New Jersey in the American Revolution

An Exhibition from the Library and Museum Collections of The Society of the Cincinnati
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in the
American Revolution

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Also available:
- *Massachusetts in the American Revolution:* “Let It Begin Here” (1997)

Text by Ellen McCallister Clark, Sandra L. Powers and E. K. Hong.


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INTRODUCTION

NEW JERSEY was the scene of crucial military action during the American Revolution. George Washington’s army crossed the state four times and encamped within its boundaries over three hard winters. More than 90 military engagements were fought in New Jersey, including the landmark battles of Trenton, Princeton and Monmouth. Here Washington experienced some of his bleakest times and greatest triumphs, demonstrating his true virtuosity as commander in chief and a leader of men.

On July 2, 1776, the Provincial Congress, meeting at Burlington, adopted a constitution declaring New Jersey independent of British rule. The following month, the legislature elected William Livingston first governor of the new state. But support for revolution was not universal among New Jersey’s citizens. A strong and organized Loyalist faction would keep the state bitterly divided throughout the war.

New Jersey had begun raising its first Continental regiments in October 1775, in answer to a call from the Continental Congress. Within a month, the first of these new units (they became known as the “First Establishment”) were dispatched to guard the New Jersey shore across from Staten Island. The next spring three New Jersey battalions were sent north to assist in the defense against a British invasion from Canada.

In July 1776, as the action shifted to New York City, Congress established a “flying camp” near New Jersey’s capital, Perth Amboy, to protect the route for reinforcements and supplies from the south. Commanded by Brigadier General Hugh Mercer of Virginia, this unique unit consisted of 10,000 state troops and militia from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware. The regular New Jersey line was reorganized in late fall of 1776, creating a “Second Establishment” made up of four battalions. New Jersey regiments went on to serve with distinction in most of the major engagements in New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, as well as at the Battle of Yorktown.
On June 11, 1783, as the Continental Army was preparing to disband, officers of the New Jersey line signed the Institution of the Society of the Cincinnati, cementing the bonds of friendship established over the long years of war. The third of the 14 constituent societies to be organized, the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey is one of only six state societies to remain in continuous existence since its founding.

Drawing from the collections of the Society of the Cincinnati Library and Museum as well as from the holdings of the New Jersey Society, this exhibit highlights some of the major events and campaigns that took place in New Jersey during the Revolution. It also commemorates the contributions of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey to the achievement of American Independence.


Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey.

Bounded by the Hudson River and Atlantic Ocean to the east and Pennsylvania across the Delaware River to the west, New Jersey was a vital and vulnerable link between the northern and southern colonies, especially after the British occupied neighboring New York City in 1776.

Case 1: Preamble—The Gathering Storm

Having seriously depleted the English coffers to defend their North American holdings during the French and Indian War (1757-1763), King George III and his ministers sought to replenish their funds through taxation. Many in London thought that the colonists ought to bear much of the financial burden accrued by the need to protect England’s expanded New World frontiers. The colonists, on the other hand, argued that the French and Indian War was merely one theater of the larger Seven Years’ War and that without Parliamentary representation, such taxes were illegally imposed.

Although the citizens of New Jersey would remain divided in their loyalties, those who supported the Patriot cause became an increasingly visible force in the public debate. Inspired by the actions of their counterparts in New England, members of the “Liberty Boys” stormed courthouses and burned Loyalists’ property in Essex and Monmouth counties in 1769 and 1770. In December 1774, Patriots dressed as Indians in Greenwich in West Jersey set fire to a cargo of East India Company tea taken from the brig Greyhound. Committees of Correspondence and Committees of Safety formed in towns and counties throughout the colony to coordinate Patriot efforts and to mobilize the local militia.

As tensions increased on both sides of the Atlantic, so did the number of published works on the subject, some of which added more heat than light to the growing controversy. This sampling of materials from the Society’s collections suggests the breadth and intensity of the gathering storm.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

While serving as lieutenant governor of colonial New Jersey, the versatile Pownall (1722-1805) also took on the post of royal governor of Massachusetts during the critical years of the French and Indian War. He later accepted the governorship of South Carolina, though circumstances returned him to England before he could serve. Respected for his knowledge of colonial administration and military affairs, he entered Parliament in 1767 as a Whig but later allied with Lord North in opposing Edmund Burke’s bill for conciliation. Pownall’s own peace plan, proposed in 1781, was defeated.

Eyre Massey (1719-1804). “Return of Provisions Issued by the Contractors Agent to His Majesty’s 27th Regiment of Foot between the 31st July and 24th August 1767 Inclusive.” [Quebec?] 1767.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Although submitted well after the close of the French and Indian War, this record of £9,057 spent on rations for a single regiment suggests the magnitude of the drain on the English Treasury exacted by the military presence in the colonies. The 27th was but one of 15 British regiments stationed in the American colonies in 1767.

Massey, lieutenant colonel of the 27th, had commanded the 1759 expedition to Niagara. Almost 20 years later, he would serve as colonel of that same regiment which saw service in New Jersey at Quintan’s Bridge.

