warrant to arrest "Richard Ho-
 ... bring him before me, William Winds,"
 ... there was no one bold enough to deny the su-
 ... perior authority. If there be another instan-

* See Bancroft's U. S., vol. iv, pp. 299, 304.

† Bancroft's U. S., vol. iv., pp. 300-307.

authority. If there be another instance of a sworn Justice of King George nullifying the Stamp Act with white birch bark, it has escaped my notice, and this must therefore be reckoned as one of the signs which marked that generation of freemen.

The Presbyterian Church of Rockaway was organized about the year 1752, although measures had been taken some time previous to put up a meeting-house. The first subscription for this purpose bears date of 1749, but so far as we can now ascertain, the frame was not raised until the third year afterward. It remained unfinished for more than half a century. With this congregation Winds was connected, and at some time, which no record in existence points out, he made a public profession of religion. In all probability it was during the pastorate of the Rev. James Tuttle, the first pastor, who held the office from 1768 to 1771. The records of the parish show that Winds was a liberal contributor to the expenses of the church, and also that he assisted largely in building the first meeting-house, although it must be acknowledged that his warm imperious temper betrayed him into some extravagances scarcely consistent with his profession. For instance, finding his horses one Sabbath morning to be somewhat fractious, he compelled them to drag his family to meeting in a sleigh on bare ground; and on another occasion, after the commencement of the Revolution, when the congregation was startled by a messenger on horseback, bringing the news that the enemy were on the march to Morristown, Winds exhibited the most angry impatience because "the minute men" had come to church without their guns. One venerable woman is still living who witnessed the scene, and she says that Winds never went to church in those days without his arms, and that on this alarm he was so provoked at the remissness of his fellow soldiers, "that he spoke, or rather bawled, so loud that I should think he might have been heard to the Short Hills!"

The same old lady tells me that Winds sometimes led in prayer when the congregation, for want of a pastor, held "Deacon's meetings." She says that in his prayers his voice usually was gentle and low, until he began to pray for the cause of American freedom, when his excitement became explosive, and his voice was raised until it sounded like heavy thunder. He has heard him suddenly raise his voice from a low pitch to its highest power when praying for America, so that the congregation would be startled as by a sudden peal of thunder.

All witnesses agree in describing Winds as a large and powerful man. Dr. Ashbel Green, in his revolutionary reminiscences, says that he "was of gigantic frame and strength, and no

one doubted his courage. But the most remarkable thing about him was his voice. It exceeded in power and efficiency (for it was articulate as well as loud,) every other human voice I ever heard." The Dr. aptly denotes it as a "stentorophonic voice." Mrs. Anderson, who lived more than half a mile in an from Winds's house, the valley of the Rockaway river intervening, says that she has frequently heard distinctly the various orders which he was issuing to the laborers in his fields. The anecdote of his frightening off a detachment of British soldiers, by crying out to the top of his voice, "open to the right and left and let the artillery through," is familiar to every Jerseyman. The scene of this anecdote was on the Hackensack river, as was testified by Stephen Jackson, Esq., father of Col. Joseph Jackson, who was present when the farce was enacted. There are many anecdotes still related, which show that since the days of Stentor, such a voice has rarely been heard, but its most singular exhibition was in church music. When he sang, the old people say he not merely drowned the voices of the whole congregation, but he seemed to make the very building itself shake.

At this point it will be in place to glean some facts which show the man as he was at home. Here everything was planned and executed with military precision. He insisted on literal obedience to his orders, and this when his own interests suffered by it. From Mrs. Winds to his slave, no one dared vary a hair's breadth from his commands, under penalty of such a storm as it was fearful to encounter. His favorite laborer, for this reason, was a man called Ogden, and on one occasion his prompt attention to orders was to the cost of his employer. Winds was starting for Morristown one morning, when he saw that his sheep had broken into a grain field. Greatly excited, he roared out, "Ogden, go and kill every one of those sheep!" and springing on his horse, he rode off at full speed, which he did not abate until he had gone more than a mile. Then he bethought himself that his man was a terrible literalist, and wheeling his horse, he rode back at a John Gilpin rate, at every leap of his horse roaring out like the report of a brass field-piece, "Ogden, hold your hand! Ogden, hold your hand!" But Ogden had executed orders so far as to have slaughtered seven of the sheep before he received counter orders. In the greatest good humor, he commended the man for his promptness, but assured him that he had done enough for the present.

Anecdotes of a similar character are very numerous, some of which do not place the man in a very amiable light. Whilst he never laid violent hands on his wife, yet it is said that he

knocked her up in a room for some deviation from his orders. She was in feeble health, yet with a woman's wit she usually adapted herself to the oddities of a man she really loved, and often shielded his men from the effects of his discipline. Although feeble, she outlived

He had reason to regret a great while some of his orders, which was to a niece, to whom he was much attached, to execute some errand on the horse which he himself usually rode, and which was as fiery as his master. The young woman, not daring to disobey, got on the horse, and was thrown. The fall made her a cripple for life. During her tedious illness he watched her as tenderly as if she had been his own child, and when he died he left her a legacy, amounting to "one-twentieth of his whole estate."

At another time the wife of his favorite Frenchman, Cubby, came to ask some favor when his temper was not altogether placid. With the palm of his hand he knocked her over. Her husband went to a neighboring Justice to get a warrant, but good Squire Ross, knowing Winds's peculiarities, took Cubby and his wife to the General's house, when the following good-natured colloquy healed the rupture :

"Molly," said Gen. Winds, "you ought to have known better than to come about with such an annoyance when you saw me out of humor!"

"Yes, yes," replied the woman, "perhaps so; but mad or not, you ought to have known better than to knock a lady down with your fist!"

This retort raised a hearty laugh, in which the offender joined, and so the difficulty terminated.

Uncommonly prompt and energetic in all his own movements, laziness was a crime which he punished nusparginly. A man, who was a cooper by trade, had moved into the neighborhood, and one day Winds, entering his shop, said: "Next week I am going to kill my hogs, and I want so many meat casks by Friday night; will you make them?" "Yes, I guess so," drawled out the lazy fellow. At the appointed time the General was at the shop, but his casks were not done. He demanded the reason, and getting an answer which showed that laziness was the cause, he seized a hickory whip, and gave him a sound thrashing, all the time roaring out, "I'll teach you to lie, and be lazy tool!" He then ordered him sharply to work, or he would administer some more wholesome correction. It is needless to say that the cooper did not run further risks, but executed the order to the letter.

But whilst these anecdotes present the man as imperious and harsh, yet there is much evidence to show that he had a kind heart. When he was killing a sheep or a beef, a part

of it was sent to his minister; and if he knew of any poor family in want, choice bits were sent to them also. On one occasion a poor man tried to buy a cow, but was met with the disheartening reply—"A cow indeed! what do you want of a cow?" "To keep my family from starving." "Have you got anything to pay for a cow?" "No sir, but I hope to have, some of these times." "You can't have a cow of me, for you will never see the time when you can pay for her!"

He was annoyed at the time with a thousand things which he was arranging in order to get in readiness for the army. His horse was then at the door, but a mile's ride had dissipated his anger, and he rode back to give his man orders to drive a certain new milch cow, with the calf at her side, to the poor man, with the message that he need give himself no trouble about the pay!

All the survivors of that generation with whom I have conversed, testify to his great generosity to the poor and distressed. He had a rough manner, but a kind heart. Imperious and petulant, yet a little time would displace these unamiable traits with gentleness and generosity. The man is before us as he appeared in the prime of his manhood, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war. Physically he was a giant, with a giant's strength and a Stentor's voice; as a citizen, he was a kind neighbor and a warm friend; as a magistrate, he regarded equity and not technicalities, and dispensed justice in modes more consonant with martial than civil law; as a Christian, he shrunk from no pecuniary obligation to religion, and was as punctilious as a Pharisee in all religious duties; as an employer, he suffered no interference with his plans, and those who obeyed him most closely enlisted his kindest regards; as a military officer, he was always ready for duty, and his soldiers were devoted to him as a father—his very eccentricities endearing him to them, for even these were employed in their behalf.

We have already seen that the masses of the Morris County people warmly espoused the cause of American Independence, and led on by such men as William Winds, they practically pledged their honor, their lives and their fortunes to the enforcement of the Great Declaration of July 4th, 1776. Whilst the towns of this county were not harassed like those near New York and Philadelphia, yet they sent men to defend their suffering brethren. What they were not obliged to suffer from the hostile depredations of the British army, their fields and granaries made up in supplies to the American army. Almost the entire male population over eighteen years of age, bore arms either on special occasions or in the regular army. Some

of her sons assisted in capturing Burgoyne, and others in capturing Cornwallis. The pulse of liberty beat full and strong in the hearts of the Morris yeomen. Among these there was no warmer-hearted patriot than the subject of this paper.

The date of his commission as Lieutenant Colonel in the First New Jersey Battalion was Tuesday, November 7, 1775; and by appointment of the Continental Congress. Previous to this, on October 28th, 1775, the First Battalion of New Jersey had elected the very officers who were afterward commissioned by Congress. From a letter bearing date "Mendham, Dec. 7th, 1775," we ascertain that Winds was searching the country vigorously for the purchase of arms. The letter is a curiosity, and may be in part transcribed literally, to show the education and temper of the man :

"SIR—I received yours of Nov. 30th, and am much obliged to your Honor for your care (care) in sending my commission. I have had some success in purchasing arms, but cannot send the number at this time, they being in different places purchased by men implied (employed) by me, but will send the number sune. * * * * *

Sir, I have heard that you have been desired to recommend Jonathan T. Morris for an ensign. I beg leave to inform the Colonel that it would hurt the Company much if he is commissioned.

From your very humble servant,

WM. WINDS.

"N. B. When I came from Burlington I found Capt. Howell's Company had only twenty-eight, and Capt. Morris's about nineteen guns only."*

On December 10th, 1775, Major DeHart wrote to Lord Stirling that some complaints had been made of "the price and quality of some of the arms purchased by Col. Winds." Among the same manuscripts I find an order under date of November 21st, 1775, from Stirling to Winds to lead three Companies, of which Capt. Morris's and Capt. Howell's were two, to the Highlands, but the order was probably countermanded.

During the contest between Governor Franklin and the Assembly, we find Winds at Perth Amboy, the seat of Government, in command of a detachment of troops, subject to the order of his Colonel, Lord Stirling. Under date of January 10th, 1776, Stirling writes to the President of the Continental Congress that he has ordered Lieutenant Colonel Winds to secure the person of Governor Franklin, and remove him to Elizabethtown, where he had "provided good and genteel lodgings" for him. Two days previous to this, Winds wrote the following letter to the Governor.

"BARRACKS AT PERTH AMBOY, Jan. 8th, 1776.

SIR—I have had hints that you intend to leave the

* MSS. in possession of N. J. Historical Society.

Province in case the letters that were interceded should be sent to the Continental Congress. I have particular orders concerning the matter, therefore desire you will give me your word and honor that you will not depart this Province until I know the will and pleasure of the Continental Congress concerning the matter. I am, &c."

Franklin replies the same day: "I have no the least intention to quit the Province; nor shall I, unless compelled by violence." But meanwhile, as the required pledge had not been given, the zealous Winds had stationed his sentinels at the Governor's gate to assist him in keeping his resolution. This calls out an indignant letter the next day, January 9th, and it is concluded with this significant sentence: "However, let the authority or let the pretence be what it may, I do hereby require of you, if these men are sent by your orders, that you do immediately remove them from hence, as you will answer the contrary at your peril."

To this letter Winds replied the same day in a strain which shows the stuff he was made of:

JANUARY 9th, 1776.

"SIR—As you in a former letter say you wrote nothing but what was your duty to do as a faithful officer of the Crown; so I say, touching the sentinels placed at your gate, I have done nothing but what was my duty to do as a faithful officer of the Congress. I am, &c."

The situation of Franklin was uncomfortable enough, since on the 10th of January Lord Stirling sent a message to him by the outspoken Winds, "which kindly invited him to dine with me at this place," (Elizabethtown,) and such was the decision of the messenger, that "he at last ordered up his coach to proceed to this place." The intervention of Chief Justice Smyth, who prevailed on him to make the promise which Winds demanded, saved the Governor from a disagreeable ride under a guard to Elizabethtown.*

From Franklin's second letter to Winds it comes to light incidentally that he was not only a Lieutenant Colonel, but an elected representative of the people of Morris in the Assembly.

The journal of Timothy Tuttle also shows that from December 21st, 1775, to January 14th, 1776, Winds's troops were on duty around Perth Amboy and Elizabethtown; on the 14th of that month they searched Staten Island for Tories; and on the 18th they marched from Bergentown to New York city, thence to Hell gate, Newtown, Jamaica and Rockaway, on Long Island, in pursuit of Tories. On the 22d, at Elizabethtown, he stood sentry over a ship lately taken from the enemy.

In February of this year, Winds informed Congress that he was stationed at Perth Amboy with a part of the Eastern Battalion of the

* Life Lord Stirling, pp. 119-122.

mental forces; that he was destitute of ammunition, and that he stood in need of a supply. Congress, by their President, requested the Committee of Somerset county to furnish him with four quarter-casks of powder, and the Committee of Middlesex county to furnish him with 150 pounds of lead.

The journals of Congress show that on "Thursday, March 7th, 1776, it was ordered that William Winds, Esq., be promoted to be Colonel of the New Jersey Battalion, and Matthias Ogden, Esq., be appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the same."* The news of his promotion was accompanied with the following letter from the President of Congress:

PHILADELPHIA, March, 7th, 1776,

"SIR—The promotion of my Lord Stirling to the rank of Brigadier General in the Continental Army, having occasioned a vacancy, the Congress, in consideration of your merit and attachment to the American cause, have appointed you to succeed him. I do myself the honor to enclose your commission; and am, Sir, your humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

"To Col. Wm. Winds, New York."†

In a letter to Congress, dated a week after Hancock's, Winds acknowledges the honor conferred on himself, but protests in behalf of the Regiment against the appointment of Mr. Ogden as Lieutenant Colonel, and hopes that "this young gentleman's merits might be rewarded in some other way; and from "Stillwater, May 18th, 1776," he writes to President Hancock, stating the extortion and the negligence of "Doctor Burnett," and requesting that "Congress will appoint some other person to serve in that department."‡ This letter was evidently written on the march northward, to which service Winds's Regiment had been ordered.

From the depositions of several soldiers applying for pensions, we gather the fact that early in May, 1776, Col. Winds's Regiment set out to join the expedition against Canada, in which Montgomery lost his life the previous year. The Regiment proceeded as far as the town of Sorell, if not to Three Rivers.

The inhabitants of the several towns in the New Hampshire grants wrote to General Sullivan, asking protection in view of "the retreat of the American army from Canada, and the news of the savages killing several of our men on the west side of Lake Champlain." They petition that a guard be sent to Onion river, or some other place judged to be most advantageous to the army and the inhabitants. Under

date of July 2d, 1776, Sullivan writes to General Washington: "I have ordered Col. Winds, with a hundred and fifty men, to take post on the Onion river, to guard there until I could have your Excellency's and General Schuyler's opinion."* That he actually took this post, is evident from a letter which he wrote to General Gates from—

"SHEREBOURNE, July 15th, 1776.

"SIR—I am here, by leave of Gen. Sullivan, with 26 men, and have built a stockaded fort for the safety of my men and the inhabitants. I this day heard that my Regiment is ordered down to Ticonderoga; and if so would be glad to receive some orders whether to stay here or to go after them. I have sent a batteau for provisions, as we are just out. Beg the favor that the Commissary may be ordered to send some by the brave Sergeant Edwards.

WILLIAM WINDS, Colonel.

"To the Commander at Crown Point."†

A general order issued by General Sullivan on November 5th, 1776, at Ticonderoga, is as follows: "Col. Winds is ordered to prepare to embark to-morrow morning for Skeensborough with such officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of said New Jersey Regiment, whose terms of enlistment are out, who are desirous of being immediately discharged. They will embark at 5 o'clock, five in a boat." The same orders contain a request that these officers and soldiers remain until the 13th inst., when "they will be permitted to depart with honor, and shall be allowed pay for their return home." The general order of the 7th instaut expresses the hearty thanks of the General to the officers and soldiers of the 1st Jersey Battalion who remain with the army, "for the honor and public spirit they shew in disdaining to follow the infamous example of their Colonel and the deluded soldiers who followed him. The General would inform them that the drums were beat by his order in derision of the few who had the baseness to quite their posts in this time of danger."‡

An unpublished journal kept by Timothy Tuttle, of Whippany, who was with Winds during this entire campaign, confirms the statements already made, and gives additional light on the movements of the brigade.

"May 28th, 1776—Started from Crown Point down Lake Champlain. 31st—To St. John's by water, fifteen miles. June 4th—Reached the town of Sorell, thirty miles down the river, and forty-five below Champlain. 6th—Sick of fatigue, working at a battery under Capt. Miller. Two Pennsylvania regiments started for Three

*Vol. i, p. 280.

† American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 5th, p. 99.

‡ American Archives, 4th Series, vol. 6, p. 503.

* Amer. Arch., 4th Series, vol. vi, p. 1219.

† Ib. vol. i, p. 359.

‡ Journal of Lieut. Elmer, in Proceedings of New Jersey Historical Society, vol. iii, pp. 43, 41.

Rivers; various tidings of the strength of the enemy, 3,000 regulars and 1,700 Hanoverians. 7th—New England troops embarked for Three Rivers; cannon firing heard. 8th—Embarked for Three Rivers; rowed over the lake; heard heavy firing, and soon came in sight of the contest, but could give no assistance, the enemy's cannon preventing; Capt. Morris and a party sent out in a batteau were nearly captured, and only saved themselves by hard efforts with their oars. 9th—Passed off in batteaux for Sorell: when in the lake could see the enemy firing from their ships; reached Sorell at noon; heard our army had been destroyed. Remained four days at Sorell. Hurried off to St. John's; small pox among the men. 24th—Reached Crown Point, when many men began to sicken with the small pox; lost several men by it; remained at Crown Point some time. July 14th—Left Crown Point, and reached Ticonderoga on the 15th. Sept. 1st—Col. Winds returned from Jersey, having been absent about a month. Oct. 16th—Col. Winds applied to the General for leave to go home. 13th—Bad news; our fleet destroyed down the lake; expect to be attacked. 28th—Enemy in sight; gave them a few cannon shot. Nov. 5th—Col. Winds and men have permission to return home. 6th—Left Ticonderoga for home."

The entry in Mr. Tuttle's journal under Oct. 28th, shows the reason of Gen. Sullivan's earnestness for Col. Winds's regiment to remain, but there seems no proof that there was any danger of an attack, for in that case Col. Winds would not have imitated Sir John Falstaff, "fight and run away."

That this was the cause for this severe expression in these general orders I have no doubt, but it is very plain that no good ground can be assigned for it. Between Col. Dayton, who lived on Succasunby Plains, in Morris county, and Col. Winds, there was a bad state of feeling, and this may have had its effect on Gen. Sullivan's mind, but that he was not really guilty of an "infamous example" is evident from the fact that he simply complied with his duty in conducting his soldiers home as he had promised them. And that his conduct was approved by his fellow-citizens at home is plain from his promotion on the succeeding year. The journals of the Provincial Legislature show that on "Feb. 3d, 1777, William Winds, Esq., was, by the joint meeting elected Colonel of the Western Battalion of Militia in the county of Morris, lately commanded by Col. Jacob Drake," and that on "March 4th, 1777, Col. Wm. Winds was elected by ballot a Brigadier-General of the Militia of this State." This all goes to prove that Winds had not lost the confidence of the soldiers or people of New Jersey.

It is worthy of remark here, that in November and December of 1776, Gen. Washington wrote several letters to Gov. Livingston, New Jersey, Gov. Trumbull, of Connecticut, John Augustine Washington, and to the President of Congress, in which he employed the severe terms: "In short, the conduct of the Jerseys has been most infamous. Instead of turning out to defend their country, and affording aid to our army, they are making their submissions as fast as possible."* He speaks also of his having been "cruelly disappointed" by the New Jersey militia. That he spoke hastily, and that he condemned the Jerseys too severely, is manifest from his subsequent admissions, that "hope was beginning to revive in the breasts of the New Jersey militia," and "the militia are taking spirits, and I am told are coming in fast from this State."† "The mud rounds," as they were named by the soldiers, were accomplished during these memorable dark months. The roads were intolerable, and when frozen, the soldiers might be traced by the blood pressed on the ruts from their badly protected feet. The enemy was triumphant, and yet no state outdid New Jersey in its devotion to the sinking fortunes of freedom under such appalling difficulties. Several regiments had been sent north of Albany, and the New Jersey militia at home turned out in as large numbers as could be expected, to check the common enemy. Whole companies, as has been testified by witnesses who are recently deceased, followed Washington in his bloody retreat through the Jerseys, although their terms of enlistment had expired. Let posterity honor their memory.

We have seen that Col. Winds left Ticonderoga on the 6th of November, 1776, and some of the revolutionary soldiers say that he was with Gen. Washington during his retreat. If so he must have joined the army immediately on his return from the north. Although I have no proof of the fact beyond that just given, from the character of the man, I consider it not at all unlikely. However dilatory others might be, he was ever ready to march to his country's aid at an instant's notice. Be this as it may, we know that he was on duty that winter. The British lay at New Brunswick, and Winds commanded the troops which guarded the lines. He had several skirmishes with the enemy during the winter. His headquarters were at Van Mulinens, and from thence he made frequent excursions to Bound Brook, Elizabethtown, and the neighboring region, to hold in check the foraging parties of the enemy, which greatly distressed the people that season. James

* Sparks's Washington, vol. iv. p. 230.

† Ib. pp. 258-261.

chel, of Rockaway, a very reliable witness, deposed that early in 1777, "he was three months under Winds at Woodbridge, Van Munchingen's, and that frontier, and that not a week passed without a brush from the enemy. The engagement at Strawberry Hill was during this time." William Cook, of Hanover, deposes to the same facts, and specifies the Strawberry Hill affair. In addition, he says a sharp engagement took place at Woodbridge, in which Winds commanded. Job Love, another revolutionary veteran, speaks of a skirmish near Quibbletown, that spring. N. Wittaker says the whole country was in a state of alarm, and that Winds's troops had several fights with the enemy.

An amusing anecdote is told of a trick played on him during this spring campaign, by two young soldiers named Heniman and Camp. They were really short of provisions, but thought to try the General's sympathy, for they knew he would be around shortly. So they got a smooth stone, and placed it in their camp kettle, and set it to boiling. Bye and bye Winds came.

"Well, men, anything to eat?" he inquired.

"Not much, General," they replied, with much gravity.

"What have you got in the kettle?" said he, coming up to the fire.

"A stone, General, for they say there is some strength in stones, if you can only get it out!"

"There ain't a bit of strength in it. Throw it out. You must have something besides that to eat."

With this he left the house, and rode rapidly to the farm-house of a Quaker in the neighborhood. The good man's wife had just baked a batch of bread.

"My friend," said Winds, "my soldiers are starving, and I want that bread."

"Thee cannot have it to help men to fight."

"I don't care a fig about THEE and THOU, but I want the bread. Here's the money."

"I cannot take thy money for such purposes."

"Very well," said Winds, "it will be left to buy something else with, but the bread I will have, money or no money!"

With that he placed the loaves of bread in a bag, and throwing it across his horse, carried it back to the camp, where he distributed the bread, not forgetting our wags, who were making the stone soup!

A number of veteran soldiers unite in the testimony that Col. Winds did his duty in repressing the enemy with the greatest activity. One night a musket-ball struck near his tent, as if some traitor in the vicinity had intended to shoot him.

During this year, the militia of New Jersey seem to have stood in better credit than when Gen. Washington condemned them so severely, since John Hancock writes to Gov. Livingston, Sept. 5th, 1777, that "by their late conduct against our cruel enemies, they have distinguished themselves in a manner that does them the greatest honor, and I am persuaded they will continue to merit on all occasions, when called upon, the reputation they have so justly acquired."*

During this summer, Gen. Winds was stationed somewhere on the North River, so that he did not participate in the capture of Burgoyne's army, which took place Oct. 16th, 1777.† William Patterson writes from Morris town, Oct. 18th, to Gov. Livingston, "Glorious news! glorious news! General Burgoyne has surrendered himself and his whole army prisoners of war to Gen. Gates. * * * * Enclosed are two letters for your Excellency and a newspaper. One of the letters is from General Winds, and being informed that it was on business of importance, I have dispatched the messenger sooner than I should have done. I believe our militia will not be wanted up the North River, if so, would it not be best to recall them? At all events it would not be improper to order Gen. Winds, (unless he be already ordered by Gen. Dickenson,) to return the instant the enemy sail down the river."‡

The last expression of this quotation shows us what duty Gen. Winds was engaged in on the Hudson. The plan of the British was to form a junction between Burgoyne's army from the north, and that of Sir Henry Clinton from New York. The latter began his share of the enterprise by surprising the garrison of Fort Montgomery, and his troops committed some shameful depredations along the river. Nevertheless he did not effect his purpose, since the American troops holding the passes of the river, prevented him. It was to aid in guarding the Hudson against Sir Henry Clinton, that Winds was dispatched thither, probably in August.§ After the English returned to New York, Gen. Winds was recalled. This fact is fully confirmed by the testimony of Luke Miller, who was with Gen. Winds. I am unable to farther trace his movements during this year but he was probably engaged as in the spring in repressing the foraging parties of the enemy and protecting the State from the incursions of the enemy.

In 1778, Gen. Winds was several months in active service in the region of Elizabethtown

* N. J. Rev. Corres., p. 99.

† 13th Miller's Eng., vol. iv, p. 204.

‡ N. J. Rev. Corres. p. 109.

§ N. J. Rev. Corres. p. 80.

and the Hackensack, and during the time several severe skirmishes were fought with the enemy. The depositions of many revolutionary pensioners give proof of this fact. This was an eventful year with him, since one mistake on an important occasion reduced him to partial disgrace. During the spring and the early part of the summer we find Gen. Winds commanding a detachment of militia in the neighborhood of Elizabethtown. Sir William Howe had been succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton, in the command of the British army. France had sent assistance to our country, in consequence of which Clinton had been ordered to detach 5,000 of his troops to aid in a descent on the French possessions in the West Indies, and 3,000 men to Florida, with the remainder he was to march to New York. The American army was at Valley Forge, and as soon as the news of the evacuation of Philadelphia was known, Gen. Washington crossed into New Jersey with his whole army, to pursue the retreating army. Clinton crossed the Delaware at Gloucester Point, and marched through Mount Holly with the intention of reaching the Raritan at New Brunswick. But finding that Gen. Washington was in force at Kingston, near Princeton, he changed his direction for Sandy Hook. On the 28th of June 1778, the British took a strong position at Monmouth Court House and awaited the attack of the Americans, which Clinton saw to be inevitable. All the dispositions of Washington were admirable but in two of his plans he was foiled through the incompetency or cowardice of the officer sent to execute them. It was on this occasion that the cowardly retreat of Gen. Lee excited the usually placid temper of Washington to the highest degree of wrath. This miserable conduct of Lee threw everything into such confusion that during the night the British escaped to their fleet at Sandy Hook. In the battle of that day the Americans were victors, and had Lee done his part, they might have destroyed or greatly disabled the enemy.

In the plans of Gen. Washington was one which was entrusted to a body of the militia under Gen. Winds. As soon as the plan of the enemy was perceived to march to Sandy Hook, orders were given to Gen. Winds to lead his command to New Brunswick, and then follow the South bank of the Raritan towards Amboy and Sandy Hook, for the double purpose of intercepting the baggage train of the enemy, and in case of their defeat at Monmouth Court House, to cut off their retreat. In pursuance of an arrangement which the inspection of a map will pronounce admirable, Winds had followed the Raritan as far as Spotswood, reaching that place before noon. The sounds of the cannon at Monmouth were constantly heard as

it were to stimulate his zeal. But they found the bridge over the stream at Spotswood taken up, and they were hastening to repair it in order to cross with as little delay as possible. At this point my informant differs slightly. Mr. James Kitchel, who was under Winds, and was present, says that Gen. Winds here received orders to march back to Elizabethtown, as the enemy were on the way from New York, and in this several witnesses agree, but it must be admitted that these witnesses were privates, and therefore could not have had the best means of knowing the reasons for their commander's course. Another witness says that a sleek Quaker, looking as innocent as an angel, brought the news to Winds that the enemy were marching on Elizabethtown. But it is not material as to how the information was brought, since it was brought in some way; and although it was false, it led Gen. Winds to march back to Elizabethtown. That he must have done this on his own responsibility, and contrary to express orders, is evident from the impossibility that Gen. Washington or any of his general officers could have issued an order so at war with the wants of the occasion. Besides this, the verdict of the community against Winds for his conduct would not have been given; could he have plead in extenuation the orders of a superior. All the facts and circumstances show that he acted hastily and with no good grounds on which his disobedience could be justified.

The testimony of the soldiers who were with him, indicate that a strong feeling was excited against him, and that some in the heat of the moment attributed the retreat from Spotswood to cowardice. It is said that he came near being court-martialed, but of this I find no evidence. His character for courage was too well established for him to be punished as a coward, and his past deeds, marked with such ardent patriotism and daring, procured for him exemption where a worse man would have been cashiered. I am sorry to make this record concerning my hero, and shall be glad to alter it if the proof can be furnished of its incorrectness.

Dr. Green's reminiscences show that after the battle of Monmouth, probably in July, Gen. Winds led a detachment of troops to Minisink on the Delaware to repel a threatened incursion of Indians, but the enemy did not appear.* The same venerable witness shows that during the remainder of the summer and fall he guarded the lines on the Passaic and Hackensack with great courage and prudence. On several occasions he attacked the enemy, and repulsed them in all their attempts to cross

* Life of Dr. Green, pp. 36-38.

the rebels. The venerable David Gordon, when sixty-one years old, repeated to me a speech made by Gen. Winds during this campaign, which is sufficiently characteristic. They were at Aquackanonk, and one Sabbath morning Gen. Winds paraded his troops, and thus addressed them: "Brother soldiers, to-day, by the blessing of God, I mean to attack the enemy. All you that are sick, lame, or afraid, stay behind, for I don't want sick men; lame men can't run, and cowards won't fight!" The Spartan brevity and hearty wit of the address are quite notable.

My venerable informant pronounced the words with the vivacity of a young man, and when he had finished, warmed up with the stirring recollections of his old commander and the scenes through which he had followed him, he exclaimed, "Some say Gen. Winds was a coward, but I tell you he was an old warrior, and I don't believe any such charge. If he hadn't any thing else to fight with but his voice, he could scare a regiment out of their wits with that!" And this was a fact during that summer when the amusing anecdote, of his scaring away a detachment of the enemy, by roaring out "open to the right and left and let the artillery through," actually occurred.

Here I may appropriately insert a characteristic anecdote of Gen. Winds, which I suppose to be as reliable as an oft-repeated anecdote can well be. It sounds very much like the man.

Col. Joseph Jackson says he often heard his father relate this anecdote. The detachment under the command of Gen. Winds, was lying at Hackensack, and one Sunday morning they were ordered to parade, fully equipped, for some expedition not yet made known. It seems that through some oversight of the quarter-master, a Mr. Woodruff, of Elizabethtown, the soldiers had had short rations on Saturday, and none on Sunday. The Colonel's father, being a neighbor and friend of the General, was commissioned to state the facts to him, and tell him that the troops were not in a very good condition for so long a march.

When Winds heard this he was furious, and asked if "there were no provisions?" Mr. Jackson replied that he "supposed there were provisions enough." "Where is quarter-master Woodruff?" demanded the General, with growing impatience. And without waiting for a reply he strode up to the building in which the provisions were stored, and seizing a heavy stick of wood, he stove the door in at a blow. "There," said he, "help yourselves men."

Just then the quarter-master, who had without leave made a rapid visit to Elizabethtown, appeared on the ground. His presence called forth the following colloquy, which on the General's part was sustained in his fondest tones.

"Where have you been, Woodruff, leaving the men to starve for your abominable negligence?"

"I have been home, Gen. Winds."

"Home! What did you go home for? Go home and neglect duty, eh?"

"I went home to get some clean clothes."

"Clean clothes, indeed! I wear my nigger's breeches!"

Taken in a tone tremendous for its angry loudness, and yet one in which those who knew him, could detect some roguery, he cried out to his officers, "Bring out a rope and hang him up to the first tree!"

The quarter-master, well knowing the resolute character of the man, began to think he would have to swing for it, and turned deadly pale, when the General cried out again, "Never mind it this time, but look out for the next."

After the troops had eaten, they were marched to Prakeness, where a little scene occurred, which proves that all soldiers, however honorable, are not always honest.

Three men, neighbors of Gen. Winds, and members of Capt. Jackson's company, Richard and Jacob Heniman, and Jacob Camp, got outside the sentinels, probably by fair promises, and made a call on a rich Dutch farmer, some two or three miles from the camp. One of the men went into the house and introduced himself to the farmer, and entertained him with narratives and anecdotes concerning the war, whilst the other two visited the milk room, a little distance from the house, in search of provisions. They found their desire in the shape of a nice ham, some beautiful butter, and some loaves of bread. On leaving the honest Dutchman, the soldier slipped off his own Gibbeonitish shoes, and slipped on mine host's, which happened to be handy.

The next morning the Captain was treated by his patriot soldiers with some delicious broiled ham, and some fresh bread and butter, finely in contrast with common army fare. "Where did you get this, men?" inquired the conscientious Captain. "We don't know any thing about where it came from, Captain," replied his equally conscientious followers. But hunger, I suppose, sharpens appetite more than it does conscience, the monks to the contrary notwithstanding.

It was some time during this year that Winslow managed an attack on a party of Hessians, and, adroitly, as to take, according to one witness thirty prisoners, and according to another seventy. This is said to have been near Cooncock Farms, and our informant says it was in Elizabethtown.

In the following year he was not much active service so far as I can learn, and owing to the feeling excited against him in connection with the battle of Monmouth, he resigned

commission as a Brigadier-General. His resignation bears date of June 10th, 1779. From this time he is not to be reckoned as a member of the active army, but he did not desert his country's cause. When the battle of Springfield was fought in 1780, he was present and did good service. In 1781 he was also assisting the cause, as the following well authenticated anecdote shows. It was related to me by Ira Dodd, Esq., of Bloomfield, who had it from his father. When General Washington was driving Cornwallis before him, and had begun the siege at Yorktown, it was deemed of the highest necessity to keep the British in New York until the arrival of the French fleet in the Chesapeake should cut off Cornwallis's retreat by water. Accordingly, he says, Lafayette was sent to make a great demonstration on the British in New York. For this purpose he began to collect all the boats in the surrounding waters, even seizing those above Paterson Falls on the Passaic. These were carried on wagons to be launched at Elizabethtown, apparently for an attack on Staten Island. On one particular night it rained furiously and some of the wagons broke down at Cranetown. (West Bloomfield.) These annoyances threw Lafayette in a great rage. General Winds was in command of a detachment, and his voice vied with the tempest as he cheered and directed his men. Mr. Dodd said that Winds roared louder than the thunder. When Lafayette was in this country, he met Mr. Dodd, his companion-in-arms, and laughing heartily said, as he grasped his hand, "Oh, how mad I was that night at Cranetown!"

In 1788, General Winds, William Woodhull, and John Jacob Faesch were elected by Morris county to the State Convention which ratified the present Constitution of the United States. On the 12th of October, 1789, he died of dropsy, in the chest. It was remarked as a fact not a little singular, that for many years he had expected to bury his wife, who was in feeble health, but she outlived him several years. In his will, signed the day before his death, he gives the use of all his personal and real estate to his "dear and well beloved wife, Ruhamah," "for her sole use and benefit" as long as she should remain his widow, and should she marry "the use and benefit of the third of his whole estate." He inserts the praiseworthy injunction "that she shall at no time, nor on any occasion, nor by any persons whatsoever be obliged to give any account for any waste or damage done by her or her order on said estate." The last bequest in the will is in these words, "for that great regard I have felt for the interest of Christ's kingdom, and for the benefit of the Presbyterian Church, I do hereby give and bequeath to the Presbyterian Church at Rock-

away all the remainder of my whole estate for a parsonage, and do hereby further will and order that the said remainder of my estate shall be and remain for ever for that use and purpose only, and that it shall never be disposed of for any other purpose whatever."

Mr. David Gordon informed me that General Winds had in his family at the time of his death, one of his soldiers, named Phelps. This man insisted that his old commander should be buried with the honors of war, although some opposition was made to it. Accordingly, Capt. Josiah Hall, who had frequently served under General Winds, assembled a company of Winds's soldiers, who buried their deceased General with the honors of war. Dr. John Darby, of Parsippany, seems to have officiated first as General Winds's physician, then as his lawyer in writing his will, and lastly as his minister in cheering him with the consolations of religion. In this last capacity he also pronounced the funeral sermon, from Job xxiii: 8-10. "Behold I go forward, but he is not there, &c."

His monument of brown free stone is just in the rear of the church, and bears the following inscription, written by Dr. Darby:

"Under this monument lies buried the body of Wm. Winds, Esq., who departed this life, Oct. 12th, 1789, in the 62d year of his age.

"His natural abilities were considerable, which he improved for the good of his fellow-men. Whenever the cause of his country and liberty called, he ventured his life on the field of battle. As a civil magistrate he acted with integrity, and also sustained the office of Captain, Major, Colonel, and General, with great honor.

"He was a provident husband, a kind neighbor, a friend to the poor, and a good Christian. Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord."

Such was William Winds, a man whose name is a fixture in the traditions of Morris county, but the details of whose history have already mostly perished from the memory of his countrymen. Full of genuine courage, yet too hasty and impetuous for great military deeds; self-reliant as "a self-made man," yet sometimes the dupe of the designing; truly generous, yet most exacting; a friend to the poor, yet imperious as a tyrant; the patron of morality and religion, yet detracting from these noble virtues by the neglect of gentleness and meekness; a whole-hearted patriot, holding his life and property at the call of his country, yet doing his country a wrong from heady inconsiderateness; such was this remarkable man, whose memory Morris county has reason to cherish as among the choicest of her revolutionary heroes, and whose name ought to be embalmed in the warmest regrets of the parish in which he spent so much of his life, and to which he finally

bequeathed half of his estate. In preparing this meager outline of his history, I have felt ready to complain of the cruel destructiveness of time which has suffered so little of him to survive, but imperfect as it is, I dedicate this paper to his memory, with the single reflection that it is somewhat singular the task should have been left to a stranger to collect sufficient of his life to keep safe and sacred among the historic records of New Jersey the name of William Winds. May it never be forgotten!

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THE REVOLUTIONARY FOREFATHERS OF MORRIS COUNTY.*

The hero and the shrine have been severely condemned and yet men continue to worship the one and bow at the other. In so doing they mean no wrong, but merely express the sentiment of admiration we feel for a great deed and the one who performed it, and the sentiment of reverence which we experience for the place in which a great deed has been performed and a great man has been.

We may in our philosophy jeer at Mr. Carlyle's notion of hero-worship, and feel grieved as we see our fellow men bowing at their shrines of what ever kind.

And yet the greatest philosopher uncovers his head at the tomb of Washington and the most devout Protestant is thrilled with reverence as he stands under the tree where Luther rested, or at the sepulcher which holds his dust.

Mr. Webster in his speech at Valley Forge said "there is a power in local association. All acknowledge it and all feel it. Those places naturally inspire us with emotion which in the course of human history have become connected with great and interesting events."

On this one hundredth anniversary of our nation we experience sentiments which are among the best ever felt in the human breast. We think of the original colonies, in themselves weak, and this weakness increased by their independence and jealousy of each other; of the contrast between them and the great power that coerced them—they weak, it the strongest on earth; of the conviction which leading men in England had before the collision that "notwithstanding their boasted affection for Great Britain the Americans will one day set up for independence"—a conviction which such men as Franklin regarded as the portentous prophecy of bloody battle, and they therefore in all sincerity hastened to assure the people and rulers at home that "Americans can entertain no such idea unless you grossly abuse them," and that "a union of the Ameri-

can colonies was impossible unless they be driven to it by the most grievous tyranny and oppression;" of the scenes in many a private home and many a council chamber, as well as in the more public assembly, whether of legislators or people, in which with unutterable forebodings and agony and yet with heroic courage the best and truest men in this country weighed every principle, determined the character of every act affecting them, and at last announcing their independence fought for it through years of darkness and blood; of the special incidents of that long struggle and the great men that acted on the conspicuous theatre in the presence of all civilized nations, Concord, Bunker Hill, Trenton, Yorktown, battles which were the offspring of Independence; Hall and the Declaration—the Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and the greatest of them all Washington. I say, we think of these great acts and great men and with more fervent devotion than ever we pronounce the words, "OUR COUNTRY," and we yield our homage to the men who gave us a country and we devoutly bow as at a shrine at the spots where they achieved the deeds which give them immortal renown.

But whilst to-day we indulge in these reminiscences of our national glory—these great incidents and persons that find place in general history—let ours be the humble task of recounting some incidents which are part of the history of Morris county during that period which to-day is in every thought.

And here I find myself beset with a peculiar embarrassment which is both like and unlike that of the great French pulpit orator when he preached in the cathedral of the French capital. Like him when he preached sermons already printed and in the hands of his hearers, all that I know of our local history has been in your hands for years; and unlike him in the eloquence with which he swept away the embarrassment, I in my humble gift of speech must yield to it with an appeal to my hearers for their indulgence. In former years gathering many a fact of our Revolutionary history from lips that are now dead, and from sources so scattered in archives, libraries and garrets that many of them now are beyond my own reach, I have not hoarded them, but without money and without price have given them freely to the press, the historian and the orator. Some of these facts, so precious to me as their preserver, in one case with no recognition of their source, are found in a general history of this country; in another a graceful pen so presented them on his glowing pages, and so kindly defined their source that in their new beauty I almost forgot they were ever mine; and in still another case the tongue of the Sen-

* An oration delivered at Morristown, July 4th, 1876.

ator repeated them so eloquently and with such generous commendation—I crave pardon for the weakness—that though a thousand miles away as I read his words, my blood tingled as with wine. Thanks to the historian, the journalist and the Senator for their appreciation of this incomplete, yet genuine, labor of love amid the reminiscences of men and things a hundred years ago in this goodly county of Morris!

And yet this does not help me to-day and here very much, for whether I speak of our own heroic men and women, or of those patriots who dwelt here during two winters in house, cabin or tent, or of the things grave, or the things not so grave, that were done among these hills so long ago, a hundred of my hearers will either nod or shake their heads in approval or dissent as if they knew these things a great deal better than the speaker himself, which no doubt they do since they have his knowledge and their own!

You see, my friends, how much I need your forbearance, and how kind it will be in the wisest of you to look as though you never had heard of these things as I repeat them to-day! And, moreover, even if you do hear these things for the hundredth time, pray remember that Yankee Doodle, Hail Columbia, and the Declaration are quite old and familiar, and yet old as they are how they cause the blood to leap! Though they had seen the old flag a thousand times, “the boys in blue” wept and shouted as they saw it run up at Fort Donaldson and Port Royal!

How different the Morris County of 1776 and the Morris County of 1876! It is true its mountains then as now were grand to look at, the conspicuous watch-towers whence our fathers saw the enemy and gave the alarm, and yet these mountains then stood in the midst of a sparsely settled wilderness in which were scattered a few towns and villages with far fewer acres under cultivation than in our day. Its churches were few, the principal being the Presbyterian churches at Morristown, Hanover, Bottle Hill, Rockaway, Mendham, Black River (or Chester), Parsippany, Succasunna, the Congregational Church at Chester, the Baptist church at Morristown, and the Dutch churches and Old Boonton and Pompton Plains. Its schools were few. The late Dr. Condit says that the majority of those who learned the most common English branches did so in night schools taught either by the preacher or some itinerant Irish scholar. The roads were bad and the wheeled vehicles so scarce that at the funeral of a light horseman on Morris Plains after the war, as an eye witness once told me, there was only a single wagon of any sort present, that being the one that carried the re-

mains to the grave. Dr. Johns the pastor, the attending physician, the bearers, the mourners, and the friends were either afoot or on horse back. Nor in this respect was this funeral of the light horseman very different from the more pretentious funeral of the Spanish Ambassador who died at Morristown the second winter the army was in this place.

The manners and occupations of the people were simple. The fleece, the flax, the spinning wheel and the house-loom were found in every mansion, and the most eloquent men at the bar and in the pulpit, as also the most beautiful women, and brave men who made this county so glorious in those days, wore garments which the women had made of cloth which themselves had manufactured. They were hardy, simple, frugal, brave and good, and when the conflict came it required as little to keep both men and women in fighting condition as it did the soldiers of the Great Frederic. The contrasts between the beginning and the end of the century in these as also in many other respects are remarkable, and one cannot but be inspired by it not only to glory in the splendor of our county as it now is, but in the sturdy simplicity of the people of our county as it then was.

The strength of the county as a military position has often been noted. On the south, not far beyond the Morris boundary line, is Washington Rock, on a bold range of mountains well adapted for observing the movements of the enemy in the direction of New Brunswick, as also for repelling an attack. Coming northward we have Long Hill, the Short Hills, and Newark Mountain; on which are many points which on a clear day command a wide view of the Passaic and Hackensack valleys, together with that sweep of country which includes the Bloomfield, Newark, Elizabeth, Rahway, Amboy, Bergen, the Neversink Highlands, the Narrows, and, but for Bergen Hill, New York itself. One does not need to be a Jerseyman to admire such a view as he gets from the Short Hills, Eagle Rock, or the rugged ledges of rock just north of the toll-gate on the mountain back of Montclair. But it is not of the beauty of this region, but its strength, that I now speak. An enemy observed is half vanquished; and from these watch towers, which guarded the approaches to Morris county, especially the one on the Short Hills, near “the Hobart Notch,” night and day sentinels were casting jealous glances to detect the slightest sign of an enemy. It is also sure that loyal men, scattered over every part of the country between these Highlands and New York, were on the alert, and their couriers always ready to ride swiftly westward to the hills of Morris to carry the alarm. On these

elevated places were signal guns and the beacons ready to be kindled. On Kimball Mountain, Denville Mountain, Green Pond Mountain, and even on the spur of the Catskill range dividing Orange county from New Jersey, were other stations like that on the Short Hills; so that, let the enemy never so secretly cross to Staten Island, and thence to Elizabethtown Point, or in the winter cross the meadows to Newark, as they often did, the eye of some sentinel, either on the hills or the plains, detected the movement, which the flying courier, the loud-mouthed cannon or the ominous beacon flaming its warning from mountain to mountain, conveyed to a patriotic people, who themselves were ever on the watch and ready to respond. On several occasions the enemy moved across the river from New Brunswick, or, crossing the Raritan, reached Elizabethtown, Lyon's Farm, Connecticut Farms, and twice Springfield, within cannon shot of "the Old Sow," as the signal gun was called, and the beacon on the Short Hills.

But such were the advantages for watching the enemy and alarming the people, and such also the natural strength of its mountain ramparts, that the enemy were always met by large bodies of as brave men as ever bore a firelock to the defence of altar and home. The enemy supposed himself unobserved, but invariably found himself confronted by a foe that seemed to him to spring out of the very ground or to drop down from the clouds. There were several inducements which led the enemy greatly to desire the possession of, or at least a closer acquaintance with, the county of Morris. It was well known that Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., whose widow was Washington's hostess the second winter, had built a powder mill on the Whippany river, which was making considerable amounts of "good merchantable powder," the amount of which Col. Benoni Hathaway was careful to exaggerate by what might be called "Quaker powder kegs," that were filled, not with powder, but with sand, and these, under careful guard, were conveyed to the magazine.

There was not only the well-guarded Powder Magazine in some safe place, but the general magazine on the south side of Morris Green, whose treasures of food and clothing and other articles for the army were in fact never enough to be of any great value, yet Colonel Hathaway so managed the deposits made there that they seemed to all but the initiated very formidable.

A dozen miles north of Morristown were several forges that were furnishing iron for the army for horse shoes, wagon tire and other purposes. And at Mt. Hope and Hibernia, each about four miles from the village of Rockaway, were two blast furnaces. The

former was the property of John Jacob Faesch, a patriotic German, and the other belonged to General Lord Stirling, and under the management first of Jos. Hoff, and after his death of his brother Charles, sons of Charles Hoff, of Hunterdon. At both these furnaces large quantities of shot and shell were cast for the army, and at Hibernia Hoff made repeated attempts to cast cannon, and in one of his letters to Lord Stirling says he "did cast one very good one, only it was slightly defective at the breech."

These manufactories of army munitions were supplemented by large breadths of arable land, a considerable part of which was of excellent quality, and which all together produced an immense amount of the provisions needed by armies. And not only so, but the acres of Morris were the key to the richer acres of Sussex. Indeed, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of our county in all these respects, and when we add the fact that it was a perpetual threatening to the enemy who made New York their base, we can see why so many attempts were made by the enemy to penetrate it.

Some of the attempts were by Tories, led by Claudius Smith, who once threatened Mt. Hope and who actually robbed Robert Ogden between Sparta and Hamburg, Charles Hoff at Hibernia, and Robert Erskine at Ringwood. The most imposing attempt to visit Morris county was in 1780, under Knyphausen, and he reached Springfield, where he was suddenly confronted by a part of Washington's army then in motion for the Hudson and great numbers of the Morris minute men. Dr. Ashbel Green says his father, Parson Green, witnessed the fight from the adjoining hills, and rumor says Parson Caldwell did not stick to the hills, but mingled in the fray, which gains some notoriety from his distributing the hymn books of the neighboring church, accompanied with the exhortation to "put Watts into them," believing that the best hymn of Watts would make a good wad in a patriotic gun! Here, too, it was that Benoni Hathaway's wrath was so excited because his commander ordered his troops to the top of "a Hy Mountain" instead of against the enemy.

It was here also that Timothy Tuttle, with a company of men, making their way through a rye field, poured a deadly volley into a detachment of the enemy taking dinner. The pepper made their soup too hot for comfort, and they left it in a hurry. And here, too, it was that an American officer was badly wounded, and one of his men, named Mitchell, ran in between the confronting armies and on his own strong shoulders carried his captain to a place of safety. As his act was perceived the enemy fired a volley at him, concerning which he aft-

erwards remarked, with amusing simplicity, "I vow I was skeared!"

And here I may quote a couple of verses from an old newspaper of the day to show how the vain effort of Knyplausen to reach Morris county was regarded by the men who drove him back :

" Old Knip
And old Clip
Went to the Jersey shore
The rebel rogues to beat ;
But at Yankee Farms
They took the alarms
At little harms,
And quickly did retreat.

Then after two days' wonder
Marched boldly to Springfield town,
And sure they'd knock the rebels down;
But as their foes
Gave them some blows,
They, like the wind,
Soon changed their mind,
And in a crack
Returned back
From not one third their number!"

The remarkable fact remains that the enemy never reached our county, except now and then a marauding party from Orange county, like those led by Claudius Smith and the Babeocks.

I have mentioned the rapidity with which the alarms of invasion were circulated through the county, and the readiness with which Morris county men hurried to the place of danger. There were two organizations in the county which had much to do with this splendid fact. The first of these was what was known as the "association of Whigs."

Among the papers of the late Colonel Joseph Jackson, of Rockaway, I found the original paper containing the articles of "the association of Whigs in Pequannoc Township, 1776," with one hundred and seventy-seven autograph signatures, except a score or so made their "marks." The articles rehearse the reasons for thus associating in the somewhat lofty and intense style of the day, and declare that "we are firmly determined, by all means in our power, to guard against the disorders and confusions to which the peculiar circumstances of the times may expose us. And we do also further associate and agree, as far as shall be consistent with the measures adopted for the preservation of American freedom, to support the magistrates and other civil officers in the execution of their duty, agreeable to the laws of this colony, and to observe the directions of our committee acting."

The Committee of Safety for Pequannoc consisted of Robert Gaston, Moses Tuttle, Ste-

phen Jackson, Abram Kitchel and Job Allen. Each of these had a paper like the one quoted, and circulated it. The one here referred to was in the hands of Stephen Jackson, and perhaps as many more names were on the papers held by the other members of the committee.

In each township of the county this organization existed in such strength as to include most of the loyal men.

Besides this there was an organization known as "the minute men," who were regularly enrolled and officered, and they were pledged to be always ready to assemble at some preconcerted rendezvous. In critical times the minute men took their guns and ammunition with them everywhere, even to the church. This little fact is the hinge of an anecdote I had from Mrs. Eunice Pierson. She described Gen. Wm. Winds as a powerful and imperious man, a devout Christian, who took his part in the lay services of the old church at Rockaway when there was no minister, uttering all ordinary petitions in quiet tones; but when he prayed for the country raising his voice till it sounded like thunder. Although he had been a leading officer in the army, after his retirement he became a minute man, always carrying his wagon whip and his gun into the church. One Sunday during sermon he applied the whip to an unruly boy, and on another Sunday a courier dashed up to the church door, shouting the alarm that the enemy was marching towards the Short Hills.

Of course in a trice the meeting adjourned in confusion, not waiting for a benediction. Gen. Winds seized his gun, and rushing out of the house ordered the minute men into line; but, lo and behold! not a man had his gun! "Then," said Mrs. Pierson, "Gen. Winds raved and stormed at the men so loud that you might have heard him at the Short Hills!" You may remember that Dr. Ashbel Green speaks of Winds' voice as "stentorophoric. It was articulate as well as loud, and it exceeded in power and efficiency every other human voice that I ever heard." And yet, caught unarmed that time, the general rule was the contrary. Whenever the signal gun was heard or the ominous tongue of flame shot up from the beacon hills, or the clattering hoofs of the courier's horse over the roads by day or by night to tell the people of the invading enemy, these minute men were in an incredibly short time on their way to the appointed places of meeting.

I recall an illustration which may show this whole movement of the minute men in a beautiful manner. In Mendham there was a minute man named Bishop. The battle of Springfield occurred June 23, 1680. The harvest was unusually early that summer, and this man that

morning was harvesting his wheat when the sound of the signal gun was faintly heard. They listened, and again the sound came booming over the hills. "I must go," said the farmer. "You had better take care of your wheat," said his farm hand. Again the sound of the gun pealed out clear in the air, and Bishop exclaimed, "I can't stand it. Take care of the grain the best way you can. I am off to the rescue!" And in a few minutes was on his way to Morristown. And he says that as he went there was not a road or lane or path along which he did not find troops of men who, like himself, were hurrying to the front.

We have only to recall "the association of Whigs," with their committees of safety," and the organization of "minute men," which were formed in every part of the county, to understand how it was that our Morris yeomen were always ready to resist any attempt of the enemy to invade the county. In fact, they were resolved that the enemy should never reach the county if they could prevent it. Their spirit was expressed in the familiar reply of Winds to the young English officer who came to Chatham bridge to exchange some prisoners. Said the young Englishman, "We mean to dine in Morristown some day." "If you do dine in Morristown some day," retorted Winds in not the most refined language, "you will sup in hell the same evening!"

We cannot understand the remarkable effectiveness of the people of this county during that long war without recalling the fact that all the resources of the county were concentrated and handled by the "Association of Whigs," and the "Minute Men."

There is another influence to be added and in the grouping I certainly mean no disrespect to either party. I now refer to the women and the clergy of Morris County. In the wars of civilized nations both these will be found a powerful agency, but in some wars their influence has been very positive and direct. It was so in the war of the Revolution and pre-eminently so in this county. At the very beginning of the conflict Mr. Jefferson asserted the necessity of enlisting the religious sentiment of the country by appointing fast days and inducing the ministers to preach on the great issues of the day. He admitted that he could see no other way to break up the apathy and hopelessness which were destroying the popular courage so necessary at such a crisis.

