

Teachers' Guide: Secondary

STANLEY N. WORTON

NEW JERSEY'S REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE Larry R. Gerlach, Editor

This series of publications is dedicated to the memory of Alfred E. Driscoll, governor of New Jersey from 1947 to 1954, in grateful tribute to his lifelong support of the study and teaching of the history of New Jersey and the United States. He was a member of the New Jersey Historical Commission from 1970 until his death on March 9, 1975.



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Foreword

New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience is a Bicentennial pamphlet series published by the New Jersey Historical Commission with a grant from the New Jersey Bicentennial Commission. The twenty-six numbers and two teachers' guides are intended to acquaint secondary school students and the general public with the state's history during the era of the American Revolution. Some titles treat aspects of the Revolution in New Jersey, while others show how important themes of the colonial period developed during the revolutionary years; some bring together the results of existing scholarship, while others present the findings of original research; some are written by professional historians, and others by laymen whose investigations of Jersey history exceed avocation. Because the series is directed to a general audience, the pamphlets have no footnotes but contain bibliographical essays which offer suggestions for further reading.

New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience is the product of a cooperative venture by numerous individuals and agencies. On my behalf and that of the pamphlets' readers, I accord recognition and appreciation to the individual authors for their contributions to New Jersey history, to the New Jersey American Revolution Bicentennial Celebration Commission and the New Jersev Historical Commission for their support of the project, to Hank Simon, president, Trentypo, Inc., for his invaluable suggestions and cooperation in producing the series, and to the staff of the Historical Commission: Richard Waldron, Public Programs Coordinator, who as project director supervised the series from commencement to completion; Peggy Lewis, Chief of Publications and Information, and Lee R. Parks, Assistant Editor, who edited and designed each number; and William C. Wright, Associate Director, who contributed valuable suggestions at every stage of production.

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Introduction

This Guide is intended as an aid to teachers using the pamphlets of "New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience" as class texts or collateral readings. It contains five sections: summaries of the twenty-six pamphlets in the series; an annotated bibliography to assist the teacher or student in locating additional readings on topics covered by the series; suggested class projects, individual research and group discussion activities related to the series; an annotated section dealing with audio-visual materials on New Jersey's revolutionary involvement; and a brief description of community and institutional resources which can provide additional information or class enrichment on the subject.

The twenty-six summaries offered in Section I are convenient introductions to the topics covered by the series. They are not meant to be substitutes for the pamphlets or adequate treatments of the subjects for either teacher or students. The summaries are presented in logical (as opposed to numerical) sequence. Classroom use of the pamphlets in the order in which they are presented here will offer the student first, basic social, cultural, economic, geographic and demographic background on New Jersey from roughly 1750 to 1800 (pamphlets 17, 4, 9); second, a sequence of political events from 1763 to 1776 (pamphlets 7, 13, 21, 15, 6, 18-20) including the coming of the Revolution to New Jersey, the composition of the Whig and Loyalist segments of the state's population, and biographies of important New Jersey figures of the era; third, a series of discussions of the major battles and campaigns that raged across the state from 1776 until 1783 (pamphlets 5, 16, 22, 25, 3, 8).

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A fourth section treats two important but historically neglected segments of the population—women and blacks (pamphlets 26 and 14)—and provides transition from the political-military sphere to discussions of specialized topics such as religion, medicine, and education and their impacts upon and contributions to the revolutionary movement, as well as the effect of eight years of war on their theory and practice (pamphlets 10, 1, 24, 12, 2, 11, 23).

The bibliography presented in Section II supplements—and occasionally overlaps—the bibliographies included in each pamphlet under the title "For Further Reading." In general, whether in this Guide or in the pamphlets, relatively inaccessible items such as doctoral dissertations or articles in obscure journals have been avoided, except when they constitute the sole sources for additional reading or are of great importance to comprehending the subject. Authors have attempted to cite the products of recent research whenever possible and to include lively and interesting publications. In the Guide bibliography works printed prior to 1900 have been omitted unless they are of extraordinary importance.

The activities included in Section III are offered as a guide to the possible, not an exhaustive, comprehensive list. They are best used to stimulate the imaginations of students and teacher. They are presented in brief form so that teacher and students will feel free to adapt them to specific classroom situations and specialized curriculum objectives. Throughout the section, the aim of each activity is to encourage the student to utilize "New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience" and other suggested readings as several of many means of understanding New Jersey's role in the American Revolution. This understanding is best achieved by encouraging the student to learn about daily life in the period, by comparing the burning issues of the eighteenth century to those of today as well as the means of earning a living, using leisure time, or gaining an education as they existed in revolutionary times to those the present offers. The activities suggested in this section are geared to objectives of this sort.

Section IV offers the author's selections of the best in audio-visual materials currently available on the subject of the American Revolution, with specific reference to New Jersey. The titles presented here are a selective list and should be supplemented by the New Jersey School Media Association's New Jersey and the Revolution (1975). Used together they offer the most complete resource for audio-visual materials dealing with topics on New Jersey in the American Revolution.

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The brief section on community resources (Section V) describes statewide agencies which can assist in planning field trips or more intensive study of the topics covered by the series, or of subjects spawned by the series. The list cannot be definitive since the number of local agencies in the state which can be of aid would fill a large volume by themselves. Therefore, a brief bibliography of publications listing many of these agencies is included.

Finally, some word is in order about the use of language in the pamphlet series. Matters of capitalization, punctutation, and knotty questions such as when to print a number as words or numerals are based in general on *A Manual of Style* (12th ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

Eighteenth century prose seems chaotic to the modern reader in matters of spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, but this chaos has been retained in quotations throughout the series in the interests of authenticity and period flavor. The use of "sic" is confusing, and, given the number of times that it might have to appear in a long quotation, destructive of meaning. When a word has been used by an eighteenth century writer in a completely confusing or incorrect manner, its proper form is given in brackets in the text.

Over the past two centuries, changes in names have occurred in the case of fairly familiar places or institutions. Princeton University, for example, was in the eighteenth century called the College of New Jersey; Bound Brook was Middlebrook; Elizabeth was Elizabethtown. Whenever such a case occurs in a pamphlet the eighteenth century form is preferred, followed, in the first instance of usage only, by a parenthetical use of the modern name.

I. New Jersey's Revolutionary Experience: A Summary of the Pamphlets

17. Thomas J. Archdeacon: New Jersey Society in the Revolutionary Era. On the eve of the Revolution New Jersey ranked ninth among the colonies in population, with an estimated 122,000 inhabitants. They were unevenly distributed over its thirteen counties, with almost two-thirds in the northern counties. Although five communities were incorporated as cities, they were small towns; the largest, Elizabethtown, had a population of twelve hundred.

The province had the most heterogeneous population of all the colonies. A majority of its people were of non-English stock. A small number of Swedes and Finns were located along the lower Delaware, but by the end of the colonial era they were acculturated by the dominant English. The Dutch, concentrated in the northeast, made a stronger and more lasting impact. They constituted one-sixth of the free population, and because of their numbers they were able to retain their institutions, customs and language. The Germans settled in Essex County and in the northwest corner of the colony. Some came directly from their homeland as refugees from religious or political persecution; others migrated from Pennsylvania. There were also the Scots-Irish, some French Huguenots, and a handful of Irish.

Approximately 10 percent of the population were from Africa, with the greatest concentration in Bergen County where they comprised one-fifth of the population. Almost all the blacks were slaves, without legal rights. There were also many indentured servants who served a fixed term of two to seven years. Some were in that condition involuntarily, among them debtors and common criminals. Those known as "redemptioners," mainly from Germany, had voluntarily indentured themselves and their families in order to receive passage to America. Others were voluntarily indentured in their youth as apprentices to master craftsmen in order to learn a trade.