“An Act To Continue an Act Intituled An Act for the Better Settling and Regulating the Militia of this Colony of New Jersey for the Repelling Invasions and Suppressing Insurrections and Rebellions.” Council Chambers [n.p.], December 1763.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Signed by three prominent New Jersey colonial officials—Governor William Franklin, Speaker of the House Robert Ogden and Lewis Morris Ashfield, council member from Monmouth—this act covering officers’ commissions continues the previous act by two years. The title of the original act may reflect both the colonists’ fears of invasion and the official fears of insurrections and rebellions.

William Franklin, Loyalist governor of the colony until he was arrested and imprisoned by the provincials in 1776, was the illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin. Their subsequent estrangement is just one dramatic example of familial divisions created by the conflict between the colonies and the mother country.
concludes, “At Home, tho’ exil’d; free tho’ in the Tower.”
John Miller’s portrait of Wilkes, apparently true to life, shows him to be less than handsome, a man whose unpleasant squint was mentioned in tracts published by the opposition.

OUR destruction is inevitable,” wrote Dalrymple, in this ostensibly conciliatory plea to the Americans. “No people situated as you are can hope for success in war unless they are possessed of four things…: fortified towns;…a disciplined Army…; a Navy…; and not only a great annual Revenue, but the capacity of funding it…. And this last article is perhaps…of more importance than all the others put together; because in modern times the success of war depends more on the longest purse than on the longest sword.”

Dalrymple, unlike John Wilkes, believed the colonists could and should be persuaded to submit. The title page of this volume bears a presentation inscription from Captain Samuel Holland (1728-1801), “chief engineer to his Majesty.” Holland was also surveyor general of the northern district of America, in which capacity he provided basic information for maps prepared for the army.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

The North Briton…Corrected and Revised by a Friend to Civil and Religious Liberty. London: Printed for W. Bingley, 1769.
The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection.

IN the 1760s, John Wilkes (1727-1797) was an outspoken advocate of Englishmen’s rights; by the 1770s he was equally adamant in support of the colonists’ rights. It is not surprising, then, that King George III counted Wilkes among his enemies or that the colonists numbered him among their Parliamentary allies.

The North Britain, founded by Wilkes and shown here in its third collected edition, championed freedom of the press to such an extent that its founder was expelled from Parliament and imprisoned. Thus the inscription on the adjacent engraving
CASE 2: LOYALISTS

JUST as all Englishmen did not support the Stamp Act, the Boston Port Bill and the tea tax, all colonists did not support revolution. Schisms grew among former comrades in arms, among political associates, and even among families.

Economic factors figured heavily in dividing the colonists into two factions: Loyalists whose landholdings, commercial enterprises, or lucrative political offices rendered them comfortable with the status quo; and Rebels, those ironmongers, other laborers and farmers whose profits had decreased in the face of government-imposed restrictions. Indeed, passions arose to such levels among the warring factions in New Jersey that historian Leonard Lundin dubbed the colony the “cockpit of the revolution.”

Bands of Loyalists, not all of them acting under official sanctions, harassed both civilian and military colonials—commandeering cattle, foodstuffs and weapons, raiding small rebel encampments and ambushing columns of Continentals and militia. Local jails were filled with captured Loyalist prisoners until they either escaped (with the help of the likes of Lieutenant James Moody) or were officially exchanged and paroled. After the war, many Loyalists wrote their own accounts of their participation, explaining and justifying their actions and views.


The Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson Collection

While Mr. Moody was under my immediate direction, he broke open the Sussex County jail, rescuing a number of Loyalists that were imprisoned in it, one of whom was under sentence of death….

Affidavit of Brigadier General Cortlandt Skinner London, January 30, 1783.

SKINNER’s affidavit differs from Lieutenant Moody’s own account of the event quoted below this engraving, which reports only one officer’s rescue from the Sussex jail. Prior to this event, Skinner had been the attorney general of the colony of New Jersey. As such, he himself had been captured by the colonists but was exchanged in September 1776 for his fellow New Jerseyan General William Alexander (Lord Stirling). After his release, he raised and commanded several battalions of New Jersey Loyalists known as Skinner’s Brigade.

James Moody (1744-1809), called here “one of the most gallant Partizans in the British service,” was a wealthy New Jersey landowner. He was himself captured and imprisoned during the Revolution, but escaped back to the British lines.

Purchase, 1981

WILLIAM FRANKLIN (1731-1813) was the last royal governor of New Jersey and perhaps her best-known Loyalist. Despite his familial connections to Benjamin Franklin, the Provincial Congress declared him an enemy, ordered his arrest, and oversaw his incarceration at East Windsor, Connecticut. Though father and son never truly reconciled, William’s son, William Temple Franklin, later edited his grandfather’s works.

The elder William was one of several New Jersey officials who would subsequently testify to Lieutenant James Moody’s valor and service.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection.