It is a very interesting fact that a skeptical statesman should have sagaciously perceived and recommended such an agency. At once the force thus invoked did that which it was already doing, but now with the authoritative endorsement of the highest character. The ministers of the several churches—preeminent

among them—it is not invidious to say Congregational and Presbyterian—on fast days, and in their ordinary services dwelt on the very themes which had evoked the eloquence of Jefferson in the Declaration, of Henry, and Lee, and Adams, and Rutledge in legislative halls, and of others not less mighty in their appeals to the people. It is not saying too much to declare that when we consider that with all the reverence in which in those days they were held as God's ambassadors, and the high character they possessed as men of learning, purity and public spirit, their appeals carried greater weight with vast multitudes than any words of the mere politician or statesman. In that day far more than in this the minister was clothed with a sort of divine authority, and when the American clergy from the pulpit denounced the tyranny of Great Britain and commanded their hearers to go to the rescue of their "poor bleeding country," it was in a measure as if God himself had spoken by them.

The ministers in Morris County during that period were chiefly Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed. The leading Presbyterian ministers were Johnes at Morristown, Green at Hanover, Kennedy at Baskingridge—a part of which was in this county—Lewis and his successor Joline at Mendham, Horton, Aaron Richards and Bradford at Bottle Hill, Woodhull at Chester, and Joseph Grover at Parsippany, David Baldwin, Congregational, at Chester, and Dominic Myers at Pompton Plains. There were other ministers in the county, but I have named the principal ones. Of these we may single out Johnes and Green as fair samples of them all. The eulogy which Albert Barnes pronounced on Dr. Timothy Johnes is fully sustained by the facts. An able and sometimes a truly eloquent preacher, he was a remarkable pastor, and his ability in that respect was tasked to the utmost during the two years the American army was in Morris County. If anyone doubts this statement let him examine the "Morristown Bill of Mortality," which is simply a record of funerals which he himself had attended. In the year 1777 he attended 205 funerals, of which more than half were caused by small pox, putrid sore throat, and malignant dysentery. During a part of the time his church was occupied as a hospital for the sick. The same was true of the churches at Succasunna and Hanover. The latter was used for "a small pox hospital for patients who took the disease in the natural way." The fact that the Morristown church was occupied as a hospital accounts for the other oft-told fact that Washington once received the communion elements from Dr. Johnes at a sacramental service held in a grove at the rear of the Doctor's own house. The story has been

discredited by some, but I have heard it from too many who were living when it occurred to doubt its truth.

Dr. Johnes threw himself with the greatest ardor into the cause of his countrymen, and his influence was widely felt over the country.

The Rev. Jacob Green—"Parson Green" as he was commonly called—was a marked man. One of the most thorough and assiduous pastors he was also an able preacher. Besides this he had an extensive practice as a physician, and unable to educate his children otherwise he opened and managed a classical school with the aid of a tutor. He did not a little also in other kinds of secular business, such as milling and distilling, and as if these were not enough to use up his energy he drove quite a law business, wrote articles on political economy for the newspapers, served in the Legislature, and was for a considerable time Vice President of the College of New Jersey. He was held in the greatest reverence and died in the midst of his labors which had been extended in the one parish ever a period of forty-four years.

In the pulpit, the house, the newspaper, and in all places Mr. Green espoused the cause of Independence with the greatest zeal. Such was his known influence in the parish and county as a citizen, a minister and a physician, that before he issued orders to inoculate his soldiers Washington invited this country parson to a consultation about this important measure. Convinced by Washington of its necessity, both Green and Johnes—and no doubt Kennedy, Woodhull and the other Morris county ministers—took the matter in hand to inoculate their own people. They arranged hospitals and dictated every plan with a precision and positiveness that was not to be disobeyed by their parishioners, and such was the weight of this authority that it is said very few of the members of these churches disregarded it, and that few of them died of the foul disease. Of the 68 funerals from this disease attended by Dr. Johnes only six were members of his church, and these died before the local arrangements for inoculation were perfected.

I mention this as a sign of the authority of these ministers, and to show what an influence they exerted in favor of the cause of American Independence. How they wrought in the good cause is matter of record. The Associated Whigs and the Minute Men of Morris heard many "a powerful prayer and discourse" from these ministers to make them of good courage.

With these men we must associate the women of Morris County. There were some Tories in the county. Thomas Millege, the sheriff elect, was one, and he was not the only one. There were some in Rockaway Valley who impudently declared their expectation that the British

would triumph, in which event they had arranged which of the farms belonging to the Whigs they would take as their share of the spoils! But so shrewdly and bravely did Mrs. Miller concentrate the Whigs of that region through meetings held in her own house as to defeat the rascals and clear them out.

So often has the story of the Morris County women been told that I fear any reference to it may seem tedious to you. It was no uncommon thing for these women to cultivate the fields and harvest the crops whilst the men were away to the war. On more than one occasion not a dozen men, old or young, were left in the Whippany neighborhood. The same was true in many other neighborhoods. Anna Kitchel was a fair representative of all the Morris County women, in both scorning "a British protection" when her husband and four brothers were in the American army, and in keeping the great pot full of food for the patriot soldiers.

Yes, she spoke for a thousand like herself when she said so proudly to the Deacon who urged her to get a protection, "If the God of battles will not take care of us we will fare with the rest!" Brave Anna Kitchell and over in Mendham the second winter the army was repeatedly reduced to the very verge of starvation, and with roads blocked up with snow for miles, so that at one time a correspondent of a Philadelphia paper says there was "an enforced fast of three days in the camp." The poor fellows were only saved by their own personal appeals to the farmers of the county. Col. Drake once told me that for months that winter not a rooster was heard to crow in the region so closely had they been killed and the balance were only kept safe in the cellars! And the hungry, bare-footed and thinly clad soldiers went to the Morris County kitchens; and Hannah Carey, the wife of David Thompson, — she once scalded an impudent Tory—spoke for all the women who presided over these Morris County kitchens, as she ladled out the food from her great pot, "Eat away, men, you are welcome because you are fighting for the country; and it is a good cause you are engaged in!" Brave Hannah Thompson! brave Anna Kitchell! brave women of Morris County! The men fought well for the country and so did the women!

In the New York Observer recently appeared a spirited anecdote of a Mrs. Hannah Arnett of Elizabethtown, who heard her husband and several other dispirited patriots discussing the question of giving up the effort to national independence. When she saw the fatal conclusion to which they were drifting she burst into the room, and in spite of the remonstrances of her husband, rebuked their weak cowardice and

said to him, "What greater cause could there be than that of country. I married a good man and true, a faithful friend, and loyal Christian gentleman, but it needs no divorce to sever me from a traitor and a coward. If you take the infamous British protection which a treacherous enemy of your country offers you—you lose your wife and I—I lose my husband and my home!" Hannah Arnett spoke for the patriot women of America! and she was as grand as any of them!

The burdens of the war fell very heavily on New Jersey. It was "the battle field of the Revolution." The presence of the armies in pursuit, retreat or battle, put the counties below the mountains in a chronic distress. Indeed such were the hardships endured at the hands of the enemy in these lowland counties, that the people held in the greatest detestation "the Red coats and the Hessians." From their presence the Morris County people were free, and yet it should not be forgotten that the almost intolerable burdens, consequent on the presence of the American army two winters, fell on them. During the winter and spring of 1777—the army reached Morristown about the 7th of January, 1777—the soldiers were billeted on the families of Morristown or Hanover, Bottle Hill, and other parts of the county. Twelve men were quartered on Parson Green, sixteen on Anna Kitchel's husband Ural, a score on Aaron Kitchel, and so throughout the farming district. To these families it was almost ruinous, since all they had was eaten up in the service, so that when the army marched off it left the region as bare as if it had been swept by a plague of locusts.

To this we must add the almost inconceivable terror and hardship of the enforced universal inoculation of the people because the soldiers were inoculated. The late Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle, of Madison, so carefully investigated this matter in that parish that he found out where the small-pox hospitals were and some grave yards where our soldiers were buried. Dr. Ashbel Green in his autobiography says that the Hanover church was a hospital for those who had the disease the natural way, and in fearfully picturesque language he describes the horrors of the scenes he had witnessed in that old church. It is true that it was a singular fact that scarcely one who was inoculated died, whilst scarcely one who took the disease in the natural way got well. But in either case the horrors of this loathsome disease laid on our Morris county people a burden whose weight must have been crushing. And thus you see a hungry and sick army in those homes of our ancestors the first winter.

O! the second winter I have already spoken, but refer to it again to remind you of the fact that during that almost unparalleled winter

when gaunt famine hung over the American camps, and when the paths and roads about them were marked with blood from the feet of the ill-shod soldiers, the forests of Morris county gave timber for cabins and wood for fuel, their barns yielded forage to the army horses, the yards furnished meat and the granaries and cellars gave forth food for the soldiers. There is no arithmetic or book-keeping that can announce the value of these contributions at such a crisis, and yet so generously and unselfishly did our fore-fathers respond to this call of their country that it is said that receipts for the supplies were declined by most and that a very small fraction of the whole value was covered by the receipts. In a word the magnificent fact rises before us to-day that the Morris county people of the Revolution did what they did with such ample charity in both those dreadful winters substantially without reward. They gave their men to fight, their women to suffer, and their property to be consumed for country and liberty without money and without price. Nominally what they had was worth fabulous prices in a currency rendered worthless by over-issue and counterfeiting, but they seemed for the time to forget the ordinary uses of money and to open to the patriot soldiers all their stores to make them strong to fight the great fight that was to win for them a country.

Of course I have not told all that crowds upon the memory of those heroic times, but it is time to arrest this discourse already protracted unduly. We are not to forget the more conspicuous names and deeds which belong to our Revolutionary history and which after a century shine out like stars at night in the clear sky. They will not be forgotten. From a thousand platforms their praises will be rehearsed this day, whilst the booming cannon and the pealing bells, and the glad shouts of our people shall proclaim how we prize the great men and deeds of that heroic period.

We have followed to-day a humbler impulse and recalled the fore-fathers of our own county in the Revolution. We have our heroes, and our shrines are where they wrought for their country. Each old parish has its heroes, and each old church was the shrine at which brave men and women bowed in God's fear, consecrating their all to their country. And surely no descendant of them can stand on the Short Hills at the point where the unsleeping sentinels of the old county stood a hundred years ago, nor wander along the Loantia Valley, or over Kimball Mountain where American soldiers suffered and Morris county men and women sustained them, nor tread the lawns that environ the old Ford mansion and enter its honored halls where once dwelt Washington

in the midst of a circle of illustrious men without profound emotion.

These are our shrines, and as from these points we look over the magnificent county of which we are so proud, we are not to forget that our ancestors did what they could to save it from the enemy and make it a place in history. But this picture of the patriotism, the trials and the triumphs of our Morris county ancestors fairly represents the people in other counties of New Jersey and the other States of the Union. It was the people who asserted the principles of the Declaration. If they had not felt as they did, and labored and suffered as they did, if they had not laid themselves and their children, their estates, the increase of their herds and their flocks, the golden wealth of their fields and granaries, indeed their all on the altar of their country, if from thousands of family altars, closets and pulpits, the people had not sent their cries to God for their country, even Washington could not have gained us what we now have, A COUNTRY! We love our country and it is worthy of our love. Let us not cease to praise God who gave the men of '76 wisdom, courage and fortitude which led to results that are so conspicuous to-day.

The Republic has survived a hundred years. It has passed through some tremendous perils, and I fear the perils are not all past. I speak not as a partisan to-day, but as an American as I assert the conviction that amidst the shaking foundations of systems and beliefs and nations in every part of the civilized world it will be well for every American patriot to fortify his heart, not by referring to the examples of Greek and Roman heroes, but by recalling the names of those who signed the Declaration, and fought our battles and through great and heroic sufferings wrought out for us those triumphs which are now emblazoned in results vastly grander than they ever dreamed of.

And in these glories of our Centennial year let us proudly remember that in the achievement of these glories the men and women who a hundred years ago lived in Morris county bore an honorable part, and see to it that they are forever held in grateful remembrance.

Fellow citizens of Morris county, I have thus thrust out my hand at random and gathered into a garland a few of the names and deeds of the patriot fathers who a hundred years ago bore their part in the great struggle for independence among the grand old hills of Morris. Such as it is on this Centennial 4th of July in the spirit of a true loyalty both to our common country and to our honored county I bring this garland from afar as the sign of the love I have both to our county and our country. And as the fore fathers were wont on all sorts of documents and occasions to say, so let me

close these remarks with their oft repeated prayer,

“God save America!”

WASHINGTON IN MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY.*

The County of Morris, in the State of New Jersey, was settled “about 1710,” by families from Newark and Elizabethtown. The main object attracting them thither was the iron ore which had been discovered in a mountain range a few miles West of Morristown. During the three quarters of a century which preceded the War of the Revolution, the settlements which had been made in Hanover were multiplied, spreading over the territory now occupied by the Townships of Chatham, Morris, Mendham, Chester, Rockaway and Pequannock. Several forges were built on the Whippany and Rockaway rivers; and a small “slitting mill,” contrary to the arbitrary laws of the Mother Country, was carrying on a contraband business. As early as about 1770—if not earlier—a blast furnace was built, and named “Hibernia,” some twelve miles North of Morristown. The noted Samuel Ford, a counterfeiter, who “left his country for his country’s good,” was engaged in this; and, afterwards, Lord Stirling became its proprietor. In 1772, John Jacob Faesch, a native of Hesse Cassel, bought a small tract at Mount Hope, of Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., and a large surrounding tract of the heirs of the East Jersey Proprietaries, and built a blast furnace, which became, with the “Hibernia” furnace, a most efficient auxiliary to our army, in furnishing balls and grape. There is some reason to suppose that some cannon were also cast at “Hibernia.”

Up to the period of the Revolution, the population was of New England origin, coming from Newark, Long Island, or, directly, from the New England States, and entered deeply

* In the year 1854, the author of this article, at the request of several gentlemen of Morristown, prepared two Lectures on the history of Washington’s two Winters in Morris County. These were afterwards re-written, and read before the New Jersey Historical Society. The commendation bestowed on the paper, by that Society, led the late Washington Irving, whilst preparing his *LIFE OF WASHINGTON*, to ask for the loan of it, which he referred to, in one of his volumes, in a complimentary manner. Afterwards, Mr. George Bancroft sent for the manuscript. Not hearing from the article, I wrote him; and his answer indicated that it had failed to reach its destination. Afterwards, the editor of Harper’s Monthly solicited a copy for that Magazine; and, from the original notes, a condensed sketch was prepared. This was handsomely illustrated and published. Some months after this, the original article was found; and it is published, in full, in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.—J. F. T.

into the feelings and struggles which agitated the Eastern Colonies. It is true that the eastern part of Pequannock, on the plains which bordered the Passaic and Pequannock rivers, and in Washington township, along a branch of the Raritan, the Hollanders predominated. Whilst many of these did not share in the opinions which produced the Revolution, in fact, were entirely averse to that movement, the masses of the Dutch were patriots. In 1776, the cultivation of the soil occupied the attention of those who resided in the eastern and southern Townships of the County; whilst, in the remaining Townships, the manufacture of iron was the main pursuit.

The County is one of the most varied and beautiful, in its scenery, in the whole State. On the eastern borders are the Short Hills and Long Hill, a range of highlands commanding a magnificent prospect of the country, North, as far almost as to the Orange county line; East, as far as New York and the Narrows; and South as far as New Brunswick. The prospect from these Hills, in a clear afternoon, blending into one charming landscape, woodlands and meadows, hills and mountains, farms, villages, towns and cities, ponds, rivers, and the entrance to the ocean, is one which can never be forgotten. West of Morristown, there are ranges of mountains traversing the County, from North-east to South-west, and containing incalculable amounts of magnetic iron ore, and abounding in valleys finely adapted to the plough. One thing is observable in the topography of the County, that its ranges of hills and mountains are so disposed as to make it easy to arrange beacon-fires, which, in a very short time, would alarm the whole County. This fact, I shall have occasion to mark in another place, as one of good importance, during the War, and as investing these localities with thrilling interest to all succeeding generations.

Until within a few years, among the mountains of Morris, were living many old men and women who had passed through the trying scenes of the Revolution, which had made so deep an impression on their memories that, very naturally, it became the delight of their life to repeat the story of their sufferings and victories. In 1845, in the Presbyterian Congregation of Rockaway, alone, there were some eighteen persons over eighty years of age. One of these died in 1852, in his ninety-third year; another in 1850 in his 91st year. Both had served in the Revolutionary War. Several women have died within five years, who were ninety years old or upwards. In 1854, there were two persons at the respective ages of eighty-eight and eighty-nine. In Morristown were two brothers, Edward Condict, Esq., and

the Hon. Lewis Condict, whose memory reached back to the period and events of the Revolution. In addition to such venerable witnesses, there were many descendants of those who shared in the trials and conflicts of that time. The children of such as Captain Stephen Jackson, of Rockaway, Colonel Jacob Ford, Jr., Hon. Lewis Condict, Captain William Tuttle, and others, of Morristown; Captain David Thompson, of Mendham; Aaron Kitchel, of Hanover; and many others of the same period and opinions, still reside in Morris and remember well "what their fathers told them," concerning that unparalleled struggle for freedom.

For years, it was a peculiar pleasure to the writer of this sketch to converse with the actual witnesses of the Revolution, or those who had heard, from such, the facts and traditions of the Revolution. These have been written down for preservation; and the principal object of this article is to weave, into one narrative, as far as possible, that part of these records which illustrate the history of Washington, during the two Winters he passed in Morris county—the Winters of 1776-'7 and 1779-'80. Excepting the brief and, certainly, for local interest, the quite meager sketch of Lossing, in his admirable Field Book of the Revolution, I am acquainted with no book or pamphlet which pretends to give even an outline history of those two memorable Winters. Nor do I pretend to give a complete sketch; but only to add facts and traditions which may aid in a work so desirable, since everything which serves to bring out, distinctly, the trials of the patriots and, especially, the character of Washington, during that period, immortal in history, is valuable.

Before sketching the sojourn of Washington in Morris County during the Winter of 1776-7, it will be important and pertinent to glance at the events which preceded it.

The Summer and Fall of 1776 had been marked with disheartening reverses, on the part of the Americans. In August, General Greene, next to Washington, the ablest officer in the Army, and at that time in command on Long Island, was "confined in his bed with a raging fever," "but he hoped, through the assistance of Providence, to be able to ride before the presence of the enemy may make it absolutely necessary." His wish was not realized; and, on the twenty-seventh of August, the disastrous Battle of Long Island was fought. Washington "is said to have witnessed the rout and slaughter of his troops with the keenest anguish," being unable to render any assistance without the greatest peril to his whole Army. Meanwhile Washington says, "our people continue to be very sickly," even "one-fourth of the whole," and "during the heavy storms, are

much distressed, not having a sufficiency of tents to cover them." (Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv., 64, 68; Ramsay's Washington, 37.) Between eleven and twelve hundred men were either killed or taken prisoners; and among the latter Generals Sullivan and Lord Stirling. On the thirtieth of August, all the military stores, artillery, and nine thousand men were removed from Long Island to New York; and, with such skill was this manœuvre performed, that the enemy, only six hundred yards distant, did not discover what was going on, until the last boat was pushing from the shore. "So intense," says Sparks, "was the anxiety of Washington, so unceasing his exertions, that for forty-eight hours he did not close his eyes, and rarely dismounted from his horse." "The darkness of the night and heavy fog in the morning" were good blessings from the God of battles.

During this trying period, Washington realized the manly words he addressed to his troops, that "each one for himself, resolving to conquer or die, and trusting in the smiles of Heaven on so just a cause, would behave with bravery and resolution." (Ramsay, 40.) That defeat "dispirited too great a proportion of our troops," and "great numbers of the Militia have gone off in some instances by whole Regiments;" and yet, he says, "every power I possess shall be exerted to serve the cause,"—words amply verified by his actions. (Sparks's Washington, iv., 73, 74.)

In September, he had the mortification of seeing two Regiments show too great disrelish for the "smell of gunpowder;" and General Greene, now "able to ride," wrote that "his Excellency was so vexed at the infamous conduct of the troops, that he sought death rather than life;" still, posted strongly on Harlem Heights, he hopes against hope that "the enemy would meet with a defeat in case of an attack, if the generality of our troops would behave with tolerable bravery."—(Sparks's Washington, iv., 94, 95.) In fact, there was something about this man which seemed to inspire his victorious enemies with dread; so that, notwithstanding one vicissitude after another, not of the most comforting nature, his bearing was calm and self-reliant. At last he began that ever-memorable retreat through the Jerseys. On the nineteenth of November, he was at Hackensack, experiencing "great mortification" at the capture of Fort Mifflin, with two thousand men, a good deal of artillery, and some of the "best arms we had." He is "wearied to death with the retrograde motion of things, and solemnly protests to his brother that a pecuniary reward of twenty thousand pounds a year would not induce him to undergo what he does; and yet this was not

inconsistent with the words he had said before, that he was heart-sick to "see a brother's sword had been sheathed in the victor's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are either to be drenched in blood or inhabited with slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?" (Sparks's Washington, i., 137; iv., 183, 184.)

From Hackensack, he retreated with his little Army to Aquackanock; thence to Newark, where he halted from the twenty-third to the twenty-seventh. On the thirtieth, he was at New Brunswick; on the third of December at Trenton; and on the eighth at "Mr. Berkeley's summer-seat," on the West side of the Delaware, with the great resolution burning in his soul, like vestal fires, to live a freeman, or, if need be, to die for so noble an aim, and, in fact his eye, at that time, glancing Westward, as he says, "if overpowered, we must cross the Alleghany mountains." (Ramsay, 51.) Those who clung to his fortunes, caught his spirit; for, whilst there, West of the Delaware, a Connecticut officer wrote very spicy words to his friend at home, "to advise the old and young to be in readiness. 'Push the affair of good muskets;' let them carry a full ounce ball; but I think a three and a half foot barrel is long enough, 'with a good bayonet.' Depend upon it, to avoid the worst, it's necessary to be well and martially equipped." (American Archives, v. iii., 1275.)

This retreat through New Jersey, in November and December of 1776, has usually been called by the veterans of that day, "the Mud Rounds," which is to this day a familiar phrase in that State. It was so called on account of the roads which, during the first part of the march, were almost impassable quagmires; which became frozen before the march was ended—an awful road, indeed, for barefooted soldiers, of whom there were many in the diminished ranks of Washington. I have conversed with several soldiers who were in the Army during that retreat, and have read the copious notes of the late venerable man, Doctor Lewis Condict, of Morristown, which were taken from the lips of Revolutionary soldiers applying for pensions; and all who were in that march alluded to the "Mud Rounds," as a time of very peculiar suffering and hardship. Old David Gordon, of Rockaway, who, at the age of ninety-two, was as cheerful as a bird, frequently spoke of that march with a shudder; and he was better off than many of his companions, for he had shoes on his feet. Their tents and clothing were insufficient to protect them; the roads were either muddy or frozen; the rain-storms were severe; and the inhabitants along the route, panic-stricken, supposing the cause

pendence to be ruined. And yet the Regiments of Washington never deserted him, whose virtue and greatness shone splendidly in that darkest hour. To appear calm and confident, as if he were pursuing the foe, instead of conducting a retreat, this was heroism; this was faith in the future; and at this point the fame of Washington received "the image and superscription" which shall challenge the veneration of mankind, in the ages to come.

It is unnecessary for me to recount the victories of Trenton and Princeton; but, at this point, may be related a well-authenticated fact showing on what little things the great events in history apparently depend. It is generally conceded that the victory of Trenton, on the morning of the twenty-fifth of December, 1776, was the crisis in our national destiny; but few are aware how near the beam of destiny was to deciding adversely to us. The anecdote I have received from that zealous antiquarian, Doctor Charles G. McClesney, for many years the accomplished Secretary of the State, for New Jersey. He tells me that the two-story brick house is still standing at the North-west corner of Warren and State-streets, in Trenton, in which Colonel Rahl, the brave but dissipated Commander of the Hessians, with a select circle of friends, was spending that Christmas night in drinking and gambling, never dreaming of danger from the dispirited enemy hiding on the other side of the Delaware. Whilst Washington and his troops were contending with the fierce storm of snow and hail and the drifting ice fields of the Delaware, the mercenary, Rahl, was doing something quite different, for which America has great reason to be thankful. A Tory on the Jersey side of the river discovered signs which led him to suppose that Washington was crossing for an object which could not well be mistaken. The Tory wrote a short letter, warning Rahl of his danger, and dispatched a messenger with it, directing him to give it to no one but the Hessian Commander. On inquiring at headquarters for Rahl, he was directed to the house in which he was carousing. A negro servant opened the door, but refused to admit him, according to explicit directions from Rahl to admit no one; but, as the informer seemed so urgent, he promised to deliver the note to him, immediately and actually did deliver it. This was in ample time to have prevented a surprise, but most fortunately, just then, heated with drinking, he was distributing the cards for a fresh game, and thrusting the ominous note into his pocket forgot it. The same news, however, were brought him a few hours afterward, and in a shape not to be thrust into his pocket; and he found to his sorrow that his

recklessness had enabled Washington to accomplish a brilliant achievement for his own renown and the salvation of his country. If the pernicious vices of drunkenness and gambling ever deserved gratitude, as the indirect means of great good, this would seem to be the case!

After the Battle of Trenton Washington again crossed with his army to the West bank of the Delaware. The enemy was in force at New Brunswick and at Princeton. The weather had become so cold that on the second of January the Americans re-crossed the river and took possession of Trenton. On the third of January the enemy attacked Washington on the Assanpink, which runs through Trenton, but were repulsed with considerable loss. That night Washington executed a brilliant manoeuvre in a masterly manner. The camp-fires were kindled along his whole line, as if the battle were to be renewed in the morning; but the Americans silently withdrew towards Princeton, to make the fourth of January a memorable day, by another cheering victory, attended with one incident, at the time considered emblematic. The portrait of George the Third graced the walls of the College Chapel; and whilst the enemy were defending themselves in the venerable College, a random cannon-shot passed into the window and severed the King's head in the picture. It is said that the portrait of Washington now occupies the very frame from which the headless George was so rudely ejected.

"Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning;" the retreat through the Jerseys, called the "Mud Rounds," by those who experienced its severe hardships, was the fore-runner of the victories of Trenton, Assanpink, and Princeton. Forthwith, we find a more cheerful tone in Washington's letters. Whilst retreating, he declared "the conduct of the Jerseys has been most infamous," not making sufficient allowance for the fearful pressure of circumstances; but on the fifth of January he, in effect, recalls the harsh expressions of the eighteenth of December: "These victories," he said, "have fired the Eastern Regiments with ardor to protract their terms of service;" "and the Militia are pouring in from all quarters, and only want veteran troops to lead them on;" "the enemy have evacuated the country below; they went off in the greatest hurry and confusion."—(Sparks's Washington, iv., 230, 253, 258.)

It will not be out of place to state here, that many of the captured Hessians were sent to different parts of the country, to be put to work. Thirty of them were employed by John Jacob Faesch about his furnace, at Mount Hope, in Morris County, the Government having furnished him with muskets sufficient for

his American workmen to use in keeping the prisoners at their duty. Some of these prisoners died and were buried at an old graveyard on the West slope of the Mount Hope range, half a mile West of the works. Several of them became attached to the county and concluded to remain. Their descendants are found to this day in the vicinity of Rockaway.

Some suppose, and so state, that no portion of the American Army was encamped in the vicinity of Morristown until after the Battle of Princeton; but on the twentieth of December, 1776, Washington wrote to the President of Congress that he had "directed the three Regiments from Ticonderoga to halt at Morristown, in Jersey (where I understand about eight hundred Militia had collected), in order to inspire the inhabitants, and as far as possible, to cover that part of the country." These were "Eastern Regiments," led to Morristown under the command of Colonel Vose, about the middle of December. In a letter to Washington, dated December 19th, 1776, General McDougall says he came to Morristown, the day after General Lee was captured at Baskinridge, which was on the thirteenth of that month; and that Vose arrived at Morristown, "day before yesterday," which was the seventeenth of December. From the same letter we learn that Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, had at that time under his command seven hundred Militia. The three Eastern Regiments were "Greatons Regiment, about 250 men; Bond's do., 100; Porter's do., 170; in all 520 men." At his own request, McDougall, the General Officer at this station, was superseded by General William Maxwell of Sussex County, New Jersey. The people of Morris County were greatly alarmed, and had reason to be; for "Colonel Ford's Militia had an engagement with the enemy at Springfield," on the fourteenth of December; and "he expected it would be renewed the next morning, to gain the pass of the mountains." The engagement was not renewed; but the enemy, under General Leslie, retreated "towards Spank-Town." In this first engagement, in which the Morris County Militia distinguished themselves, the celebrated John Cleves Symmes—a pioneer of Ohio—participated with a detachment of Militia from Sussex County. (American Archives, V., iii., 1236; Sussex Centennial, 62.) The regular troops were intended to join the Army of Washington; but the enemy made such demonstrations of their designs to reach Morristown, where was an invaluable powder-mill, that they were ordered to remain, to assist in keeping the enemy away. Morris County at this time had a regiment in the regular service at the North, under Colonel William Wins, which had materially diminished its means of defence; and this was one reason why Washington consented

that the few New England troops should remain at Morristown, at a time when he needed them so greatly.

On the twenty-second of December, Colonel Ford conducted the Militia from Chatham to Morristown; and, from the fact that he was on parade on the thirty-first of the month, it is evident they had not been disbanded. Probably they were kept together until Washington's Army arrived from the Battle of Princeton.

Inasmuch as this gentleman bore a prominent part in the affairs of the State, up to the time of his death, having been honored with several responsible offices in the State and Army, and, furthermore, as the name is connected with that of Washington's Winter-quarters, in 1779-'80, a few facts concerning him will be interesting.

In the diary of the late Hon. Gabriel H. Ford, son of Colonel Jacob Ford, Junior, was found the following entry:—"THURSDAY, 21 June, 1849. A census was taken in the years 1771 and 1772, in the British Provinces of America, and deposited, after the Revolution, as public archives at Washington; but their room becoming much wanted, those of each Province were delivered to the members of Congress, from it, to cull what they chose, preparatory to a burning of all the rest; Gen. Mahlon Dickerson, then a member from New Jersey, selected some from the County of Morris and sent me yesterday a copy, verbatim, of one entry as follows:—"Widow Elizabeth Lindsley, mother of Col. Jacob Ford, (Senior), was born in the City of Axford, in Old England; came into Philadelphia when there was but one house in it; and into this Province when she was but one year and a half old. Deceased April 21st, 1772, aged 91 years and one month." I always understood, in the family, by tradition from her, (whose short stature and slender, bent person I clearly recall, having lived in the same house with her and with my parents, in my grandfather's family, at her death and before it,) that her father fled from England when there was a universal dread of returning Popery and persecution, three years before the death of Charles the Second, A. D. 1682, and two years before accession of James the Second, in 1684; that while landing his goods, Philadelphia, he fell from a plank into the Delaware river and was drowned between the ship and the shore, leaving a family of young children in the wilderness; that she had several children by her first husband, whose name was Ford, but none by her second husband, whose name was Lindsley, at whose death she was taken into the family of her son, Col. Jacob Ford, Sen., and treated with filial tenderness the remaining years of her life, which were many. I am in the 85th year (since

January last) of my age, being born in 1765, and was seven years old at her death."

This interesting item is in a clear, beautiful handwriting, quite remarkable in a man eighty-four years old. The family name of Mrs. Lindsey and the origin of her first husband I have not seen. From the earliest organization of Morris county, in 1738, her son, Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior, was a leading man. In 1740, he was one of the Judges of "the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Morris County," and, for many years, he appears to have delivered the Charges to the Grand Jury, and was not unfrequently a member of the lower House in the Provincial Assembly. Being a man of thorough business habits and industry, he was successful in accumulating property. His second son and name-sake was born in 1738, and when the Revolutionary War began, he was one of the most enterprising and successful business men in the County. In 1769, he had boldly ventured some fourteen miles into the mountains, North-west of Morristown, to build a Forge for manufacturing iron. In 1770, he built the old stone house at Mount Hope; and, in 1772, he sold the property to John Jacob Faesch, who erected a blast furnace on it. Previous to the War, he had been entrusted with some difficult missions by the State, which he executed to general satisfaction. (American Archives, V., iii., 290, 292, 293, 564, etc.) But the greatest service he rendered his country was as the builder of the Powder-mill, on the Whippany river, near Morristown. Early in 1776, as may be inferred from a manuscript in the New Jersey Historical Society, he "offered to erect a Powder mill, in the County of Morris, for the Making of gunpowder, an article so essential at the present time;" and that the Provincial Congress "agreed to lend him two thousand pounds of the Publick money for one year, without interest, on his giving satisfactory security for the same, to be repaid within the time of one year in good Merchantable Powder"—the first installment "of one ton of good Merchantable Powder," to be paid on first of July next, and one ton per month thereafter till the sum of two thousand pounds be paid," (Boteler Papers, in the New Jersey Historical Society.) This mill was forthwith erected; and there is good reason to suppose that some of Colonel Ford's "good Merchantable Powder" proved a valuable auxiliary in the Battles of Springfield, Trenton, Assanpink, and Princeton. The fact is interesting as a part of the history of the Revolutionary struggle, and as showing one reason for the repeated but fruitless attempts of the enemy to reach Morristown. From the letters of General Heath and General McDougal, and the modest letters of Colonel Ford himself, it is evident that he had

done good service to his country; and this service was much applauded at the time. (American Archives, V., iii. 1259, 1278, 1419.)

Colonel Ford continued on duty until the thirty-first of December, when on parade he was taken ill of the sickness of which he died on the eleventh of January, 1777, nearly thirty-nine years of age. By order of General Washington, who a few days before had reached Morristown, this gallant officer's remains were buried with the honors of war. It is not without interest here, to state the fact that the father, Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior, died on the nineteenth of the same month. Both families, at that time, were living in the house which Washington occupied as his Head-quarters the second Winter in Morristown. Colonel Ford, Junior's widow was a daughter of the venerable pastor of the Presbyterian Church, in Morristown, the excellent and patriotic Rev. Doctor Timothy Johns. This lady was afterwards honored as the hostess of Washington.

After the Battle of Princeton, the British went into Winter quarters, at New Brunswick, and the Americans at Morristown. What was the number of troops with Washington, I cannot state; but it was small, as is plain from his letters. On reaching Morristown Washington wrote, "the situation is by no means favorable to our views, and as soon as the purposes are answered for which we came, I think to remove, though I confess I do not know how we shall procure covering for our men, elsewhere." (Sparks's Washington, iv., 264.) And yet, all things considered, it may be doubted whether a better position could have been chosen, situated as it is among ranges of mountains extending from the Delaware to the Hudson. Repeated trials proved it to be finely adapted to repelling the enemy, who could not approach in any direction without the movement being detected and the invasion communicated to a highly patriotic population by signal-guns and beacon fires. The means of communicating with the posts on the Delaware and Hudson were easy; and, besides all this, large portions of the surrounding country were cultivated, affording food and shelter to the soldiers. The fact that Washington wintered the second time at Morristown, proves that he had changed his views of it. The character of the County may be inferred from the fact that Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, removed his family to Parsippany, a few miles North-east of Morristown, for their greater security; and, for years the house he rented was known as "The Governor's House."

General Washington reached Morristown on the seventh of January, 1777, and took up his quarters at a tavern owned and kept by Colonel Jacob Arnold, the commander of a Squad-

ron of Light Horse, which did efficient service. This was a two story house, on the West side of the Morristown Green; and it is still standing, but greatly changed. A hall passed through the centre of the house; and on the South side of this hall were two rooms, communicating with each other by a door. The front room was occupied by Washington for a general office, sitting room and parlor, and the back room for his sleeping apartment. These two rooms have since been thrown into one, which is still used as a store. This old building has been refitted, and is likely to stand many years, as a memento of the greatest man ever sheltered under its roof. From this house issued the noble letters of Washington that Winter, which were so efficient in promoting the cause of our national independence.

"The Magazine" was on the South side of the Green, on a lot where now stands the Washington Hall; and tradition says that frequently wagons, apparently loaded with casks of powder and guarded by soldiers, might be seen passing from the powder mill to the magazine; but many of these casks contained sand, in order to deceive spies, who would thus give a flattering account of this part of our military stores.

In the North-west corner of the Green, stood the old court house and jail, so famous as the common prison of Tories caught, not only in Morris, but Essex, Bergen and Sussex counties.

Just East of the present building of the First Presbyterian Church, stood the old Meeting-house, which, as we shall see, was used this Winter as a hospital for the army. Following the street towards the depot we see the house occupied by the minister, Doctor Johnes,—it is still standing—and half a mile further on, we reach a beautiful swell of land, commanding magnificent scenery, in the midst of which is the "Ford Mansion."

Taking the road which goes North from the Green, in less than a mile, we come to the identical house, built by Lewis Condict, a distinguished patriot and, through the war, an indefatigable member of the State Privy Council. Taking the road which goes West about two miles you reach the site of the house used by General Knox, of the artillery, the second Winter in Morristown. On the South-east corner of the Green, where is now the store of Mr. William M. Lindsley, was the office of the Commissary. At this time Morristown was a mere village, but surrounded by a fine farming region, which was quite thickly peopled.

It is interesting and affecting to glean from reliable sources, the facts which indicate the character and condition of the people in Morris Co. at the time Washington came among them.

The records of the courts show that the pecuniary affairs of the people were very much embarrassed. The masses of the people were Whigs; but there were some Tories. Thomas Millege, a leading man, residing in Hanover, was elected Sheriff of the county; but as we learn from a letter of his dated April 2d, 1776, he had scruples about taking the oath. His scruples ripened into genuine torism; and he joined the enemy, hoping thus to save his large estate from confiscation. He died an exile; and his estate was confiscated. In Hanover, "an English emigrant, a man of considerable property, and not a little *nauseux* who had drunk deeply into torism," was holding "many an ardent controversy" with celebrated "Parson Green," Presbyterian minister of the parish, on the subject of American Independence. Ashbel Green, the parson's son, heard the talk, and afterwards was amused to see this Tory standing up in the church on a Sunday whilst the minister read his confession of the sin of torism, being earnestly moved thereto by the rumor that he had been threatened with a coat of tar and feathers, by some hot bloods in Morristown. This was in the forenoon; and the culprit rode rapidly to the said "neighboring town," to get Doctor Johnes to read for him, the same confession there, which the Doctor at last convinced him was unnecessary. (Dr. Green's Life, 33-36.)

About twelve miles North from Morristown, in "Rockaway Valley," was a nest of Tories, but some sterling patriots. The goodly farms of the latter, the Tories were sure would be confiscated by and by, and in so many words, had selected their share in the forfeited estates; but, as Providence willed it, the confiscations took place on the other side of the question. The patriots met in a stone house which yet stands; and the greatest MAN among them was the strong-minded wife of one Fre. eric Miller, who annihilated all the faint-heartedness of her Whig friends by her own brave bearing.

Over in Mendham, seven miles West of Morristown, Captain David Thompson—devout, Godly, most eloquent in prayer—only represented his neighbors in that old Presbyterian congregation, when in answer to a brother officer who exclaimed at a very critical time in our affairs: "We are ruined; what shall we do now?" he said, devoutly raising his eyes towards heaven, "I suppose we can yet trust in God." And Captain Thompson's wife, Hannah Carey, was the true representative of her sex in Morris, when she said to the starving soldiers: "You are engaged in a good cause, and we are willing to share with you what we have as long as it lasts."

In Whippany, five miles North-east of Morristown, noble Anna Kitchel, wife of Uzal, scorn-

ed to get a "British Protection," when urged by good, but taint-hearted, Deacon—having, as she said, "a husband, father, and five brothers in the American army, and if the God of Battles will not care for us, we will fare with the rest!" It was well said, that saying of Anna Kitchel. In fact when we get at the history of that Winter we find that not a small part of the provisions which sustained the soldiers, was raised, the previous season by the women and servants, aided by men and boys, too old or too young to assist in defending the country.

About this time Charles Hoff, the manager of Lord Stirling's Hibernia Furnace, is assuring his employer that with skillful workmen they can cast very good cannon there—in fact, they did cast one on a certain day, "which missed in the breach; all the rest was sound and good." But then Mr. Hoff and John Jacob Faesch are very successful in casting cannon balls and grape, which no doubt did execution when impelled by some of Colonel Ford's "good Merchantable Powder." Meanwhile, about New Year's day, lion-hearted and lion-voiced Colonel William Winds—afterwards General—has conducted the Morris County regiment home, from the North; and often he is seen riding, or rather rushing along the highways, never able to get along fast enough.

In Morristown there was Benoni Hatheway, first Major, then Colonel, a man who afterward believed in the "Morristown Ghost," and whose faith in witches led him to keep the sovereign horse shoe nailed somewhere about his premises; but there was nothing else he feared, and very often he rushed among the enemy in battle like a cannon ball. Benoni managed the powder in the magazine just right, having the same made into cartridges.

If we look at the churches of Morris county, we find them sound to the core on the doctrine of the nation's independence. Excepting perhaps, two Baptist Churches at Morristown and Schooley's Mountain, there were no Churches but Presbyterian, with one or two Reformed Dutch. And the Ministers thought themselves preaching the Gospel, when they taught their people, "out of the Scriptures," what are the rights of men and nations. Thus, Parson Woodhull, of Black River—now Chester—preached so discreetly and pungently, on these vital points, that the people sent him, for several years, to the Provincial Congress, to vote for them, there. In Hanover, Parson Green, an extraordinary man, in some doggerel verse of the day, addressed, as "preacher and teacher, "Doctor and Proctor, Miller and Distiller," was exerting a prodigious influence, in the same direction. This man, Rev. Jacob Green, was, in some respects, the most extraordinary

man in the County; eminent, as a preacher and a physician, and long sighted, as a statesman. In Morristown, was the mild, gifted, and beloved Doctor Johnes, most assiduous Pastor, most strenuous patriot, and once dispensing the Communion elements to George Washington, at a meeting held in the Grove, because the Church was needed for a hospital. In Bottle Hill—now Madison—was good Pastor Azariah Horton, "who was not a whit behind the chiefest" patriots, in his zeal for American liberty. In Mendham, was Pastor Lewis, soon to be called to higher enjoyments; but he preached and prayed national independence, as part of the Gospel. In such Churches as Rockaway and Succasunna, having no Ministers, they held "Deacon's meetings;" and it was always noticed, that when brave William Winds prayed, in the old, unplastered Church, at Rockaway, his voice would become excited, even loud as thunder, as he implored God to break the arm of the oppressor and give America freedom. Eunice Kitchel—afterward the venerable Mrs. Pierson of Rockaway—who died in her ninety-fourth year, often heard Winds' stormy patriotic prayers; and knew they struck a tender chord in the popular heart.

We have not dealt in imagination, but have stated facts, gathered from authentic sources, in thus sketching the state of things, in Morris County, when Washington came here in January, 1777. The people were embarrassed with debt; but everything they had, they were willing to share with their country, and also to give her their "men of war able to bear the sword." There were some Tories, but the records of the Court prove that such were loudly called on to "repent or perish." The old Jail on the Morristown Green, was full of Tories and other prisoners. And, looking at the facilities of defence and communication, the ardent patriotism of the people and the Ministers of Morris County, we may question the soundness of Washington's opinion, that "the situation is by no means favorable to our views."

It is not an easy, but it is an interesting, task to glean and weave together the facts, yet available, showing what was the situation of the Army, during that Winter. The testimony of old people, incidental allusions in newspapers and manuscripts of that time, will give us much information. It is, indeed, a singular fact, that in a national work, Sparks' Writings of Washington, the map of "Military Movements in New Jersey," Bottle Hill is not even put down, nor any reference made to the main encampment, that Winter of 1776-7, near Bottle Hill, in what was called Lowentica Valley, of late years known as Spring Valley. Nor is any allusion made to it, in that other great national

book, Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution. By frequent conversations, with aged people, especially soldiers, the writer of this has long been acquainted with the general fact of the main encampment being there; but the detailed account of it has been gathered, with great labor, by the Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle, at one time the Pastor of the Presbyterian church, in Madison, formerly Bottle Hill, and, with his consent, I quote his manuscript.

"The valley to which reference has been made"—says Mr. Tuttle in his Bottle Hill, during the Revolution—"and which was selected as the place of encampment, was called Lowantica, which is an Indian name, from the brook which runs through it. * * * * Commencing at a point, a little South of Merristown, and running in a south-easterly direction, for the distance of about five miles, it crosses itself in the vicinity of Green Village, in what is commonly known as the Great Swamp. The Lowantica, which runs through this valley, is an unusually clear and beautiful stream, which is formed from the springs which abound in the valley, and gush forth, in all their native purity, at almost every step." * * * *

"At the time of which we are now speaking, nearly the whole of this beautiful valley, not excepting the place of the encampment, was covered with a heavy growth of timber. * * * To this well-chosen spot, then, did the American Army repair, for the purpose of going into Winter-quarters. The weather, at the time, was exceedingly cold. Pitching their tents, at first, wherever they could find places for them, they continued to occupy them it is believed, for two or three weeks, until they were able to construct more substantial and comfortable accommodations. The centre of the ground, marked out for the encampment, was not far from the present mansion of Mr. A. M. Treadwell. * * * * The location was admirably adapted to the objects for which it was selected. The ground, at that point, gradually descends towards the south-east, and is shielded, in a great measure, by the crown of hill back of it, from the severe winds and storms from North-east, North, and North-west. A little South of it, runs the Lowantica; and, still nearer, are several very large and excellent springs. The encampment began on the slope, West of the spot occupied by Mr. Treadwell's residence. * * * * One principal street, between four and five rods wide, was laid out in the middle, in the centre of which stood the flag-staff, which, by this time, had come to be called 'the Liberty Pole,' from the top of which our national banner floated. This street was kept in excellent condition, and was used as a parade-ground; although there is some reason to believe that the fine level space, on the hill,

north of the camp, was used for this purpose on special occasions, such as general parades and reviews. The general direction of the main street was North-east and South-west. On this were constructed the cabins of the officers which were somewhat larger than those which were put up for the soldiers. On either side of this leading avenue, were either one or two other streets, running in the same general direction, and about forty feet in width. On these the cabins of the soldiers were built, in some cases single but oftener in blocks of three, four and five together; whilst outside of them, especially on the northern side, others were constructed, without any special reference to the streets, but rather in reference to the character of the ground, the side hill there being indented with several deep gullies. The cabins, of which all the aged people in the vicinity agree there were a large number—probably as many as three hundred in all—where made of unbleached logs and covered with rough clap-boards, split out of the forest. * * * In one end of each cabin, a rough stone fire-place was thrown up, surmounted by a plastered stick-chimney; while, in the other end of each structure, a bunk, or sleeping-place, was erected with clap-boards and small pieces of timber, resting on crutches, which were driven into the ground. These bunks reached across the entire end of the cabins, and being filled with straw, were made to accommodate ten or twelve soldiers each. * * * * Rough clap-board benches answered them for seats. Huge fires were kept continually blazing day and night, and these constituted the sum-total of their furniture.

"Several very large cabins were erected for the accommodation of the Commissary Department and camp stores; and these are believed to have been located on the southern borders of the Camp, in the vicinity of the springs, already referred to. In that part of the Camp, were also the cabins erected and occupied by the Suttlers, who drove on a brisk trade in various groceries, especially good whiskey. * * * * A little farther down, towards the Lowantica, rude sheds were built for sheltering the horses belonging to the camp. * * * * Here, too, the baggage and artillery wagons were drawn up in lines.

"On the outermost limits of the encampment, several log guard-houses were built for the sentinels, whose duty it was in regular beats, to pass back and forth, along the four sides of the camp day and night."

These facts were derived from several aged people, who resided, all their lives, in that vicinity, and who had frequently been in the Camp, the Winter and Spring it was occupied. The writer of this article has frequently con-

versed with Mrs. Eunice Pierson, whose husband, Darius Pierson, was living with his father, on the farm, a part of which was used for the Camp; and she had the same general information from her husband, who has often pointed out to her, the location and plan of the Camp, so that, in the main, the above minute description is doubtless correct. Mr. Tuttle has also pointed out the private houses, in the vicinity, which were occupied by Col. Francis Barbour, Colonel Matthias Ogden, Major Eaton, Colonel Marsh, General Wayne, and other officers, in the course of this or other Winters, during the War.

The beautiful Lowantica Valley is a place hallowed with patriotic associations; and never should it be forgotten that, along its gentle slopes, a part of the Army which achieved the victories of Trenton and Princeton, heroically suffered great privations; and that, often, the great men of the Revolution, Alexander Hamilton, Anthony Wayne, Baron Steuben, and, above all, pre-eminent, Washington, have here reviewed the brave but thinned ranks of their Army. Here, too, the martyr, Caldwell, of Elizabethtown, idolized by the soldiers, has "held forth the word of life," with simple but effective eloquence, and, with fervent pathos, has supplicated the aid of Him in whose sight "the nations are as grasshoppers," in behalf of the defenders of their Country. Nor should it be forgotten, that, along the slopes of the Lowantica Valley and in its immediate vicinity are many unknown graves, in which were buried patriot soldiers who died, that Winter, of diseases induced by hardship, or by the small-pox which prevailed. But of this more in another place.

Washington stationed strong detachments, especially of the Militia, under General William Wins, in the region of Pluckama and Quibletown, in Somerset County, to watch the enemy, quartered in New Brunswick, and protect that section of the country. I have the affidavits of soldiers, applying for pensions, which prove that these troops were engaged in no sinecure business; and that the two impetuous Wins did very efficient service. The entire season was distinguished by severe skirmishes, in which our Militia behaved with great bravery.

General Israel Putnam was in command of the troops, in the neighborhood of the Delaware; and General Heath, in the Hudson Highlands. The enemy exhibited the most ruthless disregard of the rights even of those who had claimed safety, under "British Protections;" and Washington wrote that the people "are exceedingly exasperated at the treatment they have met with, both from Hessian and British Troops." The religious

feelings of the people were shocked by seeing their Churches desecrated, the enemy destroying the pews, and often stabling their horses in the Presbyterian and Reformed Dutch sanctuaries. Churches belonging to the English Establishment were exempted, since, "as a body, the Clergy, the Church of England, in the Colonies, were either neutral in the contest, or ranged on the side of Royalty." (LITERARY WORLD, September 23d, 1848.) It was not strange that the people should, in these circumstances, have become thoroughly weaned from the cause of Royalty. The appeals of such Ministers as MacWhoiter, of Newark, and Callwell, of Elizabethtown, and Green, and Johnes, and Horton and Woodhull, of Morris county, were forcibly sustained by the sacrilegious conduct of the enemy. The conduct of the Tories and refugees was so inhuman and outrageous, that the Royal cause was identified, in the popular esteem, with these vagabonds, guilty of treason, robbery, and murder. During that Winter, Governor Livingston and his Privy Council, were compelled to itinerate, secretly and frequently, now holding their meetings at Trenton, Princeton, Newark, Morristown, or wherever it could be done, with safety, for the general good. The Governor was not a bold man, but a very persevering one; and, well aware of the fact that the Tories were determined to seize him, as a rare prize, to be carried to the enemy, he was usually attended, in his journeys, by a detachment of Arnold's Light Horse; and very seldom slept two successive nights in one house. In several instances, the Tories made a descent on the house where the Governor had spent the previous night; but, whilst thus hunted, for years, he managed, in every case, to elude his enemies. This estimable officer was greatly esteemed by Washington, and rendered invaluable services to the country, in those perilous times.

Only a part of the Army was quartered in Lowantica Valley. Large numbers were billeted at private houses, in the townships of Morris, Chatham and Hanover, by Commissioners appointed for the purpose. This method, though necessarily arbitrary, was met by a people of "willing mind." Aaron Kitchel and his father, Joseph, of Hanover, had two houses, and gave up the larger one, on condition that the old people might have the other, required only to take care of three sick English prisoners, of whom there was no danger of their catching the small-pox. The late Rev. Doctor Ashbel Green remembers that his father's family "consisted of nine individuals; and, as well as can be recollected, fourteen officers and soldiers were quartered in the same dwelling." (Dr. Green, in THE CHRISTIAN

ADVOCATE. ix. 522.) The Sayres, Richards, Ely, Beau, Kitchel, Smith, Tuttle, and other families, were served in the same way, making no complaints.

In Whippany, honored as the first village in the County to raise a Company of soldiers, for defence of liberty, Mrs. Anna Kitchel, daughter of Daniel Tuttle, devout believer that she was, was willing to "leave it all to the Lord;" and, in this piety, her husband was not a whit behind her. These worthy people never said to the soldiers, "be ye warmed and filled," merely, but always had rooms and free provisions for at least twelve soldiers, though they once protested when an officer attempted to billet forty hungry fellows on them, for whom, however, they hung over the fire, "the large kettle holding half a barrel, filled with meat potatoes, and other vegetables," so that they might not go away hungry. And there were hundreds of people in Morris County animated with the same spirit. Noble men! noble women! your descendants are proud of their ancestry. These are precious relics of a heroic age, and ought to be garnered up safely in history.

Meanwhile, as the Commissioners are providing for the soldiers as best they can, let us look into the old "Arnold Tavern," then honored in sheltering its greatest guest. Seated there at his table, with lips compressed and brow fearfully stern, Washington is "under the disagreeable necessity of troubling his Lordship, Gen. Howe, with a letter almost wholly on the subject of the cruel treatment which our officers and men, who are unhappy enough to fall into your hands, receive on board the prison ships in the harbor of New York;" and did not the writer endeavor to obtain a redress of their grievances, he would think himself as culpable as those who inflict such severities upon them. "The distress of the prisoners," wrote one of them, "can not be communicated by words. Twenty or thirty die every day. They lie in heaps unburied. What numbers of my countrymen have died by cold and hunger, perished for want of the common necessaries of life! I have seen it. This, Sir, is the boasted British clemency! * * * * Rather than again experience their barbarity and insults, may I call by the sword of the Hessians."—(American Archives, V., iii., 1429.) Just a week after Washington reached Morristown, he wrote two noble epistles to Lord Howe, on the same day, (January 13th,) on the subject of "the barbarous usage" our soldiers and sailors were receiving in New York, "which their emaciated countenances confirm." (Sparks's Washington, iv., 273-277.)

But weightier matters than this are pressing upon him. The term of enlistment for large

numbers of his men is expiring and most urgent letters are sent "to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania," "to the President of Congress," "to the Governors of the thirteen States," calling for more men and munitions; and it is cheering to find him able to say, on the twentieth of January, "our affairs here are in a very prosperous train. Within a month past, in several engagements with the enemy we have killed, wounded and taken prisoners between two and three thousand men. I am very confident that the enemy's loss here will oblige them to recall their force from your State. If I am properly supported, I shall hope to close the campaign gloriously for America." (Letter to Governor Cook, in Sparks's Washington, iv., 256.) But the courageous and ever hopeful Washington has yet to pass through some very distressing, dark scenes—battles of Chad's Ford and Germantown for instance—and is yet to be deserted by the Rev. Jacob Duché, the first Chaplain of Congress, and endure the sharp agony of Benedict Arnold's treason, before he "closes the Campaign gloriously for America;" but "with the smiles of Providence," he will do it.

During this month of January, he has "the satisfaction to say that General Philemon Dickinson's behavior, in an action that happened near Somerset Court House, on Mill Stone river, reflected the highest credit on him; for though his troops were all raw, he led them through the river, middle deep, and gave the enemy so severe a charge, that although supported by three field-pieces, they gave way and left their convoy of forty wagons and upwards of one hundred horses, most of them of the English draft breed, and a number of sheep and cattle which they had collected." (Ibid. 289.)

But then it was not all or mainly sun-light in the "old Arnold Tavern;" for on the twenty-sixth of January Washington wrote, "reinforcements come up so extremely slow, that I am afraid I shall be left without any men before they arrive. The enemy must be ignorant of our numbers, or they have not horses to move their artillery, or they would not suffer us to remain undisturbed." (Ibid. 301.)