Cultural Geography

About three-fourths of the colony's work force earned their livelihood from the land, mostly as subsistence farmers. New Jersey was a bread colony; corn was predominant, other grains were grown and livestock was raised, but the money crop was wheat. The rest of the working force were skilled artisans, common laborers, mariners, professionals and merchants.

Women occupied a low station in society. They lacked education and economic position, worked hard in home and field, and were subservient to their husbands. However, their legal status was better than that of their English counterparts.

Although there were some prosperous merchants and a few wealthy landowners, most Jerseyans lacked substantial property. Inequities in land ownership worsened and resulted in conflict, especially in the northern counties. The standard of living in the colony rose in the decades before the Revolution, but so did the imbalance in the distribution of wealth. As elsewhere, economic wealth was accompanied by social prestige and political power. A few prominent families dominated the governor's Provincial Council, and professionals, merchants and large landowners controlled the assembly. Although socioeconomic status did not result in any sustained class conflict or precipitate rebellion in New Jersey, it did affect individual reactions once the Revolution began.

4. Peter O. Wacker: The Cultural Geography of Eighteenth Century New Jersey. New Jersey's cultural geography at the time of the Revolution was characterized by diversity, widely separated settlements, and uneven distribution of population.

New Jersey was unique among the colonies in having the most heterogeneous population, of which one-half were of non-English origin. This was due primarily to its location between New York and Pennsylvania and between New England and the southern colonies. It was also a consequence of the province's political history. Claimed first by Sweden and Holland, it had been conquered by England, and then divided into two provinces. The Swedes and Finns who settled on the Jersey side of the lower Delaware Valley were very few in number, as contrasted to the "Dutch"—Hollanders, Flemings, and French and German Protestants—who made a strong impact upon the northern portion of the colony, particularly what are now Hudson and Bergen counties, and to some extent Sussex County. In addition, there were Scots, Scots-Irish, and a

scattering of Irish, as well as African slaves concentrated in Dutch-settled areas. Further cultural diversity was brought about by the English. There were Puritans who migrated from New England and established Elizabethtown, Newark and other communities in Essex, Morris, Somerset and Middlesex counties. Anglicans directly from England were encouraged by the East Jersey proprietors to settle in their province, whereas the Friends were attracted to West Jersey, which had preceded Pennsylvania as a Quaker colony.

Where these different elements settled and to what degree of concentration was determined not only by these political considerations but by geographic ones as well. Although a small state. New Jersev has clearcut physiographic divisions, five in number, which vary in area, elevation, fertility of soil, growing season, natural vegetation, glaciation and water features. The most fertile and accessible lands of the Piedmont and Inner Coastal Plain were inhabited first and developed the highest population density, particularly those sections settled by New Englanders who preferred compact communities. The largest of these were little more than villages. The Outer Coastal Plain was avoided because of its poor soils and had a sparse population, while the northwestern Highlands and Ridge and Valley had early pockets of settlement which were rapidly enlarged during the eighteenth century by emigrants from eastern Pennsylvania. In general, the population of New Jersey rose rapidly up to the Revolution, with an annual natural increase of 2.5 percent added to which was an in-migration of 1.5 to 2.5 percent.

With the outbreak of the war the cultural differences and location of the diverse population elements affected the nature and degree of their participation. For example, non-Anglican Britons in the more densely settled Piedmont corridor between New York and Philadelphia were generally in the forefront of the fighting. In contrast, the Quakers of South Jersey, because of their pacifism, were either Loyalist or neutral but found themselves on occasion dragged into the conflict by partisan groups, particularly when the British occupied Philadelphia.

9. James H. Levitt: New Jersey's Revolutionary Economy. New Jersey's economy was seriously affected by adverse conditions during the entire revolutionary period. In the years before the Revolution it experienced something of a depression. There was a scarcity of currency resulting from its flow to the commercial centers of Philadelphia and New

York. New Jersey merchants became overstocked, were indebted to English creditors, and replaced as middlemen by direct British selling to customers. Following the French and Indian War, which ended in 1763, farmers suffered from a contraction of their markets, a series of crop failures, and an increase in indebtedness. Both merchants and farmers more and more supported political change as a means of effecting change in their economic status.

Once the revolutionary war began, New Jersey quickly experienced its consequences. Much of the early fighting took place on its soil, and later it was the site of several military encampments. Many communities were disrupted, and homes, farmland, crops, industry, public buildings, and personal property were confiscated or destroyed. The war also stimulated new industries or expanded old ones, created great wealth for a few, and widened the economic disparity between social classes.

Although some farmers profited from the war, even traded with the enemy, the majority suffered from the war's destruction and from foraging and confiscation by troops, the payment in questionable certificates, and the scarcity of labor. On the other hand, merchants fared quite well, particularly those who supplanted Loyalist merchants or engaged in privateering or speculation in goods and currency. Small industries that had begun after mid-century also prospered. Leather goods, processed foods, ironware, salt, cloth and, most of all, munitions were much in demand. However, Jerseyans of all occupations were affected by the dislocation of the monetary system. The attempt by the Congress and the state to finance the war through the issuance of paper currency and other certificates resulted in an accelerating inflation.

Once the fighting was over, New Jersey's economic situation grew worse. As military forces left, the demand for agricultural products declined, and most farmers were deeper in debt. The merchant class was generally pleased that the uncertainties of war were ended, but it was once more dominated by Philadelphia and New York. The textile, salt and iron industries were adversely affected especially when European products began to arrive again. In addition, the shortage of capital and skilled labor, as well as a sparse population, militated against the continued development of domestic industry. Efforts by the state to stabilize the currency caused a schism between East and West Jersey and between creditor and debtor. The inability of the national government under the Articles of Confederation to cope with economic problems increasingly antagonized Jerseyans. The state assumed the responsibility

of paying the interest on Confederation loans and taxed the people to do it. It then refused to meet its requisitions until measures were taken to strengthen the Confederation and eliminate interstate tariffs. Because of their economic plight and the country's failure to cope with its problems, Jerseyans increasingly supported the movement for a new constitution.

7. Larry R. Gerlach: The Road to Revolution. New Jersey was a reluctant rebel, first inclined to seek reconciliation, then to follow the lead taken elsewhere, but once aroused quick to take action. To understand its transition from dependent colony to independent state it is essential to examine its unique response to British authority and restriction within the framework of the larger intercolonial independence movement.

In 1763 Jerseyans were quite content as subjects of the British Empire. Prosperous and stable after the French and Indian War and little affected by imperial trade regulations, the colony was small in size and population, predominantly agricultural and self-sufficient, without urban concentrations, major political organizations or newspapers, and lacking in internal cohesion because of sectional distinctions and ethnic and religious diversity. The new royal governor, William Franklin, was intelligent, honest, and concerned for the welfare of the people, and he strongly opposed some of the colonial measures taken by his superiors in England.

The first imperial action to arouse the ire of Jerseyans was the requirement adopted in 1765 that each colony pay for the support of troops stationed or traveling within its borders. Since the province was so strategically located, this was regarded as an unfair burden. Much more intense was opposition to the Stamp Act imposed the same year. At first the colony was quiescent, refusing an invitation to join an intercolonial conference. However, in time feeling mounted and a passive resistance took hold. The colony's stamp collector was persuaded to resign, and no replacement could be found. The colonial assembly appointed delegates to the Stamp Act Congress. Public demonstrations, forceful but peaceable, began to mount, and a chapter of the Sons of Liberty was formed. There was a similar pattern of opposition to the Townshend program of 1767, culminating in a remonstrance sent by the assembly to King George III and a boycott of British goods.