THIS Richard Stockton (not to be confused with the Patriot and signer of the Declaration of the Independence) had been captured by the Rebels on February 18, 1777. Here he writes on behalf of himself and six other members of the New Jersey Volunteers, who were part of Skinner’s Brigade. The seven had been imprisoned initially at Philadelphia but later were marched inland to Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and in the confusion of the transfer, the prisoners’ commissions had apparently been left behind. Stockton seeks relief from their “distressed situation” of confinement, where they were “mix’t with ruffians and criminals…sick and well all together…rather in a Ruin than a Goal [i.e., Gaol].”

At the end of the letter, in another hand—possibly that of Thomas Peters (1752-1806) or his superior, Elias Boudinot (1740-1821)—appears the following rebuttal: “The Officers at Carlisle are in a room the best the Gaol will afford, but it is not a good one & tho’ Prisoners of different character are confined under the same Roof, they are not together so that it is not the whole truth which is equal to a Falsehood as to the Idea Mr. S. means to convey.”


Purchase, 1981

HAVING been severely wounded during the British victory at Brandywine in 1777, Simcoe was rewarded with the command of the Queen’s Rangers, a provincial corps later named the First American Regiment. As their commander’s memoir records, the Rangers saw New Jersey actions at Quintan’s and Hancock’s Bridges in March 1778 (the former shown here) and at Monmouth in June, where Simcoe’s valor earned him a promotion to lieutenant colonel.


Gift of Thomas B. Cormack, Virginia Society, 1995

THE author, later known as John Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, was an Englishman who had settled in America and had fought for the King during the French and Indian War. During the Revolution he fought in various Loyalist regiments, among them the Queen’s Royal Rangers and the Loyal American Regiment. Seeking reparations after the war, he claimed more than a quarter of a million pounds in property losses. Of the effect of the war on New Jersey, Smyth wrote: “This province has suffered extremely…much more in proportion than any other; and it must be many years before it can possibly recover its former flourishing state.”

Among the subscribers to this history of the war from a Loyalist’s point of view were Thomas Gage, Lord Cornwallis, Viscount Richard Howe, Lord Sackville, and Major Richard W. Stockton, the Loyalist “late of New Jersey.”

Gift of Thomas B. Cormack, Virginia Society, 1995

In the summer of 1780, a small blockhouse situated at Bull's Ferry on the Hudson River between Hoboken and Fort Lee served as a Loyalist base for woodcutting and for protection against marauding bands of Continentals and militia seeking to replenish provisions for Morristown. On July 21, Anthony Wayne's Second Pennsylvania Brigade and Stephen Moylan's Dragoons attacked the stockade manned by some 70 Loyalists under Thomas Ward. To the embarrassment of the Americans, the outnumbered Loyalists held the blockhouse, though 15 Loyalists were killed and 49 wounded.

One outcome of the event was a satirical poem by John André, the English spy who was captured on the very day the final Canto of his poem “The Cow Chace” was published in James Rivington’s *Royal Gazette*. Eerily prophetic, the poem ends:

And now I’ve clos’d my epic Strain,  
And tremble as I shew it,  
Lest that same Warrio-drover, Wayne,  
Should ever catch the Poet.

Anthony Wayne sat on the Board of Officers that condemned André to death as a spy and collaborator of Benedict Arnold.

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**CASE 3: THE BRITISH INVASION**

On November 20, 1776, British troops under the command of General Cornwallis, having forced the Americans out of New York City, crossed the Hudson River and captured Fort Lee on the New Jersey side. In the desperate chase that ensued, the British pursued Washington and his troops southwest across New Jersey to the banks of the Delaware, where the Americans escaped to Pennsylvania. Although it was official British policy to protect Loyalists’ property, rampaging British and Hessian soldiers looted the homes of New Jersey citizens indiscriminately, creating new support for the Rebels in their wake.

Myer Myers (1723-1795), silversmith. Silver Tankard, ca. 1770. Marked MM. Engraved inscription: *This Tankard was buried by Ennis Graham near Bound Brook, N. J. on the approach of the British troops in 1776; and again by his granddaughter, Elizabeth Graham Daves, in Raleigh, N. C. on the arrival of Sherman's army in that city in April 1865. In the first instance it was found by the enemy, but was recovered; in the second it was not discovered by the plundering soldiery.*


As its engraved inscription attests, this tankard was buried to safeguard it from the advancing British troops in 1776. The original owner was Ennis Graham (1727-1777), who immigrated to America from Scotland, married and settled, by the time of the war, in New Jersey. According to family tradition, one of the Grahams’ servants betrayed the hiding place to members of the 16th (Queen's Own) Light Dragoons. The tradition continues that Mrs. Graham, who had been the widow of a British officer, knew one of the commanders of the Dragoons and successfully appealed to him for the tankard’s return. Ennis Graham died in September of the following year and is buried in the Old Presbyterian Church Yard in Bound Brook.
Nearly 90 years later in Raleigh, North Carolina, the granddaughter of Ennis Graham, Elizabeth Daves, was compelled to bury the tankard again, this time to protect it from General William Tecumseh Sherman’s army during the Civil War. It remained in the family’s possession until 1975, when it was presented by descendants to the Society of the Cincinnati Museum.