At this point I may introduce an anecdote which I had from G. P. McCallough, Esq., father-in-law of the late Hon. J. W. Miller, who had it directly from General Doughty, a Revolutionary officer residing in Morristown. A man had been employed by Washington, as a spy; but some circumstances had led Colonel Hamilton to suspect that he was carrying news to the enemy; and he determined to make some good use of the man. Accordingly when the man called one day at the Colonel's office he found him very busy making out a report of

the condition of the army for the Commander-in-chief. The report was made out with great minuteness of detail; such a division had so many men, and such a division had so many, etc., etc.; and then the whole was summed up into a splendid aggregate at least four times as large as the actual force. The condition of the Magazines was detailed in the same manner. Soon after the suspected spy entered the office, Colonel Hamilton pretended to have some errand and excused himself saying he would be back in a few minutes. Apparently, in his haste, he had left his report lying on his table, and no sooner was he gone than the fellow, glancing over its pages, and sure that he had an invaluable document, through a most fortunate chance, pocketed it and left for the enemy! General Doughty said that it was Colonel Hamilton's opinion that this happy stroke did not a little to keep the enemy from Morristown, at a time when the American Army was in no condition to receive them.

Thus passed the month of January, in plans to defend the country from its invaders; but another invader was approaching dreadful indeed to contend with. Mr. Lossing intimates that while measures were taken to inoculate the soldiers in the Northern Department, such means were not taken at Morristown. Not having his book at hand, I can only give my impression from memory. But this is a mistake. It was a common opinion, in this region, at that time, that the small-pox was wilfully and maliciously introduced by the enemy, hoping to do us fatal damage by the means. But whatever were the means, the "Morristown Bill of Mortality" shows that on the eleventh of January, 1777, "Martha, widow of Joshua Ball, died of small-pox." "Gershom Hathaway, on the 24th," and "Ebenezer Winds, on the 31st" of the same month, by the same loathsome disease. On the fifth of February, 1777, Washington wrote, "the small-pox has made such head in every quarter that I find it impossible to keep it from spreading through the whole army in the natural way. I have therefore determined not only to inoculate all the troops now here that have not had it, but shall order Dr. Shippin to inoculate the troops as fast as they come to Philadelphia. They will lose no time, because they go through the disorder while their clothing, arms and accoutrements are getting ready." (Sparks's Washington, iv, 311.) He was compelled to resort to this extreme measure by the experience of the previous year, especially in the Northern army, which suffered greatly from small-pox. "An establishment," says Sparks, "for inoculation was provided near Morristown for the troops in camp; one at Philadelphia, for those coming from the South; another in Connecticut; another in

Providence." (Ibid, 364.) So far as Morristown is concerned, it was not so much a place, as a series of inoculating hospitals in different places in the townships of Morris and Hanover. The Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle, in his Sketch of Bottle Hill, during the Revolution, from which I have already quoted, remarks that "Several private hospitals, in this vicinity, were used for the purpose of inoculation, as a means of arresting the progress of the disease. One of these was the dwelling subsequently occupied by Jonathan Thompson, in the vicinity of the house belonging to Mr. David C. Milner. At that place an excellent surgeon was stationed; and thither all classes in and about this village, went to pass through the process of inoculation." "Another place which was set apart for the purpose of inoculation, was the house which stood at that time on the farm of the late John Ogden, over the hill—about two miles South of Morristown— * * * * That house was then owned and occupied by Mr. Elijah Pierson; and for several months it was continually filled with both soldiers and citizens, who had repaired thither in order to guard themselves, by inoculation, against the small-pox. I have been informed by some of the Brookfield family, residing but a little distance from the Lowantica camp ground, that they received it from their revolutionary ancestors, who lived and died on the ground, that during that same Winter, there was a small encampment or the hill back of the Bonsall mansion, a short distance North of the place last described; and it has seemed to me not improbable that that was an arrangement also made for inoculating the army." "Another private house that was occupied for a hospital, was an old one which stood on the spot now occupied by the residence of Mr. Bailey, on the road leading by the camp ground across the Lowantica valley, and but a little distance from the road leading from Green Village to Morristown. * * * * Physicians and nurses were stationed there also; and everything was done to save the lives of the poor fellows who were carried thither from time to time on litters from the camp. All the rooms in the house were continually filled with patients; and a very large proportion of them died and were buried in the orchard, about five hundred yards North-east of the house. Nothing now exists to mark the place of their burial." "But the principal hospital in the vicinity of the camp, was a large house which belonged, at that time, to a German gentleman of the name of Harporee, on the farm which now belongs to J. J. Seafield, Esq., on the old road leading from Bottle Hill to Morristown. That house stood about a quarter of a mile South of the above thoroughfare, and on ground which slopes downwards the South.

so that it could not be seen from the road. It was a one and a half story house, having four rooms on the lower floor and a greater number on the upper; about one and a half miles North-west of the centre of the Camp; and in many respects admirably adapted for the object for which it was used. Here, also, many of the soldiers saw the last of earth. The place where they were buried, it is said, is still to be seen in the South-west corner of the Harpree farm. A triangular piece of ground, containing at least three-quarters of an acre, surrounded by an old-fashioned worm fence and filled with mounds, as closely as they could be placed in regular rows, was the place where these unfortunate men, unblest with the sympathy of wives, sisters, and mothers, were committed to the dust."

Such are the facts which Mr. Tuttle has rescued from oblivion; but, probably, in reference to the last two places which he describes, he is wrong in calling them inoculating hospitals, Dr. Asbbel Green, whose father, "Parson Green, was a Physician, says, explicitly, that, during that season, the disease by inoculation was so light that there was probably not a day in which the Army could not have marched against the enemy, if it had been necessary." (CHRISTIAN ADV., ix., 522.) There is other conclusive testimony to the same effect; but equally conclusive is the evidence, that those who took the disease in the natural way suffered awfully, and that a large proportion of them died. The Bailey and Harpree houses were probably hospitals for those who had the small-pox in the natural way, which accounts for its fatality, at those places. And well might the author of *Bottle Hill*, during the Revolution, exclaim, "Very sacred, as a consequence, are the associations which gather around these spots! Very precious ought they to be in the estimation of all true American patriots!"

If we now return to Hanover, during this memorable season, we find that "Parson Green" is preaching regularly in the old Presbyterian Meeting-house, not from a "Carpenter's bench" as in former years, but from a real pulpit, built for him by Carpenter Jedidiah Beach, to which good act he had been specially incited, as is said, by the Parson's preaching on the somewhat odd subject of "the Four Carpenters," the main inference of which discourse was, "Why can't I have a pulpit?" That pulpit witnessed the ministrations of its worthy occupant until early in February, 1777, when the Church was converted into a temporary hospital for those soldiers "who had taken the disease—small-pox—in the natural way." Asbbel Green, eldest son of the Parson, was then almost fifteen years old, and was "training for real battles, in a Company of boys from

ten to fifteen years old; none I think were admitted under ten, unless an individual or two of uncommon growth!" (Life of Dr. A. Green, 55.) It was a dismal time, in the whole region, as we may well imagine. In a valuable note appended to the autobiography of the Rev. Jacob Green of Hanover, Dr. Asbbel Green makes the following statements of facts, which he himself was witness to, in his boyhood: "After the memorable manœuvres and Battles at Trenton and Princeton, * * * General Washington quartered his whole army, not a large one, in Morris-county. The small-pox had broken out among the troops, and proved exceedingly fatal. The Church in which the Rev. Jacob Green stately preached was used as an hospital for those who had taken the disease in the natural way: and the present writer can never forget the appalling scenes which he there witnessed, produced by the ravages of that frightful malady, now so happily disarmed of its terrors by the fortunate discovery of vaccination. The troops were distributed in the dwellings of the inhabitants, and the Surgeons of the Army inoculated both soldiers and citizens—the citizens without charge. The family of the writer's father consisted of nine individuals; and, as well as can be recollected, fourteen officers and soldiers were quartered in the same dwelling. All were inoculated together, and all had the disease in a very favorable manner. Indeed, the disease by inoculation was so slight that there was probably not a day in which the Army could not have marched against the enemy, if it had been necessary; but it providentially was not necessary." (CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE, ix., 522.)

All, however, did not have the disease so lightly. Little Eunice Kitchel, afterwards Mrs. Pierson, a *NOVOGENARIAN*, had the small-pox, which left traces so deep as were not effaced as long as she lived. Erecta Beach, daughter of Captain Enoch Beach, afterwards married to Silas Dickerson, of Stanhope, brother of Gov. Mahlon Dickerson, then to the late Colonel Joseph Jackson, of Rockaway, was apparently "sick unto death," with the same disease; and when she was near eighty years old, she told about the lamentation made over her, by friends, and how that the Doctor tried to console them by the somewhat rugged words, "that they should not make such an ado about it, for if she got well, she would be so—ugly!"—prefixing one of his *Infernal Majesty's* derivatives. No doubt many other families were in the same distressing situation, and, perhaps, some of them did not fare as well.

The plan for inoculating the Army produced great alarm in the community; and Doctor Green says, "My father, I well remember, went in a sleigh to Morristown, accompanied by

some of the most respectable men of his congregation, to confer with General Washington on the subject." The representations made by these gentlemen were answered by Washington with so much force, that they "came back perfectly reconciled to the measure." He incidentally mentions the fact that "Doctor Bond of Philadelphia, then a Surgeon of some eminence, of rank in the Army," and Doctor Cochran, of New Brunswick, were engaged in inoculating and attending the soldiers and citizens. In this connection, he also adds; "for a short time, my father's Church was made a Hospital for the reception of those on whom the natural small-pox had appeared, before they could be inoculated; and more frightful and pitiable human beings I have never seen. The heads of some of them were swelled to nearly double their natural size; their eyes were closed; and their faces were black as a coal. The most of these died." (Life of Doctor Ashbel Green, 88-94.)

The private records of Parishes and Ministers of that day, in Morris County, are unfortunately very scanty; and, in many cases, not a scrap is to be found. In Hanover, Mr. Green left nothing; and it is only through his son that we have anything to enlighten us in that dismal period of history. From his testimony, it appears that soldiers were quartered in every house in the Parish; and that both soldiers and citizens were inoculated, at home, and not in hospitals. It seems that a different course was pursued in Chatham and Morris Townships, where particular houses were set apart as Hospitals for inoculation, and, as is abundantly proved, in the latter place, with results far more dreadful than in Hanover. It evidently would be impossible to inoculate a whole community promptly in hospitals, so that many were exposed, whilst waiting their turn, or, through fear or some other cause, neglected the precaution, entirely.

This inference may be plainly drawn from the records of death in the Morristown Bill of Mortality, for the year 1777. On the twenty-fourth of January, and also on the thirty-first, occurred a death from small-pox in the Parish of Morristown. During the month of February, Doctor Johnes attended eleven funerals in his Parish, caused by small-pox, an average of nearly three per week; in March he attended nine; in April, twenty-one; in May, eleven; in June, six; in July, eight; and in August, one—all produced by small-pox. Sometimes, as in April, he attended two such funerals in one day, as on the second, seventh, and eighth of April; and on the fourteenth and thirtieth of April, this unwearied Pastor attended to the grave, each day, three parishoners who had died of this foul disease. The Bill of Mortality

shows that no age, sex, or condition was exempt—the waiting infant, the child just learning to prattle, the mother of little children, the father, in the strength of manhood, the aged—two men died nearly ninety years old—the freeman and bond-servant, all were laid under fear of death, in this most awful form. Sixty-eight victims of small-pox did faithful Pastor Johnes attend to "the house appointed for all living," in that memorable year of 1777; and the most of them between the seventeenth of February and the first of August. It was the saddest year the Parish of Morristown ever saw, before or since, during which the old bell, which still tells the hours, in the steeple of the First Presbyterian Church, tolled the departure from this life, of two hundred and five persons, residents in that community, which was one death in about every one and a half days, through the entire year.

As already intimated, "Parsen Green" had too much to do to keep bills of mortality, so that we shall never know how many of those poor soldiers—"more brightful and pitiable human beings I have never seen"—died in the old Hanover Church, their heart-rending moans mingling with the cold, winter winds; nor shall we know how many families were decimated by small-pox, dysentery, and putrid fever, the terrible scourges of that year. The same was true of the Bottle Hill Parish, in which Rev. Azariah Herton, recent Pastor of the Church, died of small-pox on the twenty-seventh of March, 1777. The same season, the devoted Pastor, Thomas Lewis, of Mendham, died, perhaps overtasked in visiting the sick and burying the dead. Could we have Bills of Mortality for each of the old Parishes in Morris County, for that year—Hanover, Parsippany, Black River, Mendham, Succasunna, Rockaway, Pompton Plains—the, would doubtless tell just such a tale as the Morristown Bill: sad, simple, afflictive, showing that that year, in Morris County, was there a voice heard, "lamentation and great mourning."

We cannot intelligently appreciate the situation of Washington, the first Winter he spent in Morristown, without thus bidding the past rise from the dead, to go before us, like a living drama, that we may look at things in detail—bankruptcy, disease, nakedness, death—just as they crowded upon Washington, his soldiers, and their patriotic entertainers. Never were there combinations of evil things better calculated to undermine the courage of all concerned in the struggle; and yet their faith in God never failed. Washington was not an unmoved spectator of the griefs about him; and often might he be seen in Hanover and Lowanlica Valley, cheering the faith and inspiring the courage of his suffering men. His labors

were very heavy in the South-east room of the "Arnold Tavern," urging on Congress the necessity of "tendering an oath of allegiance to all the inhabitants, and outlawing those that refuse it;" now advising and inspiring his Generals—Benedict Arnold among them, but too bare to be elevated by his communion with the great spirit of the age—now hurrying forward the enlistment of troops and the collection of munitions; now teaching Lord Howe some lessons in humanity, by the law of retaliation, "although," says he, "I shall always be happy to manifest my disinclination to any undue severities towards those whom the fortune of War may chance to throw into my hands." His situation is extremely trying, for, on the second of March, he wrote, "Gen. Howe cannot have * * * less than ten thousand men in the Jerseys. * * * Our number does not exceed four thousand. His are well-disciplined, well-officered, and well-appointed. Our's raw Militia, badly officered, and under no government." The balance-sheet, thus struck, seemed to be against him; but then Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution, did not express himself too strongly in writing that very Winter to Washington, "Heaven, no doubt for the noblest purposes, has blessed you with a firmness of mind, steadiness of countenance, and patience in sufferings, that give you infinite advantages over other men." To use his own words, "there is a multiplicity of business engaging my whole attention."

There is a tradition among the old people of Morris County, which has the semblance of probability, and may therefore be repeated. It is that, whilst Washington was at the "Arnold Tavern," he had a dangerous attack of quinsy sore throat, and, feeling serious apprehensions about his recovery, some of his friends asked him to indicate the man whom he considered the best fitted to succeed him in command of the Army; and that, without hesitation, he pointed to General Nathaniel Green. This is given as it was heard, merely as a tradition.

Tradition also states that the anxieties of the Winter were relieved with a little pleasantry, in a correspondence between the English and American Commanders-in-chief. Howe is said to have sent to Washington a copy of Watt's version of the one hundred and twentieth Psalm, containing the following amiable verses:

"Thou God of love, thou ever blest,
Pity my suffering state;
When wilt thou set my soul at rest,
From lips that love deceit?"

Hard lot of mine! my days are east
Among the sons of strife,
Whose never ceasing brawlings waste
My golden hours of life.

O! might I change my place,
How would I choose to dwell
In some wide, lonesome wilderness,
And leave these gates of hell!"

To this, the same tradition states, Washington returned Watt's version of the one hundred and first Psalm, entitled The Magistrate's Psalm, containing the following pointed verses:

"In vain shall sinners strive to rise,
By flattering and malicious lies;
And while the innocent I guard,
The bold offender sha'n't be spared.

The impious crew, that factious band,
Shall hide their heads, or quit the land;
And all who break the public rest,
Where I have power shall be suppress."

This tradition has come to me from two entirely distinct sources; but, of course, it cannot be authenticated.

During the Winter, several sharp skirmishes were fought in the region between the American and English lines. One of these is described in the New Jersey Gazette of March 18th, 1777, by an American Officer, in a very racy manner. The engagement took place "near Quibble or Squabbletown;" and the officer commanding two thousand of the enemy "is under arrest, for undertaking, like Don Quixote, to do impossibilities. He, instead of marching directly to Brunswick, which he might have done, must needs go fourteen miles out of the direct road, to take prisoners Gen. Maxwell and his party at Sparktown, and to make his triumphant entry into Brunswick, leading his captives in chains, like an old Roman General, in which he found his fatal mistake, when too late to remedy it, for he found that he had surrounded a nest of American hornets, who soon put his whole body to flight."

And thus wore away the Winter and Spring. The new levies from Virginia and the Middle States have reached Morristown; the small-pox is conquered; the Powder Mill has been making "good Merchantable Powder," which Benoit Hatheway has been converting into cartridges; John Jacob Faesh, of Mount Hope, and Charles Hoff, of Hibernia, have sent down many wagon loads of balls and grape-shot; and, huzza! just in time for the opening Campaign, two vessels from France, arrived in port with twenty-four thousand muskets! And so, about the last of May, Washington, with his Army, left Morristown, to engage in the noble but bloody scenes of the Campaign of 1777; prominent among which are the Battles of Chad's Ford and Germantown! God speed you, noble man! We take peculiar pride in recalling the facts connected with thy sojourn among the mountams of Old Morris, during the sorrowful, yet glorious, Winter, of 1776-7!

In order to obtain a more life-like view of the facts connected with the sojourn of Wash-

ington in Morris County, during the Winter of 1779-80, let us briefly glance at the events which transpired between May, 1777, and December, 1779.

On leaving Morristown, Washington took a strong position at Middle Brook, about nine miles from New Brunswick, and foiled Sir William Howe, who attempted to bring on a general engagement. The enemy were preparing a fleet, for the transportation of the Army, somewhere; but where, no one could tell: perhaps, to act in concert with the formidable expedition of Burgoyne, at the North, or, perhaps, to seize Philadelphia. Convinced that the latter was Howe's aim, Washington marched his army to the Delaware; and, whilst in Philadelphia, he had his first interview with LaFayette. On the eleventh of September, was fought the battle of Chad's Ford, "in a country from which Washington could not derive the least intelligence, being, to a man, disaffected." The heavy rains destroyed much ammunition—on one occasion, "forty rounds to a man"—and so distressed his ill-protected and ill-clothed soldiers, that Washington was compelled, not only to withdraw to a strong position, but to issue peremptory orders to take blankets and clothing, if needs be, by force, from Philadelphia. Piteously does he say, "if there are any shoes and blankets to be had in Lancaster, or that part of the country, I entreat you to have them taken up for the use of the Army;" for "our distresses, in the articles of shoes, stockings, and blankets, are extremely great." One of the greatest difficulties he had to contend with, he says, is "the want of shoes;" "at least, one thousand men are bare-footed, and have performed the marches in that condition." In these hard circumstances, the Battle of Germantown was fought, on the fourth of October, "a bloody day," as Washington called it, adding "would I could add it were a more fortunate one for us." He lost about one thousand men; and, on the eighteenth of December, 1777, he led his troops into Winter quarters, at Valley Forge, whither "they might have been tracked by the blood of their feet, in marching over the frozen ground."

At the North, on the seventh of October, three days after the disastrous Battle of Germantown, the Battle of Bemis' Heights was fought, Benedict Arnold performing prodigies of valor; and, on the eighteenth of that month "the Americans marched into the lines of the British to the tune of Yankee Doodle." Among the officers taken, were six members of the British Parliament. The train of brass artillery and other ordnance were immensely valuable, consisting of forty-two brass ordnance, besides seven thousand muskets, with

six thousand dozen cartridges, besides an ample supply of shot, shells, etc." (Thacher's Military Journal, 107-109.) An aged woman, Mrs. Elizabeth Doland, died at Mount Hope, Morris County, in 1852, more than ninety-years old, who once told me that, when eleven years old, she was living at Walmus's Tavern, at Pompton, when the trophies of Burgoyne's surrender were passing through, on their way to Morris County, where they were to be stored. She had been to a neighbor's house, and, on her return, found the house in a commotion. In the bar room, was a heap of curious brass instruments, which belonged to a German Band, captured with Burgoyne's Army. She says that, during the three days the Band remained, she had music enough and was glad when it was gone. The artillery and stores were drawn by oxen; and Mrs. Doland says that some of the cannon required three yokes. The train passed from Pompton to Morristown, through Montville, Troy and Hanover. It is an interesting fact that the Presbyterian Meeting House at Succasunna Plains, some twelve miles West of Morristown, was used as a place of storage for the muskets, cannon, and other articles taken at Saratoga. There is now living—1854—a gentleman, in Morristown, the Hon. Lewis Condict, who, when a child, saw these stores at that old church. The larger cannon were ranged and sheltered outside the building; and the entire church was filled with the captured munitions. On the road from Morristown to the Plains, just as you are descending the hill, was the house of a Mr. James Young; the garret of which was filled with drums, band instruments, and other accoutrements requiring shelter. Dr. Condict says he has often, when visiting at Mr. Young's house, amused himself with beating the drums there stored. And it may be surmised that the fact of these trophies of a British defeat being stored in Morris County, was one of the reasons why the enemy had such a desire to penetrate that region—a desire which was never gratified.

Without doubt, the unfortunate contrast between the disasters of the Army on the Delaware and the brilliant success of the Army at the North was the occasion of those insidious comparisons which some thoughtless or malicious person instituted between Washington and Gates, and which resulted in a plot to supplant the Commander-in-chief.

As for the Army, at Valley Forge, a Frenchman thought he had summed up their hardships and heroism, in saying, "no pay, no clothes, no rum." But we must hasten on.

The Campaign of 1778 made Monmouth a memorable spot in history. The morning of that day, as Dr. Charles G. McChesney once informed me, as Washington was hurrying on to

the spot on which his terrible rebuke was to scathe, as with lightning, the Atheist and the Traitor, Lee, for his poltroonery, a patriotic woman, Dr. McChesney's grandmother, ran from the house with a cup of refreshment, which she handed to him. Washington took it, and said to her, in a subdued tone of voice, "Madam, God only knows whether I shall ever drink another!" Some eight miles West of Morristown, Jacob Losey, who is still living—1854—was bathing in a mill-pond, and, ever and anon, was startled by the long, dull, heavy roar of cannon, booming, dismally, along the earth. The lion-hearted, lion-voiced, but too hasty, General Winds, of Morris County, had led a strong detachment of Militia, as far as Spottswood, a few miles South of New Brunswick, ordered, as is said, to intercept the enemy's baggage-train and cut off their retreat. He found the bridge at Spottswood was taken up. Loud roared the cannon, showing that there was warm work about Monmouth Court House, that hot Sabbath in June. Impetuously did he and his men begin to relay the bridge, when a sleek, pious-looking Quaker rode up, at full speed, with the intelligence that the enemy, in considerable force, was landing at Elizabethtown point, intending no doubt, to penetrate Morris County. Winds was on fire at the news, and, without thought and without orders, made a forced march back to Elizabethtown, on a fool's errand, to have it said by many, that he was a coward, in which assertion there was no truth. But then it was a sad mistake for his reputation and, perhaps, for his country. That Sunday, on which the Battle of Monmouth was fought, was an "inconceivably distressing one to our troops and horses," killing a few and disabling many, but, upon the whole, showing to Sir Henry Clinton, Howe's successor, the force of the words which, we have said, tradition asserts Washington sent to Howe:

"The impious crew, that factious band,
Shall hide their heads or quit the land!"

The Winter of 1778-'9, Washington spent at Middle Brook; and its hardships were relieved by occasional amusements, for instance, by celebrating "the anniversary of our alliance with France," when a splendid entertainment was given by General Knox and the officers of the Artillery. General Washington and his lady, with the principal officers of the Army and their ladies, and a considerable number of respectable ladies and gentlemen of the State of New Jersey, formed the brilliant assembly.

* * * * * In the evening, a very beautiful set of fireworks was exhibited; and the celebration was concluded by a splendid ball, opened by his Excellency, General Washington, having for his partner, the lady of

General Knox; and the witness of this gallant display says, admiringly, of Washington, "his tall, noble stature and just proportions, his fine cheerful, open countenance, simple and modest deportment, are all calculated to interest every beholder in his favor, and to command veneration and respect. He is feared even when silent, and beloved even while we are unconscious of the motive." "As for Mrs. Washington, she too combines, in an uncommon degree, great dignity of manner with the most pleasing affability, but possesses no striking marks of beauty." (Thatcher's Military Journal, 157.)

But the Winter at Middle Brook was not devoted principally to dancing. Brave, stern Baron Stenben has been appointed Inspector-General of the Army; and, on the parade-ground, he is disciplining the men so severely that their labors amount to little less than hard service in the field. In the Spring of 1779, General Washington detached four thousand regular troops and a large body of Militia to punish the Indians for the massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming; and the late Colonel Joseph Jackson, then five years old, remembered that a Brigade of these troops encamped, for a night, in the field opposite his late residence. The officers were quartered in his father's house. As for the general concerns of the Campaign of 1779, it was made notorious by such piratical movements as the burning of Portsmouth and New London, as the means of "inducing the rebellious Provinces to return to their allegiance." On the fifteenth of July, "Mad Anthony" Wayne stormed Stony Point; and, in August, Major Henry Lee successfully attacked and took prisoners a body of the enemy, at Paulus Hook, as Jersey City was then called.

Thus passed that Campaign, until early in December, Washington went into Winter-quarters at Morristown. His first letter, from Morristown, that Winter, bears the date "7 December, 1779;" and to Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, he wrote, "the main army lies within three or four miles of the town." On the fifteenth of December, he orders Brigadier-General Duportail, in conjunction with the Quarter-master-general, Greene, to "examine all the grounds in the environs of our present encampment," for "spots most proper to be occupied in case of any movement of the enemy towards us," "these spots to be large enough for the movements of ten thousand men." (Spark's Writings of Washington, vi., 415-419.)

On the first of December, 1779, Washington became, in one sense, the guest of Mrs. Ford, daughter of Rev. Dr. Timothy Johns, and widow of the late lamented Colonel Jacob Ford,

Junior, who died soon after Washington first came to Morristown, in January, 1777. The house in which she was residing was built in 1774, in the most substantial manner and on a scale of elegance and comfort which indicates ample means in its builder. It is a pleasing fact that the house which sheltered Washington has been changed but little since he occupied it. The same weather-boards which resisted the storms of that tremendous Winter are just where they were then. You enter a spacious hall which runs the depth of the house; and not a plank in the floor has been removed since Washington first crossed the threshold of that mansion. The same oaken double-door that opened to him opens to you, now. When he came there, "the widow Elizabeth Lindsley, the honored mother of Colonel Jacob Ford, Senior," had been dead nearly eight years. She lived to see the Ford Mansion begun; but not to live in it. Her son and grandson had been dead three years, nearly. The widow of the latter closed her life, there. Her son, the late Hon. Gabriel H. Ford, succeeded his mother in the mansion, and died at the advanced age of eighty-five years. At the present time (1874) his son, Henry Ford, Esq., is residing there; and is surrounded with his children and grand-children. So that if we reckon Mrs. Lindsley, who lived to see the house begun, it may be said that the old mansion has seen seven generations of the same family. Six generations have actually resided there, of which the first three are now gone; and yet so firmly is it built, that, a century hence, if modern vandalism can be kept from making it impossible, the stranger may open the same portal, press the same floor, wander through the same hall and rooms, and look out at the same windows, as did Washington, that memorable Winter. May it stand as long as the house in which Shakspeare was born! Excepting in the matters of paint and paper, the addition of a partition or two, and the filling up the spacious parlor fire-place, to accommodate a coal grate, no changes have been made. Your eye rest on the small walls, the same cornices, the same window-casements, the same doors, the same mantle-pieces, the same windows, the same hearthstones, as did his, in the Winter of 1779-'80. The great outlines of the landscape, once seen never to be forgotten, which his eye rested on, then, are the same; but the right-hand of enterprise has greatly changed the details. The eye now rests on thousands of cleared acres which, then, were covered with dense forests; and the old town itself has changed more than other things. We are naturally inclined to venerate places where great men have accomplished heroic deeds. Very finely did Daniel Webster remark,

at Valley Forge, "there is a mighty power in local association. We all acknowledge, and all feel it! Those places naturally inspire us with emotion; which in the course of human history have been connected with great and interesting events; and this power over ingenious minds never ceases, until frequent visits familiarize the mind to the scenes. * * * * *

The mention of Washington the standing on the ground of his encampment, the act of looking around on the scenes which he and his officers and soldiers then beheld, cannot but carry us back also to the Revolution and to one of its most distressing periods." (Works, ii., 277.)

What is true of Valley Forge, is true of Morristown and, especially, of the venerable mansion in which Washington resided. It is no ordinary place; and every object which has survived the ravages of time has a sort of sacredness which one can feel better than describe. Take this old arm chair, standing in the hall, and draw it up to the old secretary, also standing in the hall. Washington was often seated in that chair, and often wrote at that secretary. Or take this plain little table, said to have been a favorite one with him, on which to write, because he could easily move it; look at the very ink-spots, which are said to have been made that Winter—spots, which, in the eye of the antiquary, are more beautiful than settings of precious stones—open now to the immortal letters which Washington wrote, that Winter, many of them at that very secretary or little table; read those letters attentively, and let the imagination evoke the form of their great author, on whose brow are the deep tracings of anxious thought; and one must be either very stupid or very stern if he do not feel a peculiar thrill, a warm glow pervading his whole nature, as thus he beholds, not only Washington, but his dignified lady, the admirable Martha Washington; the courtly and brilliant Alexander Hamilton; the apostate quaker, but splendid soldier, Nathaniel Greene; the incomparable commandant of the Artillery, Henry Knox; the giant-sized and stern Baron Steuben; the polished Kosciuszko; the elegant and accomplished Sterling; and perhaps, an occasional member of the group, Satan in Paradise, the traitor, Arnold!

It is interesting to ascertain the arrangements of the house and the large family occupying it, that Winter. On the twenty-second of January, 1780, Washington wrote to the Quarter-master-general, Greene, whose duty it was to provide for the comfort of the Commander-in-chief, "I have been at my present Quarters since the first day of December, and have not a kitchen to cook a dinner in; * * *

nor is there a place, at this moment, in which a servant can lodge, with the smallest degree of comfort. Eighteen belonging to my family and all Mrs. Ford's are crowded together, in her kitchen, and scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have." (Spark's Writings of Washington, vi., 449.) This was in reference to the cooking department; and, soon a log kitchen was built, at the East end of the house, for the use of Washington's family. He himself occupied the two South-east rooms of the main house, on the first and second floors. The room on the first floor, he used for a dining, reception and sitting-room; and the one immediately above it, as a bed-room. At the West end of the house, and but a little distance from it, another log cabin was built for a general office, which Washington occupied, particularly in the day time, with Colonel Alexander Hamilton and Major Tench Tigbman. This cluster of buildings was guarded, night and day, by sentinels. In the field, South-east of the house, huts were built for Washington's Life Guards, of whom there are said to have been two hundred and fifty, under the command of General Colfax, grandfather of our Vice President.

We have already noted the principal localities of interest in Morristown, but may here allude to two, with each of which is associated an anecdote of Washington. The first Winter he spent there, as has already been stated, it was found necessary to use the Presbyterian Meeting House, as a temporary Hospital. During the cold weather, Doctor Johnes probably preached, principally in private houses, in different parts of the congregation; but, when the warm weather came on, it is reported, by tradition, that public meetings, on the Sabbath were held a few rods back of the Doctor's house. The tradition comes directly from Doctor Johnes, that previous to holding a communion that spot, Washington called on him, as is stated in Hosack's Life of Clinton, and, "after the usual preliminaries, thus accented him, 'Doctor, I understand that the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated with you, next Sunday. I would learn if it accords with the 'Canons of your Church to admit communicants of another denomination!' The Doctor rejoined, 'Most certainly, Our's is not the Presbyterian's table, General, but the Lord's; and hence we give the Lord's invitation to all his followers, of whatsoever name.' The General replied, 'I am glad of it; that is as it ought to be; but, as I was not quite sure of the fact, I thought I would ascertain it from yourself, as I propose to join with you on that occasion. Though a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities.' The Doctor assured him of a cordial welcome; and

the General was found seated with the communicants the next Sabbath."

This tradition is well authenticated, and is in perfect keeping with his opinions, elsewhere expressed, I do not now recall any occasion in which he ostentatiously calls himself "a Churchman," being a man of correct taste; but he was an Episcopalian, by an honest preference,—he had too just views of God, as a Spirit and of His worship, as spiritual, to narrow down his devotion to any locality, either Mount Gerazim or Jerusalem. Once he used these words: "Being no bigot, myself, I am disposed to indulge the professors of Christianity in the Church with that road to heaven which to them shall seem the most direct, the plainest and easiest, and least liable to objections." And to "The Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church," he wrote, on the nineteenth of August, 1789, in reply to their Address: "On this occasion, it would ill become me to conceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fraternal affection which appears to increase among the friends of genuine religion. It affords most edifying prospects, indeed, to see Christians of every denomination dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit than ever they have done, in any former age, or in any other nation."—Spark's Writings of Washington, xii., 404.

In March, 1797, Washington, in his reply to the Address of "the Clergy of different Denominations residing in and near the city of Philadelphia," uttered the following sentiment: "Believing, as I do, that Religion and Morality are the essential pillars of society, I view, with unspeakable pleasure, that harmony and brotherly love which characterize the Clergy of different denominations, as well in this, as in other parts of the United States; exhibiting to the world a new and interesting spectacle, at once the pride of our Country and the surest basis of universal harmony."—Dr. Green's Autobiography, 615.

Doctor Johnes has handed down another anecdote connected with the place already alluded to, which illustrates Washington's genuine politeness. One Sabbath he was in attendance on the Doctor's service, held in the open air, and a chair had been brought in for his use. Just before the service began, a woman with a child in her arms came in; and, as the seats were all occupied, Washington immediately rose from his and placing her in it, remained standing the entire service.

The other anecdote I received from P. G. MacCullough, Esq., who received it from the late General Doughty, of Morristown, who saw the incident which he related. The scene of

the anecdote, General Doughty fixed as having occurred a few rods South of the ruins of the New Jersey Hotel, and where a carpenter's shop now stands. Washington had purchased a young horse of great spirit, activity and power, but not broken to the saddle. A man in the Army, noted for his braggadocio glorification of his own horsemanship, solicited the privilege of the General to break his horse to ride. Permission was given; and the General, with some of his friends, went out to the place already mentioned, to see the horse take his first lesson. After considerable preparation the man leaped on the back of his mettlesome pupil, who, unaccustomed to that sort of incumbrance, began a series of frantic efforts to unhorse him; and, in a very few seconds, by a judicious planting of his fore feet and a skilful lifting of his hind feet, he succeeded in sending his rider clean over his head. As the discomfited brag was lauded so unceremoniously, but unhurt, Washington threw back his head and laughed boisterously, until the tears fairly ran down his face. General Doughty was wont to say that he never met a person who had ever heard Washington laugh loud, during the two Winters he spent in Morris County, except on this single occasion! As such, the incident is worthy of memory.

As a picture of the times, and a fact with which to compare the present and the past, let me state that during the Spring of 1780, whilst Washington was in Morristown, Jacob Johnson, father of the venerable Mahlon Johnson, who still survives, died on Morris Plains, three miles North of Morristown. He was a fine horseman, and belonging to Arnold's troop of Light Horse, in which service he caught the cold of which he finally died. His son, Mahlon, remembers distinctly, that a large concourse of people attended his father's funeral, and that there was only one conveyance, on wheels, among them all, this being used to carry the corpse to the Morristown grave-yard. But there was a great cavalcade on horseback. Doctor Jones, the minister, and the physician, each with a linen scarf on, and on horseback, led the procession; and many a horse, that day, carried a man in the saddle, and, behind him, was seated on a "riding cloth," his wife, or mother, or sister, or daughter. This was the funeral procession which attended to the grave the remains of a man of property and position, in the Parish of Morristown, in 1780. Certainly, manner and customs have undergone very considerable change, since that time; but, whether the change has been for the better, each one must decide for himself—probably, that plain, unostentatious procession contained as many warm, sympathizing, and unselfish hearts as the more courtly and better-bred

processions which now visit the same "God's acre," in coaches and according to the rules of good society.

I have not spoken of the main encampment of that Winter, preferring to give a description of that and things connected with it, by themselves. To this part of the work, let us now address ourselves. On the thirtieth of November, 1779, General Greene, the Quarter-master-general, wrote from Morristown to one of the Quarter-masters of New Jersey, that "we are yet like the wandering Jews in search of a Jerusalem, not having fixed upon a position for halting the Army;" and he says that he has described two favorable positions to the Commander-in-chief, "the one near Aquacknock, the other near Mr. Kimble's, four miles from this place." The next day, he writes to the same gentleman, that "the General has fixed upon a place for halting the Army near Mr. Kimball's, within about four miles of this Town. His reasons for this choice are unnecessary to be explained, but whatever they are they will prove very distressing to the Quarter-master's Department. * * * *"

I beg you will set every Wheel in motion that will give dispatch to business." From this, it may be inferred that General Greene preferred the position near Aquacknock, as one more accessible, and also nearer to the more thickly settled Counties along the Hudson. His predictions, concerning the Commissary, were fulfilled more literally than he himself dreamed of.

The position actually chosen is one of the finest localities in Morris County, and can be reached by two roads. The one principally traveled, that Winter, is the old road to Mendham, over "Kimball's Hill," as it is called, to this day. The camping-ground is about four miles South-west from Morristown. Following the Bassingridge road, four miles, through a region famous for its excellent soil and timber, with the mountain on your right, you come to the Kimbal property, now owned by H. A. Hoyt, Esq. Here you turn to the right, and ascend the highlands, for a mile, and you are on the ground which must be considered as consecrated by the unparalleled hardships of the American Army. The different camps, where were quartered the troops from New England, the Middle and the Southern States, were on the lands which then belonged to Mr. Kimbal and Mr. Wicke, including some one thousand acres. The house on the Wicke property, is still standing, very much as it was in that Winter; and it is worthy of a brief description. It is on the crown of the hill, when you descend, westward, to Mendham, and eastward to Morristown. In front of the house was an old black locust—cut down in 1870—at

least two feet and a half in diameter; and at the East end is the largest red cedar I have ever seen. Both these trees were standing in 1780. In the immediate vicinity of the house, are several immense black cherry-trees, which belong to the same period. The house itself is nearly square, and is built in the old style of New England houses, with a famous large chimney-stack, in the centre. The very door which swung then is there still, hanging on the same substantial strap-hinges, and ornamented with the same old lion-headed knocker. Passing through this door, which fronts southward, you come into a hall some four feet deep and eight feet wide, its width being just the same as the thickness of the chimney. Turning to the right, you pass from the hall into the ordinary family-room, and to the left, into the parlor. A door from the family-room and the parlor leads you into the kitchen, which is about two-thirds the length of the house. The fire-places of these three rooms all belong to the one huge stone stack in the centre; and everything about them remains as it then was. They would alarm modern economists, by their capacity to take in wood by the cord. The spaces above the old mantle-trees are filled up with panel-work, and in the parlor, especially, evidently were once quite fine, especially for that day. On the North side of the parlor, is a door leading into the spare bed-room, with which is connected an amusing incident. Great difficulty was experienced, in the Spring of 1780, in procuring teams to remove the army stores, and horses for Cavalry. Mr. Wicke's daughter, Tempe, owned a beautiful young horse, which she frequently rode, and always with skill. She was an admirable and a bold rider. One day, as the preparations for removing the Army were progressing, Miss Wicke rode her favorite horse to the house of her brother-in-law, Mr. Leddel, on the road to Mendham; and, on her return, was accosted by some soldiers, who commanded her to dismount and let them take the horse. One of them had seized the bridal-reins. Perfectly self-possessed, she appeared to submit to her fate, but not without a vain entreaty not to take her favorite from her. She then told them she was sorry to part with the animal, but as she must, she would ask two favors of them, the one was to return him to her, if possible; and the other was, whether they returned him or not, to treat him well. The soldiers were completely thrown off their guard, and the reins were released, they supposing she was about to dismount, than which nothing was farther from her intentions, for no sooner was the man's hand loose from the bridle than she touched her spirited horse with the whip, and he sped from among them like an arrow. As

she was riding away, at full speed, they fired after her, but probably without intending to hit her; at any rate, she was unharmed. She urged her horse up the hill, at his highest speed, and coming round to the kitchen-door, on the North side of the house, she sprang off and led him into the kitchen, thence into the parlor, and thence into the spare bed-room, which had but one window, and that on the West side. This was secured with a shutter. The soldiers, shortly after, came up, searched the barn and the woods in vain. Miss Wicke saved her horse by keeping him in that bed-room three weeks, until the last troop was fairly off. The incident, which is authentic, shows the adroitness and courage of the young lady, who, afterwards became the wife of William Tuttle, an officer in the Jersey Brigade, during the entire War.

The descriptions of the different camps, which are to be given, are quite imperfect, but interesting; and, such as they are, are derived from the late Captain William Tuttle, who was stationed with the Jersey Troops during that Winter. It cannot be sufficiently regretted that some friendly pen was not ready to record the conversations of this fine old soldier, an officer in the Third Jersey Regiment, and perfectly acquainted with all the localities of the encampment on Kimbal Hill. He was twenty years old at the time; and, from the conclusion of the War until his death, in 1836, he resided most of the time either on the Wicke Farm or in the immediate vicinity. Very often would he go over the ground, especially with his young relatives, pointing out the precise spots occupied by the different troops, and filling up hours with thrilling anecdotés connected with that Winter; but these conversations no one was at the pains to record, and now they are helplessly gone. He enlisted in the regular service in 1777, and remained in it until Peace was declared. He suffered the exposures of Winter-quarters at Middle Brook, Valley Forge, and Kimbal Hill; was in the battles of Glad's Ford, Germantown, Brandywine, Monmouth, Springfield, and "others of less note"; was with LaFayette, in his Virginia Campaign; and was at the siege of York Town, and yet his careless relatives, culpably, have suffered his history to be shrunk into the compass of his own meager but modest affidavit in the Pension Office.

As good fortune will have it, a former tenant on the Wicke farm occupied it several years before Captain Tuttle's death; and, in company with the old gentleman, frequently passed over the camp grounds. Under Mr. Mucklow's direction, a small party of us passed over the various points of interest. Taking the old Wicke house as the starting point, we crossed

the road, and, following in a South-west direction, came into a tract of timber, on an easy slope, and extending to a living spring brook. In the upper end of the woods, near the brook, we found the ruins of several hut-chimneys. Following the side hill, in the same direction as the stream, that is, in a South-east course, we found quite a large number of these stone chimneys; and, in some of them, the stones seem to be just as the soldiers left them. At one point, we counted two rows containing forty chimneys; some of them evidently belonging to double-huts. Just below these, we came into a fine level opening, almost bare of trees, and which may have been grubbed clean of stumps and roots for a parade ground. A few rods higher up the side of the hill, were other ruins, extending with some degree of regularity around the face of the hill, in a curve; until the row was terminated at a brook, on the East side, which puts into the stream already mentioned. On the crown of the hill is another row of ruins; and Captain Tuttle informed our guide that the cleared field, on the hill, was once covered with similar remains. Thus far, we counted one hundred and ninety-six of these; and had been over the ground occupied by the Jersey Brigade. Frequently did Captain Tuttle relate the fact that he had seen the paths, leading from the Jersey camp to the Wicke house, marked with blood from the feet of the soldiers without shoes!

On the same side of the road, and near to it, is a cleared field. In this field a spring-brook rises, around which the hill slopes in the form of a horse shoe. On the North side of this was a slaughter-house; and a little lower down, on the same side, are the remains of the huts built for the Commissary-department, and in the vicinity of a beautiful spring. On the opposite side of the brook, we found several ruins, which, with those just mentioned, amounted to twenty-three. On the ground of the slaughter-house, Mr. Mucklow ploughed up an old bayonet.

Crossing the road, directly opposite this point we came into a cleared field which is in the Southern slope of Fort-hill. Along the road fence, is a row of stones which were in the hut fire-places, and which were drawn off to clear the ground for ploughing; but higher up in the woods are several remains. East of this lot, and lower down the hill, is an open field, in which we saw several rows, in regular order, containing sixty fire-places; and thence, following the curve of the hill, in a North-east course, in regular rows, we counted one hundred more. We were informed that the remains are to be seen around the entire hill; but want of time forbade our pursuing the inquiry farther.

We now ascended Fort-hill, around the sides of which we had been walking for some time. It is shaped like a sugar-loaf; and, from the North-east to the South-east, its sides are very steep, making the ascent not a little difficult. I was on this point, in the Spring, before the leaves had put out; and the view from it is surpassingly beautiful. Fort Hill is one of the most commanding points in Morris County. Westward, you can see the Schooley's Mountain range and, as I fancied, the mountains along the Delaware. Southward, is a fine range of highlands, in the midst of which is Baskingridge, (where General Lee was captured) so distinct that, with a glass, you can tell what is doing in its streets. South-east of you Long-hill and Plainfield Mountain stretch far in the distance, from the top of which, you may see from New York to New Brunswick, if not to the Delaware. East of you, are the Short-hills, so famous as the watch-tower of freedom, during the Revolutionary War, and on which, night and day, sentinels were observing the country along the Hackensack, Passaic and Raritan, and even to New York and the Narrows. North-east, you can see the two twin mountain in the vicinity of Ringwood; and, beyond that, the blue-tinged mountains, towards Newburgh. Between these prominent points are intervening landscapes, beautiful as the eye ever rested on. But of this, more in another place.

At the East and North-east, on the top of Fort-hill, are some remains not like those we had previously examined. They evidently were not the ruins of breast-works, but seem to have been designed to prepare level places, for the free movements of artillery; and a close inspection shows that cannon stationed at those two points, on the hill top, would sweep the entire face of the hill, in case of an attack. This, undoubtedly, was the design. In the immediate vicinity, are the remains of quite a number of hut-chimneys, probably occupied by a detachment of artillery-men.

Passing down the West side of Fort-hill, towards the old house, we came into what has always been called the Jockey Hollow road, at a place which tradition points out as the spot where Captain Billings was shot, when the Pennsylvania troops mutinied, on New Year's day, 1781. The aged mother of Mr. Robert K. Tuttle of Morristown, pointed out a black oak tree, by the roadside, as near the spot where the unfortunate man was shot down, and buried in the road where he was killed. Mrs. Tuttle was, at the time, living on a part of the Wicke farm, so that the tradition is undoubtedly true.

We now returned to the house in order to visit Hospital Field, as it is still called, and

also the Maryland Field, so called because the Maryland troops were there encamped, during the Winter of 1779-'80. These fields are about half a mile North from the house. Hospital Field is on the slope of a high hill, facing East and South-east; and at the bottom, is a fine spring brook, in the vicinity of which were huts for the hospitals. Of these there are no remains, as the plough has long since obliterated them; but, near by, is a most interesting place, marked by a grove of locust trees, planted to protect the graves from the plough. Here are two rows of graves where were buried those who died at the hospitals, that Winter. A granite monument ought to be built, immediately, there, to commemorate those unnamed men, who died whilst in the service of their country. The length of space occupied by the graves, as far as can now be seen, is about one hundred and seventy feet, thus making a single row of graves about three hundred and forty feet long. The graves evidently are near together, so that quite a large number must have died in the hospitals, that Winter. Whether there was any other burying-ground used, it is impossible now to determine; but it is very probable, that the hill-sides, in the vicinity, contain many graves which will remain unknown until the morning of the resurrection.

Directly East from Hospital Field, on a hill opposite, the Maryland troops and, perhaps, the Virginia were "huted;" but we were assured that no remains are left, as the ground has all been ploughed, so that we did not visit it. In all, we had counted three hundred and sixty-five chimney foundations, marking the sites of as many huts, besides many which, inadvertently, we omitted to count. We must have seen more than four hundred in all; and I am thus particular in describing their positions, because a few years more may entirely obliterate all traces of the camps on Kimbal-Hill.

If we return to the top of Fort-hill, and cast the eye over the prominent points already mentioned, we shall perceive how admirably they are adapted for the purpose of spreading alarm by means of beacon-fires. The ranges of the Short and Long-hills and Plainfield Mountain, on the South-east and East, Schooley's Mountain, on the West, the mountains near Ringwood and along the new York line, on the North and North-east, all are as distinct as light-houses. Very early in the War, there was a beacon-station, on the Short-hills, near the country residence of the late Bishop Hobart; but, in the Winter of 1778-'9, Washington communicated to the Governor of New Jersey a plan for establishing these beacons throughout the State; and, in accordance with his request on the ninth of April, 1779, General Philemon

Dickerson, one of the most able Militia officers in the State, was instructed to carry the plan into effect. Hitherto, no traces of a written plan have been found, but there can be no doubt as to some of the locations. That on the Short-hills is remembered by persons still living—1854—from whom the Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle derived the account he gives of the matter. "On that commanding elevation," writes Mr. Tuttle, in his Lecture on Bottle Hill during the Revolution, "the means were kept for alarming the inhabitants of the interior, in case of any threatening movement of the enemy, in any direction. A cannon, an eighteen-pounder—called in those times 'the old sow'—fired every half hour, answered this object in the daytime and in very stormy and dark nights; while an immense fire or beacon-light answered the end at all other times. A log-house or two * * * * were erected there for the use of the sentinels, who, by relieving one another, at definite intervals, kept careful watch, day and night, their eyes continually sweeping over the vast extent of country that lay stretched out like a map, before them. The beacon-light was constructed of dry wood, piled around a high pole; this was filled with combustible materials; and a tar-barrel was placed upon the top of the pole. When the sentinels discovered any movement of the enemy, of a threatening character, or such tidings were brought them by messengers, either the alarm-gun was fired or the beacon-fire kindled, so that the tidings were quickly spread over the whole region. There are several persons still living in this place, who remember to have heard that dismal alarm-gun, and to have seen those beacon-lights sending out their baleful and terrific light from that high point of observation; and who also remember to have seen the inhabitants, armed with their muskets, making all possible haste to Chatham-bridge and the Short-hills."

That there was a system of beacon-lights, there can be no doubt, although, unfortunately, the most of those are dead who could give us information about it, and there are no documents describing the various points where these lights were kindled. Of one, we have some knowledge. Seven miles North of Morristown, near the present Railroad Depot, at Denville, is a mountain which rises abruptly to a considerable height, from which you can see the Short-hills. On this point, there was a beacon-light, managed by Captain Josiah Hall, whose descendants still reside in the vicinity. A fire from this point would be seen from the top of Green Pond Mountain, several miles farther North; and a fire on that mountain would probably reach the portion of Susse

county where the brave Colonel Seward, grandfather of Senator Seward, resided. Tradition says, that such was the case; and that, often, at night, the tongue of fire might be seen leaping into the air on the Short-hills, soon to be followed by brilliant lights on Fort-hill, on the Denville mountain, the Green Pond Mountain, and on the range of Mountains on the Orange County line. To many, it has seemed inexplicable, and it was so to the enemy, that they could not make a movement towards the hills of Morris, without meeting the yeomen of Morris, armed and ready to repel them. I have conversed with several old men who have seen the roads converging on Morristown and Chatham, lined with men who were hurrying off to the Short-hills, to drive back the invaders. The alarm-gun and the beacon-light explain the mystery; and, as an illustration of scenes frequently witnessed, I may give an incident in the life of an old soldier, by the name of Bishop, who was living at Mendham. He was one morning engaged in stacking his wheat, with a hired man, when the alarm-gun pealed off its warning. "I must go," exclaimed Bishop. "You had better take care of your wheat," said his man. Again they heard the dull, heavy sound of the alarm-gun; and instantly Bishop slid down from the stack, exclaiming, "I can't stand this. Get along with the grain the best way you can. I'm off to the rescue!" Hastily, he packed a small budget of provisions; and, shouldering his musket, in a few minutes, he was on the way to Morristown. He says that, on his way there, he found men issuing from every road, equipped just as they left their fields and shops, so that, by the time he reached town, he was one of a large company. Here they were met by a messenger who said the enemy was retreating. It was by such alacrity that it came to be a boast of the Morris County people, that the enemy had never been able to gain a footing among these hills. They frequently made the attempt, but never succeeded. Once, as it is said, for purpose of exchanging prisoners, a detachment did reach Chatham-bridge, which was guarded by brave General Wins, to whom the braggart Captain sent word that he proposed to dine next day in Morristown. The message called out the somewhat expressive reply, that "if he dined in 'Morristown, next day, he would sup in ——" (the place infernal) "next night!"

So far as possible, let us now relate the facts which show the sufferings and heroism of our soldiers, on Kimbal-hill, the Winter of 1779-'80. On the ninth of December, General Greene wrote, "Our hutting goes on rapidly, and the troops will be under cover in a few days. The officers will remain in the open field until the boards (from Trenton) arrive, and as their

sufferings are great, they will be proportionably clamorous." The New England troops, on the ninth of that month, were at Pompton; and Doctor Tbaicher, in his Military Journal, says, "On the fourteenth, we reached this wilderness, about three miles from Morristown, where we are to build huts for Winter quarters." The severity of the Winter may be inferred from Doctor Tbaicher's description. "The snow on the ground is about two feet deep and the weather extremely cold; the soldiers are destitute of both tents and blankets, and some of them are actually bare-footed and almost naked. Our only defence against the inclemency of the weather consists of brush-wood, thrown together. Our lodging, the last night, was on the frozen ground. Those officers who have the privilege of a horse can always have a blanket at hand. Having removed the snow, we wrapped ourselves in great coats, spread our blankets on the ground and lay down by the side of each other, five or six together, with large fires at our feet, leaving orders with the waiters to keep it well supplied with fuel during the night. We could procure neither shelter nor forage for our horses; and the poor animals were tied to the trees, in the woods, for twenty-four hours, without food, except the bark which they peeled from the trees." "The whole Army, in this department, are to be engaged in building log-huts for Winter-quarters. The ground is marked, and the soldiers have commenced cutting down the timber of oak and walnut, of which we have great abundance. Our baggage has, at length, arrived; the men find it very difficult to pitch their tents, in the frozen ground; and, notwithstanding large fires, we can scarcely keep from freezing. In addition to other sufferings, the whole Army has been seven or eight days entirely destitute of the staff of life; our only food is miserable fresh beef, without bread, salt, or vegetables." (Military Journal, 176, 177.)

The general fact that that Winter was one of terrible severity is well known; but we may obtain more vivid ideas of this fact by a few details. In the New Jersey Gazette of February 9th, 1780, published at Trenton, the editor says, "The weather has been so extremely cold, for near two months past, that sleighs and other carriages now pass from this place to Philadelphia, on the Delaware, a circumstance not remembered by the oldest person among us." As early as the eighteenth of December, 1779, an officer, who visited some of the smaller encampments along the hills, in the vicinity, writes, "I found the weather excessively cold." (New Jersey Gazette, December 22d, 1779.) On the fourteenth of January, Lord Stirling led a detachment against the enemy, on Staten

Island; and on the morning of the fifteenth, he crossed on the ice, from Elizabethtown-Point. (Life of Stirling, 206; Sparks's Writings of Washington, vi., 447.) The Hudson was so bridged with ice as to permit foot-passengers to cross from New York to Hoboken and Paulus Hook.