For several years unrest subsided in New Jersey, as elsewhere. The calm was shattered by the Boston Tea Party of December 1773 and the

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British reaction to it. The next month students from the College of New Jersey, who had been a source of earlier agitation, held their own "tea party," as did the townspeople of Greenwich the following December. In February 1774 the assembly established a committee of correspondence, grassroots meetings were held that summer to oppose the Intolerable Acts and in support of beleaguered Massachusetts, and in July a convention was held in New Brunswick of delegates from the counties. James Kinsey, William Livingston, John DeHart, Stephen Crane and Richard Smith were appointed to the Continental Congress which would convene in Philadelphia in September.

The action of the Congress created great controversy in New Jersey and brought on a sharp schism. Although the vast majority of Jerseyans desired reconciliation with Britain, they were drawn closer and closer to revolution. Military preparations were undertaken: militia companies were formed and drilled, and arms were stockpiled.

The First Provincial Congress assembled in Trenton on May 23, 1775. It placed the colony on a war footing, imposed a tax to raise funds to equip the militia, and appointed a Provincial Committee of Correspondence. Several months later it reconvened, assumed the powers of governance, replacing the assembly, and established machinery for the election of a new Provincial Congress. Preparation for war continued, committees of safety were formed, Loyalists were intimidated, and British supplies were confiscated.

In New Jersey, as elsewhere, the final break did not come yet, for there was still hope for reconciliation. Nevertheless, the Provincial Congress replaced royal officials with patriot supporters, assumed further powers from the assembly, and finally removed and arrested Franklin in June, the last royal governor to hold office. A new government was called for, new delegates were sent to the Second Continental Congress with instructions to support a declaration of independence, and a new state constitution was adopted on July 2. The die was cast.

13. Larry R. Gerlach: William Franklin: New Jersey's Last Royal Governor. Despite his troubled life, removal from office, internment and expatriation, William Franklin was one of the most successful and popular of all royal governors. The illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin, he was raised by his father and exposed to the stimulating influences of his

Philadelphia printshop, retail store, friends, books and thoughts. Nevertheless, he grew up full of anxiety, insecurity and frustrations. He attempted to run away from home, and at the age of fifteen enlisted for a military campaign against the French. Reunited with his father, who attempted to mold him in his own image, William studied law, succeeded his father as clerk of the Pennsylvania assembly, postmaster and postal comptroller, and then served as his aide at the outbreak of the French and Indian War. Finally, in 1757 he joined Benjamin as his secretary for a six-year sojourn in England where the elder Franklin was colonial agent for Pennsylvania. There William completed his legal studies, traveled extensively, and acquired connections. He sired an illegitimate son, William Temple, and married the socially prominent Elizabeth Downes. At the age of thirty-two, because of his father's importance, he was appointed governor of New Jersey.

As governor he entertained lavishly, acted the aristocrat, maintained a large country estate near Burlington, and endeavored to obtain recognition in his own right. He was a successful political leader and administrator but was unable to reconcile the interests of crown and colony. His difficulties began with the adoption of the Stamp Act in 1765, which he believed the people would grudgingly accept but which caused a storm of protest, passive resistance and boycott. Although he personally thought the act unwise, he felt obliged to support the imperial prerogative.

Franklin had less difficulty with the more moderate opposition to the Townshend program imposed two years later. But he had continuous trouble with British customs officials who considered him lax, and with the provincial assembly which sought to circumvent parliamentary measures. Matters came to a head following the Boston Tea Party. Jerseyans generally opposed the radical action but sympathized with Massachusetts after the imposition of the Intolerable Acts. Franklin tried to avoid the controversy; he delayed calling the assembly into session, but he did not interfere with county committee meetings or the appointment of delegates to the Continental Congress. When the assembly finally convened, the governor tried unsuccessfully to dissuade it from endorsing the actions of the Congress. With the formation of the First Provincial Congress he now realized that the colony was on the road to rebellion. Increasingly isolated and vulnerable, he continued his effort to prevent a final breach.

In January 1776 he was arrested by colonial troops but was quickly

released, and for the next few months he remained in seclusion. Finally, at the end of May, hoping to arouse Lovalist sentiment, he called a session of the assembly for late June. But the Provincial Congress met first, condemned the call, and compelled him to appear before it in Burlington on June 21. When Franklin challenged its authority it requested the Continental Congress's authorization to depose him. He was removed on the twenty-fifth, the last royal governor in the colonies, arrested and sent to Connecticut, where he remained for over two years. part of the time in jail. He was released in a prisoner exchange through his father's influence and spent the remainder of the war in British-occupied New York. There he organized a "Refugee Club," which conducted military observations and raids in New Jersey and Connecticut, and then became founder and president of the Board of Directors of the Associated Loyalists. At the war's end he fled to England where he took up the cause of the Lovalists and their claims for compensation and lived on for another thirty years.

21. Carl E. Prince: William Livingston: New Jersey's First Governor. William Livingston was the wealthy scion of an old, aristocratic New York Dutch-English family, well educated, a successful lawyer and literary light. He was one of those members of the elite who early embraced the independence movement and became a leader in the Revolution, even though his lands, wealth, social position, and perhaps his life, would have been sacrificed if the rebellion had been lost.

Retiring from an active professional, commercial and political life he came to New Jersey in 1772 and built Liberty Hall, his home in Elizabethtown. He was quickly embroiled in politics once again because of his reputation and his inability to countenance imperial despotism and corruption. He was elected a delegate to the First and Second Continental Congresses, serving from July 1774 until June 1776, when he was asked to assume command of the East Jersey militia. During his three months in that post, he ferretted out known and suspected Loyalists and organized the ragged militiamen in preparation for the British onslaught that would soon envelop the state.

Chosen by the legislature in 1776 to serve as the first governor of the state, Livingston was annually reelected until his death in 1790. During the war he was continuously on the move from town to town because of the threat of Loyalist assassination. He revived his journalistic

endeavors, writing frequent satiric articles for the press. Although his constitutional powers as chief executive were very limited, his strong personality and will, administrative ability, wide knowledge, integrity, and penchant for hard work made him perhaps the most effective revolutionary war governor. Although he staunchly supported the principles of individual liberty and representative government, he retained a sense of noblesse oblige and was paternalistic in his relationships. His principal vehicle for wielding power was the New Jersey Council of Safety, formed in 1777, which he chaired. Its responsibility was to maintain internal order, which essentially meant suppressing Loyalists. Although he had no legislative authority, his published messages and proclamations contained recommendations to the legislature which bore results.

One of Livingston's most influential efforts concerned slavery. From the start of the war he advocated the freeing, rather than the confiscation, of slaves taken as part of Loyalist estates. He failed in his efforts to persuade the legislature to emancipate all slaves in the state, but finally in 1786 a prohibition of their importation was adopted. The next year he obtained legislative approval for the immediate freeing of his own slaves, as an example to others, rather than providing for this in his will as other slaveholders were doing.

Although inactive as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, he played a major role in the campaign to make New Jersey one of the first states to ratify the new Federal Constitution.

15. Richard J. Connors: The Constitution of 1776. New Jersey's Provincial Congress, popularly elected late in May 1776 and composed of 65 delegates, assembled at Burlington on June 11. It dealt with the problems of the militia and taxes, began the process of deposing Governor William Franklin, appointed new delegates to the Continental Congress and authorized them to support a declaration of independence. It also followed the recommendation of that body and hurriedly wrote a state constitution. On June 24 a drafting committee was formed, three days later it reported back and, after four days of debate, on July 2 the Provincial Congress adopted the first constitution of the state of New Jersey. No provision was made for a popular referendum to ratify the action.