Myer Myers, a noted Jewish silversmith, was himself forced to flee New York at the time of the British occupation in 1776. He worked in Norwalk, Connecticut, and in Philadelphia, not returning to his native city until peace was declared in 1783.

**Case 4: Trenton and Princeton: The “ten crucial days.”**

Christmas 1776 brought a dramatic turn as the Americans struck back from Pennsylvania. On the night of December 25th, General Washington and 2,400 men crossed the ice-clogged Delaware River back into New Jersey and surprised a smaller force of German mercenaries garrisoned at Trenton. The unprepared Hessians quickly folded after their commander Colonel Johann Gottlieb Rall was mortally wounded in combat. The exhausted American victors recrossed the river the same night to prepare for their next strike. Reporting their success to John Hancock, president of Congress, on December 27, Washington wrote: “In justice to the Officers and men, I must add, that their Behaviour upon this Occasion, reflects the highest honor upon them. The difficulty of passing the River in a very severe Night, and their March thro' a violent Storm of Snow and Hail, did not in the least abate their Ardour. But when they came to the Charge, each seemed to vie with the other in pressing forward, and were I to give a preference to any particular Corps, I should do a great injustice to the others.”

Alarmed by Washington's daring action, British commander in chief General William Howe ordered a relief force led by General Cornwallis to travel immediately to Trenton. Outmaneuvering the British reinforcements, the Americans pressed north, again under the cover of night, to win a second victory at Princeton on January 3rd. Suffering heavy losses, Cornwallis retreated up to New Brunswick, while Washington marched his men further into the heart of New Jersey to set up winter quarters at Morristown. In ten crucial days, Washington had reversed the course of the war and saved the Patriot cause.

This mezzotint is based on a 1792 painting by John Trumbull (1756-1843), which was purchased for the Yale University Art Gallery by the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Connecticut in 1804. Trumbull, himself a veteran of the Revolution, chose the setting of the portrait in consultation with Washington, who sat for him in Philadelphia during his presidency. Trumbull wrote in his autobiography that his intent was to capture Washington’s military character “in the most sublime moment of its exertion—the evening previous to the battle of Princeton; when viewing the vast superiority of his approaching enemy, and the impossibility of again crossing the Delaware, he conceives the plan of returning by a night march into the country from which he had just been driven, thus cutting off the enemy’s communication, and destroying his depot of stores and provisions at Brunswick.”


Beginning with the “Parade of the Troops on the evening of the 25th of Dec. 1776” to the “Delaware River full of Ice,” this map shows the routes of Washington’s attack on Trenton and subsequent American and British maneuvers around Princeton. The action ends at Kingstown, from where on January 4th “Lord Cornwallis returns with his whole Force to Brunswick” while Washington’s forces “march toward the Mountainous Parts” [to Morristown]. Published just a few months after the events depicted, the map provided the British public at home a vivid picture of the Americans’ remarkable turn-around.


This plate from a contemporary German almanac depicts the march of Hessian prisoners to Philadelphia after their defeat at Trenton. In an hour of fighting, 22 Hessians, five of them officers, had been killed, 98 had been wounded, and nearly a thousand were taken prisoner. On the American side, only four men (one of them Lieutenant James Monroe, future president of the United States) were wounded in the battle.

British officials blamed the Hessians for their setback but fully understood the implications of the reversal for the Americans. Royal Governor William Tryon of New York wrote: “The rebels carrying off the Hessian Brigade under Colonel Rall at Trenton has given me more real chagrin than any other circumstance of this war: the moment was critical, and I believe the rebel chiefs were conscious if some stroke was not struck that would give life to their sinking cause, they should not raise another army.”
James Moncrieff (1744-1793). “Abstract of the Money Expended in Fortifying &c the Towns of Brunswick, Princetown, Piscataway [&] Bonhum Town; from the 22 December 1776 to the 31st of March 1777.”

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

During the last months of 1776, the British secured a chain of garrisons across New Jersey to protect their interests in the colony. Stationed at New Brunswick, the central command post under General James Grant, were the Corps of Engineers who had the responsibility for fortifying the nearby towns and villages. On this document, Captain James Moncrieff, superintendent of engineers, lists 11 vouchers from pay lists of the artificers, bombardiers and others totaling £430 2s. 10d. in “New York currency.” Although he was related by marriage to New Jersey’s Governor William Livingston, Moncrieff’s allegiance remained with the crown. His fortifications and field action during the southern campaign earned him Sir Henry Clinton’s commendation as an “engineer who understood his business.”


The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Washington’s valor on the battlefield made a strong impression on the participants from both sides. Roger Lamb, a sergeant in the Royal Welch Fusiliers, recalled the events in his journal published in 1809: “On the approach to Princeton, the centre of the Americans were charged by the 17th, 40th, and 55th regiments under the command of colonel Mawhood with such intrepidity, that they were compelled to give way in disorder. In this emergency, Washington rode forward; he placed himself between his flying troops and the British, with his horse’s head fronting the latter. The Americans encouraged by his exhortations and example, rallied and attacked the British in turn, and although Washington was for some moment between two fires, he escaped without a wound.”