But the unparalleled depth of snow added to the intense sufferings of the soldiers. On the fourteenth of December, as Thacher says, the "snow was two feet deep." On the twenty-eighth of December, an officer says, in the New Jersey Gazette, "while I am writing, the storm is raging without." But the great storm of the Winter began on the third of January, when the greater part of the Army were not protected by the huts, which were not yet ready for occupation. Doctor Thacher thus describes the storm (Military Journal, 181); "On the 3d inst." [January, 1780] "we experienced one of the most tremendous snow storms ever remembered; no man could endure its violence many minutes without danger to his life. Several marquees were torn asunder and blown down, over the officers' heads, in the night, and some of the soldiers were actually covered while in their tents and buried, like sheep, under the snow. My comrades and myself were roused from sleep by the calls of some officers for assistance; their marquee had blown down, and they were almost smothered in the storm, before they could reach our marquee, only a few yards, and their blankets and baggage were nearly buried in the snow. We (the officers) are greatly favored in having a supply of straw for bedding; over this we spread all our blankets, and with our clothes and large fires at our feet, while four or five are crowded together, preserve ourselves from freezing. But the sufferings of the poor soldiers can scarcely be described; while on duty they are unavoidably exposed to all the inclemency of the storm and severe cold; at night, they now have a bed of straw on the ground and a single blanket to each man; they are badly clad and some are destitute of shoes. We have contrived a kind of stone chimney, outside, and an opening at one end of our tents gives us the benefit of the fire within. The snow is now from four to six feet deep, which so obstructs the roads as to prevent our receiving a supply of provisions. For the last ten days, we received but two pounds of meat a man, and we are frequently for six or eight days entirely destitute of meat and then as long without bread. The consequence is, the soldiers are so enfeebled from hunger and cold, as to be almost unable to perform military duty or labor in constructing their huts. It is well known that General Washington experiences the greatest solicitude for the sufferings of his

Army and is sensible that they in general conduct with heroic patience and fortitude."

This storm continued for several days, accompanied with violent winds, which drifted the snow so that the roads were impassable. So deep was the snow, that, in many places, it covered the tops of the fences, and teams could be driven over them. Under date of "January 22d, 1780," an officer on Kimball-hill wrote the following lively description of the condition of the Army, in consequence of this storm: "We had a Fast, lately, in Camp, by general constraint, of the whole Army; in which we fasted more sincerely and truly for three days, than we ever did from all the Resolutions of Congress put together. This was occasioned by the severity of the weather and drifting of the snow, whereby the roads were rendered impassable and all supplies of provision cut off, until the officers were obliged to release the soldiers from command, and permit them to go in great numbers together, to get provisions where they could find them. The inhabitants of this part of the country discovered a noble spirit in feeding the soldiers; and, to the honor of the soldiery, they received what they got with thankfulness, and did little or no damage." (New Jersey Gazette, January 26th, 1780.)

The manuscript letters of Joseph Lewis, Quarter-master at Morristown, prove this description to be truthful. On the eighth of January, he wrote, "We are now as distressed as want of Provision and Cash can make us. The soldiers have been reduced to the necessity of robbing the inhabitants, to save their own lives." On the next day, he wrote, "We are still in distress for want of provisions. Our Magistrates, as well as small detachments from the Army, are busy collecting to relieve our distresses; and I am told that the troops already experience the good effects of their industry. We are wishing for more plentiful supplies." And, in real distress, he writes under the same date "the sixty million dollars lately collected by tax, must be put into the hands of the Superintendent for the new purchases. You will therefore have but little chance of getting Cash until more is MADE. If none comes sooner than by striking new emissions, I must run away from Morris and live with you at Trenton or some other place, more remote from this, to secure me from the already enraged multitudes."

On the eighth of January, General Washington wrote from the Ford mansion, the comforts of which must have made the sufferings of his soldiers seem the more awful: "The present state of the Army, with respect to provisions, is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the War. For a

fortnight past, the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing for want of food. They have been alternately without bread or meat, the whole time, with a very scanty allowance of either, and frequently destitute of both. They have borne their sufferings with a patience that merits the approbation, and ought to excite the sympathy, of their countrymen. But they are now reduced to an extremity no longer to be supported." (Sparks's Writings of Washington, vi., 439.) This letter, which was addressed to "the Magistrates of New Jersey," is one of the noblest productions of his pen: and right nobly did those, thus feelingly addressed, respond to the appeal. And in this, none were superior to the people of Morris-county, on whom, of necessity, fell the burden of affording immediate relief, and whose efforts did not cease when this was effected. On the twentieth of January, Washington wrote to Doctor John Witherspoon, that "all the Counties of this State that I have heard from, have attended to my requisition for provisions, with the most cheerful and commendable zeal;" and to "Elbridge Gerry, in Congress," he wrote "the exertions of the Magistrates and inhabitants of this State were great and cheerful for our relief." (Sparks's Writings of Washington, vi., 448, 456.) In his Military Journal (page 182), Doctor Thacher speaks, with enthusiasm, of "the ample supplies" of food furnished by "the Magistrates and people of Jersey;" and Isaac Collins, Editor of the New Jersey Gazette, on the nineteenth of January, says, "With pleasure, we inform our readers, that our Army, which the unexpected inclemency of the season and the roads becoming almost impassable, had suffered a few days for want of provisions, are, from the spirited exertions now making, likely to be well supplied."

It was during this season of distress, that Hannah Carey, wife of Captain David Thompson, of Mendham, one day fed troop after troop of hungry soldiers; and as they told her they had no means of paying her, she said to them, "Eat what you want; you are engaged in a good cause; and we are willing to share with you, what we have, as long as it lasts!" and Hannah Carey Thompson was only one of a great company of women, like-minded with herself. It is true, she gave an impudent Tory such a reception of scalding water, on a certain occasion, as made him roar with pain and in future, abstain from such acts; but then her heart was large towards the suffering defenders of her country. In Whippany, the potato-bin, the meat-bag, and the granary of Uzal and Anna Kitchel always had some comfort for the patriotic soldiers; and the ample farm of old General Winds, of Rockaway, had

not borne harvests too good for him to bestow on his brethren-in-arms. Often, the soldiers, goaded by hunger, would go several miles to beg or steal a little food; and, in some such excursion, it happened that Elizabeth Pierson, second wife of Parson Green, of Hanover, "particularly lamented the loss of a fat turkey that had been reserved for a Christmas dinner;" but her husband, although his son, Asybel, never remembered to have seen him smile, perpetrated quite a scriptural joke, "when he rather excused what the soldiers had done, by quoting these words from the Book of Proverbs, 'Men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry!'" Provisions came, with a right hearty good will, from the farmers in Mendham, Chatham, Hanover, Morris, and Pequannock; and not only provisions, but stockings and shoes, coats and blankets. Over on Smith's Hammock, as it was called, beyond Hanover Neck, Ralph Smith's mother assembled the patriot women to sew and knit for the soldiers. In Whippany, Anna Kitchel and her neighbors are at the same good work; and, in Morristown, "Mrs. Parson Johns" and "Mrs. Counsellor Condict," with all the noble women in the town, made the sewing and knitting-needles fly on their mission of mercy. The memory of the Morris-county women of that day is yet as delightful as the "smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed!" and this tribute to their worth is not woven up of fictions, but of facts, gathered from living lips, and, therefore, never may those women perish from the memory of their admiring and grateful descendants.

The generosity of which we have spoken is much enhanced by the fact, that the people supposed themselves to be giving, and not selling, their provisions. According to the prices—Continental Currency—affixed to various articles, by the Magistrates of Morris-county, in January, 1780, they gave away thousands of dollars to soldiers at their tables; and as for provisions, nominally sold, they were paid for either in Continental bills or certificates, both of which they considered as nearly worthless. Their opinion of the bills was not wrong, since, after the War, hundreds of thousands of dollars were left on their hands, which were never redeemed; but many of them made a serious mistake in their estimate of the certificates which were redeemed with interest. Yet many of these men threw these certificates away, as worthless, and esteemed themselves as doing an unpaid duty to their country.

It is interesting to ascertain the prices of various articles used in the Camp, that Winter. On the twenty-seventh of January, Quartermaster Lewis wrote: "The Justices, at their meeting, established the following prices to be

given for Hay and Grain throughout the County [of Morris], from the 1st of December, 1779, to the 1st of February next, or until the Regulating Act take place.

For Hay, 1st Quality,	£100	per ton.
“ “ 2d “	£80	“ “
“ “ 3d “	£50	“ “
“ for one horse, 24 hours,	6	dollars.
“ “ “ “ per night,	4	“
Wheat, per bushel,	50	“
Rye, “ “	35	“
Corn, “ “	30	“
Buckwheat and Oats,	20	“

This, certainly, is rather a startling “Price Current;” but it was only in keeping with such significant advertisements as frequently appeared in the papers of that day: “One Thousand Dollars Reward” for the recovery of “my negro man, Toney; or “Thirty Spanish Milled Dollars,” for the recovery of my runaway “Mule; to fellow, Jack.” “Forty paper dollars were worth only one in specie;” and the fact increases our wonder, alike at the patriotism of the people and soldiers, which was sufficient to keep the Army from open mutiny or being entirely disbanded.

To leave this gloomy side of the picture, a little while, it is well to record the fact that, on the twenty-eighth of December, 1779, whilst the snow “storm was raging,” Martha Washington passed through Trenton, on her way to Morristown; and that a troop of gallant Virginians, stationed there, were paraded to do her honor, being very proud to own her as a Virginian, and her husband also. She spent New Year’s Day in Morristown; and now, in the Ford mansion, you may see the very mirror in which her dignified form has often been reflected. The wife of the American Commander-in-chief received her company, did the honors of her family, and even appeared, occasionally, at the “Assembly Balls,” that Winter dressed in American stuffs. It is a pleasing anecdote, which was once told me by the late Mrs. Abby Vail, daughter of Uzal and Anna Kitchel. Some of the ladies in Hanover, and, among them, “the stately Madame Budd,” mother of Dr. Bern Budd, dressed in their best, made a call on Lady Washington, and, as one of them afterwards said, “we were dressed in our most elegant silks and ruffles, and so were introduced to her ladyship. And don’t you think, we found her with a speckled homespun apron on, and engaged in knitting a stocking! She received us very handsomely, and then resumed her knitting. In the course of her conversation, she said, very kindly, to us, whilst she made her needles fly, that American ladies should be patters of industry to their countrywomen; ** we must become independent of England by doing without those articles which we can

make ourselves. Whilst our husbands and brothers are examples of patriotism, we must be examples of industry!” “I do declare,” said one of them, afterwards, “I never felt so ashamed and rebuked in my life!” It is very possible that Martha Washington, with her knitting-needles and homespun dress, might not be admitted into the same circle with our modern “Potiphars;” and yet she does shine beautifully, in this little scene, proving herself the worthy companion of the illustrious Washington.

From documents, not very important in themselves, we sometimes derive impressive lessons. The original of the following subscription for Assembly Balls in Morristown, that Winter, is still in possession of the Bidle family, on the Delaware: “The subscribers agree to pay the sums annexed to their respective names and an equal quota of any further expence which may be incurred in the promotion and support of a dancing Assembly to be held in Morristown, the present winter of 1780. Subscription Moneys to be paid in o the hands of a Treasurer hereafter to be appointed.

Nath. Greene	400	dolls	paid
H. Knox	400	dolls	paid
John Lawrence	400	dolls	paid
J. Wilkinson	400	dolls	paid
Clement Bidle	400	dolls	paid
Robt. H. Harrison	400	dolls	paid
R. K. Meale	400	dolls	paid
Alex. Hamilton	400	dolls	paid
Tench Tighlman	400	dolls	paid
C. Gibbs	400	dolls	paid
Jno. Pierce	400	dolls	paid
The Baron de Kalb	400	dolls	paid
Jno. Moylan	400	dolls	paid
Le Ch. Dulingsley	400	dolls	paid
Geo. Washington	paid	E. D. (\$400.)	
E. Clairborne	pd	400	dolls
Lord Sterling	pd	400	dolls
Col. Hazen	pd	400	dolls
Asa Worthington	pd	400	dolls
Benj. Brown	pd	400	dolls
Major Staggs	pd	400	dolls
James Thompson	pd	400	dolls
H. Jackson	pd	400	dolls
Col. Thomas Proctor	pd	400	dolls
J. B. Cutting	pd	400	dolls
Edward Hand	pd	400	dolls
William Little	pd	400	dolls
Thos. Woolford	pd	400	dolls
Geo. Olney	400	dolls	paid
Jas. Abeel	400	dolls	paid
Robert Erskine	400	dolls	paid
Jno. Cochran	400	dolls	paid
Geo. Draper	400	dolls	paid
J. Burnet	400	dolls	paid.

The amounts thus “paid” constitute the somewhat imposing sum of thirteen thousand, six hundred dollars “for the support of a dancing Assembly the present winter of 1780.” Now I frankly confess that this paper produced an uncomfortable sensation in my mind, by the somewhat harsh contrast between the dancing of the well-housed officers, at O’Hara’s tavern,

and the "hungry ruin" at Kimbal-hill. The Assembly was not so well set off with gas-lights and fashionable splendor as many a Ball in our day. No doubt it was rather a plain affair, of its kind; and yet it reminds one that, while these distinguished men were tripping "the light fantastic toe," in well-warmed rooms, there were, at that very time, as Captain William Tuttle often told it, a great many tents in which there were soldiers without coats and barefooted, shivering and perishing in the fearful storms and colds of that same "present winter of 1780;" and that there were paths about the camps, on Kimbal-hill, that were marked with real blood expressed from the cracked and frozen feet of soldiers who had no shoes!

However, I do not allude to this contrast as peculiar to that place and those men, for feasting and starvation, plenty crowned with wreaths of yellow wheat and gaunt famine wreathed in rags and barefoot; dancing and dying, are facts put in contrast in other places beside O'Hara's and Kimbal-hill, and at other times than "the present winter of 1780."

The principal object of introducing the subscription-paper here is to show the kind of currency on which our Revolution was compelled to rely. Here we find the leading men in Morristown, paying a sum for the dancing-master and landlord, the ministers of a little amusement, which, nominally, is large enough for the high figures of Fifth Avenue millionaires; but a closer inspection shows that the sum of thirteen thousand dollars was not worth as much as three hundred silver dollars. Doctor Thatcher says, significantly, "I have just seen in the newspaper an advertisement offering for an article forty dollars. This is the trash which is tendered to requite us for our sacrifices, sufferings, and privations, while in the service of our country. It is but a sordid pittance, even for our common purposes, while in camp; but those who have families dependent on them, at home, are reduced to a deplorable condition." The officers of the Jersey troops, in their Memorial to the Legislature of New Jersey, declare "that four months' pay of a soldier would not procure for his family a bushel of wheat; that the pay of a Colonel would not purchase oats for his horse; that a common laborer or express-rider received four times as much as an American officer."

If such were their circumstances, let us rather admire than condemn these brave men, at Morristown, who were striving to invest the stern severities of that Winter with something of the gayer and more frivolous courtesies of fashionable life.

As for fighting, there was but little, the principal expedition being the descent of a de-

tachment on Staten Island, under Lord Stirling. The expectations raised by this expedition are quite flatteringly told in an unpublished letter of Joseph Lewis, Quarter-master. He writes, under date of "January 15th 1780." that he had orders from General Green "to procure three hundred sleds or sleighs to parade Friday Morning at this post and at Mr. Kimble's * * * * . I did not fail to exert myself on the occasion, and the Magistrates gained deserved applause. About five hundred sleds or sleighs were collected, the majority of which were loaded with troops, artillery, &c. These sleds and as many more are to return loaded with stores from the British Magazines, on Staten Island, except some few that are to be loaded with wounded British Prisoners. About 3000 troops are gone, under the command of Lord Stirling, with a determination to remove all Staten Island, bag and baggage, to Morristown!" (MS. Letter of Joseph Lewis.)

This expedition failed of realizing its object, because the enemy, by some means, had been put on his guard. Still, Collins of the New Jersey Gazette, was sure it would "show the British mercenaries with what zeal and alacrity the Americans will embrace every opportunity, even in a very inclement season, to promote the interest of the country by harassing the enemies to their freedom and independence." (New Jersey Gazette, January 19th, 1780.) And, on the twenty-second of that January, Quarter-master Lewis wrote in quite a subdued tone, "I suppose you have heard of the success of our late expedition to Staten Island. It was expensive but answered no valuable purpose. It shewed the inclination of our inhabitants to plunder." (MS. Letter J. Lewis.) This expedition was at a time when "the cold was intense;" and about five hundred of the soldiers had their feet frozen.

The enemy, by the way of retaliation, on the twenty-fifth of January, crossed to Elizabethtown and burnt the Town-house and Presbyterian Church. They also "plundered the house of Jeaniah Smith." The same night, another party "made an excursion to Newark, surprised the guard there, took Mr. Justice Hedden out of his bed, and would not suffer him to dress; they also took Mr. Robert Niel, burnt the Academy, and went off with precipitation." Rivington's Royal Gazette speaks of this Justice Hedden as "a rebel magistrate remarkable for his persecuting spirit." (New Jersey Gazette, February 2d and 16th, 1780.) It was marvellous that Hedden survived that march, in such weather, from Newark to New York; but the tough man was nerved thereto by his brutal captors.

But have the troops enough to eat? General Greene's letter to "the Colonel of the Morris-

own Militia" gives us a most sorrowful answer. "The Army," writes Greene, in January, "is upon the point of disbanding for want of provisions; the poor soldiers having been for several days without any, and there is not being more than a sufficiency to serve one Regiment in the Magazine. Provisions are scarce at best; but the late terrible storm, the depth of the snow, and the drifts in the roads prevent the little stock from coming forward, which is in readiness, at the distant Magazines. This is, therefore, to request you to call upon the Militia-officers and men of your Battalion to turn out their teams and break the roads, from between this and Hackensistown, there being a small quantity of provisions, there, that cannot come until that is done. The roads must be kept open by the inhabitants, or the Army cannot be subsisted. And, unless the good people immediately lend their assistance to forward supplies, the Army must disband. The dire and consequences of such an event, will not torture your feelings with a description of; but remember the surrounding inhabitants will experience the first melancholy effects of such a raging evil." (Johnson's Life and Correspondence of Nathaniel Greene, L. 146.)

On the eleventh of January, Greene wrote, "such weather as we have had, never did I feel," and the snow was so deep and drifted "that we drive over the tops of the fences." He then describes the sufferings of the soldiers, and adds, "they have displayed a degree of magnanimity, under their sufferings, which does them the highest honor." (Ibid, 148.) On the tenth of March, Joseph L. wis tells his superior officer, "I should be happy to receive about fifty thousand colars to persuade the wagoners to stay in Camp until May, which will prevent the troops from suffering." And on the twenty-eight of the same month, he again writes, "I am no longer able to procure a single team to relieve the distresses of our Army, to bring in a supply of wood, or forward the stores which are absolutely necessary.

* * * * * I wish I could inhabit some kind retreat from those dreadful complaints, unless I had a house filled with money and a Magazine of Forage to guard and protect me." "Good God? where are our resources fled? We are truly in a most pitiful situation and almost distracted with calls that it is not in our power to answer." (MS. Letter of J. Lewis.)

But there is another fact which adds a deeper shade to this picture of suffering, since from Thacher's Military Journal, we have this sentence, in which, with no little exultation, he says, "having to this late season—February 14th—in our tents, experienced the greatest inconvenience, we have now the satisfaction of

taking possession of the log-huts just completed by our soldiers, where we shall have more comfortable accommodations;" and yet in March, he says, "our soldiers are in a wretched condition for want of clothes, blankets, and shoes; and these calamitous circumstances are accompanied by a want of provisions." (Thacher's Military Journal, 187.)

From these letters, written by actual witnesses, we are able to gather enough of facts to aid us in appreciating the condition of the Army.

I may appropriately close this historical monograph with an original letter of Washington, which has never yet been published, and which is a very striking commentary on the difficulties of his position the last Winter he was in Morristown. It was found among some old papers, in the possession of Stephen Thompson, Esq., of Mendham, New Jersey, a son of Captain David Thompson, who is referred to in this article. It will be remembered that the great snow-storm which caused such distress in the camp, began on the third of January, 1780. The famine which threatened the Army, caused Washington to write a letter "to the Magistrates of New Jersey," which is published in Sparks's editions of the Writings of Washington. A copy of that letter was inclosed in the letter which is now published for the first time. It is a valuable letter, as showing that Washington's "integrity was most pure, his justice most inflexible."

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, January 8, 1780.

"SIR,—The present distresses of the Army, with which you are well acquainted, have determined me to call upon the respective Counties of the State for a proportion of grain and cattle, according to the abilities of each.

"For this purpose, I have addressed the Magistrates of every County, to induce them to undertake the business. This mode I have preferred as the one least inconvenient to the inhabitants; but, in case the requisition should not be complied with, we must then raise the supplies ourselves in the best manner we can. This I have signified to the Magistrates.

"I have pitched upon you to superintend the execution of this measure in the County of Bergen, which is to furnish two hundred head of cattle and eight hundred bushels of grain.

"You will proceed, then, with all dispatch, and calling upon the Justices, will deliver the inclosed Address, enforcing it with a more particular detail of the sufferings of the troops, the better to convince them of the necessity of their exertions. You will, at the same time, let them delicately know that you are instructed, in case they do not take up the business immediately, to begin to impress the articles called for throughout the County. You will

press for an immediate answer, and govern yourself accordingly. If it be a compliance, you will concert with them a proper place for the reception of the articles and the time of the delivery, which, for the whole, is to be in four days after your appheation to them. The owners will bring their grain and cattle to this place, where the grain is to be measured and the cattle estimated by any two of the Magistrates, in conjunction with the Commissary, Mr. Vorhes, who will be sent to you for the purpose, and certificates given by the Commissary, specifying the quantity of each article and the terms of payment. These are to be previously settled with the owners, who are to choose whether they will receive the present market price—which, if preferred, is to be inserted—or the market price at the time of payment. Immediately on receiving the answer of the Magistrates, you will send me word what it is.

"In case of refusal, you will begin to impress till you make up the quantity required. This you will do with as much tenderness as possible to the inhabitants, having regard to the stock of each individual, that no family may be deprived, of its necessary subsistence. Milch cows are not to be included in the impress. To enable you to execute this business with more effect and less inconvenience, you will call upon Colonel Fell and any other well-affected active man in the County, and endeavor to engage their advice and assistance. You are also authorized to impress wagons for the transportation of the grain.

"If the Magistrates undertake the business, which I should infinitely prefer, on every account, you will endeavor to prevail upon them to assign mills for the reception and preparation of such grain as the Commissary thinks will not be immediately needful in the Camp.

"I have reposed this trust in you from a perfect confidence in your prudence, zeal, and respect for the rights of citizens. While your measures are adapted to the emergency, and you consult what you owe to the service, I am persuaded you will not forget that, as we are compelled by necessity to take the property of citizens for the support of the Army, on whom their safety depends, you should be careful to manifest that we have a respect for their rights, and wish not to do any thing which that necessity, and even their own good, do not absolutely require.

,I, am, Sir, with great respect and esteem,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Go. WASHINGTON.

"P. S. After reading the letter to the Justices you will seal it.

"LT. COL. DE HART."

HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ROCKAWAY.

PREFACE.

The principal portions of this History were delivered in FIVE LECTURES to the church and congregation of Rockaway. The circumstances which led to the delivery of the first discourse were remarkable and they are described in the opening paragraphs of the discourse itself. It is now nearly eighteen years since that occasion, and yet the history of the church was only brought down in a third lecture to the close of the second pastor's term of office. The Centennial year has led some of the people to desire this history to be completed. This request is so far needed as now to bring the narrative to the close of Dr. King's ministry. This was delivered in two discourses July 30th. 1876. For obvious reasons only a bare reference is made to his colleague who was with him from November, 1847, to April, 1862. The task of writing the history of the church as connected with the pastors who have occupied its pulpit but are still living, is left for some other pen. Let me add that I am greatly indebted to my friend, E. D. Halsey, for valuable aid especially in fixing some of the earlier dates. Nor is this the first help I have had from him in tracing the history of Morris County.

August 29th, 1876.

THE HISTORY.

The circumstances under which we have come together are not a little extraordinary. This church has to-day enjoyed the rare privilege of listening to the memorial discourse in which your venerable pastor has traced the history of God's providence as seen in his ministry of more than fifty years to one people. His official relations during that period in several cases have been with five generations of the same family. It has been an eventful period to this church, determining its character and position in this community perhaps for ages to come. A great work has been accomplished by the simple agency not of a flash preacher, a famous orator, but by the divinely blessed preaching of a man gifted with good sense, piety and industry. To say he has been leading us over that period, and as he announced his text, "The Lord hath blessed thee since my coming," our minds flashed over the prostrate condition of things here in 1807, the signs of new and vigorous life which were displayed in the revivals of 1808, 1818 and 1831, the hundred converted and the vast good done, and we involuntarily said in our hearts, "it is truly so, the Lord hath blessed us since his servant came here!"

That occasion was as delightful as it is rare, and all its themes illustrate the grace of God. It is not very likely that this church will again have the privilege of hearing a half-century sermon from one of its pastors.

To-night I shall invite you to accompany me into a more remote field than that to-day discussed by the pastor, and whilst to me it is full of interest, I shall have to claim your indulgence and patience, whilst endeavoring to bring up from the past the people who first dwelt and acted here, the manner in which they lived, and especially all the facts connected with the most important work they did—that of founding this church—which is now so venerable in our eyes, with the toils and honors of her first hundred years.

Every community has a history which, if properly related, must be interesting to those who are members of that community. In its beginnings and its progress it may have borne a very humble part in the grand drama which the world is acting, and yet humble as is that part it is both interesting and important to those who acted it. This is my apology, if any be needed, for attempting to write the history of this church. It has never occupied a very prominent position except in this community and vicinity. It is neither a Wittenburgh nor a Geneva, the center of religious revolution, and the famous scene of great deeds. Nor yet has it the notoriety which sometimes is given to a community by great wealth. Our history spread out on the pages of general history would seem out of place, and it would suffer eclipse from the more distinguished transactions recorded on the same pages. But for us the history of this church has more attractions than many deeds sufficiently important to occupy the pen of the general historian. Here our fathers fought out the battle of life against real difficulties; here they felt the wants which pressed on them as the moral creatures of God; here they wrestled with principalities and powers; here they laid the foundations of the church; and here they died, leaving the work to their successors, and their sepulchres are with us to this day. They were not as great men as many who have lived, nor was the enterprise they set on foot as distinguished as many others; yet in them and in their work we cannot but feel a very peculiar interest.

To write this history is no easy task, owing to the want of records and other materials from which to weave the narrative. For some years my attention has been turned to this subject, and whenever opportunity has been given I have been gathering the materials for this history. The records of the Parish in the form of a book quite worn and perishing, and also many loose papers have been copied for me by

two young gentlemen of the congregation. This alone cost the copying of four hundred pages of letter sheet. Besides this I have been at great labor in examining the records of neighboring churches, our early county records, rare books and manuscripts in the Libraries of the Historical Societies of New York and New Jersey, the State Library at Trenton, the Records of Deeds and Wills for East and West Jersey in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, and also in looking for facts by corresponding with gentlemen whose investigations would be likely to fit them to aid me in my search. The beginners of society here were plain people, the most of whom were uneducated. The records of the church prove this, and yet though they left no voluminous details of their doings, and their position was one secluded among the mountains, I have been gratified and surprised to find many facts which belong to that history, sufficient to make it interesting to us if not sufficient to make that history complete.

I have spent not a little effort to fix a date to the beginnings of the settlement in this parish, but without as much success as I expected. The original settlement at Hanover was "about A. D., 1710." (Rev. Jacob Green, First Hanover Church.) I have seen one deed which indicated that in 1715 a tract of land had been conveyed in the present township of Morris. (East Jersey Records, Liber F, 3, p. 28.) And I think it likely that the settlement in Morristown was begun as early as that date. In 1713 James Wills made the first purchase of land in Mendham. (Hastung's Hist. Sermon MS.) "The tract of land now constituting the township of Chester was surveyed and run into lots in 1713 and 1714, and began to be settled soon after by emigrants from Southold, Long Island." (Records of Chester Cong. Church, containing Rev. Abner Morse' Historical Sermon.) In 1713 one Joseph Kirkbride located two tracts of land in the township of Randolph amounting to near 6,000 acres. In the same year one Hartshorn Fitz Randolph located 527 acres in same vicinity. Wm. Schooley, son of the William Schooley who settled on Schooley's Mountain, bought 600 acres, including Mill Brook, and built the first grist mill in this region. His brother-in-law, Richard Dell, moved on the Dell farm, now owned by Miller Smith, in 1759, a mile East of Dover on the lower road to Rockaway. Gen. Winds made his purchase of Thomas and Richard Penn in 1756. One John Jackson—probably brother of the grandfather of the late Col. Joseph Jackson—bought of one Latham, who bought of Hartshorne Fitz Randolph 527 acres, which included the water privileges at Dover. This was in 1722 when Jackson built the first forge. In 1757 the

mid property passed into the hands of Josiah Beman. (Richard Brotherton's statement.)

These facts give me confidence in the opinion that not long after the settlement of what is now called Randolph township, in which Dover is, the settlers began to come into this region. It will be safe for the present to assume this, at least until further examinations give us definite knowledge.

The late Mr. Jacob Losey, whose acquaintance with this section and its original settlers was very extensive, once told me that the settlement at Dover was commenced about 1722, when a forge for making iron was built not far from the present residence of Jacob Hurd, west of the village. He also said that there were a few settlers in the immediate vicinity of Rockaway as early as 1730, when a small bloomery forge was built near the site of the present upper forge now owned by S. B. Halsey, Esq. In this opinion the late Col. Joseph Jackson, a very intelligent judge, concided. Experience had led me to suspect any merely traditional evidence in deciding dates, but it could not have been far out of the way in this instance.

The Penn Tract of 1,250 acres was located on 'West Jersey Right' in 1715, and in the next year the Biddle & Belars tracts, also of 1,250 acres each, and on West Jersey Right were taken up. These tracts joined each other. The Penn tract reaching from the top of the mountain, back of Mr. King's former residence, to beyond the Franklin road. The Belars tract extending from it to the neighborhood of Denville, and the Biddle tract extended from near Denville to and beyond the Rockaway river, north of the road leading to Rockaway. These large tracts were located probably to secure the land for after sale to actual settlers.

In 1740, March 25th, at a meeting of the "General Sessions of the Peace" the Court divided "the County of Morris into Proper Townships or Districts," not including the territory now embraced in Sussex and Warren Counties, which then belonged to Morris. Exclusive of that territory Morris county was divided into three townships, Hanover, Morris and Pequanoek. That order of the Court also fixes the date of the time when Morristown received its present name in place of "West Hanover," or, "New Hanover," by which it was known previous to that time. A certain district was "ordered by the Court" to be "called and Distinguished by the name of Mounstown."

Pequanoek Township, as the records of the Court show, was bounded on the south-east by "the Passaic," on the East and North-east by "the Pequanoek river to the Lower end of the Great Pond at the head thereof," and on the South and West by the Rockaway river from its junction with the Passaic, following "the

West branch thereof to the head thereof, and thence cross to the Lower End of the said Pond." This "Great Pond" I think must be "Long Pond," and the boundary line followed the Ringwood branch of the Pequanoek. The greater portion of this parish was in the township of Pequanoek. The remainder was in Hanover. The boundary dividing Hanover and Morris began at Chatham, thence to "the Old Iron Works," at "Whippaning," thence across the mountain to "Successuning," and "thence to the Great Pond on the head of the Musconcongung." Hanover then included all of Rockaway and Randolph townships South of the Rockaway river. The minuteness with which these boundaries are described convinces me that settlers were scattered through this region previous to the date of that order of the Court. (Oldest Book of Records of Morris County Courts, in Clerk's office at Morristown.) But as yet I find no deeds even as early as 1740, although there is no doubt about there being families in this region at that time. My only theory of accounting for this is the conjecture that for a number of years those who lived here were drawn here by the facilities of making iron, and that they exercised a sort of "Squatter's Sovereignty" over the land without acquiring any title from the Proprietors. Many of the "locations" speak of buildings already built on the land described. Add to this another fact, that the early settlers in this region rarely had their deeds put on record, and you can account for the absence of documentary proof as to the times when the lands in this region began to be bought.

Among the earliest names I have yet been able to find are those of Robert Schooley, Abner Beach, Gilbert Holden, David Beman, Joseph and Stephen Jackson—father and son—Hartshorne, Fitz Randolph, John Jackson, Richard Dell, William Wnds, Benjamin and Joseph Prudden, Jacob Allerton, Josiah Beman, John Ayers, and perhaps some others. Further inquiries may bring to our knowledge some earlier settlers.

Having thus laid before you a few meager results of my investigations into the early settlement of this region I now invite your attention to the history of the church. A careful examination of the earliest subscription papers (dated March, 1758,) shows us that the materials for the congregation were gathered from an extensive but sparsely settled region, including Denville, Rockaway Valley, Horse Pound, Meriden, Mount Hope, Denmark, Berkshire Valley, Franklin, Dover, and "the region beyond," reaching nearly to Mount Freedom in one direction and Littleton in another. From several sources I learn that there were not more than three houses in the village West of the river

and only two on the East side, and the families in the different directions from this place were few and scattered. Only a small proportion of these were in comfortable circumstances. The land was poor, and a great part of it was covered with forests. Iron, the only cash article produced here, was made with the serious disadvantage of being far from market, which could only be reached over very bad highways. At that time no small amount of iron bars was carried to Elizabethtown Point on pack horses, the bars being bent so as to fit the saddle. As is very common in regions where iron is the principal article of manufacture, what little wealth there was in this section was in the hands of a few persons. Many of the people were not freeholders. These facts must be borne in mind as we attempt to trace the good work these men did in founding this church.

If we look at the church privileges they enjoyed previous to the founding of this church we shall appreciate their reasons for beginning so difficult an enterprise. Parsippany then had a church building erected, but it had no minister of its own. Hanover Church under the pastoral care of Rev. Jacob Green was twelve miles distant; Morristown Church under the care of Rev. Timothy Johnes was nine miles distant; Mendham Church under the care of Rev. John Pierson was twelve miles distant; and the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches at Chester were also at very inconvenient distances. Mr. Abner Beach, grandfather of Col. S. S. Beach, and a workman in the forge at Rockaway, usually on the Sabbath rode on horseback to Morristown to church. These facts show us why these people took hold of this difficult enterprise of founding a church notwithstanding their small number, scattered condition, and their poverty. Necessity drove them to it.

I may here remark that the name of our stream, township and church is said to be derived from a tribe of Indians called the Rockaways. Isaac Beach, the father of Isaac recently deceased, told Col. Samuel Serrin Beach that he remembered an encampment of this tribe on the river a short distance above the village. There was another encampment a little below the Rolling Mill. This was more than a hundred years ago. Mr. Beach described the Indians as lazy and inoffensive. They soon removed West of the Delaware, and were merged in some more powerful tribe.

MARCH THE SECOND, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT, MAY BE REGARDED AS THE BIRTHDAY OF THIS CHURCH. On that day two papers were drawn up and signed by the principal men in this region, the one signed by twenty-nine persons, and the other by forty. The literary preten-

sions of these papers are quite humble, but their aim is towards an object of the highest and most importance. These fundamental papers I will transcribe literally as curiosities and also for their importance: "March 2d, 1758. We the subscribers do by these manifest it to be our desire to Joyn with pasippany to call and settel a minnister to have the one half of the preaching at pasippany and the other half at rockaway and each part to be eakwel in payen a minnister.

Job Allen	Benery stag
Seth Mehuran	John Harriman
david beman	Jonah Huston
gilbert hedy	Samuel Burwell,
Andru Moreson	John gobbel
Isak ogden	abraham Johnson
John pipes	John Cogswell
Samuel Shipman	John Huntington
John minton	Gershom Gard
Samuel whitel Jun	John Kent
Joseph burrel	amos Kilbarn
william wines	william Daniels
nathanel michel	Josiah beman
James losey	abraham masacra

Samuel Moore."

This document is in the handwriting of Job Allen, as is evident by comparing the writing with Mr. Allen's autograph in the next paper.

In the same handwriting we have the second paper which I also copy literally.

" March 2 1758

We the Inhabitene of rockaway pigenhil and upper inhabetene at the colonals forges and places agasant being met together In order to consult together about a place to set a meeting hous and being all well agreed that the most sutable place for the hol setelment Is upon the small plain a letel above beman's forg which is below the first small brok upon that rode up to Samuel Johnson

and we the subscribers a blig ourselves to pay toward building a house at that place the sums to our names afixed.

Job Allen	£5 0 0
Andrew Moreson	5 0 0
Gilbert Heden	5 0 0
David Beman	5 0 0
Isaac Ogden	1 10 0
John Pipes	1 0 0
Samuel Shipman	2 10 0
Seb Mehuran	2 10 0
John Minthorn	2 10 0
Samuel Whitel	2 10 0
Joseph Burwel Jun	0 10 0
William Winds	3 0 0
Nathanel nichel	1 10 0
Josiah Beman	2 0 0
James losey	10 0
Abraham Masacra	7 0
benery stag	15 0
John Harriman	3 0 0
John Johnson	3 0 0
samuel burrel	10 0
Jonah Huston	4 0 0
John gobel	10 0
abraham Johnson	5 0 0
John Cogswell	1 0 0
John Huntington	2 0 0
Gershom Gard	1 0 0

John Kent	1 0 0
Amos Kilbun	2 0 0
Henry Tuttel	0 5 4
Joseph Beach	0 5 0
John stag	0 15 0
William Daniels	1 10 10
Samuel Moore	1 5 0
Jacob Garrigue	1 0 0
James Milege	2 10 0
bil walton	0 3 6
Jacob W tharp	0 6 6
Obadiah Lum	2 0 0
Benjamin Carey	0 4 0"

A careful examination of the above subscription shows that it is also in Job Allen's handwriting, but the names are autograph signatures.

I infer from the fact that these earliest papers are in the handwriting of Job Allen, but he leads both subscriptions, that he is one of the largest contributors, and further that he subsequently bears a conspicuous part in the affairs of the church, that he was one of the most active in beginning the enterprise. He was a house carpenter and for many years he resided at Deuville on what is now called the "Glovet Place." During the Revolutionary War he raised and commanded a company, and was frequently in actual service. Probably Capt. Allen built the first meeting house. We know that at a later date he built the galleries in that house and finished the house with walls and seats. He was very much esteemed in the community. (Copied records p. 144.)

It is possible that the Job Allen who signed the subscription paper in 1758 may have been the father of the Job Allen whose name occurs in the record afterwards, and who resided at Deuville as above stated. In a return of the lands in Rockaway covering the water power, made in 1748 to Jacob Ford, Jr., the premises are said to include "Job Allen's Iron Works," and in Nov. 16, 1767, letters of administration of the estate of Job Allen were issued to Jacob Ford, Jr., who was his principal creditor.

Another prominent man in the movement was Gilbert Hedden who as I was told by the late Col. Joseph Jackson, built the first grist mill in this vicinity "about the year 1760." This was a short distance below the Rolling mill. The frame of that first mill is now used as a carriage house by Mr. Halsey. What became of Mr. Hedden I have not learned.

This date (1760) for the erection of the first grist mill is probably too late a one. April 20, 1762, Samuel Munn a blacksmith conveyed to David Beman "one-half of a grist mill standing on Rockaway river about half a mile down stream of said Beman's Iron Works." Dec. 17, 1763, John Lewis yeoman sells to Wyllis Pierson, blacksmith, one-half the same grist mill "which mill he the sd person is to moove of from wher it now stands from of Lewises land to be taken of by the first day of April next."

In Col. Jackson's handwriting is a note to the Munn deed made in 1801 as follows: "Mr. B. (Beman) says he built the mill where it now stands about the time he received this deed, made use of the old mill stones and irons to build the new one with." From which it appears that Pierson and Beman having become joint owners of the mill (then an old mill) about 1763 they moved it up to a place near the forge on the race bank. By deed dated January 2, 1765, Wyllis Pierson conveyed the undivided half of the grist mill "standing on rockaway river just below the bridge that crosses the river by David Bemans houes with one acre of land," to David Beman evidently after the building was in its new place. Here it stood probably till removed for a wagon house. As a mill it was probably supplanted by the one now standing opposite Dr. Jackson's home which is spoken of in a road return in 1785, as Stephen Jackson's new mill. This was disused after the erection of the present mill by Judge Halsey in 1854-5.

Another leading man in the movement was David Beman. He was an early settler in the place, and became the owner of the upper forge, the grist mill, and saw mill; he owned also other property in the neighborhood. He was a man of uncommon energy in everything he undertook, and it was a common saying among his neighbors "that Deacon Beman had not walked a step in seven years!" He would till the hopper of his grist mill and then run to his saw mill to put that in motion; then he would run to his forge to hammer out a loop. Thus he was constantly running in his haste to keep up with all the branches of his business. He was chorister, sexton, and deacon. Frequently he waited on the Presbytery for supplies for the pulpit. When he had set the times for many years in the church he was to his own disgust supplanted by some young men who introduced the novelty of singing the psalm without reading the line. This was in the pastorate of the Rev. David Baldwin in 1786 and was finished under Rev. John Carl as late as 1797. He was a very useful man, and an examination of the subscription papers for nearly fifty years shows that he was not a whit behind his neighbors in devising liberal things for the church. He was buried in this church yard, and his descendants ought to put up a stone to mark his grave.*

*Mr. William Jackson in a paper he wrote for me says that he, Beman, when he first knew him lived in Franklin on the property afterwards bought for a passage for Mr. Carle. From there he moved to Rockaway and lived where the "Henry Berry house" is, near the Mt. Hope ore docks west of the village. He afterwards sold this property to Mr. Carle and removed to Guinea Forge, where the old road

Of Andrew Morgan (or Morreson) and Abraham Johnson each of whom gave five pounds to build the first meeting house I know nothing. The five men just mentioned signed five pounds each.

William Winds was a signer of each of these papers, and he was the most noted man in the community. He was famous in his practical refusal to use the hated stamped paper in his business as a Justice of the Peace. He served as Captain in a Jersey regiment one year at the North during the French war, and in some of our early church records he bears that military title. Concerning the strength and clearness of his voice many curious traditions exist among us. Dr. Ashbel Green, who served under Winds, speaks of his "stentorophonic voice" which "exceeded in power and efficiency, for it was articulate as well as loud, every other human voice that I ever heard." (Life of Dr. Green p. 98.) He also commanded a regiment at Ticonderoga in 1776. In 1777 he was elected a Brigadier General in the Militia of the State. His soldiers admired him, but as a soldier he lacked self control. This was a principal defect in his character. To bring his wagon whip across the back of an unruly boy during public worship, to thrash a lazy cooper with one of his own hoops, and to order a dilatory Quarter master to be hung without ceremony, were characteristic of the man. His service in the army did not tend to correct his hot and impetuous temper. Our venerable Mrs. Eunice Berson remembers him as he appeared when his anger was excited, and he was wont to make a somewhat curious display of his fervid temperaments in praying in "the Deacon's meetings" on the Sabbath during the Revolution for the triumph of his country over her enemies. On these occasions his voice would rise into a most excited key resembling thunder. His worst characteristics were the most apparent, for under this rough and fiery exterior there

leaves the Glen road for White Meadow. Mr. Jackson says he died there. Another informant says he removed to Rockaway Valley near the old Poor House now owned by Wm. Dixon. The latter statement is probably a mistake.

Mr. Jackson says that Deacon Beman was a great stutterer and sputterer, very impulsive and as smart as a squirrel and as shrewd as a fox, full of mother wit. He was always on hand upon any discussion respecting church matters and particularly singing, of which he claimed preeminence. Although at last worsted on his signing-war with Benjamin Jackson he yielded with pretty good grace. He was always cheerful and full of good humor.

I may add that I think Mr. Jackson is mistaken as to the Parish having bought the Franklin parsonage for Mr. Carle from David Beman. The records show that the Parish bought of Jacob Shotwell, through Wm. Ross as agent, that property. (See records July 30, 1792, and February 21, 1793.)

was genuine kindness, which led him to deeds which are preserved in the traditions which come to us from those days. A true patriot, a kind neighbor, a friend to those in distress, a singular but sincere christian, such was one of the founders of this church, manifesting his attachment to it by his liberality during his life time, and making it his principal heir in the will he signed just before his death.*

John Huntington whose manly signature is affixed to both these papers resided about one mile south of the Union School House, and I suspect that he was connected with "the Colonel's forges" as Ninkie and Shaungum were then called on account of Col. Jacob Ford's interest in them. It is possible that the place spoken of as "the Colonel's Forges" may have been Mt. Pleasant or Denmark as Col. Ford had forges there at work long before 1758. The late Mr. Anderson and also the late Mr. David Gordon have often told me that he was a man of most venerable aspect and devoted piety.

The name of Deacon Obadiab Lum is not on the first paper, but it is on the second, and for several years is usually on all the subscriptions for the church. He resided in Franklin just below the old Palmer house, and tradition speaks of him as a very good man.

I may here mention also Deacon Jacob Allerton although his name does not appear among those who founded the church. In 1767 he was a prominent man. (Copied records of church p. 29) and for many years he filled the office of Ruling Elder in a manner that impressed his acquaintances with the conviction of his sincerity as a christian. He resided on the property half way between Rockaway and Denville recently sold by Mr. David Anderson. He was noted for his exact regard to truth and his deferring the punishment of his children until the excitement of the occasion had passed away.

Of these four early Elders I have been told by old people that Deacons Allerton and Lum sat under the pulpit during the service, that Deacon Beman led in singing, and Deacon Huntington or one of the other Deacons read

*In his last illness General Winds was attended by Dr. John Darbe of Pareippany who acted as his physician, then as his minister, and finally as his lawyer. He prescribed for his disease, censured him in his dying hour, drew up his will, preached his funeral sermon, and wrote his epitaph. His grave is in the rear of the old church and the monument bears this inscription: "Under this monument lies buried the body of Wm. Winds, Esq., who departed Oct. 12th, 1789, in the 62d year of his age, &c." (See article in these annals "William Winds.")

John Darbe was graduated at Yale 1748, licensed by Suffolk Presbytery 1749, ordained by the same 1757, settled at Connecticut Farms 1758, staid two years, removed after 1768 to Pareippany, withdrew from New York Presbytery 1773.

the Psalm line by line. They were venerable, pious, efficient men, and worthy first to hold office in the church which was to live long after they had ascended to their rest.

The names of Moses Tuttle, Jacob Ford, Jr., Stephen Jackson, Benjamin Beach, Abraham Kitebel, and many other important members of the congregation do not appear in the records until some years afterward. The inference is that they were not then living here or too young to take a part in it. By deed dated September 17th, 1759, William Winds and Ruthmah his wife convey to Joseph Jackson, father of Stephen, a tract of 162 6-10 acres, part of Penn's tract of 1250 acres, which lay in whole or in part between the Dover road and the Rockaway river. In 1769 after the death of Joseph Jackson, this tract of 162 acres is mentioned in the inventory of his effects as "the plantation." The first mention I find of Stephen Jackson, who was a liberal friend of this church, is 1768 when Robert Schooley conveys to Joseph and Stephen Jackson one-fourth of a property "commonly known as Schooley's Forge." This was at Dover back of the house recently (1876) built by Alpheus Beemer, Esq., on the south side of the road to Succasunna. The next year "Joseph Jackson, yeoman," conveys his right in Schooley's Forge to "Stephen Jackson of Mendham, Bloomer." This was the beginning of the fine property which he acquired by thrift and industry. He was fifteen years old when his father bought the tract of William Winds the year the church was raised.

In 1760 and 1762 the name of Moses Tuttle is on subscription papers, and in 1767 he was one of a committee to agree on the terms of settlement with his brother the Rev. James Tuttle, the first pastor of the church. He probably came to Mount Pleasant about 1756 to manage the forge property at that place for his father-in-law, Col. Jacob Ford, Sen., who was the original builder of that forge. He (Col. Ford) took up from the proprietors the land covering "the falls of the branch of the Rockaway" at Mt. Pleasant and where the forge stood, as early as 1750. A location below on the same stream in 1757 is spoken of as below said Ford's Iron Works. As early as 1757—how much earlier I cannot learn—Mr. Tuttle's brother-in-law Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., built a forge at Denmark and lived there until 1770 when he built the large stone house at Mt. Hope. In 1772 he sold his Mount Hope property to John Jacob Faesch. The books of the church show that Col. Ford was an active member of the congregation during the few years he was here.

The name of Benjamin Beach I do not find on our records until 1769 where he is named as one of the parish Collectors. He was the son of Abner Beach whose name frequently occurs on

the records of the Morristown church, and was when chosen Collector but 24 years of age. He was noted for his preciseness in business, and the exact management of everything about him. His rule was "a place for everything and everything in its place," and the transgressor of that rule received no quarter from him. Although not a member of the church until he was an old man, he frequently acted as Trustee and in other capacities by appointment of the congregation, and bore his share in the pecuniary burdens of the church.

In April, 1773, Abraham Kitebel is mentioned as Moderator of the parish meeting, in which capacity, and as Trustee, Committeeman, and Collector, he frequently served the parish. His brother, Aaron Kitebel, was one of the most intelligent men in the county, taking an prominent part in the Revolution, and frequently serving the State in the Provincial and the Continental Congress. Abraham was a man of better education than was common in his day among men who had not been trained in the higher schools and colleges. From the time he came into the Parish until he left it in the Fall of 1792 he was a leading man, whose firmness sometimes amounted to obstinacy. He was a man of some humor, great independence and physical strength. He was in the employ of Benjamin Cooper at Hibernia with his team. On one occasion happening to meet Cooper by a very bad mud hole he asked him to have it fixed. Cooper gave him a rough answer, and Kitebel seized him and threw him into the mud hole saying, "well, then, I will mend it with you!" Having neither poverty nor riches he was liberal according to his means, and when he removed he left his two sons James and Ford to assist in carrying the burden of the church, a task which they were not loth to perform many years. He first lived in a log house near the old stone house, not standing now, but occupied many years by his son James Kitebel. In 1776 James was in the army and was brought to Hanover sick of "camp distemper." His mother, Charity Ford, in nursing him caught the disease and died October 7th, 1776, the very day that the Kitebel house was raised. I have been told that Abraham Kitebel once owned the place now held by Col. S. S. Beach, which he exchanged with Francis McCarty for the White Meadow property. He built the Muir house and occupied it until November, 1792, when he sold it to Bernard Smith. He died at Parsippany Jan. 11th, 1807.

To this list I must add one more, although he did not remove into our bounds until 1772. I refer to John Jacob Faesch, for many years a leading man in this region. He was a German, a native of Hesse-Cassel, and was sent to this country by "the London Company" as the

manager of their extensive iron works in Bergen County as it then was, but in Passaic as it now is. In April, 1740, one Cornelius Board sold a tract of land to Josiah Ogden, John Ogden, Jr., David Ogden, Sr., David Ogden, Jr., and Uzal Ogden, all of Newark, and associated together under the corporate name of "the Ringwood Company. This company bought other lands in that vicinity, and built iron works on the property. In July, 1764, "the Ringwood Company" sold to "Peter Hasenclever, late of London, merchant" for five thousand pounds all the company's lands at Ringwood. The deed states that on the property are "erected and standing a furnace, two forges and several dwelling houses." Hasenclever also bought land of Joseph Wilcox and Walter Erwin in the vicinity of Ringwood, and of one Delancey and others; he bought ten thousand acres three miles from Ringwood. (E. Jersey Records, Liber B, 3 pp. 76-118.) I suppose he also bought the Charlottenburgh tract. This Hasenclever was the agent of the "London Company" and with him was associated Mr. Faesch who came to this country about 1766. (Mrs. Betsy Doland's statement.) For some cause the management of Hasenclever and Faesch did not satisfy their employers who superseded them probably in 1772 by one Humphries who was superseded by a very intelligent Scotchman, Robert Erskine. I have Erskine's copy of his own letter to that effect. Faesch then purchased the Mount Hope property of Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., and in September 1772 for the sum of one thousand two hundred and forty-six pounds, seven shillings and six pence he bought of William Burnet and John Johnson six thousand and two hundred acres in Pequannock, known as "The Mount Hope Tract" which was located that year by them at Faesch's "request"—the property bought of Ford being locations in whole or in part within the large survey. The same year he built the Mount Hope Furnace and employed many workmen. He soon became a contributor to the expenses of the church, and his dashing signature terminating in a flourish in form like a tobacco pipe, may be seen on many subscription papers which are still preserved. When the Revolution began he took the side of the colonies and was regarded a very warm patriot. He cast large quantities of balls and shell for the American Army. On one occasion during the war he had the honor of entertaining Washington at Mount Hope for a day. Some years after the war he left his Mount Hope property and removed to Morristown where he converted the "old Magazine" building, on south-east corner of Morris Green, into a dwelling. Subsequently he removed to "Old

Boonton" where he died in 1799 and was buried at Morristown. The Mount Hope Tract after Mr. Faesch's death was sold by Gen. Doughty, a commissioner appointed by the Court of Chancery for that purpose, who had it surveyed and divided into lots by Lemuel Cobb, father of the late Judge Andrew B. Cobb, in 1805 or thereabouts. Here I may add that his friend Hasenclever according to some is the hero of a tradition in this community, that on his death bed he ordered a considerable sum of money to be paid to the trustees of this church, provided they would bury his body under the pulpit of the old church. Several old people, now dead, have told me that his body was buried under the pulpit, but the books make no mention of the money being received for a privilege which in former days was so highly prized in the Old World. Some of my informants say that a Capt. Friesburgh was the person. Concerning Mr. Faesch I may add the words of a very discriminating man who knew him well: "In his relations to society he was very generous and large-hearted. He did much to support religious institutions in the community, not from any personal interest in such things, but because in his opinion these institutions were a powerful means to keep the lower classes in proper subjection." In these opinions he was not singular; he then had, and he now has, many "like-minded with himself," not clearly recognizing the great truth that every man, rich or poor, master or slave, needs not merely religious education but a new heart to fit him for every social sphere in this life as well as for the immortality beyond the grave.

Joseph Hoff, the son of a gentleman in Hunterdon County, in the Spring of 1775 became the manager of Hibernia works for Lord Stirling. His letters show that he was a man of very considerable intelligence. He was here two years. After his death his brother Charles Hoff, the son-in-law of Moses Tuttle, succeeded him, and whilst living there his house was robbed by a troop of Tories, led by the famous Claudius Smith. Mr. Hoff afterward removed to Mount Pleasant and his family have never wavered in their attachment to this church. The descendants of Moses Tuttle and his wife Jane, daughter of Col. Jacob Ford, Sr., in at least two lines have been and they are still ranked among our best friends. The fifth generation in each line is now on the stage.

Deacon John Cobb, residing where Mr. Halsey now, (1858,) lives, was an active and useful member of this society in early times. He built the first frame house in Rockaway. It was removed to south of the forge to make way for the large house built by Col. Joseph Jackson and now occupied by E. D. Halsey. As early as 1776 Benjamin Jackson's name also

begins to appear in the transactions of the church. He was a sprightly young man with "music in him" in more senses than one. He was gifted with a sharp tongue somewhat characteristic of the family; his temperament was both ardent and firm; honorable in his feelings he was honored even when a young man; but his chief merit was his love of sacred music. The old people of a few years ago were wont to describe the clearness, sweetness and compass of his voice, very much as the attendants on the modern opera describe the voices of the world-noted tenors. He had no equal in this region as a singer of sacred music. It is not difficult to imagine the process by which he and his young friends were led to think that the "singing the Psalm" by one Deacon, and "the setting of the tune" by another, were to be borne no longer than circumstances would permit. Concerning this collision so famous in our history I may have more to say in another place.