The constitution drew upon English political thought and traditions and the New Jersey colonial experience of written charters, such as the

Concessions and Agreement of the lords proprietors, Berkeley and Carteret, the West Jersey Concessions and Agreement, and the commissions and instructions to royal governors. It was a brief and simple document which retained much of the previous governmental structure with some modifications. Based on popular sovereignty and the republican form of government, it transformed New Jersey from a royal province to an independent state. It did not provide for democracy; the right to vote and hold office was limited to property owners; only Protestants could hold office. Because the term "inhabitant" was used in granting suffrage, for a time women and even slaves and aliens could vote, until the electoral law of 1807.

Power was invested in a bicameral legislature annually elected. The upper house, the Legislative Council with one member elected from each county, was modeled on the colonial governor's Provincial Council. It acted as an advisory body to the governor, shared appointive and lawmaking powers with the lower house, and also had judicial functions. The General Assembly was comprised of three seats per county, but provision was made to apportion seats in the future according to population. It alone could initiate money bills, which the council could disapprove but could not alter.

The governor was chosen annually by a joint meeting of the two houses and was eligible for indefinite reelection. He presided over the council with the right to vote, but he had no control over legislative sessions and no veto power. He was commander in chief of the militia. He had certain judicial powers but could not appoint judges. The judiciary was the least well-defined branch of government. There were few provisions pertaining to local government.

The constitution also lacked a bill of rights, but several of its clauses dealt with individual freedoms. Religious liberty was provided by a guarantee of freedom of worship and a prohibition of state support of churches, but civil and political rights could be denied to non-Protestants. The rights of fair trial and trial by jury were also guaranteed.

No provision was made for formal amendments, but the legislature's power to alter the constitution was implied.

The constitution of 1776, written with little time for reflection and designed for immediate needs, remained New Jersey's fundamental law until 1844 when a new constitution was adopted.

6. John T. Cunningham: New Jersey's Five Who Signed. In June 1776 four states, including New Jersey, voted against and one state abstained on a resolution for independence introduced in the Second Continental Congress. The next month a new delegation from New Jersey voted for independence. This was the climax of a two-year period in which Jerseyans protested, debated and vacillated, sought reconciliation, prepared for war, and increasingly took extralegal and revolutionary action. Finally, the Provincial Congress chose new delegates to participate in the Continental Congress when it reconvened in Philadelphia, and it authorized them to support independence. The five delegates were:

Richard Stockton. Born in Princeton in 1730, he was the wealthy, cultured scion of a prestigious family. He was the first graduate of the College of New Jersey and was instrumental in its move to Princeton and in the appointment of the Reverend John Witherspoon as its president. He was a prominent lawyer, a stock breeder, and a member of the governor's Provincial Council.

John Witherspoon. Born in Scotland in 1723, he was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, a Presbyterian minister, and passionately anti-British. He became president of the College of New Jersey in 1768 and transformed it into a center of radicalism. He was elected to the Provincial Congress, where he took an active role in the removal of Governor William Franklin in 1776.

John Hart. Born in Connecticut in 1712, Hart was raised in Hope-well from his infancy. With little formal education, he became a prosperous farmer and property owner and a respected local leader, an assemblyman and judge, and vice-president of the Provincial Congress.

Abraham Clark. Born in 1726 at present-day Roselle, he was a self-taught surveyor, lawyer and mediator, a "poor man's counsellor," sheriff of Essex County and clerk of the assembly. An early radical, he was elected to the Provincial Congress and was secretary of the New Jersey Council of Safety.

Francis Hopkinson. Born in Philadelphia in 1730, he was the first graduate of the College of Philadelphia. He was a lawyer, public official, unsuccessful businessman, composer, and a poet and essayist who used his pen to attack the British. A resident of Bordentown, he had served as a member of the Provincial Council.

When the Congress began to assemble on July 1 the New Jersey delegation was late in arriving, but it soon made its position known in a

speech by Witherspoon. New Jersey was one of the nine colonies to support a resolution for independence. The next day work began on the revision of the draft of the Declaration of Independence. The document, unsigned, was sent to the printer on the evening of the fourth and copies were quickly posted out. It was read in Trenton in a public ceremony on July 8, the same day that the official reading took place in Philadelphia. The delegates began signing the final document August 2, not knowing whether they might be signing their own death warrants.

When the British pursued Washington's army across the state in December, a detachment plundered and razed Hart's farm in Hopewell and his family barely escaped. Forced into hiding, he returned a broken man and died in 1779. The Stockton home, "Morven," was ransacked and the library destroyed, and Stockton himself was arrested, imprisoned, beaten and starved. He was released in a prisoner exchange, but his health was ruined and he died in 1781. Witherspoon's college was forced to close; its library and his personal one were destroyed by the British. He was able to continue in Congress and served on several of its important committees. He died in 1791. Hopkinson's home in Bordentown was also ransacked, but he continued in Congress throughout the war years and chaired the Navy Board. After the Revolution he was an active composer and writer and was appointed a judge by President Washington. He too died in 1791. Clark also served in Congress to the war's end. He was then elected to the state legislature, was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and was a member of the Federal Congress until 1794 when he died.

18. Donald W. Whisenhunt: *Elias Boudinot*. Elias Boudinot, a descendant of French Huguenots, was born in 1740, spent his formative years in Philadelphia, and as a youth moved with his family to Princeton. Interested in both the law and the ministry, he chose the first as his profession because he lacked the funds for a college education. He received his lawyer's license at the age of twenty, quickly became successful, and soon married into the wealthy and influential Stockton family.

Boudinot showed a proclivity for politics, identifying himself with the conservative propertied class. However, following the imposition of the Intolerable Acts in 1774, he joined with those colonists who began to resist the British. He became an active member of New Jersey's Committee of Correspondence, and in 1775 as a delegate from Essex County he

helped to create the extralegal Provincial Congress.

In 1777 General Washington appointed him commissary general of prisoners with the rank of colonel, a difficult assignment. It was his dual function to house, feed and care for the several thousand British soldiers in American hands, and to keep informed about and aid the larger number of American prisoners, most of whom were held under abominable conditions in New York. He held this position for a year and then served for a short time as New Jersey delegate to the Continental Congress. He returned to private life and practice, but in 1781 he was again in the Congress where this time he played a major role.

On November 4, 1782 he was elected president of the Congress. It was a critical time. Although the British had surrendered at Yorktown, negotations for a peace treaty had bogged down. Several states lost interest in the Union and failed to meet their assessments and to send delegates to the Congress. The Confederation was bankrupt. A number of troops deserted and others were mutinous, a situation which led Congress to move from Philadelphia to Princeton. There it met from June 30, 1783 to the end of the session. As president, Boudinot signed the preliminary treaty of peace by which Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States.

After his retirment from Congress he returned to Elizabethtown, where he resumed a successful law practice and engaged in western land speculation. With the establishment of the new government under the Federal Constitution in 1789, he was elected to the United States Congress. He served three terms, during which he was a staunch Federalist. After this he was appointed by President Washington to be director of the Mint, a position which he held for ten years.

When he was sixty-five he retired from public office and settled in Burlington. He now turned to his other great interest—religion. He wrote a number of books on the subject and, despite failing health, helped to found and became first president of the American Bible Society. He was also involved in other humanitarian causes, particularly Indian education. He died in 1821 at the age of eighty-one.

19. Dennis P. Ryan: New Jersey's Whigs. Of those Jerseyans who risked their lives and property to support the Revolution, some were well known leaders but most served in the Continental army and the militia or supported the cause by participating in town meetings, signing oaths

of allegiance, supplying the troops and paying taxes. For Jerseyans the die was cast when the Provincial Congress ordered the arrest of William Franklin, the last royal governor, in June 1776. This action and other forms of rebellion constituted the extralegal overthrow of established authority by radicals who faced punishment and even death if they failed. The colonists were turned into radicals by the issues of home rule (the right of self-government free of imperial restraints) and of who should rule at home.