The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

After commanding the “flying camp” at Perth Amboy for a few months, Brigadier General Hugh Mercer (ca. 1725-1777) accompanied Washington’s troops in their retreat through New Jersey. He is credited with being one of the key planners of the Trenton-Princeton campaign and led a column during the Trenton attack. While Washington’s main force moved to take Princeton by the “back road,” Mercer commanded a small brigade of about 325 men on a mission to seize the bridge at Stony Brook and cut off access from the south. In an orchard off the main road about a mile southwest of town, British soldiers under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Mawhood ambushed Mercer’s troops. During the ensuing fight, Mercer’s horse was shot from under him. He was surrounded by the British infantry, clubbed in the head and bayoneted seven times. After the battle, the wounded general was carried to the nearby farmhouse of Thomas Clark, where he was cared for by Dr. Benjamin Rush. He lingered for nearly 10 days, dying on January 12th.
CASE 5: MONMOUTH

In June 1778, the new British commander-in-chief Sir Henry Clinton, wary of the recent American alliance with France, organized an evacuation of troops from Philadelphia to consolidate his forces back in New York City. The route he chose took them through Monmouth County to Sandy Hook, New Jersey, across the bay from Staten Island. Washington, after hearing that the British forces had crossed the Delaware to head north, set in motion a plan to attack the retreating troops and cut them off at their rear guard. General Charles Lee was put in charge of a vanguard of 5,000 men to lead the assault while Washington followed with the main body of the army. After initiating a confrontation near Monmouth Court House on the morning of June 28, Lee inexplicably pulled back part of his force. His retreat caused great confusion among the commanders reinforcing him, who quickly followed suit.

As Clinton launched a counterattack, Washington rode to the front, angrily dismissed Lee and took command of the field. With the support of Generals Anthony Wayne, Nathanael Greene and William Alexander, Washington and his troops held their own against Clinton's elite corps in fierce fighting that stretched on to sunset.

Monmouth was the longest battle of the war and proved to be the last major confrontation between the British and American armies in the northern theater. Although neither side won decisively, Washington's army had proved it could fight on equal terms with British regulars in an open field.

“Serg't Molly at the Battle of Monmouth.” From an original picture in the possession of the Publisher. New York: Henry J. Johnson, c1879.

Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson Collection.

The difficult and unfamiliar terrain of the Monmouth area complicated troop movements. Cutting east to west through sandy pine barrens were three large ravines. This French map, the only contemporaneously published depiction of the Monmouth battle, shows vividly the position and movements of the troops into the final confrontation about a mile north of the Monmouth Court House. It is based on an original plan of the battle drawn by Michel Capitaine du Chesnoy (1746-1804), an aide to Lafayette during the Monmouth campaign.

William Barton (d. 1802), Camp at Elizabethtown, to “Ben,” 17th July 1778. A.L.S.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson Collection

LIEUTENANT BARTON of the First New Jersey Regiment writes to a friend back home of the momentous events of the summer of 1778. He reports “the Grand news of the arrival of the French Ambassador and war being certainly Declared as the French have Taken several of the Enemies Vessels I inform you that there is an Exchange of prisoners Taking Place at this time among them several from our Regt. Taken at the Action of Short Hills [26 June 1778] & some others that was taken at Monmouth.” He continues: “I am inclin’d to believe that this present campain will end the war in america, when every one that has been ingaged in the Glorious cause may return to their abode and see his country flourishing in peace and plenty. What must the wretched Tories feel when coolly reflecting that all their Hellish Schemes is blasted and that they must be detested by every virtuous person.” Despite this confidence, he marked the letter twice with the note: “Don’t show this to Any Person.”

William Barton rose to the rank of captain and served until April 1783. He was an original member of the New Jersey Society.


JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD was commissioned captain in the Third New Jersey Regiment under Colonel Elias Dayton in February 1776. He served in the Mohawk Valley and at Fort Ticonderoga, receiving a promotion to major in November 1776. He was wounded at the Battle of Brandywine, and following his recuperation, returned to his regiment in time to see the action at Monmouth. His diary entry for Sunday, June 29, 1778, reads:

Genl. Lee’s Division, the Marquis corps & the Jersey Brigade advanced within full view of the Enemy near Monmouth-Court-House but were ordered to retreat, and form, and form & retreat in sight of the British Grenadiers who continued advancing till we fell in with Genl. Washington’s Main Army…the Front line commanded by our illustrious Genl. in person engaged the flower of the British army on the highths near Freehold Court-House…Drove the proud King’s-Guards & haughty British-Grenadiers, & gained Immortal-honor, to the Shame & infamy of Genl. Lee who acted the part of the base [word omitted] in not engaging the Enemy when he had received positive orders to attack them. But History I expect will give a full account of this memorable action, judy censure Lee for his scandalous behaviour & give due credit (if possible for the pen of a writer) to Genl. Washington’s bravery & merit.
After leaving the army in September 1778, Bloomfield entered the world of politics. In 1783, he was elected attorney general of New Jersey and later served as governor from 1801 to 1812. He stepped down from the governorship to accept an appointment as brigadier-general of the United States Army in command of the Third Military District during the War of 1812. Joseph Bloomfield served as president of the New Jersey Society from 1808 until his death in 1823.


The Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson Collection.

Following his humiliating treatment by Washington during the battle, General Charles Lee (1731-1782) demanded a court martial in an effort to clear his name. General William Alexander (Lord Stirling) presided over the trial that brought three charges against Lee: disobeying orders in not attacking the enemy, making an “unnecessary, disorderly and shameful retreat,” and showing disrespect to the commander-in-chief. Conducting his own defense, Lee argued that his plan to cut off the British rear guard had been thwarted when Colonel Charles Scott, supporting his left flank, had retreated first—a charge not supported by any other witness. With “certain intelligence” that Clinton’s forces were bearing down on him, he claimed he had no other choice but to retreat. Lee was convicted on all charges and was suspended from any command for a year, but he never returned to military service.

This British-published biography presents a sympathetic account of Lee’s action at Monmouth and includes the text of Lee’s inflammatory “Vindication to the Public,” which originally appeared in the Pennsylvania Packet in December 1778.

**CASE 6: WINTER AT MORRISTOWN**

During the winter of 1779-1780, Washington moved his main army to Morristown, New Jersey, where they had encamped three years earlier following the Trenton-Princeton campaign. The small farming village in the Watchung Mountains answered the “double purposes of security and subsistence” that Washington required for a long winter cantonment. Morristown was a strategic point in the line of communication between Philadelphia and the northern states. From its surrounding heights, Washington’s men could keep an eye the British garrisons in New York City 30 miles to the east across a protective natural barrier of hills, swampland, and river.

While Washington and his military family took up residence in a private home on the outskirts of town, the majority of the troops were assigned to a mountainous tract of land known as Jockey Hollow, a few miles to the south. Positioned about a mile away near the upper Passaic River were 1,314 members of Brigadier General William Maxwell’s New Jersey Brigade, including the three New Jersey Regiments under Colonels Mathias Ogden, Israel Shreve, and Elias Dayton, and an independent regiment commanded by Colonel Oliver Spencer. By the end of the first month the brigades at Jockey Hollow had built more than a thousand log huts that would house upwards of 12,000 men.

New Jersey’s winter of 1779-1780 was the coldest recorded in the 18th century. The two feet of snow that were on the ground when Washington’s troops arrived in Morristown in December more than doubled by the following month. The severe weather caused major shortages of food, clothing, and supplies, compounding the misery of the troops as they battled the elements. Their hard-won experience and discipline saved them—only 86 soldiers died during the seven-month Morristown encampment, compared to 2,500 who perished during the winter at Valley Forge two years earlier.
James Thacher (1754-1844). *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783: Describing Interesting Events and Transactions of this Period, with Numerous Historical Facts and Anecdotes, from the Original Manuscript.* Boston: Published by Richardson & Lord, 1823.

Gift of the Honorable Hamilton Fish, 1959.

The arduous conditions at Morristown were chronicled by Dr. James Thacher, a surgeon with Jackson's Regiment, who published his *Military Journal* in 1823. His entry for March 1780 reads:

*The present winter is the most severe and distressing, which we have ever experienced. An immense body of snow remains on the ground. Our soldiers are in a wretched condition for the want of clothes, blankets and shoes; and these calamitous circumstances are accompanied by a want of provisions. It has several times happened that the troops were reduced to one half, or to one quarter allowance, and some days have passed without any meat or bread being delivered out. Our soldiers, in general, support their sufferings with commendable firmness, but it is feared that their patience will be exhausted, and very serious consequences ensue.*


The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Early in the war, Washington recognized the need for a standardized drill manual that would bring unity and consistency to the training and procedures of the American forces. In the fall of 1778, he assigned the task of writing it to Baron von Steuben, the Prussian volunteer who had brought order and discipline to the suffering troops at Valley Forge. After several months of writing, translating and editing, a final draft was forwarded to Congress, who, on March 29, 1779, resolved that the regulations “be observed by all the troops of the United States” and authorized the Board of War to “cause as many copies...”
thereof to be printed as they shall deem requisite for the use of
the troops.” Shortages of supplies and manpower delayed the
printing and binding of the work, so it was not until November
1779 that the first edition of almost 3,000 copies was ready for
distribution. Called the “Blue Book” for its blue paper covers,
Steuben’s manual was first given widespread use at Morristown
during the winter of 1779-80.