There are other names belonging to the early period of our history which deserve mention, such for instance as Willys Pierson, one of the trustees in 1762, Jacob Garigues, the grandfather of our Elder, the Burwells, one family of whom removed to Canada and there attained wealth and social position, George Stickle, the son of a German, and after George Harris—who taught the first school in Rockaway—one of the earliest and most thorough school teachers. There is not a teacher in New Jersey who can excel the penmanship of either Harris or Stickle which I have now in my possession. To these names I might add the names of Robert Ayres, Joseph Beman of Dover, brother of David, William Ross who for a time was an officer in the church, Chilion Ford, Robert Gaston, Bernard Smith, John McGibbons and Henry Tuttle, able to build pews for themselves in the old church, Benjamin Prudden of whom the church lot and burying ground were bought, James Puff Losey, Eliakim Anderson, Frederic Miller, Deacon John Clarke, Josiah Hurd, Amos Lindsley, Silas Haines, Isaac Southard, and some others who either assisted in founding the church or bore a part in sustaining it during the first year of its existence.*

I have endeavored thus to place before you some of the men who assisted to found our church or to support it during its infancy. A very cursory examination of our church records show us that they were none of them educated to any greater extent than in the common branches, and the most of them very imper-

fectly even in these. Some of them signed their names by proxy; and the most of those who could write show that their hands were more accustomed to the axe-helve, crowbar, or forge-tongs than to the pen. It is very rare to find a single subscription paper, or petition, or entry made by them in which there are not ludicrous errors in spelling and grammar. This is not to be wondered at for I had been told by Dr. Lewis Condict that in his boyhood the children and young people in this country had few educational privileges beyond the occasional night school in winter, and the scanty instruction in the chimney corner. Col. Jackson once informed me that George Harris taught the first school ever opened in this parish in 1784. This was near the house now occupied by Dr. J. D. Jackson. All Mr. Harris' scholars that quarter came from thirteen families and were in number twenty-eight. What people then acquired was principally by their own efforts with very little assistance. The wonder is not that the literary performances of our pioneers were so faulty, but rather that they are so good as to express the idea of the authors, an excellence not always attained by educated men. Our fathers were plain, sensible, and hard-working men. They lived in very plain dwellings, with very plain furniture, and on very plain food. The luxuries which are on the tables of our poorest people were rarely seen on the tables of their richest. In the Spring the children had their only confectionery in the delicious sugar made from the maple. The silks and broadcloths of our day have succeeded the home-made linens and woollens of their day. The only "help" the women had in those days were their own hard hands and their maiden daughters who were trained from childhood in the mysteries of the wash tub, the kneading bowl, the spinning wheel and the loom. Their hands may not have been so white as young ladies have now, but their cheeks were more ruddy and their step more elastic. The men occasionally indulged in the luxury of apple whiskey, but it was not adulterated, and their plain diet and abundant work promoted robust health and long life until this region has become famous for the numbers of its very aged people. That was not the age of baby-jumpers, tight stove rooms, and paper shoe-soles. The men did manly work in a manly way, and the women aspired after Solomon's "virtuous woman" as their beau ideal of excellence. (Prov. 31. 10—31.) The simplicity of their times is seen in the facts stated to me by more than one, that young women have been known on Sunday to walk bare-footed until they reached the vicinity of the meeting-house before they put on the carefully preserved shoes which were so hard

*The Kitchel, Beach and Tuttle families came from Hanover. The Jacksons, Beman, Winds, from Long Island, the Palmers from New England, the Fords and Hoffs from Hunterdon County.

to procure. The shoe maker was an itinerant from house to house and his were "like angels' visits, few and far between." They had no tailors. The good house-wife and her daughters were able to make the clothes of the men who had too much hard work in hand to indulge in the luxury of a "close fit." We might say of the man of those times:

For him light labor spread her wholesome store—
Just gave what life required, but gave no more;
His best companion, innocence and health;
And his best riches, ignorance of wealth."

From this picture of the people in early times let us now turn to the principal work which they began. You will understand me as not referring now to the fields which they cleared, the houses and mills they built, the roads they laid out and mines they opened, but to the Church which they founded and sustained in the face of very extraordinary difficulties. I have already stated that on the 2d of March, 1758, the first step was taken towards building a meeting-house and securing in connection with the church at Parsippany the services of a minister. The parish records furnish no evidence that the attempt to settle a minister was successful at that time. A subscription dated September 24th, 1760, renews the attempt, but with what success we are not informed. The fact that in 1762 another subscription states that a sum of money is needed "to pay the arrearages of minister's rate, together with the cost of the parsonage lands supposed to be thirty or forty pounds in the whole" shows that the infant congregation had had more preaching than was paid for. Who preached here first is entirely matter of conjecture. It is very likely that Green of Hanover, Johnes of Morrisown, and Pierson of Mendham may have preached here occasionally and that the Presbytery of New York may have sent occasional supplies. I know nothing beyond the fact that they had some preaching. So far as I have been able to discover there is no record in existence showing just where the Presbytery took action in the organization of the church and who were the ministers officiating. The names of the first members cannot be found, except as some of them may be inferred from certain documents and traditions. We know that it was a Presbyterian church from the beginning, because the founders assessed their "rate" "to pay a Prespetering minister." We know also that it never swerved from its original preference, except for a year when one of its pastors joined the semi-Congregational body known as the "Associated Presbytery of Morris County." (Howe's His. Morris Co. Pres. MSS.—See Ch. Manual p. 7)

It is a matter of interest to ascertain some of the names of the original members of this church. Among them were Job Allen and his wife Mary, David Beman and his wife Mary, Mrs. Huldah Beman, wife of Josiah who joined in 1794, William Ross and his wife, William Winds and his wife Ruhamah, John Huntington and his wife Elizabeth, Obadiah Linn and his wife, Jacob Allerton and his wife, Jacob Garrigus and his wife, Lois, wife of John Harriman, the wife of John Stag. I think it safe to take it for granted that these were all original members of the church, and there may have been others.

In the manual of this church published in 1833 it is stated that "the Presbyterian Church at Rockaway may be said to have been founded about the year 1766, although the first meeting-house (of wood) was raised in September, 1752." I suspect that "1752" is an error of the printer for "1762," there is some reason for questioning the accuracy of both these statements. Although the original subscriptions of March 2d, 1758, do not say in so many words that a Presbyterian society was either formed or was about to be, it is clearly implied in their wishing to unite with the Presbyterian church in Parsippany in hiring a minister. The subscription of 1760 mentions the kind of minister they were seeking. He was to be a Presbyterian. In the deed for the lot on which the meeting-house was built, Benjamin Prudden in 1762, grants lands to a body of men "chosen Trustees by the Parish of Rockaway" which land is "to be and remain for the Benefit and use of the Presbyterian church of Rockaway" &c. It is fair to assume then that the church came into being in 1758, and that the meeting-house was built, not by all denominations and for all, but expressly for a Presbyterian church which already had, if not a corporate existence, yet an actual one.

As for the date of the raising of the meeting-house it was supposed until recently that it was in 1760 but an examination of the records show that that date is not correct. Under date of March 20th 1794, there is an entry on the Parish records which settles the matter. It appears that Col. Jacob Ford, Sr., had aided the church as was said to the amount of a hundred pounds. Whether this was a gift or a loan I am not able to determine. Perhaps part was a donation and part a loan. At the date above named we have this entry. "Job Allen took Peter Hiler's Bond to Troy to Collect on account of a Debt Due the Estate of Col. Jacob Ford, Sen'r against the parish for Building the Meeting house a Balance Due on said account of £29, 11. 1 Dated Oct. 26. 1760 was presented by Moses Tuttle as due to him. The consideration of the above was put off for further in-

formation." Fortunately this account was recently—1876—found among the papers of Moses Tuttle in possession of Miss Harriet Huff, and shows that the meeting-house was raised in 1759, and partly enclosed. The same account shows that glass, paint, and floor boards were bought next year (1760) to finish the house.

As for building on land for which they had no deed, (and the land was not taken up from the proprietors by Prudden or conveyed by him to the church till 1862,) it may be said that in a country where land was so plenty and cheap, the risk was small.

The note which the trustees gave to Benjamin Prudden in August 1762 speaks of "Willis Pierson and Job Allen of pequanac being chosen trustees for the parish of rockaway to take a deed for the land on which the meetin hous stands" and the deed itself shows that the house was built before Prudden gave a deed for the land. It has been a common opinion in this community that some one gave the land now occupied as a burying yard as common property to the community. This is a mistake. On the 24th of August, 1762, "Benjamin Prudden of Paquanac in the county of Morris, and in the province of New Jersey for and in consideration of the sum of three pounds one shilling and six pence" conveyed to "Willis Pierson, Job Allen, and Obadiah Lam" "trustees of the parish of Rockaway" "for the benefit and use of the Presbyterian Church of Rockaway" the ten acres and thirty perch" which make up the church lot. The trustees paid part of the purchase money and gave their note for the balance £6:15:8, and that note I have with the endorsed payments on it. (Copied Records pp. 7-10.)

The first burial in the yard was in 1762. To this I may add that on the 29th of October, 1762, the proprietors of East Jersey conveyed 100 acres of land to the parish "within one mile of Rockaway meeting house." The Tom Man lot, part of Adam Earles' property and the lands of Jos. H. Jackson (in 1876 south of the Denville road are a part of that land. (See copy of Deed Records of Pres. Ch. Rock'y, p. 11.) The parsonage was built on this tract.

The first subscription for building the church amounted to £75:10:6, equal to about \$188. To this it is said that Col. Jacob Ford, Sen., of Morristown, added one hundred pounds, one reason for the gift being the fact that he was the owner of much property in this region. It is possible that he did not make his very generous gift to the church until after his son-in-law Moses Tuttle removed to Mount Pleasant in 1760, the very year the church frame was raised. It was barely enclosed, and a floor of loose boards was laid. It was neither ceiled

nor plastered. The seats were unplanned boards laid on stones and blocks of wood. It had no fire place, or stove. It was a mere shell, and a very rude and comfortless one. And in such "a tabernacle in this wilderness" did our fathers worship God. Here occasionally were heard the voices of the ministers who felt as we do now, that "the harvest is great, but the laborers few."

No move was made to render the house more comfortable until 1768, when the first pastor was installed over this church and that at Parsippany. From the mutilated record of a parish meeting that year it appears that the church had been defiled with some "indecent painting" which was to be removed. It was resolved that "the meeting-hous should be altered" and "pewes be maid in the form of Morristowa meeting hous," "that the seats in the body of the hous be made first and John McGibbons to be over sear of the work and to provide materials Needfull for the work, and that Samuel Lewis do all the work, Matthew Lam of Morristown and Nathaniel Mitchel to set a price on the whole of the Laborer." At the same meeting it was "voted to sweep the meeting house once a fortnate and keep the doors shut for the term of one year next insuing." This valuable office of "door keeper in the house of the Lord" "being set up at venlue was bought by John ——— for ten shillings." Also "voted Mr. David Beman, Chornister and Mr. Jacob Allington to Read the psal..." (Copied Parish Records p. 33.) Apparently in the same period at a parish meeting it was "proposed whether a stove may be allowed in the Meeting House. Resolved, That a stove be allowed, and that if it may be found pormitious that then on complaint that it may be so pormitious that then in such case it may removed from thence By a future meeting—if proper." (Ib. p. 31) The hazardous experiment was not made until nearly two generations during a space of half a century had duly considered the matter. I have the bills for the portly box stove and pipe which had the honor in 1819 to inaugurate fires in the church. The stove cost £5:12:10, equal to \$14.84, and the pipe cost \$26.26. The time when they were procured was in January 1819! For nearly sixty years there was no heat in the old church except that which was generated in the hearts of its attendants by their love of church privileges.

In seating the church there was a gentle mixture of aristocracy permitting the richer members of the congregation who "are a mind to build pews in the meeting hous to agree among themselves where each one's pew shall be, provided they dont interfere with the squair body of the church or in the alleys and one pew on each side of the pulpit." But as if to show

these favored persons with deep purses that the people held the power and would not suffer too wide distinctions to be made in the Lord's house, "motion made whether there should be canopies over the pews, and voted not." "These pews to be rased six inches with the false floor, and to be plain and not Bannister but with pannel work." And in order to guard against a danger which since that time has not threatened the church, the raising of so much morey as not know to what to do with the surplus, the good, careful souls voted that "if there should be more money raised than was needful to build the seats in the meeting house it is to be made use of to Repair the parsnige bous." (Copied Recor s pp. 31-33.)

The records have a plan showing how the pews were arranged and who occupied them originally. The plan shows that there was a door on the East, and "a Great Door" on the South side of the church. The pulpit was at the North end, and its place is marked by two maple trees on the north side of Dr. Jackson's burying yard. The trees were planted by Col. Jackson after the old house was taken down. An aisle was in front of the pulpit the entire width of the house, and the broad aisle extended through the center to the south door. Parallel with this on either side was a narrow aisle separated from the wall by the width of a pew. The body of the house was divided into slips. The square pews were on each side of the pulpit and on the wall side of the two small north and south aisles. They were, previous to the finishing of the house in 1794, thirteen in number. These were numbered commencing with the wall pew on the West end of the pulpit. That pew "No. 1" was built and occupied by Dea. John Huntington. No. 2 by Gen. William Winds, number 3 and 4 immediately next the pulpit on either side were "for public use," the one being for "the Deacons' pew," and the other for the minister's family. No. 5 was built and occupied by Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., at that time residing at Denmark. Benjamin Cooper & Co. occupied No. 6; Moses Tuttle occupied No. 7, which was the first pew down the East aisle; John McGibbons had No. 8; and William Ross No. 9 in the same aisle. James Puff Losey had No. 10, being the first one on the West aisle; Job Allen had No. 11; Henry Tuttle had No. 12 and Isaac Southard No. 13. The owners of these pews were obliged to ceil the side of the house as high as the top of the pews. This slight protection was the only approach to inside ceiling or plastering until 1794. The same plan indicates that about half the capacity of the body of the house was seated for the use of such as had not the ability or inclination to build pews for themselves. Just

picture the sanctuary as the first past or ministered in it. The pews cover a very small portion of the upright posts and joists, and with this exception posts, joists, beams, rafters and braces are in plain sight. There is many a knot hole and split in the white wood sideboards through which both light and air harmoniously enter. The whole building is so ventilated that in those days the ladies did not faint, and the minister did not complain of suffocation from a close and over-heated room. In the winter time the only self-indulgence there allowed was in the foot stoves of the ladies. In the summer time for many years the swallows claimed the free use of the meeting house except during the short portion of time devoted to public worship on the Sabbath. Even then the little fellows were wont occasionally to dash into the house with twitter and flurry not quite in keeping with the worship of the hour. Young Joseph Jackson with an irreverence scarcely to be blamed, many a time in Summer divided his thoughts between the discourse of the minister and watching the swallows. In fact being somewhat observant he thought the religious services of those days were too long for the good of the unfledged swallows! not to mention the boys like himself. Beneath the pulpit sat Deacons Huntington and Allerton, both men of venerable aspect, and in front of the pulpit Deacons Beman and Lewis, the one chorister and the other "Clark" to read the lines. Whether Deacon Lum read well I cannot say, but I suspect the nervous quickness with which Deacon Beman led the singing and that not with so much melody of voice as of heart, must have excited a smile in young Benjamin Jackson, who very early thought himself a good singer, and so did others. The slips were not crowded with people, because there were very few people in the region. I suspect it was in one of these slips that the mischievous boy was that Sunday morning when Gen. Winds got sight of him, and rose instantly to bring his wagon whip on the culprit's back, punishment more summary than welcome. Aigh over all hung the pulpit with its ominous sounding board nearer the swallows nest than we in our day approve. Yet that plain pulpit had in it three powerful agencies, an English Bible, a Watts' Hymn Book, and a good man. The pews and slips were not crowded with persons of wealth and fashion and learning, but all the accounts agree in saying that those men and woman were full of self-reliant energy, and that many of them were distinguished for their piety. They prayed at home, taught the Bible and Catechism to their children, had very few books but these were generally of the solid kind and well read, overcame the real difficulties of long distances

and a comfortless meeting-house to hear the gospel, and in proportion to their means made sacrifices to sustain the church which lose nothing by comparison with the sacrifices of their successors of the present time.

I have dwelt on these little things concerning the meeting-house and the people who worshipped God in it, as they appeared in 1768, in order that you may be able to compare that past time with the present, and thank God that your fathers had enough piety and perseverance to carry the infant enterprise through difficulties which were really formidable.

Let us now retrace our steps to describe another event of great importance to the church. There is a mutilated record of a parish meeting the design of which was to take measures to secure a minister in connection with Parsippany. Although the date is worn off, Col. Jackson puts it down as Dec. 23d 1766. (Church Manual p. 3.) March 2d 1767 a meeting was held at which the name of Mr. James Tuttle was mentioned as a candidate for the joint-pastorate of the two churches at Rockaway and Parsippany, and the suggestion resulted in the appointment of "a committee to agree with the said Mr. Tuttle." On the 11th of May following the parish resolved to call Mr. Tuttle. Job Allen and Obadiah Lum were chosen as a committee to see about his ordination. Deacon Beman was sent to the Presbytery "to carry the call and get an answer." Later in the year—the date is thumbed off—at another meeting "Job Allen and Jacob Allerton were chosen a comite to agree with Mr. James Tuttle, and with Persippany to be'r (hire) a parsonage not to buy one." The minute of a meeting in December 1767, shows the matter was still in negotiation, but on the 13th of April, 1763, the arrangements were so far completed that William Winds, Obadiah Lum, Jacob Allerton, David Beman, and Benjann Prudden were appointed a committee to receive Mr. Tuttle "for our society" at the ordination and installation services which were to take place at Parsippany. (Copied Records pp. 29-30.) He was ordained and installed in April 1763, the first minister of two feeble churches.

The Rev. James Tuttle was the son of Col. Joseph Tuttle and his second wife Abigail Nutman. He was born May 7th, 1742, so that he was twenty-six years old when he was installed. His father was a prominent man in the Hanover Church of which he was an Elder for many years. The mother of our minister was a sister of Rev. John Nutman. He was fitted for college in the school of his pastor, the Rev. Jacob Green, and was graduated at Nassau Hall in 1764. He also studied theology with his pastor and probably assisted in his

school. In 1767 he was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New York, and on the 2d of Feb. 1767 he was married to Anna, daughter of Rev. Jacob Green. The same year, probably attracted by the fact that his brother Moses Tuttle was a prominent man in this congregation, he preached in Rockaway as a candidate and in the April following became the pastor of the church. Concerning him as a scholar, a preacher, and a pastor, I have learned very little. His ministry here was only during a period of two years and seven months. Before the close of his second year he became so ill as to be unable to preach, and in March 1770 "it was voted whether Mr. Tuttle shall be allowed six months' pay over his yearly salary; on payment of which he is willing to discharge the congregation from all other expenses and charges, providing his illness continues and increases so as not to be able to perform in his office. Voted immediately he shall." (Copied Records p. 38.) This vote in connection with the increase in "the rate lists" indicates that the minister was esteemed by his people. On the 11th of October, 1770, the Parish "voted clear that we are to sue for a dismission of Mr. James Tuttle when the Presbytery sits." On the 23d of the same month a similar resolution was passed, and a committee consisting of Obadiah Lum, William Winds and John Huntington appointed "to represent our parrish in answering any Questions askt by the comitee from the presbitery." It was also voted that Mr. Tuttle "shall be allowed a consideration in case we are dismissed." The consideration was "twenty shillings lite money per month to be continued as he continues unfit for service." (Copied Records pp. 43-45) The good man who was the object of so much solicitude died at Hanover on the 25th of December 1770. It is eighty-eight years since his short ministry was closed, and no doubt he was cheered by the truths which he had as much commended to his flock by his devoted life as by his deliverances from the pulpit.

In the graveyard at Hanover is the headstone of Mr. Tuttle, an upright, brown free stone slab, embellished with the usual Death head and other figures. The inscription is as follows:

"The Rev'd James Tuttle
Died Dec. 25 1770
Aged 28 years.

He was minister at Percipiny in Hanover. He had one child only named Benaijan who died a (few) weeks before him and lies her entomb'd besid its Parrent.

This man of God had a short race but swift, he ran far in littel time. Few exceeded him in sweetness of Temper Tenderness of conscience

and fidelity in his ministerial work and the end of this man was Peace."

The Rev. Jacob Green probably wrote the epitaph, and I cannot account for his omitting to mention Rockaway where Mr. Tuttle was not only pastor but where he lived in a parsonage built expressly for him, except by the fact that Mr. Green had the business of settling his son-in-law's estate, and there was some difficulty in the settlement of his affairs with this parish, which may have produced hard feelings in the minds of Mr. Green and his daughter.

By a careful comparison of the rate and subscription lists at the close of Mr. Tuttle's ministry with those previous to his coming to this place we find proof that the church was widening the sphere of its usefulness and increasing the number of its friends. Thus the two earliest papers have respectively twenty-nine and thirty-nine names. The paper of 1760 has 51 names, that of 1762 has forty names, but in 1769 the year before Mr. Tuttle died one "rate list" had 70 names on it. The sum assessed on these 70 persons was £62:5:10, with which the salary of £60 was to be paid the minister for half his time. I may here state that from the beginning of the church until the close of the century it was customary for the property holders in the congregation to enter into a written agreement to have their property taxed by an assessor and tax collected by persons appointed by the parish for these objects. The assessment was called a "rate list" and some of these papers specify how many acres of improved land, how many of unimproved, the number of horses, cattle, slaves, and the value of each, as the basis of the tax for the church. A glance shows how much more just this mode was than any other. Thus in "the Rate list in 1769" Moses Tuttle a large property holder was assessed £5:5:4, whilst Thomas Love, a man who had more good will than money was assessed one shilling and five pence. Gradually the impartial "Rate List" of Mr. Tuttle's pastorate was softened down into "the Rateable subscriptions" of Mr. Carle's ministry. From that it was but a step to the voluntary subscription on which a rich man if he chooses does no more than the poor man "devising liberal things." The "Rate List" of the fathers would be esteemed hard fare by the children. Under that system the office of assessor was the most responsible one connected with the temporalities of the church. Among the assessors of those days we find the names of William Winds, Elisha Hedden, William Ross, John Huntington, Job Allen, Moses Tuttle, Abraham Kitchel and others.

During Mr. Tuttle's sickness on "Easter Sunday 15th of April 1770" Mr. Johnes of Morristown preached and baptized Denzie, infant

daughter of William Ross, Susannah and Josiah twin infants of Josiah Beman, and "catharine, Dennis Harty's wife, one girl." In September and October of that year at the parish meeting "the Reverend Mr. Lewis of Mendham preached a lecture." (Copied Records p. 43.) Except occasionally the pulpit was not occupied for some months, "the Deacons' Meeting" being the unfailing substitute. On the last Sabbath of January the Rev. Mr. Chapman of Orange "preach here and cristened Nathan'l Morris' child Abijah." On the 9th of April 1771 the parish meeting was opened with a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Horton of Bottle Hill. On the 11th of July 1771 the Rev. Mr. Kennedy of Baskingridge supplied the pulpit, and on the 25th of July 1771 "Mr. Simson preach a lector." (Copied Records, 47-49-50.) Things moved heavily with the temporalities and the spiritualities of the church, and yet the fathers "held on their way," for in their weakness and poverty they sent a petition "to the Reverend Prysbitery" "to send a candidate if they can; if not, to grant us Liberty to hire a minister that shall be judged of good standing by some persons they shall appoint if such minister can be found, and that we don't desire supplies sent to us in maner as usual." That they kept up their services regularly is evident because the records say, "David Beman agrees to sweep the meeting house the year next Insuing, Twice a month for which he is to have Eleven shillings." (p. 48.) These items may seem insignificant, but they show us what "the day of small things" was to them. They had a great work in hand and they met its responsibilities with faith and energy.

I have detained you a long time and yet the task I proposed to myself is not accomplished. I shall have to beg your indulgence for another opportunity to complete the narrative. But meanwhile what thoughts press upon our minds as we recall the fact it is now a hundred years since Job Allen and his neighbors drew up the papers which proved the germ of this church! This morning we were thrilled to think of the changes which have been wrought since the senior pastor, a young man, came to this place, and yet there is one man who remembers the first sermon Father K. preached, the text, the circumstances! But where is the witness to stand before us and relate what those men said in 1758 as they began our church, an enterprise of such difficulties that we have wondered why it did not come to naught? When the senior pastor was born this church was 32 years old, and who but God knew that among the hills of old Berkshire a child was born who was heaven's consecrated and foreordained and most precious blessing to the little struggling church here among the

the hills of old Morris. Did those noble men in that day of darkness offer prayers for a pastor to guide and defend this flock; prayer registered and to be signally answered in due time? Even when the blessing came, most of the fathers had fallen asleep, but God is faithful.

A hundred years ago! oh, what havoc these years have made among those who founded this church and bore it up in the face of unusual difficulties! Job Allen, the Bemans, Winds, Lam, Huntington, Allerton, Helden, the Burnwells, Losey, Pierson, Mitchel, Tuttle, Ford, Kitchel, Faesch, Jackson, Beach, and their cotemporaries are all gone. The waves of time have washed away the foot prints in the sand upon its shore:

Where, where are all the birds that sang,
A hundred years ago?
The flowers that all in beauty sprang
A hundred years ago?
The lips that smiled,
The eyes that wild
In flashes shone
Soft eyes upon,—

Where, O where are lips and eyes
The maiden smiles the lover sighs
That lived so long ago?

Who peopled all the city streets,
A hundred years ago?
Who filled the church with faces meek
A hundred years ago?
The sneering tale
Of sister frail,
The plot that work'd
A brother's hurt—

Where, O where, are plots and sneers,
The poor man's hopes, the rich man's fears,
That lived so long ago?

Where are the graves where dead men slept,
A hundred years ago?
Who when they were living, wept
A hundred years ago?
By other men
That knew not them.
Their lands are tilled,
Their graves are filled,
Yet nature then was just as gay
And bright the sun shone as to day,
A hundred years ago.

I have said our fathers were humble people working in a secluded spot, yet they did a noble work in a noble spirit, and I have sought diligently for what remains of their history that posterity might do them at least the justice of gratefully memory. It has been to me a labor of love, and I do not regret the toil it has cost. My only regret is that the work is not better done by a worthier hand, but such as it is I lay it gratefully on the sepulchre of the men who founded this church in faith and prayer a hundred years ago.

SECOND SERMON.

I have already stated that in October, 1762, Lord Sterling conveyed one hundred acres of land to Henry Cuyler Jun., "in trust for the

use of the Inhabitants of Rockaway Township in Morris County to accommodate a minister of the gospel there." (Records, p. 11.) I find mention of a parsonage during the time of the first minister, and suppose that during the second year of his ministry, 1769, such a house was built. In March, 1769, William Winds and Willys Pierson were "impowered to Dispose of the Parsonage Lot and House to the interest of the parish according to their Decreeion for the term of three years next Insuing." In December, 1769, an "old subscription" for "Parish house" is mentioned and certain work done by Willys Pierson to that house is paid for. The records show that Capt. Pierson did work to that house which the parish did not choose to pay for at that time, and that a year and a half passed before his account was ever allowed to be entered on the book. It amounted to £16:18:10; and Jacob Allerton, David Baman and John Huntington were appointed "a committee to Inspect into the work done by Capt. person to the parsonage House and determine what part there of shall be allowed." (Copied Records, pp. 37-47.) The whole account was paid. This parsonage was built on what is now known as the "Tom Mann Lot" owned by Joseph Jackson, Jr., near the depot. The house was on the hill and its site near an old pear tree still standing. It was occupied by Mr. Baldwin during the earlier part of his ministry until he purchased the property at the Southeast corner of the road to Franklin leaving the main road below Mr. David Anderson. When the Rev. Mr. Carl came to Rockaway in 1792 "a committee was appointed to estimate how much every man's part in the Parish is to Pay towards Building New Parsonage houses." Arrangements were also made to sell part of "the old parsonage lands" to pay for the "new parsonage lands" bought of Nathan Shotwell. This is the property now occupied by Mr. Sullivan in Franklin, next to Mr. Seely Tompkins place. The congregation built that house with great embarrassment, and Mr. Carl lived there not more than two years, when "the trustees Reported that by and with the consent of Mr. Carl they have sold the parsonage where Mr. Carl now lives and that Mr. Carl proposes to find his own parsonage and fire wood and that the parish pay him a yearly salary of £200 so long as grain and produce holds as they are now." (Copied Records, 139-147.) The congregation relieved themselves of debts by selling the parsonage at Franklin to Dr. Ebenezer H. Pierson, and Mr. Carl removed to what is now known as the "Berry House" on the East side of the canal opposite the Mt. Hope ore dock, which house his father purchased for him. This closes up all the congregation's connection with parsonage lands and parsonage

houses. No one can blame the people for selling the land in order to get out of debt. They undoubtedly did the best they could under the circumstances.

Let us now go back to the close of the first minister's pastorate to glean a few items characteristic of the times. Thus in March, 1770, a parish meeting voted that, "David Beman is to sweep the meeting house one year for eleven shillings." (Copied Records p. 33.) The clerk closes the record of a meeting in April of the same year with the words, "this being the ninth Parish meeting in Mr. Tuttle's reign." (Ib. p. 39.) It will be remembered that Rockaway and Parsippany had the same minister, and on the 20th of Oct. 1770, it was voted that "we still continue to request (of the Presbytery) a dismissal from poepany." (Ib. p. 45.) This dismissal came in the form of the pastor's death on the succeeding Christmas Day. The books show that the people had considerable difficulty in collecting money to pay what was due Mr. Tuttle. On January 17, 1771, a parish meeting divided £40:6:7 among six collectors. These were Jacob Allerton, Robert Gaston, B. Cooper, Esq., Wm. Walton, Levi Ayres, and Isaac Southard. A memorandum in 1771 says, "Last Sunday the Rev. Mr. Chapman (of Orange) preached here and cristend Nathau'l Morris' child Abijah. (pp. 46-7.) The fact shows that the church had occasional preaching after Mr. Tuttle's death. In the same year the parish allowed Col. Ford to build the minister's pew "on the East End of the meeting house at his own proper cost" on condition that "Robert Gaston and his family have full Liberty to sit in it until such times as it may be wanted for a minister's family in this society." (Ib. 49.) On the 25th of July, 1771, the record states that "Mr. Simpson preacht a lector" at the opening of the parish meeting, and it was resolved that "Mr. Robert Gaston's house be appointed" "to receive and keep any minister that shall be cald here to preach until such Time as the parsonage House is prepared for his house, and that such person be allowed for his suport." It was also "voted to give a minister Eighty-five pounds lites money per annum together with use of the parsonage and to Git him his fire wood." The next Saobath after service, "it being put to a vote whether we should give Mr. Smson a call to preach for us During the space of six monts or a year next ensuing, and it being put to vote it was carried in the affirmative that we should give him a call as above." (Copied Records, 50-51.) On the 25th of January 1772, Dea. Lum, Dea. Allerton and Moses Tuttle were instructed "to agree with Mr. Simpson about his preaching here the Time he is now appointed to sofly

ns." (Ib. 52.) On the 1st of April the parish voted to "give Mr. Simpson a call to a settlement and it was agreed to a man that we do give him a call as above," and that "Deacons Allerton and Lum and Justice Winds be a comitee to enforce and Confer with Mr. Simpson relating to said call." The parish also appointed Jacob Ford, Jun., to Cary our petition for Mr. Simpson to the presbity at Trintown." It was further "voted to give Mr. Simpson twenty-six shillings per Sabbath for each Sabbath he hath and doth preach to us before the Next siting of Brunswick presbytery." "William Winds, Esq., Deacon Allerton, Deacon Lum, Messrs William Ross, Amos Lindsley and David Beman were appointed a committee to sign the call to be sent to the Presbity for the setling of Mr. Simpson here." On the same leaf it is written "Mr. John Simpson hath Preached here at Rockaway ten sabbaths." (Copied Records, 53-55-56.) The people were greatly eluisted in the endeavor to secure the settlement of Mr. Simpson, for in July a meeting was "held at the Parsonage" which "voted that the Parsonage house be put in order convenient for to Live in and a well Dug and stoned this fall, Provided that Mr. Simpson Excepts the Call for a settlement here, and three achors of wheato Put in yearly for the first three years." (Copied Records, 57.) Mr. Simpson preached twelve sabbaths and then declined the call of the congregation to a permanent settlement. It would be a gratuitous undertaking to assign reasons for a step so long as there was one very good reason apparent, that the field was not very inviting. Mr. Simpson afterwards removed to Virginia and became a member of the Orange Presbytery. In 1774 he is named as a member of that body. (Hodges Pres. Ch., p. 2, p. 514.) He was graduated at Princeton in 1763 and afterwards received the degree of Master of Arts. (Princeton Triennial 1854, p. 21.)

Having failed to get Mr. Simpson the congregation in October of the same year—1772—resolved to apply to the "New York presbity for a Candadit and in case the same be not agreeable, we order a petition for Monthly supplys, voted Mr. David Beman to be the man appointed to wait on the Presbytery sitting at Hanover." The same year Mr. Beman had made his usual contract to sweep the Meeting House once in two weeks for one year at eleven shillings. Who wrote the petition I am not able to state. It is copied into the records by "John McGibbons, Clarke, BEING PRESENT IN THE ASSEMBLY," and was signed in behalf of the congregation by Deacons Lum, Ross and Beman. The petition itself is worthy a place in this history of the church, and is as follows, viz:

"To the reverend Presbytery of New York appointed to sit at Hanover, We the Inhabitants of the parish of Rockaway send Greeting; Your humble petitioners setteth forth the Earnest desire they have that the gospel may once more be preached among them. The Great difficulties we labour under for the want of a Gospel minister settled among us occasions a great Lukewarmth among the Generality of this congregation and the Great falling of from Sabbath worship seems a Tale too Lamentable to Relate—yet we hope the lord in (anger) has not Removed his candlestick totally from us, for he may hide his countenance for a small moment yet with Tender mercy he will return and cause the Light of his Countenance to shine upon us more and more. And to you Rev'd Sirs is committed the care of his churches and to send forth Labourers into the harvest. We therefore in the name of our Lord Jesus the Great head of his Church Joine in this our petition Requesting a Candidete for this our parish if any under your care; if not we beg for supplys according to your wise Directions that the flock may not be Tottally scattered. And as this body in behalf of the whole parish has appointed David Beman to Represent them in this matter and to lay our Great Difficulties before (you) we trust you will order as you seem most needful for us. Which we your petitioners Humbly prays. Signed by us a committee Chosea. in behalf of this parish. Obadiah, Lum, Wm. Ross, David Beaman." (Copied Records, 58-59.)

The practiced eye detects not a few grammatical and orthographical errors in this document, but it has the ring of genuine metal. It shows these men were in earnest, that when they had no preaching they sustained public worship among themselves, that the falling off in the numbers of attendants on these humble Sabbath services was a cause of grief to them, that they had "great difficulties" to contend with, and finally that they were resolved not to suffer this little flock in the wilderness to be "totally scattered" so long as any effort or self denial on their part could prevent it. This was noble. May that good temper never be wanting in the church those men committed to us in trust for the generations following! Could one of those good men come back to us, he might truthfully recall "the great difficulties" of his day and tell us that our fathers' faith was not in vain, in the language they often sing.

"My fainting flesh had died with grief,
Had not my soul believed,
To see thy grace provide relief—
Nor was my hope deceived."

The following entry VERBATIM ET LITERATIM is a curiosity and shows the success of the pe-

tition sent to Presbytery. "in compliance with the 4 vote passed at a parish meeting held at David Beman's October 26, 1772, s'd Beman wated upon the presbatory and Reseved order for 3 supplys viz.

Mr. Joanes 4 sabbath in november. complyd with.

Mr. Wodhul 1 in January, complyd with.

Mr. Horton 2 in march." (Copied Records, 60.)

From November 1772 to "march" 1773 the congregation had preaching three Sabbaths. The records in Beman's handwriting.

A record under date of January 25th 1772 shows that the pulpit was not finished, "voted that the stairs to go up into the pulpit when Built is to be made on the East or women's side of said pulpit." In those days the men sat on the west side of the central aisle allowing the women to have the east side, the warmer side, or else the women took it without leave which is the more likely theory of the two. (Copied Records, 52.) During this year and many other years the untiring David Beman not only attended Presbytery and set the tunes without salary, but he swept the meeting house "once a fortnate" for eleven shillings a year. In September 1773 the congregation vested the busy man with another important office for it was "voted that David Beman should take the care of the burying yard and that he should direct all Persons Where to bury their Dead and that he should Advertise it through the Parish." (Ib. p. 66.) It would seem that such a man deserves not merely a grave but a headstone in that burying yard, for there certainly was not a more useful man in the church in that day of small things. He was ready to sing or to pray, or to pay, or to go to Presbytery, or to sweep the meeting house, or to bury the dead. He was "a character," and more pretentions men might imitate him without discredit to themselves.

In April, 1773, the parish "voted for stuff to be provided to finish the parsonage house" "the insuing summer," also to rent it "with three acres of improved land for one year next ensuing if they have opportunity," only reserving the "liberty to set out an orchard next fall on said improved land." The fact was that the good people were so long in finishing the parsonage that by the time it was done it was worth very little. (Copied Records, p. 60.)

As we have already seen the church at Parsippany and this church were closely associated during the time of Mr. Tuttle who was the first pastor of both churches. In 1745 the land now occupied as a grave yard at Parsippany and on which stood the old church was deeded by George Bowlsby to Ichabod Tompkins and Simeon Van Winkle in trust "for the use,

benefit, and behoof of the people belonging to the religious society of people commonly called Presbyterian." (Bowlsby's Deed, copy in possession of Trustees Pres. Ch. Parsippany.) It is a tradition that a log meeting house was built on that land about that time. (Statement of Mrs. Dr. Fairchild, Sen.) In 1755 by direction of Presbytery the Rev. Jacob Green the pastor of the Hanover Church organized a new congregation. A new meeting house for the parent church was built at Hanover Neck and another one at Parsippany. "Mr. Green was ordered by the Presbytery to preach at both these places; which he continued to do till the year 1760, when Precipitating were allowed by the Presbytery to seek a ministry for themselves." (MS. Hist. of Hanover Church by Rev. Jacob Green.) The effort was not successful, and probably Mr. Green continued to officiate at Parsippany part of his time. The earliest subscription paper in the Rockaway church, that of March 2d 1758 shows that there was a desire to unite with Parsippany in settling a minister, but this desire was not gratified until in 1768 the Rev. James Tuttle was settled over both churches. I have already described the efforts made at Rockaway to find a pastor after the death of Mr. Tuttle. It is to be presumed that the Parsippany congregation were engaged in the same search. On the 1st of April, 1773, at an irregular parish meeting at Parsippany it was "unanimously agreed after sum Dispute about a minister whether we should try to get a Presbyterian or Congregational that this Measure should be taken, that a Short Instrument should be Written and offered to the Society to manifest thire Choys in manner as folloeth, Whereas we are about to Send for a Minister this is to Desire every Member of this Society to Declare what one they chose by writing thoir Names under the words Prsbyterian or Congregational." On "April 7th at a Parish Meeting the Instrument was returned and fild up as folloeth." Sixteen names were written under "Prsbyterian" and fifty-seven under "Congregational." Notwithstanding so decided a vote for Congregationalism, the church the same year applied to the Presbytery of New York for supplies, which shows that their preferences were not very decided.

At the meeting on the 7th of April it was "voted to send for a minnester," that "Isaac Sergeant go into New England after a minnester," and "that if the man that go for a Minnester cannot git a Congregational (he) is to use his Indliver to git a Prsbyterian." The persons present immediately started a subscription which finally amounted to £10:6:6. (Copied Records Parsippany) An

entry in the same records which were kept by Isaac Sergeant as Parish "Clark" shows us what success he had in his mission. "May 17th Sot out for New England for a Minister and Returned the 27th of June without one." That jorney shows us the times and the people, and is worthy of special note.

If we now recur to the records of our own church we find that on the 20th of April 1773 it was "voted to send by Isaac Sargent to new England for a minister," "to Raise money to Beare said Sargent's Expenses," and that "Deacon Allerton go to Mr. Sargent to Give him Letters and Direction in the above matters and Biseness." Some money was immediately raised but the fact is added, "agreed that the money Raised for going to New England be returned to those who paid it," showing that after all it was concluded not to send by Sergeant to New England. The records of April 26th shows that Dr. Johnes of Morristown advised the people against the course, giving "it as his opimon that it was best Not to send to New England for a Minister as there was several Now to be Licensed soon." In place of sending to New England it was "voted that wee will Make application for Mr. Burnet for to be a Candidate to supply in this Parish," and "Mr. David Beman go and talk and consult Mr. Jones and bring his approbation of the Matter by Next Sabbath Day." The next Sabbath Mr. Beman reported Mr. Johnes' advice "to send our petition to the Comitee of minnister appointed for vacant congregations respecting Ingaging Young Mr. Burnet to serve with us as a candidate." This advice was followed. In addition to this they sent a similar petition to the Synod. This brings us to another fruitless attempt to settle a pastor. (Copied Records, 61-64.) During this Summer and Fall the pulpit was occupied by several ministers, Rev. Messrs. Murdock, Thomas Lewis, Timothy Johnes, Jacob Green, Cloce, Lion, Burnet, and Joseph Grover. Between June and September Mr. Mathias Burnet preached three Sabbaths with very great acceptance. On the 3d of September the Parsippany church "voted that we offer to join Rockaway in applying to the Presbytery for a Minister" and that Benjamin Howell and John Stiles be a committee to go to Rockaway to conclude the agreement. (Copied Records, Parsippany) On the 27th of the same month the parish meeting at Rockaway in answer to the inquiry "whether we comply with Persipany proposat voted not to comply with it" and to "send Posipany the minit of of our note with some reasons annexed thereunto, voted to send it and Job Allen do it with the reasons thereof." (Copied Records, 65.) From one fact it would seem that Parsippany

congregation was then either richer or more liberal than this, since for many years the sexton received eleven shillings a year in Rockaway, whilst the sexton at Parsippany received twelve.

December 8th, 1773, the parish meeting "voted that Deacons Allerton and Cobb should go to Mr. John Jacob Fash and Envit him to Join with our Parish," and that "Mr. Fash should have the use of Jacob Ford, Jun., Pew Whenever he need it as Long as it remains the property of our Parish." It was also "voted that David Bevan for the future should Receive the several Collections of our Parish as they are made and Dispose of the same according to the order of the Parish," which shows that good man with a new office in addition to the former ones. (Copied Records, 67.) On the 16th of January, 1774, Mr. Burnet supplied the pulpit. On the 24th of that month after "the Rev. Mr. Johnes had preached a Lector" it was concluded to give Mr. Burnet a call, also that "we shal now proceed to provide stuff suitable and sufficient with what is already provided to Lay the fire place and seat the Gallery and finish the pulpit in Our Meeting House." The same record speaks of a resolution "to fix in the Gallery fire." This kind of good things in the form of fire-places in the meeting house did not even go far enough to "end in smoke." In February, 1774, the parish again resolved to call Mr. Mathias Burnet* who was preaching occasionally for them, and this time it was "voted to give Mr. Burnet in case of his excepting our call the sum of one hundred pounds per year salary, the use of the parsonage and his firewood." In addition it was "voted to find Mr. Burnet a convenient room and his Board until we can prepare the parsonage for his use, and also his Housekeeping. Voted that if Mr. Burnet excepts our call we are emediately to proceed to prepare the parsonage house fit for him." And as if haunted with the fear of having money what they might not know what to do with, they guarded against such a contingency by voting "that all money that is Overplus if any there should be in our several subscriptions for parraish use, (it) shall be aplyed to the repair of the parsonage House." It was also resolved to finish "the part of the gallery all round with banister," and also "to Invite Mr. Green to aford us part of his labour untill the sitting of the Spring prysbitry."

*The Rev. Matthias Burnet was settled as an ordained minister over some other church in the New York Presbytery, as appears from "a list of the members of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia from 1758 to 1788 inclusive." In 1775, with the Rev. Joseph Grover of Parsippany, he represented the New York Presbytery in the Synod. (Judge, Pres. Ch. II, 514.

The business of preparing the call for Mr. Burnet and in case of his refusal, "to petition to the prysbitry for a candidate to serve with us constantly six months," was committed to Moses Tuttle, Wm. Ross, and Henry Howell. On the 17th of May, the call was read and approved by the people. It thanks "the Reverend Prysbitry of New York" "for all the favorable notice" taken of them, and "for such a number of soplies from time to time granted to us" "since we have unhappily bin Destitute of the stated Gospel Ministry." The petition then speaks of the fact that "we have lately bin favored with the Labours of Mr. Mathias Burnet and that with such satisfaction and we hope spiritual edification as excites us to desire his settlement amongst us in the gospel ministry." In presenting the call the fact is added that the parish includes "about one hundred families." Until the parsonage is completed "we further engage to find him a Convenient Room, his diet, and keeping for his horse, with our Promise of submitting to his holy ministration attending to the Gospel while he shall continue in character amongst us." (Copied Records, 69-73.)

The old parsonage house was a wretched affair and in June of this year an attempt was made to purchase "the dwelling house of Doct. Hunting and lot of land it stands on for a parsonage," but nothing was accomplished. Dr. Hunting's house was near the large willow tree on the north side of the road leading to Deuville. The property is now in the hands of Mr. Francis Steckler.

It was "voted the canopy over the pulpit to be now built."

After some time had passed the call of the congregation was declined by Mr. Burnet, and then we find them endeavoring to make arrangement with Parsippany church for one-third of Mr. Joseph Grover's time. That church would not permit their minister to be called as joint pastor, but they seem to have allowed him to preach here as a supply part of his time. As this good man preached in this place a great deal previous to Mr. Baldwin's settlement I may state the fact that in the Parsippany Records Mr. Grover's name is mentioned the first time November 22d, 1773, and the clerk adds, "this Mr. Grover was a candidate that Job Baldwin brought from N. England." He was recently—commencement—1772 graduated at Dartmouth College. He was hired by that congregation until the 1st of May 1774, and record is made that Job Baldwin "is to be paid for his trouble." April 30th, 1774, a regular call was made out, and sent to "the Reverend Presbytery of New York" requesting them to "appoint a time for and afford assistance in ordaining Mr. Grover over us." He

was not ordained and installed until 1775. He is said to have been a preacher of few pretensions, but sincere and useful. After the congregation of Rockaway became involved in their musical difficulties, tradition says that Mr. Grover preached here on a certain occasion, and said very sternly to the leaders in that quarrel, "I believe this church is a vine of the Lord's planting, and that it will yet flourish and bring forth fruit; but this will not be until the Lord takes of the heads of you who are leading in these unhappy divisions." He remained pastor of the Parsippany church until August, 1798, when the congregation summarily dismissed him by a vote of thirty-four to fifty-four. Soon after this he removed to "the Genesee country."

After Mr. Barnett in 1773 declined the call of this congregation, the pulpit was supplied occasionally as the records show by Rev. Messrs. Joseph Grover, Ebenezer Bradford (then preaching at Succasunna and Chester,) Young, John Davenport, Elliott, Thaddeus Dodd, Ackley, Derondy, (a Dutch minister) and "Galang," (this name quite illegible.) The entries of preaching are in Mr. Beman's handwriting and are not as well written and spelt as if his son-in-law George Stickle had held the pen. To show what privileges they had I may state that in 1774 the pulpit was supplied thirteen times, or on an average once in four weeks; in 1775 the entries indicate that no one preached here but Mr. Grover, and he only once; in 1776 the Rev. Thaddeus Dodd "pratched" two Sabbaths, receiving nine and ninepence, and a Mr. Ackley two Sabbaths, receiving one pound nine shillings. Mr. Johns of Morristown, opened a parish meeting in January of this year with a sermon. In 1777 a Mr. Galang (if that be the name,) in April "pratched a month, pad him" three pounds and three pence, in May and July he preached one Sabbath each, concerning the payment for which service the entry is, "the aboung one pound ten and ninepence pad to Job Allan." "Mr. Amzey Lewis pratched" one Sabbath in May, for which he received one pound one and one pence. In May of this year an attempt was made to hire the Rev. John Joline, afterwards of Mendham, three months "Deseretionery Time allowed him by prysbtry." Moses Tuttle and Deacon Allerton were instructed to confer with him, but no conclusion was reached. In September Messrs. Moses Tuttle, Abram Kitchel, Stephen Jackson, John Cobb, Sr., and David Broadwell, were appointed a committee "to confer with Mr. Joline whether he will be content to settle in this parish."

The committee was "impowered by the parish to make a positive agreement with Mr. Joline in regard to his salary and settlement." In Oc-

tober the committee reported "that they have conferred with Mr. Joline and have agreed with him to stay with us till next May Presbetry if the Rev'd Presbetry will Permit him, and Likewise have agreed to give Mr. Joline for his services till that time the yuse of a Comfortable house and two loads of hay and find him firewood and give him one hundred pounds Prock." For some reason this agreement was not fulfilled, and in April, 1778, the same committee were instructed to call Mr. Joline for six months and "to profer him one hundred pound, paster for one horse, two cows, firewood at the door of a comfortable House to Live in." Our Manual of 1833 says, that Mr. Joline "had preached as a candidate six months," but after a careful examination of the records I find no evidence that Mr. Joline preached that or any other stated period. He preached a few times, and the agreement failed, probably because the parish was unable to provide the means for his support in the first agreement, and in the last attempt they failed because about that time Mr. Joline was settled in Mendham. (Copied Records 79—93 and Hastings' M. S. Hist. of Mendham.)

Having failed to secure Mr. Joline, the parish invited a young Dutch minister from Hackensack to supply their pulpit, and in November it was voted to give Mr. Deronde (Devondy or Devonde) "four Pounds Prock per Sabath for his Past services with us, and to pay Capt. Stephen Jackson for his entertaining Mr. Devonde when he comes to Preach to us." It was further voted that Messrs. Moses Tuttle, Allerton, Beman, Ross and Allen, be a committee "for to enquire into the truth of Certain Crimes alledged against Mr. Deronds viz, Stealing, Lying, getting Drunk, and Swearing." Soon after the committee reported that they have made "strick enquiry into the facts alledged against Mr. Deronde above mentioned, and that they find no truth in the Reports * * * (which are) onely Rised by Prejsted Persons." Mr. Deronde seems to have continued his services from some time previous to November in this year until the following March, when the parish instructed "Job Allen to go Down to Persipany to give a certain young minister that Mr. Grover has Recommended to us and now at Mr. Grover's (an invitation) to come up and Preach to us next Sabath." David Broadwell was "to go to Mr. Deronde and acquaint him with it that he may not come to Preach to us on that Day." On the 12th of April Wm. Winds, Job Allen, Benj. Beach, David Broadwell, Abraham Kitchel, Eleazer Lamson, Josiah Beman, William Ross and Stephen Jackson, in behalf of the congregation, signed an agreement with Mr. Noble Everett to supply the pulpit six months, agreeing to "give him the

sum of Fifty pounds Procd., and that we will pay the above sum in Iron at twenty-eight shillings per hundred or Wheat at seven shillings per bushel or rye and Indian corn at four shillings, or oats at two shillings sixpence per bushel, or pork at five pence per pound or beef at three pence per pound, and that we will pay in the above articles if we please but if we chose we will pay in money and the above articles shall be a standard, and the value of money shall be regulated by the everig (average) price of the articles above mentioned when the six months shall be expired." Having fulfilled this agreement in September, Mr. Everett declined the congregation again "to come and preach to us as a supply." (Copied Record 95. 81-84.)

Soon after Mr. Everett began to preach here, Mr. Derondy asked the congregation "a certificate from his Discharge from us" and David Broadwell, Joshua Winget and Job Allen were appointed a committee "to sign a certificate for Mr. Deronde."

"Voted that William Ross and John Huntington be appointed to go to Mr. (Lemuel) Fordham to consult with and envite him to come and supply us onse a month for the Winter ensuing and to go to Mr. (Timothy) Jones to get his approbation in the matter and make report to the parish." There is no evidence that Mr. Fordham preached here regularly that winter of 1779-80, but on the 19th of April, 1780, Eleazer Lampson and Josiah Beman were sent to invite him "to preach to us one Sabbath or more before the Next Seting of Presbetyery" "and in case he cant come to preach upon the Sabbath to come and preach a Lecture for us upon a Weak day and make Report to the Parish Next Sabbath after service." A week later the parish voted to pay for "sending abroad for a candidate to preach in this place as a probationer to settle with us if the presbytery cant supply us with one." Abraham Kitchel was appointed to draw up a petition to the Presbytery asking for a candidate, or if that body could not send one, to "give us leave to apply to any of the neighboring prisbytries for a candidate." "Mr. Beman, Capt. Allen, and Mr. Kitchel were to inspect and sign the petition," and "William Ross, Esq., and David Broadwell were to wait on the presbytery with said petition and make report to the parish of the answer from presbytery when called upon." The Presbytery of New York met that Spring in Morristown, and the petition of this church "humbly sheweth that being Destitute of a settled Gospel Minister although our frequent attempts to procure one have in some instances Raised our hopes yet have ended a Disappointment for which we desire to eye the hand of God and be humbled under a sense of our unworthyness of so great a favour and pray that

we may be Prepared and have a sense of the vorth and value of a Gospel Preacher and that one may be sent to us that may come in the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Jegns Christ, wherefore we pray the R'vd Presbetyery that if there is a candidate under their Direction that can be spared and would give us any Encouragement we might be Indulged with his Labours such a space of time as would be convenient," etc. "To which the Presbetyery granted us the following supplies viz. Mr. Fordham the first sabbaths in June, August and October, Mr. Johnes the third in June, Mr. Elmer the third in July, Mr. Grover the third in August and Mr. Green the third in September."

It was resolved "to send by Mr. Chapman (of Orange) into New England to try to git a candidate for us to preach upon probation." Job Allen was "to draw and sign the letter." The records show that Gen. Winds and Dea. Huntington "by request of some members of the Parish" "have treated and agreed with the Parish at Suckasoney and Mr. Fordham that Mr. Fordham supply us three sabbaths over and above what the presbetyery has appointed him here and that we pay him for them sabbaths after the Rate of one Hundred pounds per year oald way as we Paid Mr. Everitt." The parish ratified this agreement, and voted further to "applay for the Labours of Mr. Gilbert among us what time Mr. Fordham is not to supply us until the siting of Next Presbetyery." At same meeting it was "voted that the Parish be at the Expense to make a Ladder to go up Galeryes and Lay Down boards on the galery Beams and make seates to set on and that Benjamin Jackson and Ebenezer Lindsley do the same." Here I may also introduce a little item showing the state of the currency. For many years Dea. Beman agreed to sweep the meeting house twice a month for eleven shillings a year, but in 1779 it was voted to give him "six pounds" for the ensuing year and in 1780 he was to have "the price of three Bnshel of wheat for taking cair and sweep the meeting hous the year ensuing." From a subsequent entry I infer that the sexton's salary was not paid promptly, an example which has imitators in our own time.

The congregation refused to "join with the Parish at Suckasoney in giving Mr. Fordham a call as a candidate" and appointed a committee to see whether that minister might not be secured for the congregation alone. Mr. Fordham gave them encouragement to apply by petition to the Presbytery, or to use the words of the committee, "Mr. Fordham says Nothing as appears to them Discouraging to our putting in a call for him as Probationer." "Voted that if our Petition Do not succeed with Mr.

Fordham that we will Petition the Presbetry for supplies as usual."

The parish resolved to "raiz the sum of one hundred pounds in speey" "by rate and subscription." Job Allen was directed to "assess and levy the aforesaid tax agreeable to the Present Tax bill now in Lane." Ebenezer Lindsley, Zenas Conger and Josiah Bigelow were appointed collectors.

The parish "voted to petition the presbetry that Mr. Fyrdham be continued among us as a candidate upon Probation the space of six months ensuing," Job Allen was to draw and sign the petition, and Joshua Winget and David Broadwell to carry it to Presbetry. "The Parish meeting adjourned to sabbath after next at Noon Entermition "

"Voted that Mr. Fordham may Preach the same sermons at Rockaway that he Preaches at Suckasoney as he shall think proper."

"After a sermon Proached by Mr. Fordham" the records thus state a fact; "By reason of the Deprisiation of the Money Issued upon the faith of the State and a former Rate being assessed and Levied in the aforesaid currency for the use of the Parish which makes a great Diffrenity" it was "voted that we raise onely one half of the sum assessed to be in Iron at 24s. per hundred, or in wheat at 6s. per bushel and rye and Indian corn at 4s. per bushel or in money to the value thereof."

A petition to the Presbetry speaks of the people's satisfaction in "the labours of Mr. Fordham for sometime past for which we Return our Most hearty thanks hoping that his labour has not been in vain, but to our great Mortefycation when we were all united to put in our call to the Presbetry for Mr. Fordham to be ordained over us Mr. Fordham Declined to Settle."