The division in the seventeenth century between East and West Jersey affected society up to the Revolution. Quaker pacifist influence remained strong in West Jersey and, with other settlers who came directly from Europe, gave it a rural, conservative tone. East Jersey was more urbanized, dynamic and liberal, settled first by Dutch from New Netherland, then Puritans from New england, and later Scots-Irish. A long history of struggle with proprietary interests over taxation, quitrents, town government and squatters' rights, climaxed by rioting in mid-century, conditioned the people to be more resistant to British taxes and restrictions. Religious sectarianism was also an important factor. Anglicanism was readily accepted by the tolerant West Jersey Quakers. In East Jersey it was practiced by the upper classes but opposed by most of the population. Efforts by the British government to establish an Anglican bishopric in the colonies met with bitter resistance. The pressure on land from an expanding population and the growing economic discontent of the middle and lower classes also increased social tensions in East Jersey.

The patriot cause in New Jersey, which had blown hot and cold for some years, was strengthened by the passage in 1774 of the Intolerable Acts and the Quebec Act. Town and county committees were formed to issue resolves against British restrictions, a colonywide meeting was held in New Brunswick in July, delegates were sent to the First Continental Congress in September, and the First Provincial Congress was convened in Trenton the following May. It evolved into a revolutionary government, raised troops and taxes, and ordered the arrest of Governor Franklin on June 19, 1776. On July 2 a new state constitution was adopted. The Whigs were strongest in Monmouth, Essex, Middlesex, Morris and Somerset counties, where there were large numbers of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Dutch Reformed. In West Jersey the Whigs were in a minority because of the Quakers and Anglicans. Royal officials and proprietary descendants either fled or became staunch Loyalists. Large landowners and lawyers provided the leadership of both

sides. New arrivals, youth and the propertyless classes were the backbone of the militia and the army.

State and local political leadership in New Jersey underwent a major change in personnel but remained in the hands of the propertied, as did military leadership. There was no revolution in property qualifications for voting and office holding. The war brought widespread destruction of farmland, homes, churches and public buildings, resulting from enemy attacks, Loyalist raiders and pine barren robbers, and plundering and requisitioning by troops of both sides. After the war life in New Jersey would no longer be what it had been when the patriots—conservatives wanting more rights within the new nation, moderates satisfied with political independence, and radicals seeking social upheaval—first agitated for change.

20. Dennis P. Ryan: New Jersey's Loyalists. As historians have more objectively and thoroughly examined the Revolution their perception of the Loyalists has changed. Rather than wealthy aristocrats and public officials or passive victims of British tyranny, they had varied backgrounds and interests, many had protested imperial restrictions, and a number were courageous. What caused them to support the empire was an unshakeable loyalty to the crown, and a fear of the consequences that would follow the end of British rule.

Besides Loyalists and patriots, approximately one-third of the New Jersey population were neutral. Their indentification is difficult because their attitudes and actions were largely unrecorded. But their ranks were made up of property owners, particularly substantial farmers who feared the confiscation of their lands. Their numbers were largest in the regions closest to the British forces stationed on Staten Island and Manhattan. Another major component was the Quakers of West Jersey, many of whom were religious pacifists and would not bear arms or support the war in any way.

The Loyalists generally were those who did not fit into the social fabric of colonial life or were alarmed by the revolutionary rhetoric of the rebel leaders. Among them were recent immigrants, but by the time of the Revolution there were few of those in New Jersey. More important were royal officials who had a personal stake in the preservation of the government, the descendants of East Jersey proprietors who had fought

with local residents over land titles and rents, and a number of the inhabitants of the provincial capitals, Perth Amboy and Burlington. In addition, there were those who joined the Tories for religious reasons. Many Quakers who were not neutral were active supporters of the crown, some of their youth even joining Loyalist brigades in New York. Anglican newcomers to New Jersey, especially those who favored the establishment of an American bishopric, feared non-Anglican domination if the Revolution were successful. Although the majority of all these elements were people of property, a significant number of the lower classes also joined the Loyalist cause. It is impossible to identify them all because of the paucity of written records. We know that some volunteered to fight for the British for the same reasons that many of the propertyless joined the patriot cause—enlistment bounties and the promise of land.

The property of most of the Loyalists who fled to the British lines was confiscated. Those who remained behind were subjected to harsh, but rarely brutal, treatment. At first they were offered pardons if they swore allegiance to the new state and nation. But later Tories who were discovered were tried, and if found guilty of disloyalty to the United States, their personal and real property was sold at public auction. The Treaty of Paris, which formally ended hostilities, provided the Loyalists with the legal opportunity to retrieve their property. But Jerseyans did not welcome their return. Nevertheless, small numbers did reestablish their old lives and businesses. Some went to England. The largest number of New Jersey Loyalists migrated to Nova Scotia, where they joined the ranks of the United Empire Loyalists, an important element in Canadian life to this day.

5. Mark E. Lender: The New Jersey Soldier. Until recently accounts of the American Revolution have concentrated on its political and military leaders. For a fuller understanding of the course of the conflict historians are beginning to examine the nature and activities of the backbone of the war effort—the ordinary soldier.

In 1775, shortly after Lexington and Concord, the Continental army was formed and was committed to major campaigns. New Jersey, along with the other colonies, was asked to raise regular troops for a one-year enlistment. Patriotic feeling was high, and recruitment efforts were successful. This "First Establishment" spent the winter of 1775-1776 in New York, where they saw little action. The following spring they became part

of the disastrous expedition to conquer Canada, and they suffered losses from major combat around Quebec and from smallpox. This, coupled with news of the British invasion of New Jersey, caused many of them to leave the army as soon as their year was up.

The local militia companies also had a succession of demoralizing experiences in the summer and fall of 1776, first with Washington's forces in New York and then as they retreated across New Jersey. Even with the improvement in morale from the battles of Trenton and Princeton, the New Jersey militia remained disorganized, poorly led and frequently unpaid. It was always lacking in manpower. Large numbers of Jerseyans were pacifist Quakers, neutrals or Tories; many others were exempt from service because of their occupations, fought the war as privateers, preferred farming to fighting, or paid fines or hired substitutes rather than serve. Although the defence of the state was left primarily to the regular army, the militia did perform a number of essential functions, such as troop observation and intelligence, building fortifications, harassing enemy patrols, and guard and constabulary duty.

In 1777, when the Congress called for long-term enlistments to build up the Continental army, the New Jersey Brigade was formed first under William Maxwell and then Elias Dayton. Recruitment for the brigade, despite various inducements, was slow. Rather than an army of independent, liberty-loving yeomen, many of the volunteers were youths without economic or marital ties, indentured servants, drifters, runaway servants and slaves, Indians, or foreigners. Aside from the dangers of combat, there were the physical privation, disease, harsh military discipline, lack of pay, and the tedium of garrison life. Desertion and bounty jumping added to the shortage of manpower, and recruiters had to turn to enemy deserters and prisoners—particularly Hessians—Tories accused of treason, and common criminals. The legislature resisted efforts to institute a militia draft until 1778, when it adopted one that was inequitable and partially effective.

New Jersey was not unique in these matters. While the crusading spirit associated with the Revolution might have been diluted by other considerations, those that enlisted for bounties of money and land were staking their hopes on independence, and in the main those who served fought well.

16. Lewis F. Owen: The Revolutionary Struggle in New Jersey,

1776-1783. From 1776 to the end of the war New Jersey was the scene of major battles, long encampments by the Continental army, and several large-scale movements of American and British armies. There were also numerous minor battles, skirmishes and raids, frequent foraging and plundering expeditions, and an almost continuous patriot-Loyalist civil war of guerrilla attacks and reprisals.