Captain George Knox. Orderly book of the 9th Pennsylvania
Regiment kept at Morristown, N.J., 28 Dec. 1779-10 April
1780.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection. This volume is
one of a group of six orderly books purchased with the assistance of
the Walter J. Miller Foundation and the State Society of the
Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

For much of the winter, severe weather at Morristown pre-
vented organized military drill. This was a particular frustra-
tion to General Washington who had pushed hard to get
Steuben’s Regulations published and into the hands of his sol-
diers. In his General Orders of February 12, 1780, Washington
stated that he had “in a very great measure been disappointed
by the numerous disorders and irregularities [that] still prevail,”
adding that ignorance of the new regulations “cannot be an
excuse.” Finally the General Orders of April 4, 1780, recorded
here by Captain Knox, announced that “The proper season
being arriv’d, it is hoped the Weather will now admit of a regu-
lar course of Manuvering. The Regulations establish’d by
Congress for the order & discipline of the troops are so simple
& Easy that no officer Emulous of being acquainted with his
duty cannot [sic] fail to acquire a competent Knowledge—the
Gen. Flatters himself that every officer will exert himself to the
end, conscious that the want of such Knowledge will not only
be highly disreputable but may be productive of fatal
Consequences at some important moment.” Three weeks later,
when Steuben led a review of four battalions for the visiting
French minister, their performance, according to James
Thacher, “afforded much satisfaction to our Commander in
Chief.”
While the main army was encamped at Morristown in January 1780, General William Alexander led an expedition to Staten Island, transporting by sleigh 3,000 troops and a number of cannon across the frozen river from Elizabethtown Point. Their mission to capture much-needed supplies was thwarted when the British gained advance warning of their approach, and the raid was a failure. The enemy soon retaliated by stepping up raids on Essex and Bergen counties, reviving much of the bitterness of 1776.

A man of wealth and social position, William Alexander (1726-1783) of Basking Ridge, New Jersey, styled himself “Lord Stirling” although he never actually secured claim to an earldom. Having won fame for his service during the French and Indian War, he was commissioned colonel in the First New Jersey Regiment on November 7, 1775. He rose quickly to the rank of brigadier general and on March 7, 1776, succeeded General Charles Lee as commander of the American forces in New York City, where he was captured during the Battle of Long Island. After his exchange, his valiant performance during the Battle of Trenton earned him a promotion to major general. He was present at nearly every major action in New Jersey, including Short Hills, Monmouth and Paulus Hook. When declining health prevented him from taking an appointment with the southern campaign, Alexander was given command of the northern department in October 1781. His death in January 1783 was a great loss to his state and country.

This biography of General Alexander, written by his grandson, is dedicated to the New Jersey State Society of the Cincinnati, “as a tribute to that Association of his disbanded fellow-soldiers, in which, had he lived long enough, he would have been among the first to enrol[ll] his name.”
HAVING earlier sent a copy of the Institution for consideration by the New Jersey officers, General Steuben followed up with the proceedings of the meeting reporting the election of General Society officers. In his cover letter he asks General Dayton’s assistance “in perfecting this infant institution, which is founded in principles the most virtuous and honorable.”

Steuben, one of the principal founders of the Society, served as acting president until George Washington officially accepted the office of president general on July 19, 1783.


On December 28, 1783, George Washington sent a circular letter to the presidents of each state society announcing that the first annual meeting of the General Society was to take place in Philadelphia on the “first Monday of May next.” In this letter of acknowledgement, General Dayton reports that he has notified the New Jersey Society delegates of the meeting, “urging in the most expressive terms, their punctual attendance.”

The Institution required that each state society select representatives “in number not exceeding five” to attend the meetings of the General Society. Accordingly, the New Jersey Society at its second meeting (held in Princeton on September 22, 1783) had appointed General Dayton, Colonel David Brearley, Colonel John Noble Cumming, Captain Matthias Ogden, and Captain Jonathan Dayton as its delegates to the General Society.


The Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson Collection

BRIGADIER General Elias Dayton (1737-1807), the first president of the New Jersey Society, began his military career during the French and Indian War. After his service in the state militia he took a commission as colonel in the Continental Army in January 1776, raising the Third New Jersey Regiment. During the same month, he and Colonel William Alexander won distinction for capturing the British ship Blue Mountain Valley off Sandy Hook, New Jersey. His regiment fought at Brandywine and Germantown in 1777, and at Monmouth in 1778, after spending the winter at Valley Forge.

In 1777, Colonel Dayton also began working as a spymaster for General Washington, overseeing a large number of agents in Staten Island and Manhattan. He was elected to Congress in 1778 but refused the seat in order to continue his military service, fighting against the Iroquois in 1779 and against Baron von Knyphausen in 1780. Of this campaign Colonel Dayton wrote in his diary: “When G. Kniphausen came out to El[izabeth]. Town with all the British army I was their and was so very fortunate as to have my conduct with the enemy at Connecticut Farms & Springfield approved of by General Washington which I then thought one of the most happy events of my life.”