Mr. Fordham preached part of the time in this church. "Voted that we immediately Levy a Tax on this parish to pay Mr. Fordham for his Labours amongst us," the tax to amount to "the sum of fifty pounds prock. money in silver or gold by Rate and subscription."

An effort was made this year to sell "the old parsonage" and to "purchase David Beman's Plantation for the use of a Parsonage."

During this year besides the regular services of Mr. Fordham the Presbetry sent Rev. Messrs. Jedediah Chapman, Timothy Johns and Fish to preach one Sabbath each. (Copied Records 85-87 96-109.)

This brings us so far as the ministry is concerned to the period when the church began to negotiate with the Rev. David Baldwin who became its second pastor in 1784. In looking over the history of the church from the death of its first pastor in 1770 to 1783 we find several new names in our records. In 1770 Robert

Gaston, who lived in the old house where Mr. Freeman Wood resided a few years since, begins to bear a conspicuous part in the parish, frequently acting as Moderator, Clerk or Committeeman. The name of Benjamin Cooper appears about the same time.* In 1771 we find the name of "Edward Lewis, Esq." and subsequently that of Samuel Lewis, who resided on the property now owned by Rev. Barnabas King. In 1772 for the first time we find the name of David Broadwell who resided where Mr. David Menagh's tavern is, and followed his trade as a blacksmith. Several times he was sent to Presbetry to ask for a minister and seems to have been an active and useful man. For several years after 1772 during this period, John McGibbons, a beautiful penman, was somewhat conspicuous. He owned one fire in Beman's Forge, part of the farm now owned by S. B. Halsey, Esq., and a tract of land in the vicinity of the Dell farm now owned by Miller Smith. Dea. John Cobb is also a prominent man of this period. He lived where Mr. Halsey now resides. He afterwards removed to Parsippany and died there. His descendants are useful people in that congregation, and his grandson Archibald Cobb is preaching in Philadelphia. In 1773 we find the name of "Capt. John Monson" a strong man who built and occupied a house in the vicinity of where Mr. Hubbard Stickle now lives. I have been told that he built Guinea forge. He was an active man in this parish, and when the Revolutionary war began he commanded a company as Captain, and finally became the Colonel of a militia regiment. He subsequently removed to Parsippany. In 1777 we find the name of John Hoff, a younger brother of Charles, who afterwards removed to Pennsylvania. The name of Capt. Josiah Hall appears occasionally. During the Revolution he was often in the service of his country. He resided near Mr. J. B. Bassinger's place, and is said to have kept the materials for a beacon light on the point of the mountain south-west of the Denville Depot. The names of Josiah and Aaron Bigelow appear in the records during this period. Both were militia captains during the Revolution and were frequently in active service. In 1779 I find for the first time the name of Elezer Lampson as one of the committee to agree with Mr. Everett. I also find the names of

*BENJAMIN COOPER. Oct 25th. 1765. Samuel Ford and Grace his wife of Morristown, in the County of Morris, sold to Benjamin Cooper of Newton, Sussex County for \$266:13:4, "one equal and undivided third part of all and every of the Respective five following lots of land hereinafter mentioned and described situate in the township of Pequanaek in the county of Morris afores'd about one mile and a half above John Johnson's Iron Works, to wit, etc." E. Jersey Records. Liber. D. 3., p. 46.

Joseph and Zenas Conger; also the names of Thomas Orsburne, Joshua Winget and Seth Gregory. In 1781 this Gregory had "Liberty to clear the lower end of the meeting house lot next joining to his land on the East side of the Mount Hope road * * * * and to have the use of the land four years for clearing and fencing it." (Copied Records, 104.)

It will be a matter of interest to know that so far as can now be learned Dr. Jonathan Hunting* was the first physician who was actually settled in this parish. He lived by the willow tree on the left of the road to Deaville. On the 1st of June 1774 "Dea. Cobb and Capt. Munson were appointed a committee to Treat with Doct. Hunting his Heirs, Executor, Administrators, or Either respecting his Dwelling House and lot of land it stands on for the use of the parash for a parsonage house." (Copied Records, 74.) This Doctor Hunting purchased Pew No. 8 built by John McGibbons and Nov. 7th, 1774, the parish voted that Matthew Hunting should have the same pew which his father had occupied. (Ib. 77.) Dr. John Darby of Parsippany, for a short time minister in that church, practiced medicine in this region. He was an excellent man and had many friends hereabouts. Occasionally Dr. Darcy of Hanover was called hither professionally, and perhaps the Morristown physicians, of whom Dr. Johnes, son of the minister was one. So far as I am able to learn there was no physician residing in the parish after Dr. Hunting's death in 1774 until Dr. Ebenezer H. Pierson bought the last parsonage owned by the parish, and which is now (1858) owned by Mr. Peter Sullivan in the Franklin neighborhood. (Copied Records, 265.)

As for the appearance of the meeting house it was not improved during this period. The frame had nothing to cover its inner nakedness with. In 1780 the frame work of "the galleries" stood out in the old house adding to its anatomical ghastliness. (Ibid 97.) The good people passed a resolution "to make a ladder to go up Galerys and Lay Down boards on the galery beams, make seats to set on;" but the resolutions did not bring about the good things intended. Until 1791 the old meeting house was as comfortless an edifice as ever held a comfortless congregation. Almost the only sign of improvement during the

*This Dr. Hunting, April 6, 1774, sold to John Cobb six acres of a certain pond meadow in Pequannock, "formerly the grist mill pond which John Lew purchased of Gilburt Hedden and from thence conveyed to Wm. Pierson, and from thence to Benjamin Prudden July 23d 1764 and from thence to Daniel Talmadge, and from thence to Jonathan Hunting."

This is Mr. S. B. Halsey's meadow opposite the Rolling Mill.

thirteen years now under review was the clearing off the lot now occupied as a graveyard. And yet the unflinching determination of these men to sustain the church and enjoy the ministrations of a pastor, is very evident. One disappointment trod on the heels of another, but instead of yielding to discomgement they say "we Desire to Eye the hand of God and be humbled under a sense of our unworthiness of so great a favour, and Pray that we may be Prepared and have a sense of the worth and value of a gospel preacher and that one may be sent to us." When Mr. Simson disappointed them they looked for some one else, and so they did for thirteen years. They did the best they could, and they deserve our admiration for what they did. "Cast down but not destroyed" they laid the foundation for those better privileges which their children enjoy.

At the close of this period, as I learn, there were two roads leading to the Glen or as it was then called "Horse Pond." One of these was very near the one now running in front of the residence of Matthias Kitchel, and passing round the low lands by where Mr. Ford Kitchel resides. The other and principal road followed the White Meadow road a short distance and then turned to the right over the hills and coming out in front of Dr. Beach's residence. There was also a road leading to Hibernia which turns from the main road by Mr. John B. Kelsey's House, thence to White Meadows, and thence to Hibernia passing West of the high mountain at the Glen. There were two roads from this place to Dover. The Franklin road was very nearly as it now is, but the other road turned up the hill just beyond the house of Mr. Joseph Hylar (C. A. McCarty in 1876,) and passed not far from where the Swede's Mine is. At a later date it was laid where it now is, passing the house of Dea. William Ross now occupied by Mr. John Dickerson. The bridge over the river at that point bears the name of "the Ross Bridge" and probably will for a great while to come. The road to Mount Hope and Denmark has not been changed much. The turnpike over the mountain, west of our village to Mt. Pleasant, that from Dover through Littleton and that from Dover to Morristown were not then thought of. The roads were rough and unworked, and the hills were not reduced. The vehicles on wheels were mostly rough wagons and carts adapted to the iron business. Those who were able to afford it traveled on horseback, the rest walked or staid at home. In those days scores of men and women walked to the old church from distances varying from one to seven or ten miles, but they did not groan over it as an insufferable evil. They were hearty in their

babits and earnest in their love of church privileges. To such people these hardships seemed light. The long walk and the cheerless meeting house could not quench in them the feeling, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord!"

From the late Col. Jackson, Mr. Eunice Pierson, Mrs. Priscella Anderson, Mr. David Gordon and some other aged people I learn that at the close of the Revolutionary war in 1783 there were in Rockaway East, three houses, the old parsonage, the west end of Mr. Halsey's house, and the house opposite in which the late Mr. James Jackson formerly lived. In Rockaway West there were also three frame houses, the William Jackson house, then occupied by Robert Gaston (owned by John F. Stickle in 1876,) the Conger house where the barber shop is (torn down about 1868 by John Giveny,) and the Beman house near the Mt. Hope ore dock and which has long since disappeared. The late Col. Joseph Jackson once wrote me that "in 1782 there were five frame houses and five-log cabins in Rockaway, one of which was occupied by slaves." When he wrote this I suspect he forgot the old parsonage which was then standing. During the early part of this period Capt. Stephen Jackson and Andrew King were driving the forge a Dover. Then Jackson removed to Franklin and built the forge there, and finally he came to Rockaway where he continued until his death in 1812. His father Joseph Jackson resided in a house which stood near the river nearly in front of the Jabez Estile house now owned by Mr. Joseph Hyler. Major Benjamin Jackson lived in a house which stood in the field nearly opposite Mr. Hyler's house just alluded to. In Denville just west of Mr. Stephen B. Cooper's house stood a rickety frame house, the first built in the parish. David Broadwell's house and blacksmith shop were where the tavern now is. Job Allen's house was not far from the site of the Glover House. Below that along the valley were the dwellings of Samuel Peer, Husk, John P. Cook, David Peer, Peter Hyler, Adam Miller, and Joseph Scott, the later a hot-headed, powerful but thrifty Irishman who gathered together a fine property. On the property now held by Mr. Wm. M. Dixon resided Mr. Frederic Miller with his wife, a clear-minded woman who loved the cause of her country and greatly aided it in her neighborhood which was not quite free from Toryism. Part of the Miller house is yet standing. In that neighborhood was also Wm. Dixon the son-in-law of Miller. Farther down the valley was the noble farm of Frederic Demouth, who owned acres, livestock and slaves, and lived in considerable style. At Old Boonton shrewd, sharp-witted Samuel Ogden before

the war was ostensibly managing a little grist mill, but really a contraband rolling and slitting mill. On a window pane at Mt. Hope written in a beautiful hand with a diamond is still to be seen the sentence "Samuel Ogden Aug. 1778." At Mt. Hope for two years resided Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., and after him John Jacob Faesch, surrounded with many workmen among whom were thirty of the Hessian prisoners taken at Trenton. At "Horse Pound" resided Benjamin Beach in the house just east of that now occupied by his grandson Dr. Columbus Beach.* Not far from the place where stood the house of Col. S. S. Beach burned in 1856, stood a dwelling owned and occupied by Capt. Aaron Bigelow. At Hibernia in a house, the foundations of which are yet to be seen, resided first Mr. Joseph Hoff; and afterward Mr. Charles Hoff and his wife Hannah daughter of Moses Tuttle. Mr. Joseph Hoff was manager of the iron works in 1776, in which year he died and was succeeded by his brother Charles who was surrounded by a retinue of miners, colliers, choppers, and furnace men. He remained there until 1781. (John's Letter in my Scrap Book.) Deacon Jacob Allerton lived where Mr. David Anderson now does, Deacon O adiah Lum resided in a house just below the old Palmer house at Franklin, and I presume he was the owner either of the Franklin Forge or the Colvrain Forge on the same stream opposite where the Union School House stands. Richard Dell lived where Miller Smith now does, Gen. Winds on the farm which still bears his name, Wm. Ross where John Dickerson now lives, and Josiah Beman at Dover. The farm houses were plain affairs, not designed to be air tight, and the cabins were not very comfortable, but all the houses had great fire places in which were burnt fabulous amounts of wood. In these humble homes our father's lived, and loved, and enjoyed, and died, and perhaps their share of real enjoyment in their homes was not less than we claim to have in our more pretentious way of living. In those houses men and women lived till many of them were near a hundred years old. They did many things well and suffered many things nobly, but their toils and sufferings were well

*HORSE POUND. Col. Beach tells me the origin of this singular name to have been this. In early times the people of this region, as also those in Parsippany and Hanover were accustomed in the Spring to turn their young cattle and horses into the wood above Rockaway to find pasture during the Summer. In the Fall the horses were driven into a POUND built at the upper end of the Glen Forge Pond. This was made of logs and spread out wide and was contracted to a small space in which the horses were easily caught. Hence the name of HORSE POUND which preceded the more elegant one by which now it is called BEACH GLEN.

rewarded in the health, contentment they had, and especially in the church which they carried in their arms as a nurse her child. Were they here now they would say, "this is the chief joy and reward of our labors."

The history of the iron business in this community during the period under review is important and interesting, but of necessity must be condensed. So far as I am able to ascertain the facts, the Dickerson Mine on Mine Hill, lately owned by Gov. Mahlon Dickerson, is the MOTHER MINE in this county. That property was returned in 1716 by John Reading and sold by him the same year to Joseph Kirkbride, and it remained in the possession of his sons, Joseph, John and Mahlon, until the late Governor Mahlon Dickerson's father Jonathan Dickerson and Minard LaFever bought it. The ore was very rich and very accessible. As early as 1710 the mine was worked and ore packed in leather bags to the first forge built in the county, that at Whippany, and afterwards to another forge on the small stream between Mr. Edward Howell's farm and the Morris Plains station. The ore was so abundant and the means of transportation so small that Gov. Dickerson once told me that the mine was not regarded as very valuable even as late as 1807 when he bought it. I think it probable that this mine furnished the ore for the forges at Dover, Ninkie and Shaungum, and perhaps some for those at Franklin and Rockaway. How early the Mount Hope veins of iron ore were worked I am not able to say. I have heard Col. Jackson say that when a boy he has assisted to cart ore from Mt. Hope and that it was so accessible that the cart could be backed up to the vein which then cropped out of the side of the hill. Col. Jacob Ford, Jr., bought the property in 1770 but no doubt ore had been dug there a long time previous. The real development of the mines at Mt. Hope was begun by Mr. Faesch. Previous to 1760 ore was dug at Mt. Pleasant and Col. Jacob Ford, Sr., had built a forge at the place. Previous to 1758 the same enterprising man had built forges at Ninkie and Shaungum. It is possible that he built the Colerain Forge also. The mines at Hibernia and the Glen were worked previous to 1765. I have been told by Col. Joseph Jackson that the works at Hibernia were built by Lord Sterling and Samuel Ford but when I am unable to determine. In 1765 Samuel Ford and Grace his wife conveyed to Benjamin Cooper of Newtown, Sussex County "one equal and undivided third part of all and every of the Respective five following lots of land hereinafter mentioned and described situate in the township of Pequannock in the County of Morris aforesaid about one mile and a half above John Johnson's

Iron works." These tracts are described as in the vicinity of "the Horse Pound Mine." (E. Jersey Records Liber. D. 3 p. 46.) Some deeds in possession of Dr. Columbus Beach show that Samuel Ford was a partner in certain mine lots at Hibernia, so that it appears probably that he did help start the Hibernia works previous to 1765. Col. Jackson set the date down as 1770 or '72. The upper forge in this village was built previous to 1758, and is called "Beman's Forge" in the earliest subscription paper of this parish. Col. Jackson says that it was built by Isaac Beach. As before stated in 1748, it was called "Job Allen's Iron Works." The lower forge was not built until after Stephen Jackson had erected the old grist mill in 1783 which is yet standing. Denmark forge was built in 1768 by Col. Jacob Ford, Jr. The facts about other forges and mines belonging to that early period I am looking for and hope to find.

You have noticed the fact that in several instances in hiring a minister, the parish reserved to itself the right to pay in iron in one case at 20s. per cwt. and in another at 24s., that is at \$50 and \$60 per ton. As a contrast between the forges of that day and either the forges or rolling mills which are in the same territory, let me state a fact which I have from William Jackson, Esq. Col Ford once boasted in Morristown "that in his forge at Denmark he had made and shingled a hoop that day which weighed twenty-eight pounds." As another contrast between the business in that day and this, take the pack horse of 1758 or the heavy vagon of a later period taking from two to four days to reach Elizabethtown Point and compare it with the facilities for freighting now furnished by the canal and railway. The pack-horse may have carried from two to three hundred pounds, and the team aided over "Pinch Hill" by an extra team may have carried a ton. One horse on the canal will draw fifty tons, and the "Delaware" freight engine in four hours will move a load of four hundred tons to Newark surmounting the heavy grades of the Short Hills. That one engine will take at one load as many pounds as 2000 pack horses could carry, or as many as 200 teams could draw. The small forge of that day contrasted with our blast furnaces and rolling mills, the pack horse of that day contrasted with our freight locomotives, these show that something has been accomplished in our region since the first ore was dug at Mine Hill.

This sketch would be incomplete were I to omit the facts of our Revolutionary history. Here too I must of necessity be brief. From the very beginning of the contest between this country and Great Britain the people of this region took a very decided stand in favor of

their country. I have not yet heard of one prominent man in the parish of Rockaway as constituted during the Revolution who sympathized with the enemy. In 1764 William Winda, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, had such a disgust for the stamp act that rather than use the stamped paper, tradition say he used white birch bark for his legal business, and when Great Britain enforced the savage Boston Port Bill, the feelings of the people were well expressed by the father of Joseph and Charles Hoff when in a letter to one of them on business he begs him to let him know "how the poor Bostonians are coming out?" Our parish in 1775-6 furnished in Col. Wm. Winds one of the most efficient officers in the patriot army, and Col. John Munson* also serving with honor, and at different periods of the war Captains Bigelow, Jackson, Hall and other officers. As for our men there were very few who were not enlisted in the service of the country at some time during the war, and many of them were in battle. Among the members of "the Associated Whigs" in Pequannoc Township in 1776 are to be found nearly all the men known to have been in this region. The Committee of Safety was composed of Robert Gaston, Moses Tuttle, Stephen Jackson, Abram Kitchel, and Job Allen, all of whom were members of this congregation. The articles of the Association and the names of the signers are published in Revolutionary Fragments, Morris County, No. 8. There was such a public sentiment in this community at that time that nothing was so odious as a Tory or the suspicion of a leaning in that direction.

When the war began the American Congress made contracts with Mr. Faesch at Mt. Hope and Lord Stirling at Hibernia for large quantities of cannon balls. At the latter place some small cannon were cast in 1776. (Jos. Hoff's letter, Sept. 2d, 1776.) After the battle of Trenton, Faesch took into his employ thirty of the Hessian prisoners, and the government furnished him with arms to keep them in subjection. An attempt was made by Moody's party to burn down the Mount Hope Furnace, (Col. Jackson's statement in my Scrap Book) and in the year 1777 or 8 Mr. Charles Hoff, the manager of Hibernia, had his house robbed by a party led by the notorious Claudius Smith. Many of the men were enrolled "as minute men" and it was no unusual occurrence for some of these men to come to the church on

*Col. John Munson built Guinea Forge, on the stream north of Hubbard Stickle's house, Sept. 12th, 1778, Minutes of Privy Council show that "one class from Col. Munson's Regiment of Morris was with others to guard the frontiers to the northward from the incursions of the Indians and disaffected persons.

Sabbath armed and ready for instant march in case of alarm.

In 1778 a part of Gen. Sullivan's army encamped opposite Mr. Halsey's residence and some of the officers lodged with Capt. Jackson. They were on the way to avenge the horrible massacre at Wyoming. Once our illustrious Washington passed through the place on his way to Mount Hope where he and his suite dined with Mr. Faesch. On his way up he honored Capt. Jackson by alighting and partaking of some refreshments in his house.*

To the general period now under consideration belongs a series of very interesting events which are parts both of our parish and our county history. For many years previous to the Revolutionary War the currency of New Jersey was in a greatly deranged condition. As in all new countries the people had more land than money, population was sparse, and products of the country above what was needed for home consumption were small in amount, and less still in their actual sale for cash. New York and Philadelphia were then small towns, and not the great markets they now are. To render this state of things worse the British government had laid destructive restrictions on all manufactures in this country which should in any manner compete with the same productions at home. Iron, one of our greatest natural resources, we could have made to great advantage if we had been permitted to do so. Our immense forests would yield the coal, and our mines the ore, our streams the power, and our people the enterprise of making iron in all forms and quantities profitably. So severe were these restrictions on this manufacture of iron that a small slitting mill at Old Boonton for making railroads and that kind of iron was concealed beneath a grist mill. The manager and joint owner of the establishment was Col. Samuel Ogden, who was a man of considerable tact. On one occasion he received an unexpected visit from Gov. William Franklin and his suite, in order to investigate the rumors which hinted that there was a contraband iron establishment at Boonton. Col. Ogden received his visitors with great cordiality, and according to the customs of the day brought out the liquors from his well-stocked cellar. Dinner was also forthcoming and the visitors did justice to their host's good meats and his good drinks also. Meanwhile Ogden's men had closed up the slitting-mill carefully and started the mill-stones above. After so good a dinner it is said Col. Ogden's visitors were in no mood to make a very critical examination of the prem-

*One of General Washington's letters on file in the State Library and published some few years since by order of the Legislature is dated from Rockaway.

ises, and the Governor seeing the mill-stones at work, said, "he knew there was nothing in the rumor about a contraband iron mill!" I may add that another rumor says that Gov. Franklin was a silent partner in the mill and if so his judgment in the case is easily accounted for.

It is a somewhat singular fact that nearly all the more pretentious iron establishments of that day failed. The London Company, Faesch at Mt. Hope, the Hibernia Company, and others became embarrassed and in some cases failed. Many of the forge owners working at their own fires and anvils, were able to make money, but even then it was only by extraordinary effort and economy. The result was a very great scarcity of money. To meet this difficulty the Legislature occasionally issued limited amounts of paper currency. These bills were printed on very common paper and were easily counterfeited. On every bill as is said it was distinctly printed "Tis death to counterfeit," and yet the death penalty was not sufficient to deter many persons from making and circulating counterfeit coins and bills. As confirming what has been said about the embarrassments of people in this State I may quote a paragraph from the address of Gov. Franklin to the General Assembly in April 1768. "There is at this time a considerable number of debtors confined in the different Gaols in this Province. The condition of many of them is deplorable." The contemporaneous records of the Morris County Courts show the same fact.

I have already mentioned that previous to 1765 Samuel Ford of Morristown was the owner of the property at Hibernia. On the 28th of October, 1765, he and his wife Grace executed two deeds, in the first of which they conveyed to "Benjamin Cooper of Newtown, Sussex County, New Jersey" "one equal and undivided third part of all and every of the Respective five following lots of land hereinafter mentioned and situate in the Township of Pequannock in the County of Morris aforesaid about one mile and a half above John Johnson's Iron Works, &c.)* Four of these lots contained "ten acres strict measure" each, and the fifth contained ten acres and thirty-four one-hundredth's of an acre. The second deed is in precisely the same terms as the former one, naming the same "equal and undivided share" of five lots which are named as before. The price in each case £265:13:4, but the grantee in the second deed is "James Anderson of Newtown, Sussex County." Both deeds mention "outhouses, buildings, barns, Fur-

*John Johnson's Iron Works were at Beach Glen. The Glen Forge is built where Johnson's works were.

naces, mines, and minerals" as among the articles included in the conveyances. From these deeds it is evident that iron works had been built both at Horse Pound (Beach Glen) and at Hibernia as early as 1765. Who the owner of the other third part of the property at Hibernia was I am not able to state. Lord Sterling was a joint owner of that property at a subsequent date, but whether as early as 1765 I have not been able to ascertain.

The sale of this property to Cooper and Anderson in 1765 matches into other well known facts. About this time Ford and a confederate, one Joseph Richardson, sailed to Ireland as is alleged to perfect themselves in their profession." Mr. Whitehead puts the date down as 1769, but I suspect it was not later than 1765. Undoubtedly his sale of the Hibernia lands gave him the means for his voyage, and in the Minutes of the Privy Council for this State under date of June 28th 1766, the Governor signed a warrant on the treasury "to the Hon. John Stevens, Esq., for sending an express into this colony to inform the inhabitants of a large sum of counterfeit Jersey Bills of credit being arrived in a vessel from England." Whilst in Ireland Ford married a young Irish lady who he brought to this country and abandoned, his wife Grace Kitchel being still alive. Dr. Timothy Kitchel of Whippany tells me that his father told him that this young woman was afterward married to an Irishman and resided in Whippany many years. This crime and his final abandonment of his wife seem to mark him as a heartless villain. He was the grandson of a most estimable lady, and was closely connected by blood and marriage with several of the most influential and excellent families in the county, and as one who knew him well said, "his conduct was a grief to his friends." He was the son of Samuel Ford and nephew of Col. Jacob Ford, Sr. In 1768 he was residing in New York and was there arrested "on a charge of uttering false New Jersey Bills of Credit." (Proceedings N. J. His. Society, 5. p. 52.) He was never brought to trial on this charge. His residence was in Hanover Township and for several years previous to 1773 he is named as an Overseer of Highways. He owned a farm of 130 acres known as "the Hammock" between Columbia and Morristown. Records of Morris Co. Courts vol. 1.) Ford's workshop "was in the midst of an almost impenetrable swamp about a mile distant from his residence at Hanover, in which the water for the greater part of the year was a foot deep and through which the operator was obliged to creep on his hands and knees for some distance to get at his work." (Proceed. N. J. His. Soc. vol. 5. p. 51.)

There was another transaction in which Ford according to popular opinion became interested.

whether right or wrong cannot now be determined. On the 21st of July, 1768, the treasury of East Jersey was plundered of £6570:9:4, and all efforts to fix the crime on any person failed. The treasurer, Stephen Skinner, was suspected, but without good reasons. Several arrests were made, but they only left the mystery unexplained. These facts will enter into our subsequent inquiries.

The emission of counterfeit money had become an alarming evil, and on the 16th of July, 1773, Ford was arrested and committed to jail in Morristown. The night of the next day he escaped, being aided as some say, by one of his own gang named John King, and as others allege, being assisted by the Sheriff himself to the extent that he took no great precaution to prevent it. About the same time several other persons were arrested on suspicion of being engaged in the same business. Four citizens of this county, Benjamin Cooper, Dr. Bern Budd, Samuel Haynes, and David Reynolds, and one of Sussex County named Ayres, were indicted, tried, convicted and sentenced to death.* All except Reynolds were persons respectably connected, and Cooper and Haynes were Justices of the Peace. Benjamin Cooper at the time of his criminal conduct was a prominent man in this community, and one of the judges who tried him was his own father Daniel Cooper. From the fact that he passed some spurious bills as early as 1769 (Proceed. N. J. His. Soc. v. p. 55. note) I suspect that the sale of land to him by Ford in 1765 was part of the same general scheme which had

*The mother of Dr. Budd has been described to me by Mrs. Col. Joseph Jackson who knew her, as a person of extraordinary dignity, even stoutness of manners. Dr. Budd's wife was almost beside herself with grief on account of her husband's indictment, conviction and sentence, and on her knees in the most pathetic manner she besought Gov. Franklin to pardon him. But Budd's mother reproved her daughter-in-law for her excessive grief and among other things uttered the following very striking sentiment, "He has broken the laws of the land and it is just that he should suffer by them." The traditions of the county still preserve anecdotes indicating that Dr. Budd was a kind and generous man. His patients did not always have a delicate forgetfulness of his former misfortune. One woman thought to be dying revived at sight of the Doctor and said, "Dr. Budd, how did you kind a' feel when you was going to be hanged?" In a letter to E. Atkinson his London correspondent, Robert Erskine of Ringwood, under date of Oct. 6th, 1773, writes, "I have been sworn in and acted as a justice of the peace in the Jerseys for some time past which as justices turn out is no great honour. One man has been hanged and several are under sentence of death for counterfeiting paper currency as you will see by the papers, among whom are two justices of the peace. Cooper, one Justice, I had a slight acquaintance of, being partner in

been in progress several years before it was arrested. The letter of Cooper to Lord Stirling after the conviction is a curious affair. In it he traces his crime back to 1771 at which time "Ford called me to Morristown. There he told me first of the villainous scheme of passing bad money. My necessities distressed to distraction led me into it." This was not true as to time since there is now a counterfeit bill in existence which Cooper passed in 1769. Of course he puts the best face on his conduct, and further intimates to Stirling that he can be of great service to him in case he is pardoned. His letter concludes in these words, "But God's will be done. I am endeavoring to prepare for the worst to come. It is my chief aim. Now I believe it is time, I fear I am to depart. I have no one but your Lordship to place the least dependance on, and this only from your natural human benevolent disposition toward all mankind. Here only I hope for your interest which if properly obtained and applied would no doubt lengthen my days. Many things in the course of my perplexity I could say more concerning your interest as also my present situation. Now I pray you my good Lord if you can possibly do me any service in this present situation of mine, grant me your aid for God's sake." On the morning of the day on which he was to be hung, Cooper was reprieved, as were also Haynes and Budd,* and it is said that all of them in view of the galleys made confessions which pointed to Ford as the mysterious robber of the Treasury in 1768, but aside from the confessions of these dishonest confederates, no proof was found to sustain the charge.

Previous to his arrest Cooper had left Hibernia and was living in Hunterdon County, but his arrest took place at Hibernia. What became of him afterwards I cannot learn, except that in 1774 he with Haynes, Budd and others were summoned as witnesses by Lord Stirling to charges which he made in the Privy Council against Col. Samuel Ogden, and Samuel Tuthill, Esq's, Justices of the Peace, for unfair dealings in the taking of affidavits and confessions "in the county of Morris in or about the months of August, September and October last, relative to the counterfeiting of the paper bills of credit

*The minutes of Privy Council Dec. 3d, 1773, show that an attempt was made "to send for and examine the convicts in Morris County Gaol" in reference to their alleged knowledge of the robbery of the Treasury, but the House of Assembly being of the opinion that such a course is not proper, "the Council advised his Excellency to issue his Majesty's Royal pardon to said convicts, Benjamin Cooper, Bern Budd, and Samuel Haines." Dr. Bern Budd died of putrid fever Dec. 14th, 1777, aged thirty-nine years. (Morristown Bill of Mortality, p. 41.)

of this province and to the Robbery of the Eastern Treasury of this Province." The minutes of the Privy Council show that in the trial just mentioned, "William De Hart, Esq., is to bring with him the affidavits of Budd and Haines taken after they were released from Gaol and the original paper wrote by Haires in Gaol which he, De Hart, received from Haines' wife," and a letter from Ford himself to Cooper shows that the latter also had made confessions, all of which charged Ford as having robbed the Treasury.

As for the man who was thus named as the leader in all these crimes, after his escape from prison he was for sometime concealed in a rude hut in a "coaling-job" between Hibernia and Mount Hope. The name is preserved to this day as "Smultz's cabin." It was the popular belief of the day that Sheriff Thomas Kinney had connived at his escape. His Deputy Sheriff, John King—Ford's confederate as is said—in February 1774 charged Kinney before the Privy Council with allowing Ford to escape. The charge was dismissed as "not supported." But it appearing to the Board that the said Thomas Kinney may nevertheless be blameable for negligence in his office respecting the escape of the said Samuel Ford, the Attorney General was called in and examined touching that matter, who informed the Board that a Bill of indictment was found against the said Sheriff by the Grand Inquest of this said County of Morris for Misbehaviour respecting the said escape; whereupon the Council advised his Excellency to order the Attorney General to prosecute the said indictment at the next court." It was also the popular opinion that Kinney did not wish to re-capture Ford, because had he used proper diligence he could have taken him. It was on a certain Sabbath shortly after Ford's escape that Sheriff Kinney and a posse rode up to the old Rockaway meeting house during service and took Abraham Kitchel out of meeting for the purpose of compelling him to act as guide to Ford's place of concealment. James, the oldest son of Abraham Kitchel, then about fourteen years old, greatly excited at seeing his father arrested, started for home by the road which led by where is the house of the late Matthias Kitchel, Esq. On the opposite side of the valley resided one Herriman, and James rushed into his house to tell him the occurrence at the meeting house. A stranger sitting in the house heard his story and without further delay started on a lull run across the meadows for Hibernia. James on foot had gone to Herriman's, and the stranger on foot started for Smultz's cabin, but the Sheriff's party on horseback had a direct road to follow either by White Meadow or Mount Hope. As they left

the church Kitchel told the Sheriff "I know where Sam Ford has been concealed and I will take you to the spot, but you know very well that you would rather give your horse, saddle, and bridle than to find Sam Ford." The mounted party moved along leisurely and in due time reached Smultz's cabin, but of course Sam Ford was not there, the footman whom James Kitchel saw starting from Herriman's house, undoubtedly having notified him of his danger. There is one little circumstance additional. When the Sheriff attached and sold Ford's property he did up the business so clean that he even emptied a cup full of milk which Ford's wife was warming for her child, a circumstance which looks like an attempt to show the people that their suspicions of his complicity with Ford were groundless. And during these transactions which fell with cruel weight on Grace Ford and her little family, her oldest son William told the Sheriff that he was as bad as his father for he had seen him sitting on the very press on which Ford was printing the counterfeit bills. There are also some hints of facts which taken in connection with the social position of those arrested and the popular rumors of the day, have led me to suspect that if the truth were known that this gang of counterfeiters was much larger than is generally supposed, and that some never named were involved in its crimes. And moreover that whilst Ford was undoubtedly a dishonest man and a leading spirit, he was so in very respectable company.

The only man who suffered the extreme penalty of the law was David Reynolds an Irishman, and it is a tradition that he was arrested on information given by another Irishman who showed the most pungent grief when he found that Reynolds was hung.

How long Ford remained in this region after the adventure at Smultz's cabin I am not able to state positively. I learn from the county records that his family had a hard time of it, for on the 21st of September, 1773, two months after his arrest and escape and a month after the conviction of four of his confederates the Sheriff attached his farm called "the Hammock containing 130 acres," and the court appointed "Samuel Tutthill, Esq., Jonathan Stiles, Esq., and Mr. Thomas Milledge auditors to sell Ford's "perishable goods." At the same time the court ordered warrants to be issued for "Bern Budd, and Grace Ford and devious other persons" to testify to the auditors in the case. It further appeared that "Bern Budd and Grace Ford hath negligently and contemptuously refused and neglected to attend as by said warrant they were commanded." Sold out of house and possession, Grace Ford had a heavy load to

carry, but aided by her friends she carried it bravely. She lived to be an old woman and died some years ago in Whippany.

In his paper on the robbery of the Treasury Mr. Whitehead says that while the trial of the counterfeit and its attending circumstances "were transpiring Ford, Richardson and King, the prime movers and concocters of the mischief were seeking safety in the wilds of the West with prices set upon their heads. They were traced along the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers; were joined by another accomplice, and all, well armed, proceeded towards the Mississippi. Ford boldly paid his way with his spurious Jersey bills, thus leaving his mark behind him as he fled, and after reaching the Indian country his course was traced some distance by the counterfeit coin found in possession of the uninitiated lords of the forest. Emissaries were dispatched down the Ohio after the fugitives but they succeeded in effecting their escape." (Proceed. N. J. His. Soc. v p 56.)

I suspect this description is not literally correct, for "John King, late under sheriff of Morris County," who undoubtedly is the person named as Ford's confederate, was in New Jersey in February 1774 making statements to the Privy Council concerning Kinney's connivance at Ford's escape. And a letter from Sam Ford himself to Benjamin Cooper, bearing no date, but sworn to Sept. 8th, 1774, before Lord Stirling by Joseph Morris, a brother-in-law, and Jonathan Ford, a brother, of Sam Ford, implies that he was not very far off at that time. I suspect he did not leave New Jersey until the following Spring or Summer. His letter is a curiosity and I will copy a few paragraphs from it. The letter opens with a singular but direct statement of the writer's aim. "Can I now be awake?" he asks, "or is it a dream? Would to God it was a dream! However I have already felt the smart too keen to believe it a dream and shall therefore proceed as though it were reality, good earnest. Did you ever in the jaws of death depose that Sam Ford was the person that robbed the Treasury? One would expect that what was then delivered could be nothing but the truth. Or was it a turn of thought which you expected to get a reprieve for. Well if that was the case was I the worst enemy you had in the world that the notorious scandal must be fixed on me and on my family? Or had you inducers to persuade you to lay such a charge on me to defame my family and a reprieve should be had for you. I have various conjectures who should induce you to brand me with such atrocious falsehoods, but I cannot get the least reason why I should be the unfortunate person. Have not I really enough to struggle under without that

false accusation, ah, I say notorious falsehood without the least ground whatever, which you in your own conscience know." Having thus berated Cooper for his "atrocious falsehood" about robbing the Treasury, Ford addresses him about "the money making affair" as he ingeniously calls the counterfeiting, and is quite indignant "that you describe me as being the chiefest promoter and first introducer of that." He denies this and asks "did not you in the time of our distressed circumstances at the furnace first move such a scheme to me." He then seeks to make it appear that David Reynolds who was hung was the main agent in the business first, but he did his work so roughly that some money passed at the Charliottenburgh Iron Works to a Mr. Gordon made a great "noyse." "When you found this money would not pass did you not press me continually to try my ingenuity, that you believed I could soon do it to perfection if I would only begin. * * * * * It never entered my mind to fall in to such a scheme nor I am sure it never would had not you a pEEST me to it, nor did I dream I should ever comply for a long time, but a continual dropping wakes a stone. * * * * * However not to dwell so long on this but to come to the MANE point, I am at is this. It is known amongst some of my friends where I am ~~say~~ that I am the person that is accused of robbing the Treasury, which I conceit they think the worst of me, for they dont mind the money making charge. That they look upon only as a piece of ENGENUITY. Therefore I want from under your hand a clearance and the reason why you thus falsely accused me. This I want you to write and give to my brother on your receiving this. Dont fail complying to my request, and let my brother see your letter to me before you seal it, and let it be drawn to his liking. It cant do you no hurt and wil do me a great of good to sioce my friends where I live. Let me tell you, sir, that you are by no means to refuse. If you do, depend a greater fall than ever will take place in your family. It would be an extraordinary case to see two brothers and one brother-in-law condemned to be hanged in one creditable family. You may depend (this) will immediately take place in case refusal, if I must take the SEVERITY. Dont expect your amercement is over. You will immediately be tried for the same crimes committed in New York which you and I know of." He closes his threats by saying that he will write to the Governors of New York and New Jersey a full account of Cooper's crimes and offer to turn State's evidence if he does not comply with his demand, and signs himself "your much injured well wisher Sam Ford." To this remarkable letter some one, probably Lord Stirling, adds this note. "Joseph Morris

declared the foregoing to be a true copy of the original in Ford's handwriting shown to him by Jonathan Ford five or six weeks ago, and delivered by him to Benj. Cooper at his house in Hunterdon County. Sworn before Stirling, 8 Sept., 1774. Jonathan Ford also testifies to the truth of the copy the same day."

I have no comments to make on this remarkable letter except to add that I infer from this and other circumstances that Ford was concealed in New Jersey some months before he started on his journey. What route he pursued I do not know, but I learn that he made his way to the Green Briar Country among the mountains of Virginia, that there he formed a partnership with another man and followed the calling of a silver smith. It was commonly reported that after the war began he sent word to Washington that if he would secure his pardon and permission to return that he would engrave bills which could not be counterfeited. The proposition was either not received, or if received was not noticed. In his new home he was very sick, and supposing his end to be near, he confessed his past history to his partner's wife. Contrary to expectation he recovered, and not long after his partner died leaving considerable property to his widow, whom Ford married, she being his third living wife. In Virginia he dropped the name of Ford and assumed his mother's name which was Baldwin. After the war, William, his oldest son, and Stephen Halsey (son of Ananias Halsey) made a journey to Virginia to see him. They found him with "a great property" and surrounded by several promising young Baldwins. They asked his Virginia wife if he had not deceived her, but she knew all about his past history and she did not think he would dare to leave her to go to New Jersey. His Jersey visitors described him as a "most melancholy man." He professed to be penitent and to have become a religious man, which profession is not confirmed by his continuing his peculiar family relations in Virginia, and utterly neglecting his wife Grace, whom he left in so distressed a situation with her little ones. I may add that his descendants in New Jersey are most worthy people whose virtues are not in the least dimmed by his misdeeds. As for the Baldwins of Virginia I learn from good authority that in that Green Briar region are men of that name who stand high in the community for wealth and talent, and it is not unlikely that they are the lineal descendants of the man Sam Ford who complacently said that his friends looked on his "money-making charge," his counterfeiting "only as a piece of eugenity." He is described to me as a fine looking man, who had a remarkable dimple in his chin. His talents were never doubted by his cotemporaries, whose judgement was that

he had uncommon talents but that he made a very bad use of them.

It is time I brought this discourse to a close. I have endeavored to present to you a picture of our parish from the death of the first pastor to the calling of the second, a period of 13 years. It was a period full of disappointments to our fathers, which they bore nobly. The church was exposed to danger which threatened to extinguish it, but God kept it alive as at this day. The great effort of these men was to secure a man of God to be their pastor, and to attain an end so desirable they were ready to make great sacrifices. I confess that the more I have read and studied the old records of the church with all their errors of spelling, grammar, and rhetoric, the more I have loved the men who figure in those records. Some of them were men of decided parts, they were "characters." Such were Dea. Allerton, Job Allen, David Beman, Stephen and Benjamin Jackson, Benjamin Beach, William Winds and others. All of them were governed by a sense of honor. Certain expenses were to be met in bearing up the church, and these men did not dodge responsibility, but put hand to paper agreeing that the duly elected assessor should rate them according to their property. They kept up their Sabbath services with a minister or without one in that comfortable house which some wag called "the Lord's Barn." Those men deserve to be honored.

But it is an affecting consideration that all those active men are dead. Winds, the Beman, the Jacksons, Ross, Beach, Gaston, Almonson, Bigelow, the Kitchels, Allen, Allerton, Ltut. Huntington, Ford, Faesch, the Hoff, Tuttle, they are all gone. Among us still lives one person now ninety-two years old, who was only four years old when our first pastor died, but she is nearly alone. Those brave, faithful, strong men, loving one church, loving one country, and laboring nobly for both church and country, are all gone. Nay most of their children are gone also, and now the third generation is made up of the gray heads.

"Eighty years have rolled away
Since that high, heroic day,
When our father's in the fray
Struck the conquering blow!

Praise to them—the bold who spoke :—
Praise to them—the brave who broke
Stern oppression's galling yoke,
Eighty years ago."

THIRD SERMON.

Having thus gathered up those incidental facts in our early history which are of sufficient interest to be preserved, I now resume the thread of my narrative. We have followed the fathers of this church through their struggles and disappointments as late as the beginning of 1783. On the 17th of March, 1783, we find

mention for the first time in our record of the Rev. David Baldwin, who was at that time preaching as a candidate in "the Parish of Black River," as Chester, in this county, was then called. It was resolved "to treat with Mr. Baldwin to preach for us in case he should not settle at Black River." William Ross waited on Mr. Baldwin and "reported that Mr. Baldwin can give us but little encouragement." In September we find them writing to "Mr. Johnes and Mr. Grover to apply for supplies for us," and in December they "voted to give Mr. Baldwin a call for settlement by twenty-seven votes for it and five votes contra." He was to receive eighty pounds a year, the use of a parsonage, and his fire wood. In the following February the committee reported that "Mr. Baldwin excepted our call and proposal, and that he should be ready to come to us with his family by the first of May next." A committee was appointed "to view the parsonage house and see what wants to be done to make it fit for Mr. Baldwin to move into." The committee were instructed "to put out the repairs of said House at publick auction in parcels or in whole as they should Judge best." They also voted that "we will be at the expense of the parish to move Mr. Baldwin," and "that we will make a garden in good order for Mr. Baldwin if he should not find it convenient to move in two weeks time." The Rev. Richard Webster says Mr. Baldwin was installed pastor of this church in April, 1784. (MS. Letter of R. W. to me) and I see nothing in our records inconsistent with that statement. As there is no mention made of Mr. Baldwin in the records either of the Presbytery or Synod of New York, the presumption is that the church had united with the Morris County Presbytery, which body effected the installation.

Of Mr. Baldwin's early history I have been able to discover nothing as yet, not even the place of his graduation. Mr. Webster confounds our second pastor, David Baldwin, with Moses Baldwin, who was graduated at Princeton in 1757, and licensed to preach by the Suffolk Presbytery in 1759. The earliest traces of our minister I find in a historical sketch of the Congregational Church at Chester, prepared by the Rev. Abner Morse, and copied into the Records of that Church. "The American War," says Mr. Morse, "came on soon after the removal of Mr. Sweasey, and during the year of 1777-8 the Congregational Meeting House was used as a hospital for disabled soldiers, regular worship was suspended, and the moral and religious habits of the people suffered greatly. A union of the two churches—the Congregational and the Presbyterian—was soon after attempted under the Rev. David

Baldwin who had been ordained about 1779 in the meeting house upon the hill west of Black River—Presbyterian—and received a member of the Morris County Presbytery and Congregational body. The members of the two churches were formed into one church adopting, it is believed, the Congregational mode of government. Mr. Baldwin ministered to them alternately at their two houses of worship for six years, but disappointed in his hopes of a cemented union he left his church, which was soon after by the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Florida, pronounced dissolved." If Mr. Morse is correct in saying that Mr. Baldwin preached in Chester churches six years he must have come into that region in 1777-8, as he left there early in 1784.

The testimony of witnesses in this congregation concerning Mr. Baldwin is quite uniform. "He was an ordinary man, a very moderate preacher, but a good man." (MS. of Rev. Peter Kanouse.) The late Col Joseph Jackson and others, both living and dead, have often expressed themselves in terms very similar to these just quoted. In the church records there is a copy of a letter from him to the congregation which manifests a most excellent spirit, and at the same time leaves the impression on the mind of the reader that he was remarkable neither for natural talent nor for education. When he came to Rockaway he occupied the parsonage house which stood on the Tom Mann lot, (where Mr. Oscar L. Cortright now lives,) but subsequently he purchased land and lived on the property now occupied by Wm. Dayton, on the south side of the road to Denville. The concluding sentence of his letter to the "church and parish at Rockaway," shows that his own hands ministered to his necessities and that it was not easy for him to meet his expenses during the eight years of his pastorate. "You cannot be insensible, gentlemen," he writes, "that my ministerial labors have been much impeded by a constant vocation to my temporal Business for the support of my family and still must continue to be without a more regular way for my relief from worldly incumbrances."*

The state of society in all this region when Mr. Baldwin came to Rockaway and for a

*The late Col. Joseph Jackson once told me that whilst Mr. Baldwin occupied the parsonage Mrs. Baldwin came to Squire Jackson's and asked Mrs. Jackson if she would not let Mr. Baldwin have the loan of one of the Squire's linen shirts to wear to Presbytery, as his were too much worn to be respectable. The Squire's wife represented the case to her husband who declined to lend the shirt, but in place of it gave Mrs. Baldwin the materials for two new ones for her husband.

quarter of a century afterwards has been described by the Rev. Peter Kanouse, who is old enough to remember the events he delineates so vividly.* His father resided in the vicinity of Powerville and was a member of the Reformed Dutch Church at Old Boonton, which has since been merged into the Reformed Dutch Church at Montville. In a manuscript which Mr. Kanouse has drawn up at my request he uses the following language: "At that time the region where we lived was true missionary ground. * * * * It is true, pious parents watched over my wayward steps; they had a powerful hold upon my better feelings. But every other influence with which I was constantly surrounded tended most powerfully to counteract both their precept and example. Immorality of every kind abounded. Fishing, swimming, hunting, horse-racing, playing ball, pitching quoits, card playing, visiting and pleasure parties furnished the sports of the young people on the Sabbath; and balls and rustic dances, shooting matches, gambling, and regular horse races on a larger scale the amusements of the times on other days. No one will doubt that profanity, wranglings, fightings, debauchery, drunkenness and every other evil sprang up in rank luxuriance. *

* * * * * There was then no Sabbath school to throw around my path a sacred enclosure—no tracts to warn—no lectures to youth to instruct—no revivals of religion turning night into day, and a dreary moral winter into spring. No, there were other agencies abroad. It was Tom Paine's Age of Reason, an age of infidels, of Jacobins, of suicides, and drunkenness—an age of necromancy and heathenish superstition, when men were prepared to be duped by such impostors as the "Morristown Ghost." Witchcraft and fortune telling were in vogue, and elf shooting was practiced in a manner worthy of Egypt or

*Peter Kanouse was born in Rockaway Valley, Morris County, Aug. 20th, 1784, and died at Deckertown, N. J., May 30th, 1864. When Mr. King began his labors at Rockaway Mr. Kanouse was working at his trade as a blacksmith. In 1809 he was elected an Elder of the church. After the death of his wife he began to study for the ministry at Bloomfield, N. J., a academy then taught by Dr. Amzi Armstrong. His theological studies were pursued with Drs. Armstrong and James Richards. He was licensed in 1821 by the Jersey Presbytery, ordained in 1822, and was pastor at Succasunna, Newark, N. Y., of the three churches of Wantage, including Deckertown, Newark, N. J., Unionville and Pongkeepsie, N. Y. He was also a Home Missionary in Wisconsin several years. He was a man of fine natural and acquired gifts, excelling in conversation, always able in the pulpit and sometimes reaching great eloquence. His ministry was abundant in fruits and at the age of 80 he descended to the grave in great honor.

Babylon, and some obscure, yet honest, ignorant, kind-hearted matron, bowed with age and face furrowed over with years, was regarded with terror, and her oracles esteemed as if uttered by a very Pythoness. Spooks and Wil-o-the-wisp were often seen and were frequently made the sober theme of the domestic circle before the good old fashioned fire on a cold wintry night. There were some astrologers, and now and then one who used divination and professed to be able to detect rogues and thieves and find stolen property. The wonderful old Almanac with the water man, or water bearer surrounded by the twelve signs, was full of curious arts, and oftener read than the Bible. Indeed something like this veneration for this family relic was probably the foundation of a prophecy uttered by a distinguished statesman and disciple of Voltaire, "That soon the Bible would be no more regarded than an old almanac." Could it only have been distributed as widely and read as eagerly, and believed as firmly, those dark days of infidelity, suicides, counterfeiting, thieving and superstition would have ended and at once been succeeded by the dawn of a better, brighter period." Mr. Kanouse says further, "whoever will inquire into the period referred to will find that these debasing evils were not confined to the locality of my birth. They were rife throughout the country. The French had rendered us important aid in the Revolution, but they also infected us with the same spirit that finally produced "the Reign of Terror" in France and proclaimed that "Death is an eternal sleep." Associations were formed to give eclat and currency to blind infidelity. These societies embraced many who affected to give type to public sentiment. The period from 1780 to 1800 produced a generation many of whom have left a tragical history that might well be written in blood. Their giant footsteps have but just been washed out of this region by the mighty showers of divine grace."

In another very interesting letter Mr. Kanouse writes still further concerning this region as it was sixty and seventy years ago. "Beverwick or Bevebant, a French Gentleman, fled from Guadeloup when his king fell. He located a little east of Parcippany church, and was one of the consistory of the Old Boonton Reformed Dutch Church. On a time when they were destitute of a Divine one offered himself. Beverwick was absent but the other members of the consistory engaged him. When the brethren informed him what they had done in his absence, the following colloquy took place.

Beverwick. What credentials of his regular induction into the ministry did the Divine show you?

Elders. None.

B. With what body is he connected?

Elders. We do not know.

B. What paper did he offer to show that he was in good standing?

Elders. None at all.

B. How do we know he is a Domine at all?

Elders. Hi can de pvaka—He can preach.

B. Ha, de Tufle can oke de pvaka!—Ha, the Devi' can also preach!

This was a poser, and pretty nigh true as my father thought concerning this imp.

Well now we have rambled over this ancient field as far back as I dare venture, when witches and hobgoblins held their paw-waws in the old Indian burying ground just as you go down to the Beaver Brook, on the East side, as you approach Dixon's dwelling in Rockaway Valley. And when the witches burnt down old Charlottenburg*, I heard a lady say they metamorphosel her aunt into a horse, and after riding her to a place of rendezvous, tied her to a tree where she witnessed the bonfire and their devil dance! Will-o-the-Wisp was a spook often seen by the timid ones along Rockaway River from the Owlkill up to Dover and farther too. My early schoolmates and myself had many a frightful race past the graves of old Yommer and Pero, two Africans who knew all the arts of fitchism. Ef' shooting was often witnessed, for instance a cow shot through from side to side with a ball of hair without wounding the skin! These things paved the way for the Morrystown Ghost!"

This graphic description is sustained by many authorities. Dr. Stearns speaking of the great revival which began in Newark in 1784, the year Mr. Baldwin was installed pastor of this church, uses the following language: "It was at a time of great religious declension everywhere, and especially in this congregation. Dancing, frolicking, and all sorts of worldly amusements absorbed the thoughts of the young, even in the most respectable and religious families; and among the lower class, vice and dissipation, the bitter dregs of the long demoralizing war, which had just ended, prevailed to a frightful extent."—(First Church p. 241.)

*It is a popular tradition that the Charlottenburg iron works were burnt, but a letter from Robert Erskine who in 1773 became the manager of the London Company's establishment, shows that the building was fired but the fire was put out. The supposed incendiary was arrested and put in jail. Erskine further intimates that John Jacob Faeseb—a man whom he hated heartily—had instigated the man to attempt the destruction of an establishment which was a rival to his own furnace at Mt. Hope. There is nothing in Mr. F.'s character so far as I have discovered to warrant the harsh charge.

From many aged people who were living twelve years ago, and from other sources I have heard very similar descriptions of this region. Throughout this region even in communities favored with churches, religion was in a low condition, and irreligion was active and predominant. The Age of Reason was popular among large and influential classes, and a combination of bad influences bore down powerfully against christianity as a practical and authentic scheme of religion. The large region whence this congregation was then gathered, reaching over Powerville, Rockaway Valley, Denville, Dover, Mount Pleasant, Franklin, Niukie, Shaungum, and the mountain region north and west of this place was no exception to the rule. Were the names of those men given who in this county gave tone and respectability to the infidel doctrines of Paine and the French Encyclopedists, they would excite astonishment. Mr. Kanouse asserts of his own knowledge that what the late Israel Crane once related to him, is true to some extent of Morris County. "Mr. Israel Crane of Bloomfield related to me more than thirty years since that he was extensively acquainted with gentlemen who had imbibed French infidelity, residing in Newark, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Albany, New Haven, Boston, and many other places, who were combined to overthrow the christian religion, and instal in its place the corrupt and debasing philosophy that brought on the Revolution in France. In an unblushing manner they affirmed that the altar and the throne must share the same fate—that the tolerant measures secured to the clergy among us was impolitic and ought to be reversed, and that such an ambitious class of men ought to be suppressed. These were the Hamans of that day. And he—Crane—had seen the effects of their efforts and he had also seen their end. He believed that a large proportion of these deluded persons had gone down to an untimely grave—many of them self-murdered—and such of them as survived had sunk down from affluence and respectability to a state of dependence and disgrace." To these sad reminiscences Mr. Kanouse adds, "full well I remember the hisses of the viper that sprang from these dens of iniquity formed in Morris, Essex, Sussex and Orange counties. And were it proper to give names and narratives of private individuals, a long and black catalogue could be recorded that would make the ears of the living tingle."—(Rev. P. Kanouse's MS. Discourse before Presbytery," pp. 9-11.)

From these descriptions you will receive a distinct impression of the moral condition of this region when our second pastor was installed in 1784. This church was composed of

only a few members, the congregation on the Sabbath was generally small, there were powerful influences in the region tending to skepticism, and to general laxity in morals and manners. Until that very year there had never been a school in this region and even that had only thirteen patrons and twenty-eight scholars.* The rich were embarrassed and the poor were distressed. At such a time the Rev. David Baldwin came to this place.