The first blow came in November 1776 with the British attack at Fort Lee from New York across the Hudson. There followed a desperate evacuation and retreat across New Jersey by Washington's forces. They were aided by General Sir William Howe's reluctance to initiate a pitched battle in the belief that the occupation of territory would suffice to end the rebellion. After escaping across the Delaware, the Americans attacked at Trenton and Princeton, which led the British to withdraw to the safety of New Brunswick. The Continental army went into winter encampment at Morristown

With the war now being fought in New Jersey and promising to drag on for a long time, some of the early patriot leaders defected to the Loyalist cause and were joined by many others, so that there were as many New Jersey battalions fighting for the British as against them. In addition, numerous Tory sympathizers remaining at home served as British scouts and spies, providing important intelligence. Many attacked their rebel neighbors and robbed and burned their property, particularly when royal troops were nearby. They were subjected to retaliation when the rebels gained control of their area. Large numbers of ships, saltworks, iron mines and forges, and other manufactories were destroyed. But it was the farmers of both sides who suffered most; their crops and livestock were frequently taken by military foraging parties or through outright thievery by robber bands.

One of the largest pitched battles of the war was the battle of Monmouth in June 1778. While the vacillation of General Charles Lee allowed the British to withdraw their forces to Staten Island, it virtually ended the enemy occupation of New Jersey.

The many minor engagements in New Jersey included an attack by four thousand men under Lieutenant General Charles Cornwallis at Middlebrook in the spring of 1777, followed by militia harrassment of the British army's westward feint from New Brunswick, followed in turn by General Nathanael Greene's attack on the Hessians left to defend the evacuated town and the British counterattack on Lord Stirling's (Major General William Alexander) pursuing forces; a Loyalist battalion's raid on

Perth Ambov, followed by a major foraging expedition into Bergen County under General Sir Henry Clinton which alarmed the Continental army. In late 1777 and early 1778, when the enemy occupied Philadelphia, a pitched battle was fought for Fort Mercer at Red Bank before it was evacuated by the Americans. The British attacks on Salem and Alloways Creek, Gloucester Point and Haddonfield, and the destruction of Continental ships on the Delaware from Burlington to Trenton, all occurred at this time. Late in 1778 there occurred "Baylor's Massacre" in Bergen County and the destruction of American privateers at Little Egg Harbor. During the next three years there were Loyalist and British raids against widely scattered locations such as Woodbridge, Bergen Neck, Tinton Falls, Middletown, Closter, Shrewsbury, Spanktown, Elizabethtown, Newark, Hackensack and Paramus. Major Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee led a daring bayonet attack against the fort at Paulus Hook. and General Anthony Wayne made a less successful assault against a Loyalist blockhouse at Hoboken.

In the winter of 1779-1780 the main force of the Continental army encamped at Morristown. In 1780 a British-Hessian expedition precipitated the battle of Springfield, in which local militia fought a delaying action until army units from Morristown engaged the enemy, who withdrew to New York.

Despite the British surrender at Yorktown in October 1781, a year and a half elapsed before the signing of a provisional peace treaty. During that time New Jersey continued to be plagued by fighting, particularly from the bloody, vengeful raids carried out by the Associated Loyalists founded by former royal governor William Franklin.

22. Kemble Widmer: The Christmas Campaign: The Ten Days of Trenton and Princeton. The ten days at Trenton and Princeton were truly a turning point in the early part of the revolutionary war. The Continental army under General Washington, following the forced evacuation of New York, had been retreating across New Jersey one step ahead of the advancing British under Howe and Cornwallis. American morale was at a low point, the troops were in poor condition with many of their enlistments about to elapse, the new capital at Philadelphia was threatened, and the cause of independence appeared to be doomed.

Washington made his stand with five thousand regulars and two thousand militia on the west bank of the Delaware, rounded up all the

REMARKS FOR STANDARDS

boats and had ferries and fords defended to inhibit an enemy crossing, and awaited to see where the attack would occur. The British troops took up winter quarters on the New Jersey side, with the Hessians under Colonel Carl von Donop on the southern flank between Trenton and Burlington. Deciding he could not let his troops melt away, Washington planned an attack in this sector to relieve pressure on Philadelphia. One force was to keep von Donop occupied in the Burlington area, another was to cross the Delaware below Trenton to block a retreat, while the main body under his command would attack the Hessians under Colonel Johann Rall at Trenton.

The principal crossing was made on Christmas night at McKonkey's Ferry eight miles to the north of Trenton. Although the sixteen hundred enemy occupying Trenton had been alerted for an attack for days, they did not expect it in full force. Rall and some of his officers were probably drunk, but the troops were not; they were just wearied from the alerts. The attack occurred in a snowstorm, resistance was quickly overcome, Rall was killed, the Hessians were routed, and the battle was over in less than two hours. Close to six hundred enemy escaped, almost nine hundred were captured, and one hundred were killed or wounded. Washington began an immediate withdrawal, but by the time all the troops with their prisoners had returned to their encampments, some had been in action for forty-eight hours and were exhausted.

The second battle of Trenton occurred because Comwallis was advancing southward with ten thousand troops, the American units on the New Jersey side of the Delaware were insufficient to halt them, and their removal would expose Philadelphia once again. An effort to persuade the men of various state contingents to extend their enlistments was only partially successful. Nevertheless, rearguard action on January 1 and 2, taking advantage of the terrain and using hit-and-run tactics, gave Washington enough time to prepare defenses south of Assunpink Creek. While Cornwallis waited for the next morning to attack, Washington went around him and under the cover of night withdrew his forces to the east and north towards Princeton.

His wearied troops met British forces advancing southward to reinforce Cornwallis. At first the American lines began to break, but rallied by Washington and reinforcements they reversed the situation. Two enemy regiments were routed, and a third was captured at Nassau Hall. The victorious Americans seized supplies, hastily withdrew, and destroyed bridges behind them. Completely exhausted, they continued northward

to Morristown, where Washington set up winter quarters. Meanwhile, Cornwallis withdrew his main body of troops to New York.

25. Samuel S. Smith: The Battle of Monmouth. The indecisive battle of Monmouth of June 28, 1778 grew out of the effort of the Continental army to intercept the British army under Sir Henry Clinton in its withdrawal from Philadelphia to New York. When George Washington, encamped at Valley Forge, learned of the evacuation of the capital he sent the New Jersey Brigade under Brigadier General William Maxwell to combine with the militia in disrupting and delaying the enemy in its march across the state, in order to give the main body of his troops time to catch up. As his forces approached their target Washington held a council of war, which decided against an all-out attack. Among those urging caution was Major General Charles Lee, second in command, who had recently been released in a prisoner exchange.

Additional forces of twenty-five hundred men under Brigadier Generals Charles Scott and Anthony Wayne were sent ahead to harass Clinton's army, which was resting and provisioning at Freehold. Despite his persistent criticism of Washington's handling of the war and the consequent dissension among the officers, Lee was granted his request for command of all the troops committed, who came to number fifty-five hundred. His verbal orders from Washington are not known, but they did not call for an all-out battle.

The attack was launched from Englishtown as the British started to leave Freehold. General Wayne was in charge of the advance troops. After the initial fighting, Lee committed the body of his troops. When major segments of his men gave way before an enemy force of seven thousand, and exposed his flanks, Lee retreated with his troops over the ground they had advanced on that morning. They were met by Washington, who relieved Lee of his command and then placed him in charge of the units assigned to delay the enemy assault. Lee defended his actions by claiming that his generals had not followed his orders and had retreated on their own. They contended that no plan of attack had ever been prepared.

A stand was made by all of Washington's forces near Tennent Meetinghouse. A heavy artillery duel began late in the afternoon during the worst heat of the day, followed by more infantry combat. As darkness approached, both sides were exhausted and the fighting stopped. The

Morristown

Americans were ready to resume the battle next morning, but the British had fled during the night and were well on their way to Middletown and their destination, Sandy Hook.