In summer 1781, Colonel Dayton marched with Washington to Virginia, where he commanded a brigade of 1,300 men at Yorktown. He was promoted to brigadier general in January 1783. Dayton later served in the New Jersey House of Assembly and represented New Jersey in the Continental Congress in 1787 and 1788.
“A list of members of the Cincinnati Society in the State of New Jersey.” July 1788 [Manuscript]
Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey

All officer ranks were well represented in this original membership list, which includes names, ranks and remarks such as “Removed out of the state,” and “Never met the Society.” Field officers joined at the highest rate, with 92 percent of the eligible majors joining as opposed to 32 percent of captains and 44 percent of lieutenants. Most generals who served to the close of the war joined the Society, and in New Jersey Generals Dayton, Ogden, and Forman became members. One hundred six officers joined the New Jersey Society as original members, about 40 percent of those eligible for membership.

This list also includes four of the honorary members who were elected at the Princeton meeting in September 1783: the Honorable Elias Boudinot, President of Congress; Thomas Henderson, Robert Lettis Hooper, and Frederick Frelinghuysen. Governor William Livingston was also made an honorary member of the New Jersey Society, while General David Forman, originally elected to honorary membership, became a full hereditary member on July 4, 1787.

In response to the General Society’s request, the New Jersey Society published its first roster in 1791. By that time, although nearly all of the members were natives of New Jersey, 20 of them no longer resided in the state.
Portrait of Aaron Ogden (1756-1839). Artist unknown, ca. 1829-1839.

Placed on loan to the Society of the Cincinnati by Mrs. A. W. Collins, 1956.

A GRADUATE of Princeton University, Aaron Ogden had just passed his 19th birthday when he joined the local militia in Elizabethtown in December 1775. In November of the following year he was appointed first lieutenant in the First New Jersey regiment and rose to the rank of brigade major under General William Maxwell. He served as an aide de camp to General William Alexander (Lord Stirling) during the Monmouth campaign and later took part in the Sullivan expedition against the Iroquois. He was wounded at Yorktown in October 1781, but remained in service until the end of the war.

Ogden became a lawyer after the war and was elected governor of New Jersey in 1812, succeeding his fellow Cincinnatus and political rival Joseph Bloomfield. Ogden also succeeded Bloomfield as president of the New Jersey Society in 1824. In 1829, Aaron Ogden was elected fifth president general of the Society of the Cincinnati, an office he held until his death in 1839. In this portrait he wears George Washington’s Diamond Eagle, an honor which has been bestowed upon each succeeding president general of the Society since Washington’s time.


Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey.

The imagery on this hand-painted silk flag echoes the insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati specified in the 1783 Institution. The hoist side depicts the Roman hero Cincinnatus laying aside his plow to accept a sword from three Roman senators, while his wife stands in the doorway of a rustic house in the background. Beneath is the motto of the Society: OMNIA RELINQUIT SERVARE REMPUBLICAM (He left all to serve the Republic). The reverse (on display) shows Cincinnatus having returned to his fields, while the figure of Fame hovers over him unfurling a banner reading VIRTUTIS PRAEMIUM (Virtue’s Reward). A shield propped on the ground bears the inscription ESTO PERPETUA (Be Thou Perpetuated). The flag is believed to date to 1838, when the minutes of the annual meeting of the New Jersey Society record payment “for the Standard of the Society the sum of $75.”
**Additional Portraits:**


Gift of John Montgomery Scudder, New York Society, 1957.

A native of Monmouth County, New Jersey, Jonathan Rhea became an ensign in the Second Battalion of the New Jersey line on January 1, 1777. He rose to the rank of lieutenant in 1781, and then captain by brevet, serving until November 1783. He returned to Monmouth after the war, serving as county clerk in 1784. He was clerk of the New Jersey Supreme Court from 1793 to 1807. A member of the New Jersey Society, Captain Rhea is shown here wearing his Cincinnati Eagle.


The top student of the Princeton class of 1749, Burnet studied medicine in New York City before setting up a medical practice in Newark. He was one of the founders of the New Jersey Medical Society, serving as its president in 1767 and in 1786. An ardent supporter of the Patriot cause, Dr. Burnet became chairman of the Committees of Safety of Newark and Essex County and took an active role in recruiting troops to help in the defense of New York in 1776. He established, at his own expense, a military hospital in Newark and was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1776. In 1777, he was appointed physician and surgeon general of the Eastern District. Burnet returned to Congress in 1780 and the following year became chief physician and surgeon of the Hospital Department at West Point. At the close of the war Dr. Burnet returned to his home and family in Newark and devoted himself to the practice of medicine and farming. He joined the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey Society in 1789.

**Suggested Reading**


Smith, Samuel Stelle. *The Battle of Monmouth (1964); The Battle of Princeton (1967); The Battle of Trenton (1965); Winter at Morristown 1779-1780: The Darkest Hour (1979)*. Philip Freneau Press Bicentennial Series on the American Revolution, Monmouth Beach, NJ.


**Works of Fiction:**


Established in 1988, the Fergusson Collection honors the memory of Lieutenant Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson (1943-1967). A member of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia who died of wounds sustained in combat in Vietnam, Lieutenant Fergusson was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the Bronze Star Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster, and the Purple Heart. The growing collection that bears his name includes rare books, broadsides, manuscripts, maps, works of art and artifacts pertaining to the military history of the American Revolution and to the art of war in the eighteenth century.

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