I have already stated my reasons for believing that he was installed by a Congregational body of ministers known as "the Associated Presbytery of Morris County." At that time probably the church was included in the roll of that body and remained so until Mr. Carl became its pastor. This "Morris County Presbytery," as it was called, was Congregational in everything but its name, and originated with the able pastor of the Hanover Church, the Rev. Jacob Green. He was a member of the Presbytery of New York which then included the territory now covered by the Presbyteries of Newark, Elizabeth, Passaic and Rockaway. Three members of the same body acted with him, the Rev. Ebenezer Bradford, Mr. Green's son-in-law and pastor at South Hanover, as Madison was then called, the Rev. Joseph Grover, the worthy pastor at Parsippany, and the Rev. Anzi Lewis of Florida, Orange County, New York. To discuss the causes or even state them here, would be irrelevant to my purpose, but I may say that the correspondence which took place between these ministers and the Presbytery they were leaving, is on either part a model of christian, courteous, fraternal discussion of differences, and separation. This was the ecclesiastical body with which this church was connected during Mr. Baldwin's pastorate. The records of that Presbytery I have never seen, and do not know that they are in existence, so that my statements of dates is necessarily general. In 1787 this Presbytery obtained a charter for an educational society, under the title of "the Trustees of the Society of Morris County insti-

tuted for the promotion of learning and religion." Among its trustees were the Rev. David Baldwin and William Ross of Rockaway. I may add that when in 1790 Mr. Green, the founder of this Morris County Presbytery died, it began to languish and the very next year his successor was installed by the Presbytery of New York. In 1793 our church returned from its short wanderings to the old paths and rejoined the Presbytery of New York.—(MS. His. Morris Co. Pres., by Rev. Dr. N. S. Perine, Hanover Church Records, and First Session Book of Rockaway.)

We are now prepared to gather up such details of the Baldwin ministry, and facts connected with it as we may find in the Parish records and other places. The sum to be paid him annually was eighty pounds to be "raised by way of rate and subscription as formerly," a parsonage and fire wood at the door. The latter was done in a way which was much reckoned on by the people. It was in the time of good sledding that the chopper and teamster gathered to cut and load in one day, the minister's wood. Some liberal man usually offered the use of his woods for that day, and merrily did the axes of the woodmen ring in the frozen trees, merrily did nimble footed teams fly over the road, and merrily did laugh and good cheer answer to laugh and good cheer, for both in woods and at the minister's house was the bottle of pure apple whiskey, not then as now taken behind the door but in open day. It made them cheery, and witty, and foolish, and generous, and sometimes drunk. Aside from this hospitable provision of whiskey, the minister's wife had the famous pot-pie to prepare, without which in those days the wood frolic would have been incomplete. And so many would turn out and so would they work that by night fall there would be in the parsonage yard almost fabulous amounts of wood sufficient to keep those almost fabulous old fire places supplied a year, and after supper the men went home happy, perhaps in some cases too happy.

That the pecuniary expenses were not very promptly met may be inferred from the history of the parsonage well. First it was voted that we will dig a well on the parsonage, and second it was "voted that we will dig a well on the Parsonage and that David Broadwell and Stephen Jackson git the same done and bring the account into the parish who shall pay the same." A year after this it was "voted that we Rais the sum of fifteen pounds by way of subscription to be paid to Mr. Baldwin to dig a well on the Parsonage." How the well was dug does not appear.

From various entries in the records it is evident the parish had no surplus of means,

*The first school taught in Rockaway was at Mr. Eunice Pierson told me by George Harris in a room near the old Grist Mill. He afterward taught in the first school house built in Rockaway and which stood just below where the steel furnace road enters the Glen road. It was on the hill near the house for a long time occupied by William Gustin. I had a copy of Harris' manifest of the first school as showing who attended it and who were able to patronize it. It was in a beautiful style of handwriting. Harris is said to be very erect in the school and once to have been roughly handled by some of the boys from the families of Stephen Jackson and Bernard Smith. The second teacher in that first school house was George Stickle, the father of Hubbard S. Stickle.

and that in spite of their Rate lists, subscriptions, assessors and collectors they were constantly in arrears. Still their hearts were right for "at a Parish meeting held this 29 day of December, 1785, being legally called," it was "voted that we find Mr. Baldwin in five tons of Good hay yearly until otherwise ordered" At the same time it was "voted that this parish meeting thinks it is necessary for the owners of the pewes to Give them up to the parish and that they be sold to pay the minister." Also, "voted that Job Allen pay David Beaman for sweeping the meeting house out of his Rait into Mr. Baldwin's sum of four pounds nine shillings and two pence."

We now reach an important point, and as the eager traveller traces some river step by step until he reaches its source, rejoicing to look upon the very fountain whence issues the little brook which as it flows on swelled into a river, so we feel in looking upon the fountain head of a stream which has barely ceased to flow as the years have passed away. The record of April 28th, 1786, will explain itself. "Voted that Benjamin Jackson, Franse McCarthy and Jacob Lyon be appointed Quoristers that they sing the latter part of the day without Reading the Psalm line by line and David Beaman to sing the fore part of the day unless otherwise agreed on by Mr. Beaman and the other Quoristers: that they sing any tunes that is sung in the neighboring churches as they shall judge proper; that the persons who chose to sing have the Liberty to set as convenient as Possible in seats near the Centre of the Meeting hous; that their be two Dozen of Psalm books purchased as soon as convenient and that they be Left in the meting house for the use of those persons that Desire to make use of them; that contrabnsions be set on foot to Rais the money to pay for said Books; and that if any persons have any objections to any of the above Propositions they are Desired to make the same known to the Rev. Mr. Baldwin and if not satisfied to be altered so as to have as Little Prejudice or uneasiness as possible." (Copied Records 118.)

These characteristic minutes imply that "the young folks," and possibly some of the old ones also, were louging for a change in the musical department. For twenty-six years had Deacon Beaman set the tunes and for as long a time had either Deacon Lum or Deacon Huntington or Deacon Allerton or somebody else read the psalms one line at a time. What the tunes were we are not told, but tradition assures us that the singing was susceptible of improvement. Benjamin Jackson and his sympathizers thought they could improve it, and lo, a vote of the parish, not to oust Deacon Beaman, but to give Benjamin Jackson, Francis

McCarthy and Jacob Lyon liberty to sign the tune without reading the lines at the afternoon service. It was a triumph of the young folks, and Deacon Beman and some other good people thought a triumph of the wicked. How ungrateful in the parish even to dream that any better singing was possible than they had without expense for many years! And then what a dangerous conformity to the world it was to yield a time honored custom of having the clerk read the psalm line by line and the chorister to set the tune a sacrifice to the modern folly of a choir setting as "convenient Possible in seats near the centre of the meeting house!" and the modern wickedness of singing without reading the line. I have no difficulty imagining the feeling of the good man as he heard "those wicked quoristers" for the first time singing their new fangled tunes without the Godly seasoning of reading the lines! Deacon Beman and his friends were grieved but they had too much piety to leave the church "shaking the dust off their feet!" From the time of the vote just recorded to April 23d, 1789, three years, there is not a line to indicate how the change in singing was regarded, but on that day it was "voted to have the Psalm read Line by Line or by Two Lines in our singing in the futer except on Particular occasions," (Copied Records 127) which seems to indicate that in this musical wrestling match Deacon Beman has turned his antagonist and was triumphant. If so, the triumph was short for his younger and tougher opponents soon stirred up the matter so thoroughly that William Ross, a warm sympathizer with Beman felt constrained to resign his office as elder, and more significant still Deacon Beman himself not only resigned his office as an elder but also as "chorister to set the Psalms." The very cool manner of the parish under the circumstances is seen in the following record, "The Parish excepts of Mr. Beman's Resignation and Returns him their thanks for his past services as an elder of the church and chorister for the Parish."—(Copied Records 127, 128.) But the end was not yet, for on the 14th of July following "Mr. Benjamin Jackson having served this parish as a chorister to set the Psalm for some time past Desires to Resign his office as chorister. The Parish excepts of his Resignation and thanks him for his past services as a chorister."* And so the church had

*Benjamin Jackson was the son of Joseph and brother of "Stephen Jackson." He lived where his father had, directly below William Estile's, that is east of it. He was born March 5th, 1752, removed to Knox County, Ohio, and died at Belleville in that county June 6th, 1812, aged 93. He left numerous and highly respectable descendants in that region. His son Benjamin was a leading man in that region and frequently honored with places of trust by his fellow citizens who highly appreciated him.

no chorister, a situation often realized since that day. Now see the wisdom of our ancestors in such an emergency. "Whereas the Parish is Destitute of a chorister to set the Psalm and but 10 members Present at this meeting they think it not proper to appoint a standing Chorister at this time; but that Mr. Baldwin, Josiah Hurd, Benj. Beach and Jos. Allen confer together and Desire some Persons to set the psalm from Time to Time Temporary untill the Parish shall think fit to appoint some other mode conserwing singing." Except two very slight hints the records say nothing further concerning this musical war during Mr. Baldwin's ministry. On the 29th of Sept., 1791, the Records state, "Whereas Mr. Beman presented A Narrative to be Read, voted that it shall be Read," a paper which I would rather see than any President's Message and on the 20th of October following we have this record: "after Sundry Altrications with hard words the Parish meeting Broak up in Confusion."—(Copied Records, 132.) In a word the congregation was divided into two parties and very unhappy differences had grown out of that part of public worship which draws its chief charm from harmony of voices and harmony of hearts. As I have traced these facts I have compared them with more modern occurrences, and have exclaimed, "is there anything whereof it may be said, 'See, this is new? it hath been already of old time which was before us.'" (Eccles. 1, 10.)

Let us now retrace our steps to gather up other facts of interest in this history. In 1786 we find the first trace of renting the pews and slips. The first movement was an expression of opinion that those who owned pews should give them to the parish to be "sold to pay the minister," and in May, 1786, it was voted that Mr. Baldwin's salary of eighty pounds "shall be raised by a Rate affixed on the several seats and Pews that those persons that choose the seats so rated shall have them, and if two or more persons choose the same seat or Pew that person who will bid a larger sum than any other shall have it." Another minute shows the condition of the church building. "Voted to Lay the gallery flowers, make stairs and some seats in the galleryes."—(Copied Records, 120, 121.) This entry implies that the congregation was increasing in numbers, or they would not have made an effort get more room. However, the thing was not done, and for several years afterwards the Meeting House stood very nearly as it was at first, a comfortless shell, a sanctuary where the swallows made their nests in the Summer, and a colder place in Winter than decent people furnished to their horses.

In 1787 the records show that Mr. Baldwin

had purchased a farm of his own, and that he made several propositions to the parish, all of which remind us of the words,

" 'Tis but a poor relief we gain,
To change the place but keep the pain."

The pain in this case consisted mainly in this, Mr. Baldwin's salary at best was insufficient. To relieve himself he bought a farm and asked the congregation to give him one hundred pounds "to assist me in purchasing a small settlement where I may be better accommodated for the support of myself and family." As an offset Mr. Baldwin offers to relinquish twenty pounds a year of his salary, retaining his claim on the parsonage and the annual wood frolic, "myself continuing in the ministry with this Parish until Death, Sickness, or the choice of the Society or some other Providence prevent me." The parish acceded to this proposal and subscribed £106, 6s, 6d, of which about £91 were paid to Mr. Baldwin.—(Copied Records, p. 172.)

At this meeting on the 20th of February, 1787, it was "voted that we would incorporate this Parish agreeable to an act of Assembly passed March 16th, 1786," and on the 6th of March, 1787, the incorporation of the parish was completed under the name of "the First Presbyterian Congregation at Rockaway in the County of Morris." William Winds, Stephen Jackson, Abraham Kitchell, Benjamin Beaco, Job Allen, David Beaman and David Baker were elected trustees.—(Copied Records, 14 and 123.)

In July, 1788, the parish not merely voted to rent the pews in order to raise the salary but to "give notice that any Person who wants to take Seats do apply to Mr. Baldwin for the same. He was furnished with a list of the seats and pews already sold and the prices assessed on all. There were according to this schedule twelve pews, eight of which were sold to Bernard Smith, William Winds, John O'Hara, Silas Ratheway, Stephen Jackson, David Beman, Sam'l Moore, Jr., and Job Allen at prices ranging from three pounds to four pound five shillings. There were 32 seats or slips of which 17 were sold at prices ranging from twelve shillings to one pound five shillings. The buyers named on the schedule in their order are Dav'd Broadwell, John Cory, Benjamin Jackson Thomas Orsborn, Francis McCarty, Eliakim Arderson, David Hurd, David Garrigus, Jacob Kent, Joshua Moore, Moses Lampson, John Herriman, Abraham Lyon, Moses Lampson, Frances Moore, Samuel Merrit, Joseph Castertine.

Either Mr. Baldwin was a sharp collector or the people were becoming unusually prompt, for in April a committee appointed to settle with Mr. Baldwin reported that they "find

due Mr. Baldwin from the parish the sum of three pounds sixteen shillings which will be Due the first of June next."

It is a matter of interest to mark the fact that in 1789, five years after Mr. Baldwin's settlement, William Ross and David Beman are both called Elders of the church, showing clearly that up to this time the church was in reality Presbyterian, although in connection with a congregational body. As I am not able to find the names of Deacons Lum, Huntington and Allerton on our records during Mr. Baldwin's pastorate, I infer that they were either dead or had removed from the parish. In the records of this year occurs a single sentence which indicates that the people were not unwilling to part with their minister. "Voted that it is the consent of the members present at this meeting that Mr. Baldwin go to Preach a Tower amongst vacant congregations as Perposed by Presbitery," (Copied Records, 125-129.) In the record of September 29th, 1791, we find the parish "setting on foot an obligation to pay our equal dividend according to our rateable estate for the support of a Prsbyterian Minister of the Gospel that shall or may be called hereafter by the majority of our society to settle in this place." On the 4th of January, 1792, "a proposition of Mr. Baldwin Being presented to the Parish and Read Imparting his willingness to be Dismissed or to continue to Preach for us as the Parish should think proper;" therefore it was voted "to pay Mr. Baldwin the full of his salary and all arrearages up to the first of June next at which time the Parish consider Mr. Baldwin under no further obligation to this Parish nor the Parish to Mr. Baldwin." The liberty was also claimed if it were necessary even before the 1st of June "to call and settle any other minister to preach with in the above mentioned time by giving Mr. Baldwin Timely notice thereof, but still to pay Mr. Baldwin up his salary as first rated." (Copied Records, 133.) On the 14th of May a committee reported the parish as owing "Mr. Baldwin by reasoning his salary up to the 1st of June next the sum of £99, 18s, 0, and that this parish now consider themselves at full Liberty to Treat and agree with any minister to preach for them which they may Think Best, thirty-four for it and one contra." At the same meeting it was also voted to "apply to Mr. John Carl for to supply us as a candidate, 35 for it 1 contra." The committee to wait on Mr. Carl consisted of Moses Tuttle, David Beman, William Ross, Stephen Jackson. The same meeting further voted that "Benj. Jackson, Rosel Davis and Dan Hurd be the Coristers to set the psalm for this parish, and that untill further orders the Choresters act Descretional what part of

the Time to Read the Psalm when sung and one of them to read it or apply to some other to Read it for them." (Copied Records 134, 135.)

Thus we reach the end of our second pastor's ministry. There was one man, Abraham Kitchel, who considered Mr. Baldwin as abused by the congregation, and further that the good man's dismissal was brought about by influences outside the church. A letter from Mr. Kitchel to the parish meeting, dated "White Meadow 18 of June, 1792," is copied into our records. He resigns his office of trustee, and then writes, "With regard to giving a call to Mr. Carl I can see no impropriety in the parrish excluding the church, and as a member of the parrish I shall not object, but as a member of the church I shall, for I don't know what right the parrish has to appoint a uinister or president over the church. Nor can I think it right for any of the members of this church to be aiding or assisting in calling and settling one till Mr. Baldwin is settled with and Legally Dismissed, and for my part shall object Nothing till the church settles with and Does Justice to Mr. Baldwin." (Copied Records, 15.)

January 7th, 1806, thirteen years after Mr. Baldwin's ministry was closed, we have a record that it was "voted to allow James Kirchel for the last two dollars which he has collected on old subscription and paid to the Rev. Mr. David Baldwin."

And I may add that Mr. Hubbard S. Stickle told me that Mr. Baldwin spent one Sabbath at Rockaway, and that he seemed very poor. As yet I learn no more of him.

The spirit of Mr. Baldwin as shown in a letter from him to the Parish meeting January 4th, 1792, at the very time the subject of his dismissal was up, is altogether to his credit. As characteristic of the man and furnishing a picture of the state of things at the close of his ministry, I will quote the whole letter:

"TO THE CHURCH AND PARISH AT ROCKAWAY:

BRETHREN:—I have been with you these seven years past in which time I have experienced many very singular favors from individuals of your fraternity, which have very sensibly obliged me. But there has been an unhappy disunion which has caused me much grief and concern for your welfare and the prosperity of religion. I had it in my mind to have asked a dismission from preaching with you last parish meeting. But taking into consideration the state, both of the church and society, could not think it my duty to leave the society in so scattered and broken a situation. Concluded to try everything possible to remove these obstacles out of the way, which under the guidance of the good Providence of

God and the kind assistance of some of my brethren in the ministry I trust is in a good measure effected. I mean still to continue my labours and influence to complete a union even to individuals within the bounds of reason and religion, and then leave it with your candid and serious consideration whether you see fit to dismiss me from preaching with you as your minister. I give it up to Providence, but hope that you will do nothing hastily and fall not out by the way.

N. B.—You cannot be insensible, gentlemen, that my ministerial labors have been much impeded by a constant evocation to my temporal business for the support of my family and still must continue to be the same without a more regular way for my relief from worldly incumbrances.

I subscribe myself in the Bonds of the Gospel, your minister and servant, for Christ's sake,
DAVID BALDWIN."

Rockaway, January 4th, 1792.

I have no means of ascertaining the actual fruits of Mr. Baldwin's ministry of eight years but in two very interesting papers written at my request by the Rev. Peter Kanouse, mention is made of a revival of religion which affected this region chiefly under Mr. Baldwin's ministry. As this is the first revival of which we have any record in this parish I will quote all that Mr. Kanouse says on the subject merely remarking that the dates in his letter are too late. It was probably in the year of 1790-91 that this revival occurred, for in 1790 there was "a season of unusual excitement on the subject of religion" in Morristown. (Barney's Manual of Pres. Ch. Morristown, p. 7.)

"The first revival" says Mr. Kanouse "I remember witnessing was in Rockaway Valley and it was, no doubt, the first special work of grace ever enjoyed in that region. I would venture to give it date as far back as 1794. A Dutch minister called Mireneus itinerated through the valley, over Green Pond Mountain, and Newfoundland. I often heard it said, that he frequently indulged a little too freely with the fashionable dram, and sometimes made his apology by saying to the people, "Do as I say and not as I do, and mine zeal ver yela zeal, my soul for your soul you will be safe." A Rev. Mr. Duryea used also to preach in some house or barn; school houses were almost unknown in those days. A Mr. Gideon Bostedo, a preacher of the Congregational order—a pious man, used to labor in the same parts. But the favorite of that day was a Rev. Mr. Baldwin, a good man, who at an early date of all the good done used to preach at Rockaway, Rockaway Valley, Hibernia, Charlottenburgh, Stony Brook and the Owlkill. The work of grace to which I refer was for that time a

great and good work. Rockaway, Parsippany, Hanover, Morristown, Mendham, and no doubt other churches of which I then knew nothing were refreshed. Soon after this the Rev. Messrs. Armstrong, Griffen and Finley, held meetings, in various places, somewhat like protracted meetings, sometimes in the open heavens or some pleasant grove." (Kanouse's His. Discourse before Presbytery MS. pp 14-16.) In a letter to me Mr. Kanouse refers to the same scenes. "The Rev. Mr. Baldwin of the Rockaway congregation was the first minister of that place that I have any knowledge of. He was an ordinary man, a very moderate preacher, but a good man. I went to school to his son, an excellent young man. How long Mr. Baldwin preached in Rockaway it is impossible for me to say. He preached in Rockaway Valley at my father's house, say 1796, and my own impression is that he labored in this region under review some years before this date and probably was instrumental in the revival of 1793 or 1794. I incline to the latter date. * * * * *

The Methodists came in about this time and made a stand at Mr. Jacob De Mott's, or as we pronounced it Temont's, and for a time they seemed to absorb every other denomination. After a little while they dwindled into a cypher. Amongst them occurred some of the most singular scenes I ever met with. It was not "the Jerks" nor the "Knock Down" but the "fall down" of two very wicked women who continued to practice their deceptions for years until a third one joined them who also fell and never rose again. But I pass it all. The Rev. Mr. Baldwin was the chief means of the awakening, though Grover, Keyper, and a good old man on Green Pond Mountain whose name was Gideon Bostedo were great helps in the work. Some of the subjects of that work I can name: Mr. Jacob Kanouse and four of my sisters, all in their graves now, Samuel Miller, Peter Stickle and wife, George Suckle and wife, David Peer an Elder in your church (Rockaway), John Peer, wife, son and daughter, John Cook, wife, son and daughter, Thomas and Samuel Peer, and three sisters and one son, Ephraim and George Taylor and their wives, and some of their sisters. Jacob Dermott and wife, Adam Miller and wife, James Shaw and wife, Frederick Hopler, Mr. Lawson and Mr. Vanhouten, also about five members of the family, Mr. Mickle Cook. These were mainly in and about the valley, and several others whose names I have lost. How many of them united with the church in Rockaway I am unable to say. The valley at that time was regarded as belonging to Boonton. The revival affected Deenville, Rockaway, and Parsippany, but my acquaintance was too limited to say who were the subjects. Several of

the converts went to Boonton, some to the Methodists, and D. Peer and wife and I think a daughter, John Peer and wife and daughter, John Cook, wife and daughter, Samuel Miller and wife, Peter and George Stickle and their wives united with your church at Rockaway and I shou'd think under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Baldwin."—(MS. Letter of Rev. P. Kaouse)

Very fortunately one sermon of our second pastor has been preserved in a mutilated condition, but enough of the old and well worn manuscript has been kept to indicate to us what kind of ministrations were here dispensed by a man who has long since passed from the earth. It was preached in the old church on a winter's day more than twenty years ago at the funeral of Deacon David Beaman's wife, who was reputed to be a very pious woman.* Mr. Baldwin's text on that occasion was Job 31. 4.

I will quote a few sentences from this discourse reminding you of the fact that he who preached it and all who that day were gathered in the old meeting house, are dead, except a very few who were then children. Mr. Hubbard S. Stickle was in the house but he was less than three years old.

The first part of this manuscript sermon as it lies before me clearly sets forth the nature of God's law, the sinner's condemnation by that law, and the nature of saving faith. Anticipating the solemn scenes of the judgment, the preacher then said, "There all our contriverses in point of Religion together the highest attainments of knowldg will be forever swallowed up in the infinite wisdom of God. There the sinner will be convinced of his folly in opposing the gospel and his guilty conscience roze out against him. Nothing can screen them from the piercing eyes of Jehovah, who will bring them to the bar of justice, and maintain the Rights of the godhead in the view of all, when every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the father.

"But Thirdly we are to make some reflections on a preparation for these two great events, Death and Judgment. Death concludes our probationary state and what we do preparatory for the judgment is done before Death, for in the grave there is no repentance. Judgment is an eternal sanction of god upon what we have done whither it be good or whither it be bad. * * * * *

* * * * * O sinner, the law of

*I am told Mrs. Beaman was very happy on her death bed. When dying she asked these about her to sing "When I can read my title clear." After her speech lalled her husband asked her if her faith remained unshaken, and she bowed her head in assent.

God and thy own consience witness against thee, thy sins are pointed out by the pure and Holy Command of god. You are destitue of that Rightness which you will have greatest need of in the Hour of Death and especially at the bar of judgment, when all thy crimes will be brought to light and appear in all their aggravated Circumstances. Death to unconverted will insted of loosing its terrors appear more and more terrible. The nearer its approach the more of its gloomy horrors it wareth. You, my hearers, are witnesses to the truth. When Death comes near to us by removing any of our fellow cretures into the Eternal world it is alarming indeed. But note especially when we are emediately apprehensive of its near approach to our own persons, then we are often scared and at our wits end. Then the sinner will cry out for help yet this will soon be over when death withdraws a little behind the Curtain. But consider the Curtain will soon be drawn and Expos Death to your view, and your bodys to its cold embraces. But if living and dying impenitent or unconverted, you must feell that awful sting of sin with barded (barred) anguish in your hearts the thoughts of death and judgment will fill the soul with amazement and their apprehensions of eternal death and Darkness rising to its highest tide and the poor Distressed soul sinking into eternal flames where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched."

Let me quote a very cheerful passage. "Let us choose what is good among ourselves. This sentence, among ourselves seems to carry in it a friendly correspondng fitness. The family of heaven is united in one and what is for the interest of one individual is for the interest of the hull family. We are to imitate heaven in this friendly connection. We profess to have heaven on earth, but some may say what good can one do another in heaven wim they are all perfect and full of delight. I answer they delight in one another, and as one star helps fill up the firmament with spangled glory, so the saints help each other in filling heaven with joy and delight. Angels rejoice at the return of a sinner to god and the number helps make their happiness compleat and Saints, Angels rejoice together in the glory of that world."

Here is another impressive passage which is illustrated by the havoc death has made among those who heard this funeral discourse. "This is a changable state in which there is nothing stable and steadfast. This is not our Home; we come and go; the place in which we are now conversant and make members of society delighted with a variety of company and agreeable conversation of friends will soon

know us no more. Our seats and places are emptied and filled by others. Families begin, increase, and prosper for a while and then scatter and are gone, and others come in their stead."

With one more quotation I will close this discourse. Looking forward to the time when the believer is assured of his interest in Christ. Mr. Baldwin says with touching simplicity. "their faith in Christ looks death out of countenance and disarms it of its soul killing and heart tormenting weapon, turns all those awful features (features) of the King of terrors into the more mild aspect of a welcome messenger. * * * * * This opens to our view the prospect of future glory in Heaven where the souls of the Believers are made perfect and all tears shall be wiped away from their eyes. Then the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest. Judgment is no terror to the soul that is prepared to die, but an infinite satisfaction that the day of their Redemption draws nigh when they shall shake of their prison garments and be clothed with immortality and a crown of glory given unto them which faideth not away."*

After Mr. Baldwin was dismissed he continued to reside on his farm, near Denville, for several years. Whilst there his wife died and he married again. He afterward removed but where I have not learned. Some years afterward, as Mr. Hubbard S. Stickle remembers, Mr. Baldwin spent a Sabbath in the parish, and preached. He had then become quite infirm. Of his subsequent history I know nothing.

Upon the whole you will agree with me that all we see of our second pastor as a Christian man and minister, deepens our respect for his memory. Since making this careful search into his ministry in this community my heart has felt the expression. I have heard from the lips of so many old people when talking about Mr. Baldwin, "he was a good man," and no doubt he is now enjoying those heavenly felicities which he described so pleasingly at the funeral of one who lived the life and died the death of the righteous.

Mr. William Jackson says that Mr. Baldwin was about six feet in stature, very erect and with broad shoulders. He was very "slow of speech and of course spent a full Sabbath in

*This manuscript fragment is in the possession of Mr. Beman Stickle, a grandson of the good woman for whose funeral it was prepared. The spelling is preserved as in the manuscript which is in Mr. Baldwin's handwriting.

§Mr. Hubbard S. Stickle tells me that Major Minton, who resides above Dover, is a grandson of Mr. Baldwin.

the delivery of what he had to say, whilst many slept soundly. I recollect distinctly and almost feel still the hardness of those old wooden seats on which I sat with my mother when only five or six years old to hear the old man deliver himself. I of course was not much of a judge of preaching at that age, yet it had produced the same impression on me as those hard benches, I think I should have remembered much of his preaching." And yet if not a brilliant preacher he was a good man, which is better.

We have now reached the ministry of the third pastor, the Rev. John J. Carle. As already stated on the 14th of May, 1792, the Parish voted that they "now consider themselves at full liberty to Treat and agree with any minister to preach for them which they may Think best," and further that they voted "to apply to Mr. John Carl to supply us as a candidate, 25 for it 1 contra." The dissenting vote was cast by Abram Kitchel. A committee consisting of Messrs. Tuttle, Beaman, Ross and Jackson was appointed to carry out the wishes of the parish, and from an item in the Parish Books it is evident that Mr. Carl had preached the day before the meeting, that is, May 13th, 1792. The item is this, in the account dated September 16th, 1793. "To Mr. Carl's supplying the 15 Sabbaths from the 13th of May to the 16th of September in the year 1792 at 50s. per Sabbath." This marks the beginning of Mr. Carl's ministry in Rockaway. On the 5th of July, 1792, the Trustees record the fact that "as per vote on Parish book we this day signed a call for Mr. John Carl for settlement in this parish."

The permanent bargain with him bears the date of September 16th, 1792, as is plain from an item in the account of September 16th, 1793, "To Mr. Carl for one year's salary from Sept. 16th, 1792, to the present date, £100."

The Parish evidently agreed to furnish the new minister in addition to the £100, his parsonage, hay and wood, and also to move his goods and family. The Parish is credited with "an amount of tax and subscriptions to raise Mr. Carl's salary, move him, and hay the year past, £137, 10. 7." He must have removed his family in October as David Broadwell 15th October, 1792, brings in his account against the parish for "fetching 2 loads of goods from Brunswick for Mr. Carl," and 27th November a third load. His bill for the three loads was £2, 14, 0!

The first "Parish obligation and subscriptions" in Mr. Carle's time was dated June 20th, 1792, the subscribers agreeing to pay the sums severally affixed to our names yearly and every year unto one of the Collector's for the time being of Mr. John Carle's salary so long

as he may continue to preach for the Parish of Rockaway. Among the signers are Chilean Ford, L1. 10. 0, John Stotesbury, L3. Stephen Jackson, L6, Geo. D. Brukerhoff, L3, "John Jacob Faesch verbally to Geo. D. Brukerhoff for the year 1794, L5." On the 27th of December, 1792 a heavy subscription was made "for the payment of the sums severally affixed to our names on or before first day of May next for the building of the new parsonage house." Among the largest subscriptions are—omitting the fractions—Benj. Beach, L16, Job Allen, L11, John J. Faesch, L12, Moses Tuttle, L17, Josiah Beman, L12, Stephen Jackson L20. Jonathan Nicholas was the smallest subscription five shillings and nine pence. Gideon Beshup gave eight shillings and "Arthur Young fifteen shillings to be paid to Israel Canfield." This subscription foots up a little over L235, but in the account of the Parish "the subscriptions to build the parsonage house" are set down as L279. 18. 1.*

*As showing who were the men of this parish in 1793 I copy the names on this subscription in the order in which they occur.

Benj. Beach,	Job Allen,
Titus Berry,	Silas Hatlaway,
Chilton Ford,	Geo. Stickle,
David Broadwell,	Cornelius Anderson,
David Conger,	Lemuel Bowers,
Wm. Ross,	Benj. Lampson,
Stephen Jackson,	David Beman,
Thomas Conger,	Benj. Jackson,
his	his
John & N. Riets,	Samuel & Love,
mark.	mark.
Sam'l Lindsley,	Daniel Lewis,
John Jacob Faesch,	Jacob Harman,
Wm. Michel,	James Minton,
Moses Hopping,	James Stickle,
Moses Lendley,	Jackson Ayers,
Ebenezer Lindley,	Edward Stickle,
Elephaleh Lyon,	Job Talmadge,
Moses Tuttle,	Cornelius Hongland,
John Jackson,	Bernard Smith,
Ezekiel Brown,	William Ludlar,
Joseph De camp,	Charles Hoff,
Josiah Kurr,	John Godden,
Jacob Losey,	Zeba L. Owen,
Samuel Clark,	William Alger,
Thomas King,	John Benwell,
Josiah Beman,	James Clarke,
John Hall,	Mathew Luke,
Edward Wells,	John King,
Jonah Lyon,	Samuel Moore,
Joseph Wright,	John Day,
James Wheeler,	Moses Doty,
David Hurd,	Samuel Hicks,
Joel Phelps,	John Corey,
"Sam'l Churchill in shoes near franklin forge,"	
Job Garrigus,	Simon Huntington,
Gibert Huntington,	Jonathan Nicols,
Samuel Williams,	Samuel Parmer,
John Parkbursh,	David Beach,
Abner Beach,	Geddon Beshup,
Samuel Daniels,	Joshua Winget,
John Hiler, Jr.,	Sarah Kent,
Moses Ross,	Amos Lindley,
Zephaniah Baglea,	Arthur Young,
"Israel Canfield,"	David Garrigus,
D. Herriean,	Joseph Losey,
Jacob Stickle,	

As to the old parsonage lands Feb. 2d, 1788 the Trustees in great straits for money to pay Mr. Baldwin, agreed to sell part of the parsonage lands and on the 21st of that month say "we have sold and conveyed to Stephen Jackson twenty acres for thirty-eight pounds subject to redemption on or before April 15th for L38 pounds in Bloomey iron at L24 per tun, or refund iron at L28." There is no record of its redemption that I find. Sept. 5, 1792, Lemuel Cobb surveyed the lands into four parcels, reserving about thirty acres of wood land for the new parsonage. Jan. 7, 1793, all the lots were struck off to David Garrigus who refused afterwards to take them, and on March 4th "the house lot was struck off to John Shong at L75. 10. The lot next the house to David Conger at L18. 0. 0. The mountain lot to Peter Hiler L27. 18. 6. The Goose lot to Chilion Ford at L12. Amounting in all to L163. 8. 5. Stephen Jackson took the goose lot off Ford's hands.

In 1792 "a legacy was left by Deacon Allerton of L30." Including the last two items—the sale of lands and the legacy—the parish the first year of Mr. Carle's ministry raised L650. 10. 21. From the accounts it also appears that the "new Parsonage lands were bought for L239. 14. 10. This did not include "fence."

The "new parsonage" is still standing (1846 not in 1882) and is in the Franklin neighborhood, the house formerly occupied by Mr. Peter Sullivan, and next to Mr. Seely Tompkins. It has a beautiful prospect but a very poor soil. On the 30th of July 1792 we learn that the Trustees "agreed with William Ross for the Purchase of a house and about Fifty acres of land Laying on the Road that leads from Rockaway to Franklin forge for which we have agreed to give him L230." Feb. 31, 1793 it is said that William Ross attended and executed a deed for the New Parsonage lands and the Trustees executed a Bond of security to William Ross and Moses Tuttle on account of their giving their bonds to Jacob Shotwell for the purchase of the New Parsonage Lands." This shows that

88 names one of which is that of a woman "Sarah Kent."

In a list of names March 1794 for "monies due and unpaid, and what may yet be collected for minister's salary and parsonage house," are some names not on the former one. Among these I note the following :

Matthias Zeig,	David Gerdon,
Aaron Bixelow,	Nathaniel Roger,
Newton Russell,	George Shawger,
David Estler,	David Pier,
David Hill,	Jno. Smith,
Nath. Bend,	Seth Hall,
Thomas Mann,	Isaac Osborn,
Matthew Hunting,	Matthias Zeek,

Ross acted as the agent of Shotwell. And as I suppose in 1793 Mr. Carle moved into this house and occupied it until he purchased a house of his own in Rockaway. In the bills for the parsonage rum is painfully frequent as an item of expense. Batts, nails, hinges, and rum are mixed up as if there were as many "quarts and pails of rum" as pounds of nails. In an account headed "1792 Trustees Rockaway parish to Messrs Stickle and Garrigues Dr.," and one hundred and fourteen items with dates there are only thirty-nine items which are not rum. Among these seventy-five charges in one bill for rum for the parsonage we have "1½ Gills. rum for raising parsonage house 12s" and "David Broadwell for rum he had for the use of the parsonage 9s." The original of this remarkable bill I have bound up in the copy I have had made of the Parish records. It is in the handwriting of George Stickle and is very beautiful. On the first page "two bars of iron" make the only exception to the "rum" items, and on the second we have a pewter tea pot, a plug of tobacco and a few pounds of nails to relieve the monotony of the rum!

The Rev. John J. Carle was the son of John Carle, of Baskingridge. The father was an Elder in the Presbyterian Church at that place, was a Judge of the Court at different times, a member of both Houses of the Legislature. He was a man of influence and property. His son, John J. Carle, was graduated at Queen's College, as Rutgers' College, at New Brunswick was then called, in 1789. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New Brunswick at Pennington, N. J., September 21st, 1791. September 18th, 1792, having received a call to Rockaway, he was dismissed to be under the care of the Presbytery of New York. He received his second academic degree of A. M. in 1792, from the College of New Jersey. In the fall of this year he removed his family to Rockaway, and in January, 1793, he was ordained to the gospel ministry, the first ordination ever witnessed in this place.

He is described as a young man of fine appearance and talents. One who knew him speaks of him as "a fluent pulpit orator, erect and of easy address and manners, a most jovial companion when out of the pulpit, fond of a joke and good company. He never held any weekly lectures or prayer meetings. His sermons were short and such as not to disturb his hearers' consciences. He once said that he never knew but one person who traced his conversion to his preaching."

The vice of the times was intemperance as might be inferred from this history of "the new parsonage," and whilst he was pastor here Mr. Carle seems to have somewhat indulged

his appetite in this respect, and although he did not here go to great excesses the habit impaired his influence and caused the "church to dwindle under his ministry." Many anecdotes are still related as to his neglect of study and the duties of his office, as also of his habit just referred to. In the Manual of 1833 Col. Jackson says "Mr. Carle added a goodly number to the chnreb," and Mr. King in his Dedication sermon, September, 1832, says that "during Mr. Carle's ministry, a period of eight years, eleven persons were received into the communion of the church on examination and three by certificate."

The same charitable critic in his "Fortieth Anniversary Sermon"—December, 1848—wrote that his own ministry "had been preceded by the ministrations of one who had more talents than piety—more learning than humility—and seemed to take more satisfaction in the pleasures of sense than in endeavoring to feed the people with knowledge and understanding. You may well conclude that religion was at a low ebb, almost as low as it could be and not become extinct."

The one great fault of Mr. Carle was very common in that day, and not a few clergymen fell into it. There is no reason so far as I can see why he should not have become an able "minister of the word," and a good man in all the relations of life, but this one. This led to the unhappiness which overtook him as a minister and a citizen. For this he was deposed from the ministry in Connecticut, and suffered greatly in the relations he sustained to his father and his family. After his return to Baskingridge in consequence of an uncle's death who had left him his principal heir, he became very intemperate, subjected his family to such suffering that their only relief was a resort to the law, and finally died "about 1808." Mr. Jacob Collyer, who gave me these and other facts, also pointed out to me Mr. Carle's grave in the Baskingridge church yard, and which was then unmarked by a monument.

He has left descendants who are highly respectable and whilst scarcely less could be said of him, we are to charge the fault which led to the disasters of his career to the character of the times in which he lived, and to east over it the mantle of charity.

Let us now retrace our steps to learn what the Parish did during the ministry of Mr. Carle. The earlier part of it seems to have been marked by such ability on the part of the minister as to attract the attention of the people and inspire them with some ambition to make the meeting house decent and comfortable. In February, 1794, the Parish resolved "to raise three hundred pounds for repairing and finishing the meeting house." It

is difficult to re-shed the condition of the house thirty-four years after it was raised and enclosed. It had several aristocratic pews in it, but it was neither ceiled nor plastered. The birds and the air had free admission, and in that comfortable place all the meetings of the church had been attended, and there Mr. Carle had been ordained on a January day, as in the same room finished, but also without fire, his successor was ordained fifteen years afterward on a cold December day.

In April, 1794, "three hundred and upward subscribers," were reported for the meeting house, and on the 10th of June "the Trustees Articled with Job Allen to finish the Meeting house for £360." On the 10th of December a committee appointed by the Trustees "to inspect the meeting house reported that they have viewed the house and cannot agree upon the goodness of the work." On the 26th of the same month the Trustees met and with them Job Baldwin and Jonathan Brown, "Two Joiners." These gentlemen were invited to "determine concerning the work and to settle with Job Allen," and after viewing the house gave it as "their opinion that the house was finished something better by more work done to it than agreement by the amount of one pound and eighteen shillings." It being decided that "the west stairs had not been done in a workmanlike manner, Allen relinquished his claim to and gave it to the Parish." Upon the adding of a few little things to the gallery "the Parish voted to receive the house now finished." In January, 1795, it appeared that of the £312 subscribed to repair the church Allen had only collected £230. The Trustees threatened to prosecute the delinquents, and as I find no further mention of the matter I infer that Allen received his pay.

In September 1794, Mr. Carle asked the congregation to raise his salary to £150 per year with the use of the parsonage and firewood, and I suppose it was so arranged, since there was so good an understanding between the minister and parish that "the Board in December gave Mr. Carle leave to build a Smoak house on the Parsonage and bring the account against the Trustees." In the same month we have Mr. Carle's receipt in full for salary and repairs of the Parsonage up to 16th of September.

December 7, 1795, Mr. Carle "informed the Trustees that he had concluded to buy a place of his own and that the Trustees might have full liberty to sell the Parsonage" and in April following, 1796, "Mr. Carle informed the Board that he had purchased himself a place viz. of David Beeman." This house was on the west side of the village near the Righter Foundry, and was afterward known as the "Berry House. At the same time Mr. Carle purchase

a remnant of the "old Parsonage at three pounds current money per acre." The amount named was £55, 10s, 6d. At a subsequent meeting Mr. Carle's salary was fixed at £180 per year "and to find himself and fire wood." There is evidence in the records that it was not easy to raise money for him, and at last some of the permanent funds were appropriated to make up the deficiency. Indeed without knowing it certainly I infer that the money realized for the sale of the parsonage properties was used to pay Allen his balance for repairing the church and Mr Carle's for salary.

The "new parsonage" in Franklin was sold to Dr. Ebenezer H. Pierson in December, 1795, for eleven hundred dollars, "\$375 of which was to be paid on the 1st of May next and the remainder in one year from that time with interest." How long Dr. Pierson was a citizen of Rockaway I have no means of knowing. He was generally esteemed and had an extensive practice.

The enterprising people now took in hand "the fencing Meeting house" and "the clearing and fencing the Meeting house Lot and likewise a Dear yard. An agreement was made in 1796 with Stephen Jackson "for clearing the whole of the Meeting house Lot in front of the house said Jackson to clear it off well by cutting the stumps low and all the underbrush and Burn it all for the wood and oald Rais." And yet in 1797 the parish "agreed to make a folick to clear off the Brush in front of the Meeting house and heap the wood and sell it at Vaudue." At that time it was resolved "to paint the inside of the Meeting house," "Job Allen to furnish the paint and oil and superintend the work."

The record of April 21, 1793, shows that that faithful and good man to whom the church owed so much, Capt. Job Allen, had recently died. May 7th, 1793, the name of a man to whom the church owes a debt that can never be paid, appears on the records for the first time, when "JOSEPH JACKSON was appointed clerk of the Board." In 1800 the question is raised "the Trustees shall break upon the lands to pay Mr. Carle's salary, and whether the Trustees shall have leave to ask a separation with Mr. Carle." In 1801 Mr. Carle's ministry was closed in Rockaway and in May of that year his family was removed to Elizabethtown Point. I am told he went to Connecticut to be the pastor of a church. His accounts with the Parish were not balanced until October, 1801.

The only discourse of any sort which we have from Mr. Carle's pen is his "Funeral Sermon on the Death of General George Washington." It was delivered in the old church at Rockaway. Very considerable formality was

observed in having the military present and a procession formed which proceeded to the church to listen to the sermon and then returned to the starting place between the house of Stephen Jackson and that on the opposite side of the road then occupied by Col. Chilian Ford. This was on the east side of the river in front of the residence occupied by the late Col. Joseph Jackson. The discourse of Mr. Carle was published in a pamphlet for sale and in 1860 it was republished in the Sussex Democrat. It will be found in the issue of June 7th. It is in no respect a very remarkable document, but it is creditable to the author's patriotism.

In June, 1802, Joseph Jackson was unanimously chosen President of the Board, and that year appears the evidence of some trouble about the Wind's legacy in connection with the occupant of the farm, Barnabas Baughart. Through the years following we find arrangements "for paying the supplies on the ministry ordered by the New York Presbety," buying a crowbar, pick, spade, bier, etc. for the use of the graveyard. The bier is described carefully as "to be made of white oak timber, heart stuff, 10 feet long with 18 morticed into the side pieces to reach even on both sides with an Inch shoulder lengthways with 4 slats across with brads in and to be painted black." In 1804, there were in the treasury "sixty-six dollars and twenty and a half cents" and the same was ordered to be put out at interest and "to take landed security for the same." In 1807, Joseph Jackson was permitted "to enclose in a fence twenty eight feet square in the grave ground at the meeting house where his wife is buried for a burying ground for his family and such of his Father's family as may choose to bury their dead there."

Among the ministers who supplied the Rockaway pulpit after Mr. Carle left it is the Rev. Lewis Williams who was credited with "six months services in preaching the gospel in Rockaway Meeting House" for which he was paid \$180. This was in 1805*. During the years 1802-3 and 4 the congregation paid five dollars a Sabbath for the occasional supply of the pulpit. The Rev. Messrs. Lemmel Fordham, Crane, James Richards, Amzi Armstrong, Aaron Coudit, Mathias Burnett and Keys are

*Mr. Jackson speaks of Mr. Williams "as an Englishman just from over the water who for six months was hired to preach half his time at Rockaway and the balance at Succunna. He was a hard prescher, more of a Jew than a Gentle as he had a perfect abhorrence of Pork or Lard in any shape or combination in his food. He boarded at my uncle Benjamin Jackson, and my aunt was not slow in preparing his food with a good proportion of swine's flesh in some form or other!"

named on the books as paid for their ministerial services during those years.*

It is evident that considerable changes have taken place in the condition of the people. Faesch of Mount Hope has failed and moved away, and the furnaces there and at Hibernia under new hands are doing an unprofitable business. Moses Tuttle, Stephen Jackson and Benjamin Beach have become rich.† The population has increased, and yet then as ever since there was that disparity in wealth among the people which is common in communities which depend on the manufacture of iron.

Within the bounds of the parish there were several iron mines that were worked. Among these were those at Mount Hope, Hibernia, Mount Pleasant, and the Swede's Mine, near Dover, which "was discovered about 1792 or 1794." There were blast furnaces at Mount Hope and Hibernia, and forges at Rockaway, Horse Pond, Denmark, Dover, Franklin, Ninkie, Shaungum, and some other places. The iron was still taken to New York by way of Elizabethtown Point.

As for the moral condition of the community when Mr. Carle was dismissed and until the fourth pastor came there is but one testimony. Not merely was religion at a very low condition, but irreligion was in great power. Within the bounds of the parish there was not a leading man who made a profession of religion. Some were open scoffers, and the masses were neglecters of religion.

One of the old men who has recently passed a way once wrote to me of one part of the parish at this time that "during the reign of Israel Canfield & Co., Dover, was notorious for its infidelity and wickedness of all kinds and was considered a second Sodom. All the Proprietors as well as their Agents and Managers had embraced the sentiments of Tom Paine and they gloried in discommunitating themselves. The club included a great number of influential men in the county. * * * * * Israel Canfield was converted in the great revival under Rev. Albert Barnes at Morristown, but the rest of the club persisted in their opposition." He speaks in the warmest admiration

*One who often heard Mr. Fordham, says "he was longer winded than Mr. Baldwin, making the Sabbath a day of pain rather than one of edification to those compelled to ride those old seats without cushions to relieve their sufferings." The free and easy pen of my old friend Mr. Jackson is discernible in the sentence but all I hear of Mr. Fordham from other sources is of the same import.

†Stephen Jackson died March 23d, 1812. Benjamin Beach, May 17th, 1827, aged 82 years, John Jacob Faesch, May 26th, 1799, and Moses Tuttle, July 10th, 1819.

of Mrs. Jacob Losey as a woman of extraordinary piety and goodness, who was a gentle but powerful refutation in herself of the blasphemies which these men were uttering even when seated at her table. It was no doubt of Mrs. Losey that Mr. King speaks in his description of Dover. "she was one of the first fruits of my ministry, and her consistent and holy life exerted an important influence. Her death which occurred two years after she professed hope in Christ, gave a severe blow to infidelity. A sister and two brothers abandoned their infidel principles and professed faith in Christ." (40th "Ann." Ser. p. 17.)

When this gloomy period closed and a brighter one dawned there was but a single Christian man within the wide bounds of the Rockaway congregation who could offer a prayer in public or at the bed side of the dying. This was Deacon John Clark. Profaneness, drunkenness, Sabbath desecration, and other forms of immorality were general, and, as Mr. King remarks in his Fortieth Anniversary sermon, "religion was at a low ebb, almost as low as it could be and not become extinct." And yet in this dreary survey there is one cheering fact that the people were determined to keep the church alive so far as they could do it by their contributions and attentions. We cannot doubt there had been from the very first some devout Christian people who had carried this church on their hearts, and the life of the church was in them hid in Christ and therefore safe.*

*The following list of members of the church previous to the settlement of the Rev. Barnabas King, I have received from Hubbard S. Stickle, Esq., who is now (1858) about seventy-three years old. All or most of these persons are not mentioned in our other catalogues.

OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH.

David Beaman,	William Ross,
John Huntington,	Jacob Allington,
John Cobb,	Job Allen,
Obadiah (?) Lum.	

Mr. Stickle thinks he has heard that Abraham Kitchel and William Winds were officers

MEMBERS.

William Winds,
 Rebaham Winds,
 Josiah Beaman,
 Hindah Beaman,
 John Cook,
 Jane Cook,
 John Peer,
 Betty Peer,
 Elizabeth Stickle, (wife of Peter)
 Peter Stickle, (son of Elizabeth and brother of George, Hubbard's father)
 Mary Allen, (Job)
 Mrs. Casteline, (Daniel's mother)
 Mrs. Phebe Ross, (Moses)
 Mrs. Patience Matthews, (James)
 Mrs. Elizabeth Lausaw, (Francis Lausaw)
 Daniel Tuttle,
 Eleanor Tuttle,

We now turn our attention to the new era in this church's history. Among the accounts of the Trustees appears this item which was the first beam of a brighter day to Rockaway. "1806, Jan. 26th, cash paid Mr. King for preaching one Sabbath \$4.50." Although he supplied the church occasionally during that year and the next he was not permanently employed until in October, 1807. From that time until his death, April 10th, 1862, a period of almost fifty-five years, the history of the church and his biography would be, if not the same, identical in many important particulars. A sketch of his life previous to his appearance in this pulpit will be pertinent to this history.

Barnabas King, son of Amos King, and his wife Lucy Perkins, was born at New Marlborough, Mass., June 2d, 1780. He received a careful elementary education in the public school, and there arrested the notice of his minister, Dr. Jacob Catlin, by his proficiency as a scholar and his admirable manners. Dr. Catlin offered to take him into his family and for his services on the farm prepared him for the Freshman Class of Williams' College. He spent about two years in the pastor's family winning his esteem, and in the fall of 1800 was admitted to Freshman standing at Williams. He was graduated in 1804, and spent the year following in teaching and in the study of theology with Dr. Catlin, who, December 21st,

Mrs. Stagg, (mother of Eleanor Tuttle)
 Mrs. Mary Beaman, (David)
 Mrs. Ross, (William)
 Abraham Kitchel,
 Mrs. Kitchel,
 Mrs. Elizabeth Huntington, (Dea. John)
 Mrs. Williams, (at Ninkie)
 Mrs. Betsey Stiles, (wife of David Stiles and daughter of Abraham Kitchel)
 Mr. Stephen Beach,
 Mrs. Beach,
 Mrs. Anderson, (Eleanakim)
 David Garrigus, Sr.,
 Abigail Garrigus,
 Mrs. Innis, (John) (ask Mrs. David Hamilton)
 Mrs. Lois Herriman, (wife of John Herriman and sister of Capt. Job Allen)
 Mr. George Brinkerhoff,
 Mrs. Brinkerhoff,
 Mrs. Hannah Kitchel, (wife of James)
 Mrs. Teabo, (wife of Nicholas and grandmother of Jacob Powers)
 Mrs. Dency Hatheway (Silas)
 Absalom Lyon,
 Catharine Lyon,
 Samuel Beaman,
 Coonrod Estler,
 Margaret Estler,
 Enos Lymas,
 Mrs. Lymas,
 Enos Lymas, Jr.,
 William Ray,
 Mrs. Ray,
 John Strong,
 Joshua Wnget,
 James Lockwood,
 Charity Lockwood,

1805, in a letter of commendation speaks of him as "possessing an amiable and hopefully Christian character, who was graduated at Williams' College and licensed by the Association of Berkshire County to preach the gospel as a candidate for the Christian ministry. He has preached acceptably for a number of months past, and I feel increasing confidence to recommend him to the further improvement and service of the churches."

Having during his college course spent a part of one winter in teaching at Little Falls, N. Y., he had packed his saddle bags in December, 1-15, to start for Central New York in search of a field of labor. The day before he was to start his classmate Beach returned from New Jersey with reports of "an open door" in that region. Mr. King at once set out on horseback, crossing the Hudson at Newburg, and the line between New York and New Jersey at Vernon. He spent Christmas eve at a country tavern at which there was a noisy ball. The next day he made his way to Sparta where Robert Ogden, a distinguished lawyer—father of Col. Joseph Jackson's first wife—received him into his family. He soon began to preach stately at Sparta and Berkshire Valley. He was in this position when he came to Rockaway on Friday the 24th of January, 1806, and preached at a private house his first sermon in the parish from the words "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven."—(Eccles. 3, 1.)

"On the 5th of Oct., 1807, the trustees voted to offer the Rev. Barnabas King two hundred and eight dollars as a salary for preaching in our meeting house for one half of the time for one year from and after the setting of the New York Pre-bytery in the present month." Mr. King was warmly commended to the Rockaway people in a letter from Robert Ogden of Sparta, and having had the permission of the Pres-bytery Mr. King began a work which was to result in extraordinary success, and which was only closed with his life more than fifty-six years after his first service in this field.

The other half of Mr. King's time that year was given to Sparta and Berkshire Valley. Whilst in this parish he was for some time the guest of Moses Tuttle, and afterward of Col. Jackson. "On careful inquiry it was found that the church consisted of 35 members at the time he commenced preaching here, twelve of whom were widows."* At this time Mr.

King seemed a slender, beardless youth, in feeble health, although he had passed his twenty-seventh birthday, but he began at once in the most systematic manner to minister to his new charge preaching publicly and from house to house. He not only preached in every neighborhood but he visited every house for religious instruction and prayer. Although not a singer he met with the singing schools and in a way that carried great power sought to give them a religious tone. The effect was somewhat apparent in the increasing members that attended church and a profound religious interest in the congregation. In 1808, there was a remarkable revival adding eighty-four to the church. This revival was in progress when Mr. King's ordination and installation took place. The larger part of the converts were received into the church by Dr. Richards of Morristown, as Mr. King could not yet administer the ordinances.

The Presbytery of New York ordained and installed Mr. King pastor of the church on the 27th of December, 1808. Although the Meeting House had been finished it was a rude affair, and very cold. It had no stove in 1808. The day of the ordination was a cold

Peter Kanouse, min.	Penina Searing,
Mary Kanouse,	Abigail Cookling,
Ruth (Sam'l) Williams,	Sammuel Palmer,
Susan Schidmore,	Bethuel Coe,
Phebe (James) Shores,	Thankful Lampron,
Sammuel Beaman,	Hannah Minton,
Prudence Hathaway,	Sarah Beach,
Absolom Lyon,	Margaret Arnold,
Catherine Lyon,	Rachel Briant,
John Cook,	Enos Squires,
Jacob Peet,	Hannah Squires,
Joanna Peet,	Jacob Squires,
Rosanna Teabo,	
Elizabeth Hyler,	
James Ferris and wife Chavity,	

There are 36 names in place of 35. One of these who were received in 1808 was Mrs. Elizabeth Conger, widow of Capt. David Conger. She was the mother of thirteen children. She is described as a woman of great energy and excellence. She was received into the church April 10th, 1808. Surrounded by a large family she taught them to work and thus to be self-supporting, and sought to lead them to Christ. With the utmost punctuality she conducted family worship and lived to see her sons dying nobly. Abijah went South on a mission to the Indians, and settled in Georgia leaving a numerous and excellent body of descendants. John removed to New York and passed a useful life, amassed property, was an honored elder in the church, and a grand man every way. Stephen did not unite with the church but was a most estimable man and reared a most estimable family. The daughters without exception were worthy of their mother and have given to the church and society a large number of people who largely carry the moral impress of the Christian ancestors whose name bears this note. Her decided piety decided the character of her descendants. She was married to Tunis Berry Sept. 11th, 1812, and died August 14th, 1822, in her 58th year.