Washington claimed a victory, and with respect to casualties and control of the battlefield he was right; in addition, American morale was raised. On the other hand, Clinton succeeded in evacuating his army to New York with minimal losses.

General Lee demanded that his name be cleared. When Washington called for a court of inquiry, Lee insisted on a full-dress court-martial. He was found guilty on all counts of disobedience of orders, unnecessary retreat, and disrespect to the commander in chief. Suspended from army command for one year, he resigned. He died in 1782.

3. Bruce W. Stewart: Morristown: A Crucible of the American Revolution. Morristown in the 1770s was a small rural New England-type town with a population of two hundred fifty, the center of a prosperous farming and iron mining region. During the Revolution it was occupied by the Continental army for a longer time than any other locale in the country.

It first assumed its role for a brief moment in the winter of 1776 when the forces under the command of General Charles Lee spent a night on their way to join the main body of the army in its retreat across the Delaware. In January 1777, following the victories at Trenton and Princeton, the exhausted Continental army encamped at Morristown, It was chosen because a watch could be kept on the British forces near New Brunswick to thwart any move toward Philadelphia. What was to have been a short stay lasted through the spring. During this time General Washington rested and reorganized his forces and gathered supplies for the coming campaigns. A good portion of the munitions used by the army came from nearby iron forges and powder mills. The troops kept active; small units harassed the enemy in short skirmishes, cut off their supplies, and waylaid their foraging expeditions. Both sides suffered from the winter; the American troops, struck by smallpox, averted catastrophe when Washington ordered civilians as well as soldiers to be inoculated. With a shift in the theatre of operations elsewhere, Morristown was evacuated in May.

Because of its strategic location it again became the site of an encampment of the main part of Washington's army in 1779-1780, the

worst winter of the century. Most of the troops were situated at Jockey Hollow, where they lived in tents while constructing log huts. Colonel Jacob Ford Jr.'s stately home was chosen as Washington's headquarters, and senior officers found quarters in other homes in town and in the environs. At the Ford mansion lived the commander, his wife and his aides, and there all the business of the army was conducted. There delegations from the Congress and foreign diplomats were received, and Washington was informed by the Marquis de Lafayette of the imminent landing of a French expedition.

Meanwhile, icy cold and blizzard struck the starving, sick, half-naked troops at Jockey Hollow. Appeals by Washington to Congress for relief could not be met. The struggle to survive, coupled with the fatigue of military duty and the monotony of camp life, drove morale to a low point. Courts-martial were frequent, enlisted men were harshly punished, officers were reduced in rank or cashiered. Finally, what Washington feared most occurred. In May 1780 a veteran Connecticut brigade attempted to mutiny, but the rebellion was immediately suppressed. Finally, during the next month the Continental army left its encampment to head off a British invasion of New Jersey that resulted in the battle of Springfield.

The following winter ten Pennsylvania infantry regiments encamped at Morristown and Jockey Hollow. Their distress was a reprise of the previous winter and they mutinied. They seized artillery, killed a captain, and prepared to march on Philadelphia to present their demands to the Congress. They were met at Princeton where an agreement was reached and the mutiny ended.

The last Morristown encampment followed the battle of Yorktown in 1781, when elements of the New Jersey Brigade returned to Jockey Hollow. They remained there until August 29, 1782, when Morristown's role in the revolutionary war was ended.

8. Thomas Fleming: The Battle of Springfield. A critically important battle of the revolutionary war took place in the spring of 1780 in and around the town of Springfield. It followed the winter encampment at Morristown of the main American force under General Washington. During that time a large segment of the British army, with Sir Henry Clinton, the commander in chief, was garrisoned in New York. Clinton

had led an expedition to the South that had surrounded twenty-five hundred Continentals and forced their surrender at Charleston, South Carolina on May 12, bringing that region into British hands. Next he turned his efforts to subdue the Continental army in New Jersey and break the back of the rebellion in the North.

In command of the British forces in New York was Baron Wilhelm von Knyphausen, assisted by Major Generals William Tryon, the former governor of New York, and James Robertson, the current governor. He was advised by William Franklin, the former royal governor of New Jersev, and William Smith, a confidant of Clinton. These men urged an attack on Washington's decimated forces at Morristown, Although at first he hesitated in the absence of such orders from Clinton, Knuphausen was eventually persuaded to send an expedition. On June 6 an invasion fleet carried six thousand men to New Jersey, their destination the gap in the Watchung Mountains behind Springfield, from which they could attack at will the immobilized Continental army at Morristown. In their path were five hundred men of the New Jersey Brigade under Brigadier General William Maxwell and bands of local militiamen. Their assignment was to delay the enemy as long as possible in order to give Washington time to bring up the vanguard of his army. They attacked from the woods slowing the British advance and fought a pitched battle in the village of Connecticut Farms (now Union). The enemy was temporarily halted, and Knyphausen decided to stop the campaign to await Clinton's arrival. The two-week delay saved the Continental army.

Washington was able to send fifteen hundred regulars under General Nathanael Greene into action. They controlled the bridges over the Rahway River and every strategic point of the high ground beyond Springfield. Once the major assault began the conflict was fierce, with point blank firing by musket, rifle and cannon, bayonet charges, Indianstyle fighting, and heroism on both sides. The enemy assault troops bypassed the bridges and waded the shallow river. As the Americans slowly gave ground against overwhelming odds, they exacted a heavy price. With the capture of Springfield by early afternoon, the British forces stopped to rest, and that was as far as they went. Rather than renew the attack Knyphausen ordered a withdrawal after burning the village. The enraged Americans pursued the enemy, who continued their withdrawal until they reached the safety of Staten Island.

Many Americans viewed the battle of Springfield as a defeat. But

never again did the British army invade New Jersey. The following year, when the Continental army marched through the state heading for Yorktown and final victory, Sir Henry Clinton did not send an expedition into New Jersey to try to intercept it.

26. Linda Grant DePauw: Fortunes of War: New Jersey Women and the American Revolution. Although the legal, political, social and economic status of women in New Jersey, as elsewhere, was low, they were strongly affected by the revolutionary war and made important contributions to its progress.

Accustomed to hard and tedious labor in home and on farm, women took on the additional burdens left to them by their departed menfolk. Even in the prerevolutionary period many, individually and in "circle," expressed their patriotism and contributed to the non-importation pressure on England by spinning cloth and making clothes. Once the Revolution began, little thought was given to the applicability to them of the egalitarian principles of the Declaration of Independence. Women seemed to accept male domination without question. However, not all wives emulated the allegiance of their husbands, and in general they opposed the military participation of members of their family and encouraged desertion, both for affectionate and practical reasons.

The state was rent by continuous Tory and patriot raiding and reprisal, guerrilla and bandit attacks, pillaging, burning and destroying, and organized foraging expeditions by both armies. Much of the suffering and some of the dying occurred in civilian homes and farms. So much more wanton and brutal were the actions of British troops, including the raping of women, that many neutralists turned to the patriot cause. It became increasingly difficult for a family to keep going; for many of those headed by women the task grew impossible. Poverty and hunger were widespread.

In addition to their principal struggle in trying to keep family and farm from being destroyed, New Jersey women were involved in the war effort in other ways. They participated in a national effort by women to raise money to support the Continental army. Some were active on both sides in intelligence and spying activities, and a few—the "Molly Pitchers"—engaged in combat. Much more numerous were the women who, burned out of their homes and with no place else to go, or simply wishing to join their husbands, became camp followers. The largest number of

Blacks

these were Loyalists who fled to overcrowded New York, but there were many with their children who followed the armies in the field on campaign or in winter quarters. They did much of the dirty work, but were considered encumbrances by the commanders and received short rations. Some with the British were reduced to prostitution. Fewer in number, women and children were tolerated by the American side to insure that the men would not desert.