*The following is a list of the 35 members copied from a paper in Dr. King's handwriting

John Clark,	} Elders.
David Peet,	
Catherine Innis,	} Patience Matthews,
Elizabeth (David) Peet,	
Mary Allen,	
	Auna Beaman,

one, and the Presbytery had met at a private house, (Col. Joseph Jackson's,) at the examination of the pastor sleet, and at eleven o'clock went to the church which was well filled with people. There was a prayer meeting in progress and as the minister reached the door, Deacon Clark was "wrestling in prayer" with wonderful earnestness for a blessing on the church, its pastor and the services of the day. As the venerable suppliant closed his petitions, Dr. Richards greatly moved, expressed his belief that a pastorate thus begun must result in great good. The Rev. Dr. John McDowell, of Elizabethtown, preached the sermon from Revelation, 1: 1 "Who holdeth the seven stars in his right hand," the Rev. Dr. Richards, of Morristown, delivered the charge to the pastor, and Rev. Mr. Perrine, of Bottle Hill, the charge to the people. The services were not shortened to suit the weather but were held nearly three hours, after which the members of the Presbytery dined at Col. Jackson's. Whilst at the dinner table the attention of the company was arrested by the shaking of the table. On inquiry it was found that Mr. King had become so chilled at the meeting house as to be shaking as if with a violent ague. It is worthy of remark that as such men as Griffin and Hillyer and Richards, and McDowell and others, looked at the pale young minister whom they had ordained, and at the revival then in progress in his church they said among themselves "what a pity that such a man is evidently destined to an early death!" And yet he survived every member of the body that ordained him! There were more brilliant and famous men in that Presbytery as also in that of Jersey to which he afterward was transferred but it is doubtful whether there was one more honored by his brethren in the ministry or more blessed in his work as a preacher of the gospel.

The first revival in his ministry that of 1808 has been referred to, and it was a significant fact that of the eighty who were received on profession of their faith sixty-three were heads of families, and twenty of these were fathers. And no sooner had the Presbytery invested him with the sacred gifts of his office than Mr. King seemed at once to redouble his exertions. It was a novel sight in Rockaway, this grave and beautiful man of God, so circumspect and earnest, that he needed no other letter of commendation to his people. He visited the cabins of miners and colliers among the mountains, and the humble homes that nestled in the secluded valleys or were built on the sides of the mountains. He was an evangelist not only in these humble abodes but in the homes of the rich at Denmark, Mt. Hope, Rockaway, Dover and Mt. Pleasant. Punctilious in his preparation for the pulpit he was systematic in his

visits to his immense parish which was in every direction ten miles in diameter. And he visited not mainly for friendly conversation on ordinary topics, but for the special purpose of winning souls to Christ. Usually each day's visitations were finished by preaching in the evening at some house in the neighborhood. It was a habit that he rarely departed from to return to his home after the evening service, however distant. He was once returning during a violent and sudden storm from Shongum and could only see his way at intervals by the flashes of lightning. On another very dark night he had started from Mt. Pleasant; his horse stopping suddenly he felt his way cautiously to his head and found him standing on the edge of an uncovered mine hole. A single step forward would have plunged him and his master into sudden destruction.

At all times scriptural, both in the truth and words of his preaching, he was peculiarly so in these neighborhood talks and "the common people heard him gladly." His labor became excessive at times and for weeks together amounting to ten public services a week besides his regular visits in the parish and visits to the sick.

In his 40th anniversary sermon, Mr. King said of this period, "my labors were then extended over a large tract of country, embracing ten or twelve miles square. I had six preaching places which were from four to six miles distant from the church. After two services in the church I preached at one of these and at one or more on a week day. My object was to be at each of these preaching places at least as often as once in two weeks."

On the 24th of October, 1809, Mr. King was married to Miss Catharine Beach, of Hanover, an event which greatly added to his influence as a pastor. She died July 13th, 1821, and rarely ever was such a tribute paid to one in her position as that to this estimable woman. And there are those still living who remember her and who speak of the tender love with which she was regarded by all who knew her. It was no rare thing for her to be found with him in the places of suffering and aiding him in his ministrations even in the distant parts of the parish. It is said that when the hearse which bore her body reached the church the last of the carriages had not left her late residence, and that never had there been seen such wide-spread mourning as when devout men carried her to her grave. The Rev. Aaron Condit, who had solemnized her marriage, officiated on the occasion of her funeral.

Let us now endeavor to reproduce to some extent the condition of this community when Mr. King was settled here. On the east side of the stream was the house of Stephen Jack-

son, afterward occupied by Col. Jos. Jackson. The latter was recently married to Electa Beach, the widow of Col. Silas Dickerson, of Stanhope, and her coming to Rockaway was an event of scarcely less importance than that of her future pastor and brother-in-law Mr. King. She was baptized by Parson Green, of Hanover, and when a small girl had the small pox. Supposed to be dying Dr. Darcy, (the elder,) comforted her grieving relatives in her hearing by saying they ought not to grieve for if she got well she would be very ugly! At Stanhope her influence had been powerfully in favor of the right and such was her reputation among the skeptical relatives of her first husband that they held her in the greatest reverence. At Rockaway she at once as the wife of a wealthy iron master, and a woman of great intelligence, became a power. Her brother-in-law, Gov. Mahlon Dickerson, often visited her and when once he came on the Sabbath she chided him for the fault so wisely that he neither repeated it nor ceased to respect her who reproved him. Blessed with great physical energy and overflowing with benevolence there was not a house within five miles of the church in which there was suffering to which she had not been a minister of mercy. She usually performed these journeys on horse back, and attended by a servant was wont to carry loads of substantial comforts to the objects of her charity. In 1815 Mrs. J. started the first Sabbath school in Morris County in the old Red School House near the church. So consistent in her Christian walk that the worst never questioned her piety, and so like her Master in the never failing charity of her heart and life, she was an unspeakable blessing to the church for a period of forty-six years. She entered into rest Feb. 7th, 1854.

Her husband was Col. Joseph Jackson, who was already a leading man in the community and who was taking great interest in the church. In 1796 he was appointed Postmaster holding the office until 1843. In 1798 his name is recorded as a Trustee. In 1802 he was the President of the Board. In 1804 he was appointed Colonel of the 3d Regiment, Morris Militia. In 1808 he married Mrs. Electa Dickerson. In 1812 he was ordered with his regiment into actual service at Powles Hook over three months. In 1813 he was elected Judge and was in that office and a Justice of Peace 32 years. In 1818 he was converted, received into the church and appointed both Elder and Deacon, and on the 28th of January, 1855, he departed this life. On the 5th of July, 1854, he wrote "I have been an elder in this church about 36 years. How well I have served with all my heart in this important office the searcher of hearts knows." He had furnished

the bread for the communion from 1803 to 1854. Full of public spirit and ready to do his full share and more, the only charge to be made against him is in the highest degree complimentary, that he spoiled the church he loved so well by assuming a great many burdens that it would have been better for its members to have carried. It was a common saying that "Col. Jackson carried about one-half of all the expenses of the church!" He was a man of limited education, but had read many books and associated with superior men so that he was a man of large intelligence. He was identified with the iron industries of the county, and with his brother William, owned valuable mines and forges, and at different times filled contracts with the general government for iron. Mr. William Jackson wrote me that "the first bar of round and square iron ever rolled in this country was done by Col. Joseph Jackson and myself, in the old Rolling Mill at Paterson, then owned by Samuel and Roswell Colt in the year 1820, under our contract to furnish the United States Government with a certain quantity rolled-round and hammered iron at the Navy Yard in Brooklyn, in which we succeeded to the entire satisfaction of the Government."^{*}

The success of this experiment led the brothers in 1821-2 to build a Rolling Mill at Rockaway, which went into operation in November, 1822. Meanwhile, Blackwell and McFarlan were led by the successful experiment at Paterson to convert their works at Dover into a similar rolling mill. Mr. Jackson claimed that they inaugurated this great industry in New Jersey, and indeed the whole country.

Mr. William Jackson was younger than the Colonel and his name as also that of their brother Dr. John D. Jackson, appears early on our church records. William married Susan Halsey, of Dutchess County, New York, Sept. 11th, 1811, a lady in some respects very like Mrs. Electa Jackson. More retiring, and yet equally sincere in her piety, she too exerted a powerful influence in the church. In 1818 her husband united with the church, and in 1824 became an elder. This interesting couple were married by the Rev. Barnabas King at the house of the bride's father, Dr. Abraham Halsey on 11th of September, 1810. They lived to celebrate their golden wedding and (seven years over, as Mrs. Jackson died in June, 1868,) and Mr. King was with them on this occasion. Mr. Jackson died in 1872. And it may be added that on the 19th of January, 1809, Mr. King united in marriage Mr. John R. Hinchman and

^{*}The first rolling mill in this country was built by Col. Isaac Mason in Pennsylvania in 1816. This of Joseph and William Jackson was the second—the first in New Jersey.

Miss Mary DeCamp, a grand daughter of Moses Tuttle, and it was a fact of singular interest that they and their attendants with Mr. King were presents at the golden wedding. To this it may be added as an almost unparalleled fact Guy M. Hinchman, a cousin of John R. on the 21st November, 1816 was married to Susan DeCamp, a younger sister of Mary. The Rev. Barnabas King performed the ceremony. This couple also lived to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage. Two consins marrying two sisters, and both couple reaching the "golden wedding" make a notable fact. Rarely have persons in this relation lived more happily, a fact sufficiently accounted for by genial and manly character of the husbands and by the beautiful and womanly character of the wives. I may add that Cornelia DeCamp a sister of the two ladies just related to was married to Chilion Beach and left several children, Dr. Columbus Beach is the oldest of these. Chilion F. DeCamp is a brother of the three ladies named. Indeed Jane Tuttle who married Joseph DeCamp has a following of most estimable descendants. The same is true of the other daughters of Moses Tuttle.

As an interesting fact it may be stated that several couples in the parish since 1859 attained the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage. Among these are Col. S. S. Beach and Jane Hoff his wife, (the latter being a granddaughter of Moses Tuttle and cousin of Mary and Susan Hinchman,) John B. Kelsey and Delia Conger his wife, and John Garrigus and Polly Hall.* One couple, Mr. David Gordon and his wife were separated by her death Feb. 19, 1851 after having lived together in the married relation nearly seventy years!

The houses in the parish were plain structures, even those occupied by the more wealthy. The villages of Lockaway and

*On the 8th of April 1813, John Garrigus, Jr., long an elder of the Rockaway Church, and Polly Hall were united in marriage by Mr. King and on the 7th of April 1821, John B. Kelsey and Delia Conger by same minister. At this present writing—April 26, 1876—both these venerable and excellent pairs are unbroken by death, the first over 63 years and the second fifty-five years of married life!

Col. S. S. Beach was married to Jane Hoff on June 27th, 1805, and the relation was terminated by the Colonel's death January 19th, 1859. After nearly 54 years of married life. Mrs. Beach survived her husband some fifteen years. So far as I know Samuel Garrigus and his wife Mary Ann Cring married by Mr. King Oct. 13th 1825—still are living. Undoubtedly Jeremiah Baker and Mary his wife, Francis McCarty and his wife, Asa Berry and Sally his wife, William Cooper and Hannah his wife, all of them belonging to the period of Mr. King's ministry lived in the marriage relation at least fifty years and some of them more. In all eleven "golden marriages" in one pastorate and in one parish!

Dover were very small. The manners of people were for the most part very plain. I have heard more than one speak of young ladies walking barefoot to church with their shoes in their hand until they reached the little stream below the church where they washed their feet and put on their shoes! The singing school, the apple-paring, and even the dance were among the amusements of the young people. For years the services of Simeon Van Winkle the fiddler were in great demand throughout the region, and at least one of my venerable informants told me he loved to dance to Sim's fiddling.

The people had their stone frolics and on all occasions made free use of applejack. There were few school privileges. The books of the Parish also show that the more recent developments of slow payment for minister's salary were only the repetition of a similar slowness years ago.

The people began to repair their church soon after Mr. King came, and this continued at intervals until the building was succeeded by the present edifice in 1832. Perhaps it may not be beneath the dignity of history to recall the history of attempts to warm the church. As already named in 1768 the parish voted to have a stove "if not pernicious," and in Mr. Carle's time there was a vain effort to have a fire place made in the church. Mr. King had been preaching twelve years in the unwarmed church before the box stove bought at Mr. Hope of McQueen & Co. was placed on the experiment of reducing the savage temperature of the old house. And even then so rude and imperfect were the pipes that Mr. Gordon said they often had more smoke than heat, and that sometimes the house began to be comfortable when the benediction was pronounced.

David Beaman who for years had swept the church at eleven shillings a year "once a fortnate," set the tunes, and attends Presbytery and done many other good things for the church died in 1802, and David Gordon was his successor in the sexton-ship, an office he held so long that the school children supposing that of course he was to bury everybody were wont to wonder who would bury the old sexton. An attempt was once made to allow the aristocratic owners of the pews to build "cannipys" over them, but it was voted down. In due time the sounding board was placed over the pulpit, the main use of which seems to have been to excite the fear in the minds of the children that it might drop down and extinguish the preacher. The singing was usually by a choir but sometimes by a precentor. From time to time changes took place by death, and removal. Such men as Faesch, Bernard Smith, Abraham Kitchel, William Ross, David Bea-

man, Stephen Jackson, Moses Tuttle, Benjamin Beach and others were gone. In 1813 the Mount Hope Furnace after being "blowed out" fourteen years was again set at work by Robert McQueen & Co. who rented the property of Henry W. and Lewis Phillips. This company operated the furnace until 1822 when the influx of British iron broke it down. With this company came one of our excellent families that of the late Col. Thomas Muir, whose genial qualities as the hospitable host and companion are remembered. Mrs. Muir and her sister Mrs. Agnes Walker, were among the most devoted and public spirited members of the church.*

By untiring industry and frugality Moses Tuttle and Jeremiah Baker, of Mt. Pleasant, have become independent, and both lived to old age. Mr. Baker died August 11th, 1861, lacking a few days of 91 years. The iron interests of the parish are affected by the tariff regulations, and not a few reverses are numbered in its history. Mt. Hope, Hibernia and some smaller establishments gradually fade out. The mines at Mt. Hope, Hibernia, Mt. Pleasant, and Mine Hill, begin to show promise of future values, when the prediction of Gov. Dickerson's father should be fulfilled, that the time would come when water would carry boats over the mountains of Morris and Sussex.

The Morris Canal was dug just in time to become the agent of the iron mines of New Jersey and the coal mines of Pennsylvania. The first half of Mr. King's ministry was full of these changes in the physical conditions of the region in all the business by which the people lived. In the introduction of anthracite coal as a fuel for the house and for rolling mills was the prediction of the use of it for the blast furnace. Of course the railway must also come to effect its changes everywhere, but in no regions greater than in this.

I am interested in the growth of values in mines. The Mt. Hope property which cost a mere trifle in passing from one embarrassed owner to another, at last was sold for \$80,000,

*Col. Thomas Muir died Sept. 28th, 1855, in the 64th year of his age. Mrs. Susan Muir his wife, died Oct 13th, 1860, and Mrs. Agnes Walker, Feb. 22d, 1849.

†The Morris Canal was surveyed in 1828, although the question had been agitated several years earlier. In 1830 the first Incline Plane was finished at Montville, and in the Spring of 1832 the canal was ready for boats. As a reminiscence it may be stated that the digging of the canal through Rockaway was attended with a great many cases of chills and fever, an inconvenience only exceeded by the hard class of men who were brought together by the work. (Stuart's Civil Engineer, p. p. 202 8.)

and now is worth hundred of thousands. The Hibernia mines were valued at a few thousand dollars at the beginning of this period, but now a million could not buy them. The same is true of Mine Hill and a score of other localities.

But whilst the mines have steadily appreciated the forge properties have been abandoned. All the forges from Shongum to Franklin, those in the neighborhood of Dover, Rockaway and in other parts of the county have succumbed to the cheaper methods employed by the great establishments at Bonton, Dover and on the Lehigh.

In the parish great changes have taken place. In 1832 the old church was abandoned for the new one. In 1834 the Dover Church was set off. A Methodist and an Episcopal Church had also been organized in Dover. In Rockaway a Methodist Church had sprung up in 1833; also one at Denville, another at Rockaway Valley and still another at Bonton, as also a Presbyterian Church at the latter place, and one at Mount Freedom. In 1848 Mr. King said "five Presbyterian and five Methodist Churches have been formed in our bounds."

Indeed the face of the entire field over which Mr. King extended his labors almost without competition for the first twenty-five years of his ministry, has undergone surprising changes. Rockaway in 1808 had scarce a dozen houses, and now it has become a town with several adjacent villages. The same is true of Dover. At the principal mines are thriving villages. The locomotive now visits Hibernia, Mount Hope, Mount Pleasant and Mine Hill. The ores of these mountains go to Pennsylvania and the coal of Pennsylvania comes in vast quantities to this region. The old school house in which Harris and Stickle taught, and its successor the "old Red school house" by the church have been succeeded by the commodious school houses which afford education to all the children about them.

Mr. Edmund D. Halsey in his account of the schools of Rockaway, says the first school house in the village is named in a deed October 29th, 1774, and "it stood about where the kitchen of Dr. Jackson's house now stands. It was removed about 1800." The second school house "was on the Glen road on the hill where William Gastenow lives." In these houses George Harris and George Stickle both taught. The third school room was in the upper part of the store room that once stood directly opposite Col. Jackson's house now occupied by E. D. Halsey. In 1807-8—or possibly a year later—the late Rev. John Ford taught school whilst he recited to Mr. King in preparing for college. Mr. F. was indefatigable, sometimes actually spending the whole night at his books.

He was graduated with the second honor at Princeton in 1812, and was for many years the pastor at Parsippany. He was a scholar of large attainments, keeping up his acquaintance with the ancient classics, a proficient in French, and when three-score mastering the German. He died at Parsippany Dec. 31st, 1872, aged 85. He was in his mental power, history and religious life an extraordinary man. What became of George Harris, the first teacher, "Old Harris" as his pupils often called him at a later day, I never heard. Geo. Stickle became a merchant, married a daughter of David Beaman, and died within the bounds of the congregation. He was a store keeper and as some accounts show the firm was "Stickle and Garrigus." The latter was David Garrigus, who was appointed an Elder in the church 1798.

This is not the place nor is this the time to write a minute history of this parish. It has had remarkable men, and the history of the community is one of great interest, but it must be reserved for another pen at a later day. The history of the mother church is the thread of silver which runs through the whole and for that period as already intimated that history is to a very wonderful degree identified with the life of its remarkable pastor, Mr. King. The chronic infirmity of the parish in regard to its finances never seemed to disturb him or to move his purpose to live and die for its interests. The people not merely revered but they loved him, and with a fidelity rarely excelled he ministered to their generations in the holy rites of baptism and the Lord's supper, and in the contrasted scenes of marriage and of death. In several cases as in the families of Moses Tuttle and Stephen Jackson he had ministered to five generations of the same family, and in one case he held in his arms (had laid his hands on) a child of the sixth generation. He had comforted and buried one generation, led their children into the church, married them, baptised their children, and then officiated for their children and their children's children in the same way generation after generation, and surely it was no wonder that he was held in much honor.

And here let me quote the words of one who knew him throughout his entire ministry and who for several years previous to his own ordination was an Elder at Rockaway. In a discourse prepared for the Presbytery of Rockaway in 1858, the Rev. Peter Kanouse said, "may I mention the Rev. Barnabas King, of Rockaway, the oldest and longest settled pastor in the same church within our Synodical bounds. He entered upon his ministry in that church in 1807 when it consisted of thirty-five members where he has labored with great

acceptance and success for fifty years. During this period the Lord has poured out his spirit upon his congregation several times in a powerful manner. Hundreds have been hopefully converted to God under his ministry. Under God he has turned many to rightness. What a crown awaits him in heaven! He still lives amid a halo of glory he has drawn around him which will hang over his grave when his body returns to dust and his spirit to God who gave it. It is good to find such an object in this changing world on which the eye can fix with delight. It also speaks volumes of praise concerning his congregation whose stability, love, and liberality have sustained, comforted and adhered to him even down to old age, and who I doubt not will continue to minister to his necessities 'till he shall want no more.' I may not say more of him as a preacher, pastor, counsellor and friend, but an anecdote will be acceptable. I often heard men preach for Mr. King who were popular in the desk and celebrated in the church, and yet after such an one had preached in Rockaway and the people questioned among themselves how they liked him, nothing was more common than to hear one and another speak approvingly of the stranger, but adding 'after all I would rather hear my own dear minister!'

He was noted for his wisdom in times of excitement and Mr. Kanouse says that he once set several politicians right who fancied they had some cause of complaint by saying to them one day, "I notice, gentlemen, from Sabbath to Sabbath your seats are empty. I think you must have taken offense at our Meeting House!" It was a true "Pain Killer." The same kindly pen relates a fact often told in the parish that a passionate neighbor of Mr. King had killed one of his sheep, expecting to excite his anger by the act, but a year afterward when not a word or act had given sign that the pastor had any knowledge of the injury his neighbor asked his pardon and repaid the wrong.

The Rev. Richard Webster once wrote me that "Joshua, son of Morgan Edwards who wrote the History of the Baptists in New Jersey, lived many years at Morristown and held Mr. King in great reverence. He said that in public prayer he seemed to be under the especial guidance of the Spirit, more particularly on days of fasting. He said fast day sermons unsettled both Dr. Richards and Dr. Fisher. Politics were so vehement that sermons and prayers were watched for unwise words."

That most cautious observer of men, the late Judge Samuel B. Halsey, passed a high eulogy when he declared that "he had never heard Mr. King say a foolish thing." The Rev.

Albert Barnes once remarked "that he knew of no minister whose walk, labor and success had been so admirable as those of Mr. King of Rockaway."

For the record of Mr. King's labors the reader is referred to his own modest account of them in his "Fortieth Anniversary Sermon" delivered at Rockaway on the 31st of December, 1848. I trust that this discourse will be republished in the "Annals of Morris County," but from it we may take this summary of his method of labor and the results. He says, "I have preached about 12,000 times. My object has been to write one sermon a week, and for a number of years wrote another in part; but for many years past have written one only and gave what time I had to spare to study the other without writing. I have, however, been obliged to preach sometimes with very little time to premeditate what I should say. I have missed but few Sabbaths except when by sickness I was confined to my bed. I have never staid from the house of God on account of the traveling or weather, but once to my remembrance.

"In my parochial visits I have endeavored to call on every family however retired or obscure within our bounds. From long experience I am satisfied that no labor which a minister can perform is more likely to be blessed.

"During my ministrations here there have been added to the church 680. Of this number four became ministers of the gospel. I have baptized 547, children solemnized 417 marriages and attended 681 funerals."

Among the greatest awakenings in the church were those of 1808, 1818, and 1832,* but from

*Mr. King in his fortieth anniversary sermon says of the revival of 1832 that "during the summer of 1831 a number of persons had obtained peace in believing. But early in the fall sickness prevailed in the congregation to such an extent that the meetings could not generally be attended. For a time your pastor was confined to his sick chamber and it seemed as if there would be no more inquirers. At the time, however, when we seemed in the greatest need the steps of a young licentiate were directed toward us. Mr. Hatfield, who is still held in grateful remembrance, spent three months with us, laboring with great zeal and unwearied perseverance. As soon as his labors commenced and the sickness had so abated that the people could go to hear the word preached, it was evident that the Spirit of God was with us. Nor did it depart on his departure. No revival since 1818 was so general or continued so long. During this revival, which continued for more than a year, 143 persons were received to the communion of the church."

The Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield, D.D., who is referred to in the above quotation was graduated at Middlebury College, 1829, was settled at St. Louis for a time, succeeded Dr. Elisha W. Baldwin in the Seventh church of

1807 to 1862 there was not a year when some were not added to the church, and there were several years in which many were added, although the work was not so extensive as in the years just named.

Of the original elders when Mr. King came to this place John Clark, William Ross, David Peer (Mr. Peer died in April, 1824,) and David Garrigus were living. Mr. Ross had received his letter of dismission some years before. He died in 1807, just as the signs of a revival showed themselves under Mr. King's preaching. It is said that he showed pain in recalling what Mr. Grover had said about those who had engaged in the singing difficulties, as if that prediction were to be fulfilled in his own speedy death. He was a good and public spirited man and his great-grandson, the Rev. Samuel P. Halsey was the sixth pastor of the church.

Of Deacon Clark I have already spoken. He was a remarkable man and died in 1824.

Of David Peer, David Garrigus and some other members of the session I have not the means of speaking much. John Garrigus, Sr., was elected in 1809, and his son in 1824, and both faithfully served the church for many years. Of Peter Kaunse elected in 1809, and serving until 1818, I have already spoken, as also of the brothers, Joseph and William Jackson. David Peer lived in Rockaway Valley, Benjamin Lampson, Samuel Hicks, and Josiah Hurd near Dover. Thomas Conger and Silas Hamilton were devout men and elders.

Of those who were living in 1847, I may mention Henry Beach, a most beautiful and noble christian man, whose memory is still cherished in the church, and John Mott who was elected to the eldership at the same time. The latter was a carpenter, a native of Long Island, who came to Rockaway when he was a boy to learn his trade. His conversion was striking and thorough in 1818. At once he devoted himself to christian work in every way within his reach. He studied the English scriptures with the utmost zest and committed to memory large portions, which he was wont to repeat to his Bible classes, and in the weekly prayer meeting. He was possessed of a rare eloquence, and both in prayer and public address this gift was conspicuous. Very timid by na-

New York, thence was transferred to the North church in the same city. Since leaving that church he has been actively connected with the Union Theological Seminary. For many years he was stated clerk of the General Assembly (U. S.), and at the union of the two churches he was elected stated clerk of the General Assembly again. He was honored with the doctorate by Marietta College in 1850. His name is favorably and widely known throughout the church as a successful preacher and with no superior as a stated clerk of the General Assembly.

ture he was by the strength of his convictions as bold as a lion when the cause of truth required it. For his work in teaching the young out of the scriptures, superintending the sabbath school, ruling well in the church, and his part in every good work he will be long remembered. Elected an elder in 1832 he filled the office with great acceptance more than thirty years. He died 1866.

Capt. George Rowland was one of the more recent elders, a man of a sweet christian spirit who having served the Master in his day and generation with great fidelity past to his rest greatly regretted. He died June 16th, 1854.

Col. Samuel S. Beach was a remarkable man and for many years a member of the session. He became a member of the church in 1818. He and his brother Chasion divided the farm of their father who has been named in these pages. They were both of them excellent men in their enterprise, integrity, public spirit and worth in both public and private. Both were devoted friends of the church and aided to carry its burdens. They passed away leaving "a good name which is better than great riches." Chilson died in September, 1842, and Samuel S. Jan. 19th, 1859.

I will mention but one more elder, Samuel Beach Halsey. He was born in Dutchess county, New York, in 1796, graduated at Union College, 1815, admitted to the bar 1818, was twice a member of the lower house of the New York Legislature, practised his profession in New York State until 1834 when he moved to Rockaway, and whilst his opinions on questions of law were eagerly sought his main business was the manufacture of iron. He was elected twice to the lower house of N. J. Legislature. In March, 1836, after a season of distressing conviction he became a christian and was received into the church. In September, 1841, he was elected to the eldership, an office which he filled with distinguished fidelity until his death on the 15th of September, 1871. This is a bare outline of his life. The details of that life could not be supplied by this pen without exciting the suspicion of an undue partiality in him who holds it. His mind was one of rare power. It scrutinized each element that passed before it as if analyzing a mathematical proposition, and where his judgment was rendered on the facts before him it needed rarely to be reversed. His mind was of a judicial cast, and held the scales with an even hand. Endowed with a wonderful affluence of the choicest words with which to convey his thoughts, and full of the richest thought on every subject he had examined, he was a delightful companion, and the more so because of the humor and wit which constantly lighted up his speech and added delight to his com-

panionship. And yet with all these rare gifts he was unable to conquer his aversion to address people in public assembly, whether at the bar, the political gathering, or in the church. His feeling was such that he abandoned the bar for which he had such eminent fitness rather than be compelled to practice at the sacrifice of his feeling in this respect.

His moral perceptions were very acute and he seemed to detect by instinct the presence of evil and no inducement could lead him to do an act which his conscience pronounced wrong. Not making a display of his feelings nor the reasons of his acts he was sometimes censured by those who did not comprehend him, but his fidelity to principle was a chief virtue. Between him and his pastor Mr. King, there existed a beautiful friendship that was only terminated by death. The rare and sagacious pastor appreciated the great gifts of his elder and his "spiritual son" and he in turn rated his pastor as a man of the purest worth, of a wisdom "that never spoke a foolish thing," and a faithfulness in his calling that marked him an extraordinary man. Among the remarkable men who had been in that session in some respects Judge Halsey had no peer.

Of the physicians who practiced in this parish several are recalled. Dr. John Darbe, of Parsippany, and Dr. John Darcy, of Hanover, were often called and were held in great favor. Among these actually resident here I now recall the names of four. The first was Dr. Matthew Hunting who removed here about the time Mr. Baldwin left, and who purchased Mr. Baldwin's farm near Savage Corner, on the way to Denville. The house was near the great willow tree that stood by the road side. Dr. Hunting died June 4th, 1810.

Dr. Ebenzer H. Pierson came here from Morristown and bought the parsonage built at Franklin for Mr. Carle. Dr. P. made this purchase in 1795, and resided here several years. The old people described him as a large man and very extensively employed throughout the region. It is said that he was involved in the failure of Canfield & Losey at Dover, and removed to Morristown where he continued his practice.

Dr. Ira Crittenden was a native of Lennox, Mass., and came to this region in 1811. In 1812 he married Harriet daughter of Stephen Jackson, a most attractive and estimable lady. He taught school for a year at Denville and Burdtown. He studied medicine with Dr. Ebenezer H. Pierson, of Morristown, the physician who purchased and occupied the parsonage at Franklin. Dr. Crittenden soon made a great reputation by his devotion to his profession and his success in its practice. He was

fond of books and was at great pains to keep himself fully up to his profession, and at the same time he was a determined but cautious experimenter in search of light not found in the books. He was a delightful companion, and if he had any fault it showed itself in his lingering at places where he found congenial companions with whom to discuss questions pertaining to literature, politics, medicine or religion. He became a member of this church in 1818 with his wife, and both retained their connection until their death, although for several years they attended the church in Dover. Some years before his death Dr. Crittenden had a stroke of paralysis, and died December 6th, 1848, aged 65 years. Mr. King preached his funeral sermon from the words "Mark the perfect man and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace." (Psalm 37:37.) Mrs. Crittenden survived him several years. He left several children, and two of his sons William H. and Thomas followed him in his profession. Dr. Wm. H. Crittenden died January 26th, 1864 aged 49.

Dr. John Darbe Jackson was the youngest son of Stephen and was born in 1794. He died November 17th, 1859, aged sixty-five years. He had practised medicine in Rockaway forty-four years, and was greatly esteemed in the community for his carefulness and attention to his patients. His practice extended far in every direction and he was most assiduous in his labors. He was noted for the gentleness of his manners in the sick room, and his presence for that reason as also for his skill was welcomed by the sick. He never made a profession of faith in Christ publicly by uniting with the church. For some years he had been skeptical as to the divine claims of the christian religion, but as he reached a point in life whence he must of necessity anticipate the approach of death he gave his mind to the serious examination of the claims of religion, and in the end not merely admitted its authority but yielded himself to it. Had he lived he would undoubtedly have joined himself with some church. He died suddenly. He was married to Miss Agnes Doughty who still survives him. He left several children, one of whom, Dr. John W. Jackson, first shared and then succeeded to his father's practice.

Among the leading men of Mr. King's period not yet mentioned were Charles Hoff, the son-in-law of Moses Tuttle, first manager at Hibernia, and then in business at Mt Pleasant, and who died July 17th, 1811, Mr. Stotesbury who managed at Hibernia, and was the father-in-law of Gov. Philemon Dickerson, Col. John H. Glover, of Denville, and Thomas B. Segur, of Dover. Col. Glover formed a somewhat

romantic marriage with a young lady in New York, whose wealth was in her unblemished name and great personal attractions. After his marriage he placed his wife at school where she might have the advantages of education, and he meanwhile purchased several hundred acres at Denville and built what has been known as the Glover House and resided there several years. There his children—described as elegant people—were born and there he died September 20th, 1832. He was a native of South Carolina where he had large possessions. After his death his widow and children removed to South Carolina. Col. Glover is remembered for the only censurable act of his life in New Jersey, the whipping of Mr. Jacob Mann, the editor of "The Palladium of Liberty," for some offensive article in its columns. Col. Glover was a liberal supporter of the church, holding a pew in the north-east corner of the old church, and in many ways showing great esteem for Mr. King, who officiated at his funeral.

Of Mr. Thomas B. Segur a few words may be said for the sake of himself as an ordinary man, and also for his relations to the community, both as a bank officer and a temperance reformer. He was sent by Anson G. Phelps, of New York, to Dover to manage the Union Bank as its Cashier. Of this part of his life I need not speak at any length, although his career in the bank was full of stirring incidents. No man ever guarded a trust with more untiring fidelity than he did his. Nor was it an easy task for a stranger to select from the multitudes who appeared at his counter the men whom he might trust, nor for a man of his decided convictions in all moral questions to lay them aside so far as to determine as a bank officer his duty in certain cases rather than as one who abhorred all intoxicating liquors and all who dealt in them. And yet when one of them ventured to taunt him as he discounted his paper he said to him sternly, "I do this act not because you deal in whiskey, but because as a business man you are sound!" Several times wild and false stories were started to the injury of the bank causing several "runs" to be made on it, and twice at least New York brokers sought to break it down by the presentation of such an amount of the Union bank notes as they supposed to be beyond its power to meet. In one case Col. Scott, the President, nearly fainted, but Mr. Segur met and vanquished the difficulty with the utmost coolness. His ability and fidelity in that trust are well shown in the splendid assets of the bank when it was closed and its means put in other forms.

Both in Dover and the state at large Mr. Segur was recognized as a most thorough

temperance reformer. He came from Central New York, and was converted in the great revival which swept over that region fifty years ago. He had so it was said been a great personal sufferer from the intemperance of those closely allied to him, and for this reason, as well as from both the hatred of so hateful a thing as drunkenness and its causes, and also from his sharp religious convictions, he never abated his efforts to arrest the evil. His vaults were no fuller of money than his shelves of temperance literature. Speaking of all that pertained to his business with the greatest care and zeal, he readily went from that to a theme that was nearer his heart than money, the rescue of the community from rum. To many he seemed an extremist but if he did not, others have lived to see some of his most violent opponents adopt his views. At one time some angry men with cannon sought to break up a meeting he had appointed. He was threatened with the withdrawal of business from the bank, and in various ways his enemies sought to force him to be still on this subject. But he was as immovable as a rock. At times so violent in his feelings and expressions as to seem rude, he was in truth a gentle and loving man, who would sometimes give way to tears like a child when some object of suffering presented itself, or some of the more delicate themes of religion were discussed. He lived a very earnest life and when at last he yielded to disease his highest eulogy was that he had plead the cause of the drunkard and had been a devoted friend of Him who had said "Woe unto them by whom: the offense cometh!" After a long and painful illness he died October 9th, 1854.

To show the longevity of people in this region it may be stated that from 1847 to 1862 out of 383 persons whose funerals were attended within the field once solely occupied by this church, 35 were between 60 and 70 years, 35 between 70 and 80, 19 between 80 and 90, 10 between 90 and 94 and one said to have been 115 years old. The last one was Juliet Robbins a native of Africa, brought to South Carolina and thence to New Jersey. She was received into this church in 1809.

Probably the oldest couple who have died in the parish was Francis McCarty and his wife who died respectively in 1839 and 1840. Mrs. McCarty was 93 years and as her husband died the year before I infer he was at least as old.

Among the very aged people who have died in this parish were the "Widow Hinchman," aged 90, David Hill, 76, Joseph Casterline, 87, Mrs. Hannah Hoff, nearly 90, Mr. Noah Estile, 84, Mrs. Chloe Hall, 78, Mrs. Ross, 80, John Garrigus, Sr., 60, Mrs. Wiggens, 86, Mrs. Davenport, mother-in-law of John Earles, 91, Mrs. Nancy Gordon, who died, Feb. 19, 1851, aged

90, David Gordon, who died July 23d, 1852, aged 92 years and 10 months, Mrs. Smith, of Pigeon Hill, 88, Mrs. Naomi Palmer, 76, Mrs. Mary Baker, 73, Jerannah Baker, 91, Mrs. Betsey Doland, of Mt. Hope, 91, Mrs. Elizabeth Vail, over 89, Mrs. Electa Jackson, 85, Col. Joseph Jackson, 81, Mrs. Hannah Kitchel, 83, Mrs. Elizabeth Kitchel, 75, Mrs. Lyon, (mother of Isaac) 84, Mrs. Margaret Miller, 85, Caspar Zeeke, 71, William Cooper, 79, Mrs. Hannah Cooper, 79, Mrs. Jane Vandroof, over 90, Timothy Douglas, 76, Dame! Ayers, 79, Mrs. Polly Ayers, 91, Miss Rhoda Lampson, 93, Asa Berry, 75, Mrs. Sally Berry, 72, Mrs. Margaret Arnold, 79, Charles Shawger, 89, Joseph Lyon, 74, Col. Samuel S. Beach, 77, Mrs. Jane Beach, 88, Mrs. Jane Johnson, 77, Phineas Ward, 75, Alexander Hill, 70, John Earles, 76, Rev. Barnabas King, 82, Mrs. Clarissa King, 78, John Sanders, 71, Mrs. Sarah Tompkins, 87, John Compton, 80, Mrs. Peminah Casterline, 85, Daniel Casterline, 87, Elizabeth Casterline, 85, Mrs. Eunice Pier-son, 94, Jacob Losey, over 90. The list including Francis McCarty and his wife, and Juliet Robbins, has sixteen persons over 90 years of age, and 19 between 80 and 90.

If Mr. King had carefully noted the ages of these whose funerals he attended, these figures would undoubtedly be greatly enlarged, no doubt doubled, as the most of these have died since 1847.

In order to give this narrative some completeness it may here be stated that the Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle in September, 1817, was called as colleague pastor with Mr. King. Mr. Tuttle received his preparatory education at the Newark (N. J.) Academy and at the Granville (O.) Academy, was graduated at Marietta College in 1841, Lane Theological Seminary in 1846, was licensed by Marion Presbytery, April 4th, 1844, was ordained and installed by the same Presbytery as pastor of the second church in Delaware, Ohio, April 21st, 1846, removed to Rockaway and began labor there in November, 1847, and on the 26th of April, 1848, was installed colleague pastor by the Presbytery of Rockaway. The Rev. Samuel L. Tuttle, of Caldwell, preached the sermon from 2 Cor. 2, 16, "Who is sufficient for these things?" The Rev. Barnabas King presided and put the constitutional questions, the Rev. Daniel H. Johnson of Mendham delivered the charge to the pastor and the Rev. Sylvester Cook of Wantage 1st, the charge to the people. The installing prayer was offered by the Rev. Jacob Tuttle, the pastor's father.

Having made this statement it remains to give a succinct account of the closing years of Mr. King's life and relations to the church. The burden of the labor was snared by him to the close of his life, and his judgment as to its

wants was admirable as his interest was unflinching. As already stated his first sermon was preached here in January, 1806, his stated labor began in October, 1807, his ordination and installation took place December 27th, 1808. On the 31st of December, 1848, he preached his 40th anniversary sermon, which was published. He also preached his 45th anniversary on the words, "And now behold the Lord hath kept me alive, as he said these forty and five years, &c." (Joshua 14:10) At its close he read in a tone of great tenderness one of Watts' versions of the 71st Psalm:

"God of my childhood and my youth,
The guide of all my days,
I have declared thy heavenly truth,
And told thy wondrous ways.
Wilt thou forsake my hoary hairs,
And leave my fainting heart?
Who shall sustain my sinking years,
If God my strength depart? &c."

(Watts' Psalms, 71st, 3d p. C. M.)

It was an occasion that was both rare and grand, and one that reflected the highest honor both on the pastor and his people. On the 24th of December, 1854, Dr. King again preached an anniversary sermon, being the forty-sixth of his pastorate, and the forty-ninth of his ministry in the one church, since he preached his first discourse in Rockaway on the 21th of January, 1806.* The text in the circumstances was very thrilling. "The night is far spent, the day is at hand." (Rom. 13:12.) This discourse contained many pleasant reminiscences, but its author was unwilling to give it to the press.

On the 12th of December, 1858, the Session of the Presbyterian Church at Rockaway adopted a minute and directed a copy of it to be sent to Dr. King, its senior pastor, in view of the fact that the fiftieth anniversary of his installation, as the pastor of the church, was at hand. In this minute the Session speak in terms expressive of gratitude to God for sending such a faithful man to be their pastor, and for the abundant results of his ministry. Its second and third resolutions are in these words: "Resolved 2d, That we congratulate our venerable Pastor on the approach of so interesting an anniversary, and that we earnestly desire him on the Lord's Day previous to that occasion to preach a memorial sermon of his ministry among this people. Resolved 3d, That we fervently pray God to continue our beloved Pastor to us many years more, and that his latter days may be blessed with rich and numerous proofs of the Lord's faithfulness and love." In accordance with this request the venerable man preached his fiftieth anniversary sermon, from the words "The Lord hath blessed thee since my coming."

(Gen. 30:30).* The sermon was not given to the press, but was heard with profound interest by the large audience that crowded the old church.

Let it be added that Dr. King was spared to his people more than three years after the occasion just referred to. He sometimes preached, but oftener exhorted and always with acceptance. His mental faculties remained unimpaired, and his interest in everything pertaining to his friends, the church and the country, was as warm as in early manhood. The Monday night the news of the Bull Run disaster gave such horrible unrest to vast multitudes in the loyal States, was spent by him in sleep as trustful and sweet as an infant; and he said "Children, it cost us seven years of dreadful war to give us a nation; it will cost us years of more dreadful war to save that nation; but you need not fear as if it were not to be saved. It shall live and not die."

In the spring of 1862 it was thought best by himself that he tender his resignation formally to the parish, but his faithful people to their honor refused to receive it, professing to him an unabated attachment. He had now been in that relation fifty-three years and several months. On the second Sabbath in March, 1862, he had performed his last official act in public, with a singular fitness, it being on the occasion of his last communion with the church, at the close of which he stretched forth his hands and with such pathos and beauty pronounced the apostolical benediction recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, twentieth and twenty first verses, that many were moved to tears, and some even said they had never heard the words before! More than fifty-six years before he had preached for the first time in that congregation, and more than fifty-four years—from October, 1807—he had been preaching there regularly, and lacked only less than a year of being their pastor during that long period. During that time he ministered in several instances to five generations of the same family, and in one case to six generations. † His honorable career was drawing to

*By a pleasant coincidence, too marked to be neglected, that very year was the one hundredth anniversary of the Church's organization. Thus two interesting facts were associated in the same services. A series of discourses was consequently prepared by the Junior Pastor, the author of this sketch, the first of which was delivered on the evening of the day that Dr. King preached his fiftieth anniversary sermon. These circumstances furnished, in fact, the substance of the paper on "The early history of Morris County," submitted to the N. J. Historical Society in May, 1869.

*Entered in the old Rockaway Trustee Book.

†When Dr. King began to preach in Rock-

its close; not a dog wagged his tongue against him; the entire community regarded him with unabated veneration; and now he placed on such a public career the beautiful crowning act of that benediction.

People are wont to note coincidences, and it was noted as singular that the very day that Dr. King's resignation was laid before the parish, and declined as already stated, he became ill. The parish meeting called to consider the resignation of Dr. King and his colleague occurred March 20th, and was largely attended. The people resolved unanimously not to accept Dr. K.'s resignation, affectionately expressing their will that he should continue their pastor until death should terminate the relation. When this fact was communicated to him the morning after its occurrence he expressed the most lively pleasure saying as the tears ran down his cheeks "They have always been a kind people!" Probably in the long period of his official connection with the church he had never a happier moment than that in which saw his congregation clinging to him as if indeed he were a father. After a sickness of several days he passed from earth as peacefully as a little child passes into sleep. He rested from his labors on the 10th of April, 1862, and on the 13th his remains were consigned to the grave, in the midst of such a concourse of people as was never before gathered in that old yard! At his own request the funeral sermon was preached by his colleague in the pastorate of the church, who

away, he boarded in the family of Moses Tuttle, Esq., the sixth child and fifth son of Col. Joseph Tuttle, of Hanover, and his wife Abigail Ogden. Col. Tuttle and his brother Timothy settled in Hanover, in Morris County, about 1733 or 4. Col. T.'s second wife was Abigail Nutman, a sister of the Rev. James Nutman, the second pastor of the Hanover church. Their son, the Rev. James Tuttle, was the first pastor of the churches at Rockaway and Parsippany. Dr. King was the pastor of Moses Tuttle; of the daughter of Moses, Mrs. Hannah Hoff, widow of Charles Hoff; of her daughter Mrs. Jane Beach, widow of Col. Samuel Serrin Beach; of her daughter Mrs. Delia Hazzard, the widow of the Rev. Slias H. Hazzard; and he lived to see Mrs. Hazzard's daughter and grand child on a visit to Mrs. Beach, the venerable great-grandmother, who at the time was still living! Making six generations of one family who lived in the period of his ministry. The late Matthias Kitchel, Esq., also married Caroline Beach, the great-granddaughter of Moses Tuttle, and Dr. King lived to see her grand children. He ministered to five generations of Capt. Stephen Jackson's family, viz: Capt. Stephen Jackson, his son Col. Joseph Jackson, his daughter Mrs. Sarah Dubois Halsey, and her children and grand children. The same was true in other instances. The whole constitutes a singular and perhaps not very easily paralleled statement of permanence and longevity in his pastoral office.

selected for his text on the occasion the words "By the grace of God I am what I am; and his grace which was bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I labored more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me." (1 Cor. 15:10.) This discourse was published.

In his able and interesting history of the Presbyterian Church, Dr. Gillett thus describes Dr. King, of Rockaway, in language which does not seem extravagant to those who knew him. "Frail and feeble in appearance, and supposed by all to be consumptive, he was spared to the discharge of a long and useful pastorate. * * * * But while faithful to his special charge, he did not neglect the missionary field around him. With the best men of the Jersey Presbytery he bore his full share in itinerant evangelization, going from Powles Hook to the Delaware, to tell the destitute of Christ. The monuments of his success were scattered around him far and near. One of the most eminent of his contemporaries—the Rev. Albert Barnes—remarked that he knew 'of no minister whose walk and labor and success had been so admirable as those of Mr. King of Rockaway.' His great ambition was to win souls. His one book was the Bible. As a preacher, he was simple and scriptural; and his whole course was characterized by good sense, consummate judgment, earnestness of purpose and devotion to his work. Utensiveness he preferred to eloquence or learning. Yet his utterance was always manly, and at times fervent. One of his most critical hearers remarked 'that he never said a foolish thing.' Amid fragrant memories and the rich harvests of the usefulness he coveted, he descended to the grave in a ripe and beautiful old age. The wrinkles of more than fourscore years were on his brow, but there were no wrinkles on his heart. His closing hours were marked by peace and cheerful hope, and when called to depart he was ready for the summons." He lacked only two months of being eighty-two years of age.

TO THE CONGREGATION OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN ROCKAWAY, N. J.,
ASSEMBLED IN PARISH MEETING.

DEAR BRETHREN :—The undersigned associated as the colleague pastors of this church and congregation, desire to tender to you the resignation of our office and to ask you to unite with us in requesting the Presbytery to dissolve the pastoral relation which now subsists between you and us.

It would be unjust to you and to our own feelings were we to refrain from expressing to you our unalterable attachment and confidence. "For what is our hope, or joy, or

crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and our joy."

The fact, as it has been stated to us, that our love for you is reciprocated by you with no dissenting voice, is one that both embarrasses and delights us. Had you been less than unanimous in your expressions of attachment we could less reluctantly take this step, and yet the oneness of your affection we esteem as among the sweetest fruits of our pastorate among you.

It is more than fifty-six years since the Senior Pastor preached his first sermon here, and more than fifty-three since he was ordained and installed as the pastor of this church. Very few are now living who witnessed that scene. Great changes have taken place since that time, and yet amid all these changes this church has never varied in its attachment to one selected and placed over it by a generation, the most of which have long since "fallen asleep."

It is compared with this, a recent event, the settlement of the colleague pastor. Nearly nineteen years ago he first preached in this place. Fifteen years ago he supplied your pulpit a few Sabbaths during the dangerous illness of your pastor. Early in November, 1847, having accepted your call, he began his labors among you, although not formally installed until the following April.

This brief period has been full of changes in the congregation and community. Some of the standard bearers have fallen, and others have taken their places. It is our belief that God has placed his seal on the act of this congregation, in consequence of which we became colleague pastors of the church.

It is not necessary to enter into any detailed statements of the reasons which have led us to seek a dissolution of a relation thus far so happy and fruitful. The step has been taken after earnest prayer to the head of the church for his guidance, and after a protracted and careful examination of the field to which the Junior Pastor has been called. We are to please not ourselves, but Christ in this matter, and although we cannot make this change without exquisite pain to ourselves, it seems to be our duty. We may have erred in our judgment of the duty required of us, but if so, it has not been an error intentionally committed.

Wishing and praying that grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ may be with you and this entire flock, we are, dear brethren,

Yours in the Lord,

(Signed in behalf of the pastors,)

JOSEPH F. TUTTLE.

Rockaway, N. J., March 19th, 1862.

It was the intention for the Senior Pastor to sign this paper, but sickness prevented him.

ROCKAWAY, March 19th, 1862.

DR. BEACH:

DEAR SIR:—I suppose from present appearances, in case of my release from the pastoral care of the church, that I shall not be able to arrange my business to leave sooner than the last Sabbath in April. If it be deemed best I can supply the pulpit until that time, but I leave this entirely to the judgment of the church. It will greatly facilitate my arrangements to have the Trustees enabled to settle with me whatever balance may be due. Any accounts against me by pew holders can be turned on the books. Truly yours,

JOSEPH F. TUTTLE.

ROCKAWAY, March 15th, 1862.

Having learned that a parish meeting is to be held on Wednesday, the 19th inst., that the people may have opportunity to express their views in regard to the continuance or discontinuance of the relation between them and their pastor, Rev. J. F. Tuttle, D. D. Supposing this may result in calling the Presbytery to act on the subject. I wish to say, that in case his dismissal should be effected, I shall request the Presbytery to dissolve the pastoral relation between me and this people which has subsisted nearly 54 years. This request originates from no unkind feelings, from no want of attention, but simply from the fact that from age and infirmity I can no longer be of service and might be considered in the way of the settlement of another pastor. Should the dissolution take place I shall take leave of this people with a deep sense of gratitude for the many and long continued kindnesses which they have manifested and the forbearance which they have exercised in regard to my frailties. My prayer will be that God would soon give to this people a pastor after his own heart and one in whom all shall be harmoniously united. Whatever may be the result reached by the Presbytery, I trust that pastors and people will acknowledge and feel that it is of the Lord.

BARNABAS KING.

FATHER KING, OF ROCKAWAY.

(FROM THE NEW YORK OBSERVER.)

On Thursday, April 10th, 1862, the aged and beloved man whose name stands at the head of this article, entered into rest. On the Sabbath afternoon following, a vast throng of people from the neighboring congregations met with the bereaved church at Rockaway, to pay a tribute of love to the departed pastor. Hundreds were not able to get into the church, which was draped in deep mourning. The exercises were conducted by the Rev. Messrs. Magie, of Dover, Johnson, of Hanover, and Ford, of Parsippany. The sermon was

preached by the Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle, D. D., fourteen years colleague pastor with the deceased, in compliance with whose wish the arrangement was made.

The sermon set forth "the grace of God as manifested in the character and labors of the successful minister of Christ," and was founded on 1 Cor. 15:10, "By the grace of God I am what I am; and his grace, which was bestowed on me, was not in vain, but I labored more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me."

The personal statements made by the preacher, concerning the character and labors of the deceased, were very simple. The Rev. Barnabas King, D. D., was born in New Marlborough, Mass., June 2d, 1780; at the age of fourteen was prevented from becoming a cabinet-maker by the sagacity of his pastor, Dr. Catlin, who offered to fit him for college in four years, in consideration of his laboring for him during the summer months. At the age of eighteen he was converted. He then taught school to get the means of entering college, and in the spring of 1802, he entered the Sophomore class of Williams College, half advanced. In the fall of 1804, he was graduated, after which he spent a year teaching, and studying theology. October 15th, 1805, he was licensed by the Berkshire Association, and having in vain sought a settlement near home, he was about to start for Western New York, then a new country, when a letter from his class-mate, Beach, turned his steps to New Jersey. He preached in Rockaway the first time January 25th, 1806, from Eccl. 2: 1, 2, "A time to be born and a time to die;" but for a year and a half labored at Sparta and Berkshire. In October, 1807, he began his labors stately in Rockaway, dividing his time between this place and Sparta. Very soon there began a revival, which added to the church eighty converts, and in the midst of such scenes, he was ordained and installed the pastor of the church, December 27th, 1808, the sermon being preached by Dr. John McDowell, the only one who participated in the transaction who now survives him. During the entire time of his sole ministry, that is from 1807 to 1847, there was only one year without additions to the church from the world. That exceptional year was 1817, in the fall of which began "the great revival of 1818," which brought 151 converts into the church. The next greatest work was in 1831-2, when he was aided by Rev. Dr. Hatfield in a manner greatly

endearing him to the people.

In his 40th anniversary sermon, preached Dec. 31, 1848, Father King stated that he had attended 681 funerals, baptized 547 children, solemnized 417 marriages, and received into the church 680 persons. For many years his labors were spread over a territory which now includes five Presbyterian and five Methodist churches. He had regular appointments at Powerville, Rockaway Valley, Lyonville, Greenville, the Glen, Mt. Hope, Denmark, Berkshire Valley, Dover, Mine Hill, Shoregrove, Union, Franklin, Harrisonville, besides those at the centre. For weeks together he preached ten times a week. He was indefatigable in his pastoral labors, being assisted by an admirably constituted Session.

He was dignified and serious in his manners and so consistent that no one questioned his piety. His style of preaching was very simple, but scriptural, and usually very earnest. His heart was full of sympathy, and in all respects he was a model pastor, to whom his flock was perfectly devoted. In several instances he has ministered to five generations of the same family, and in one instance to six.

His thoughtfulness, generous forbearance and helpfulness in the delicate and often unpleasant relation of the colleague pastorate, were only needed to round out his admirable character. It is a fact that is honorable to both the senior and junior colleague in that church, that they should have been associated fourteen years with not merely harmony, but with a devoted affection well fitting that of father and son.

The very day he was stricken with his last sickness, his resignation was offered to the church of which he had so long been pastor. This was on account of his colleague's acceptance of the Presidency of Wabash College, and he did not wish to be in the way of settling a successor. But the church, with a noble spirit, refused to accept his resignation, alleging as a reason their wish, if it were God's will, that he should die their pastor, and be buried among his own people.

His mind was in perfect peace, unclouded with a doubt, and he passed to his home amid the tears of a loving and devoted people as ever cheered the declining years of a minister of Christ. Many men have shone more brilliantly in the Church and State, but very few have lived so as to make a brighter mark or leave a more enviable reputation than Father King, of Rockaway.

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