One benefit derived by New Jersey women from the Revolution was the franchise. The state constitution of 1776 allowed all adult property-owning inhabitants of the state to vote, which meant that well-to-do widows and spinsters, along with free blacks, were eligible to vote. This was subsequently confirmed by the election laws of 1790 and 1797. It was not until the latter year that substantial numbers of women exercised their prerogative. Despite this, there was no evidence of political interest among them or any attempt to support candidates or run for office. Nor was any voice raised to protest when in 1807 the legislature disenfranchised women and blacks. Thus, the gain made by the Revolution was destroyed.

14. Frances D. Pingeon: Blacks in the Revolutionary Era. The colonial division of East Jersey and West Jersey had a lasting effect on the development of slavery and on white attitudes towards blacks. Even before the coming of the English the northeastern communities that were part of New Netherland had a sizeable number of blacks working the large Dutch estates, and their numbers were increased by the influx of English planters from the island of Barbados who brought their slave gangs with them. During the eighteenth century over 10 percent of the population of East Jersey was black, with some townships having twice that. West Jersey had a much smaller number. The pine barrens in the south and the hills of the northwest were not suitable for extensive agriculture, and the rich farmlands of the lower Delaware Valley were inhabited by Quakers, many of whom opposed slavery on religious grounds. Those slaves held by Quakers were treated better than their East Jersey counterparts, and West Jersey slave laws were humane by contemporary standards. By the time of the Revolution slavery was all but abandoned there.

In East Jersey blacks were denied all human, civil and property rights. They were subjected to harsh treatment, including physical abuse,

and could be freed only if their masters were willing to undergo prohibitive financial penalties. So strong was the desire for freedom from bondage that attempts at escape and rebellion were fairly frequent, despite the penalties of hanging and burning. When the two provinces were united as a royal colony in 1702, the stricter slave codes of East Jersey were adopted.

The slaves were a significant factor in the economy of the province. Many learned agricultural and industrial skills and a few became educated.

As the revolutionary era began Quakers not only freed their slaves but also provided for the freedmen. They petitioned the assembly to restrict the importation of slaves into the colony and to ease the process of emancipation. Their appeal to the principles of equality and liberty enunciated in the Declaration of Independence was opposed by the slave-holders' defense of their property rights, and by popular fears in the counties near New York that blacks would support the Loyalist cause. Although some slaves did flee to the British to gain their freedom and others participated in enemy raids and spying, others fought in the Continental army and in the local militia.

After the Revolution the abolitionists resumed their efforts. Some of the harsher measures of the slave codes were modified and voluntary manumission was allowed, but not until 1804 did New Jersey adopt a law for gradual abolition. Children born of slaves after that year would remain the servants of their mother's master until the age of twenty-one for females and twenty-five for males, when they would be legally free. Violation of the regulations persisted, as did slavery itself until it was made illegal in 1846. The economic and social status of the New Jersey freedman remained one of subjection. At the start of the Civil War eighteen slaves were listed in the state census.

10. Edward J. Cody: The Religious Issue in Revolutionary New Jersey. Religion and church affiliation played an important role in the Revolution. In New Jersey, as elsewhere, most colonists belonged to a church and took its teachings seriously. They believed that God was actively involved in the material as well as the spiritual world, and that He held individuals responsible for their actions. Along with political, economic and societal factors, religious affiliation generally determined which side of the conflict individuals took.

Religious Issue

The greatest adherence to the patriot cause occurred among Presbuterians. Dutch Reformed and Baptists. As dissenters they had been in the forefront of resistance in the years before the Revolution to the establishment of an Anglican bishopric in America, for civil libertarian as well as spiritual reasons. Jersevans played a major role in this contest. One of the principal supporters of the bishopric was Thomas Bradbury Chandler, an Anglican minister in Elizabethtown. An outspoken opponent was William Livingston, who became the revolutionary governor of New Jersev. Calvinistic in doctrine, the Presbuterians. Dutch Reformed and Baptists came to regard British rule as corrupt and sinful and the ever-increasing imperial restrictions as necessitating repentance and resistance. The strongest in numbers, unity and leadership were the Presbyterians, stimulated by the Great Awakening. In the forefront was the Reverend John Witherspoon, president of the College of New Jersey. In reprisal many of their churches were burned or ransacked and their homes and farms destroyed by British troops.

The greatest religious support for Britain came from the Anglicans, both because the king was the head of the Church of England and because they generally were drawn from the upper classes, were part of the colonial establishment, and tended to support order and authority. Most of their clergy fled behind British lines or returned to England, although a few attempted to remain in New Jersey. Almost all Tory leaders in the colony were Anglicans. The rank-and-file Anglicans who remained suffered at the hands of their patriot neighbors. West Jersey Quakers, because of their pacifist neutrality, were subjected to reprisals by both sides.

The war was a source of great difficulty for all faiths, no matter which side they took. Churches were destroyed, ministers killed, congregations divided, and religious observance disrupted, and it took many years for reconstruction to take place. The Anglican Church, identified with the defeated enemy, was rent, and then reconstituted in 1789 as the Protestant Episcopal Church. The Dutch Reformed Church was weakened by internal dissension. The small Methodist Church, which had lost most of its adherents during the war because of the Tory position of its leadership, began a slow recovery. The Baptists in the state remained small in number. Harassment of the Quakers ended, as did their proselytizing efforts, which had been zealously pursued before the Revolution. Even the champions of the patriot cause, the Presbyterians, were not able to enhance their numbers.

In general, the closing decades of the eighteenth century evinced in New Jersey a decline in religious interest, partly as a postwar reaction to the earlier emotional fervor, partly because of the rise of rationalism and deism, and partly from the financial drain of economic depression. The major positive gains were the spread of religious toleration and the advent of the doctrine of the separation of church and state.

1. Richard F. Hixson: The Press in Revolutionary New Jersey. The establishment of newspapers in New Jersey was related to the Revolution. Although nearly forty papers were published in the other colonies on the eve of the war, previous efforts to launch one in New Jersey had failed, principally because Philadelphia and New York papers circulated widely there.

With the coming of the struggle for independence the press became critically important as the most effective instrument to reflect and mobilize public opinion. The weekly journal increasingly supplanted broadsides, public notices, coffee-houses, taverns, itinerant preachers and post-masters as a means of disseminating news. One of those who realized the need for a New Jersey newspaper was Governor William Livingston. As the fighting increased, several papers that had served New Jersey ceased publication to escape British suppression, while Tory journals continued to publish. Livingston convinced the legislature to subsidize the establishment of a weekly journal to be edited by Isaac Collins, the state's public printer.

The first edition of the New-Jersey Gazette was printed in Burlington on December 5, 1777. Devoted primarily to the course of the war, the paper printed news of the fighting in the state and its environs based on eye-witness reports, and of events elsewhere gleaned from other American or British papers many months old. Livingston himself wrote essays under the pseudonym Hortentius, which appeared regularly in the paper. In addition, the Gazette printed legislative and other important documents, as well as messages from General Washington. Collins did not limit his columns to military and political affairs but included social commentary, mercantile news, letters from subscribers, and advertising.

Beginning early in 1779 another weekly appeared on the scene: the New-Jersey Journal printed at Chatham by Shepard Kollock, a fiery patriot. Located near Washington's forces encamped at Mornistown, it

maintained a working relationship with the army and printed many military items, including notices to personnel to report to their units.

The Gazette and the Journal were each four pages in length and, as was customary, included articles freely copied from other newspapers, as well as original local news and literary writings. Both Collins and Kollock employed journeymen and apprentice printers to aid in the exacting and time-consuming tasks of typesetting, layout, and running the hand-operated printing presses. A problem that continued to plague them was the shortage of newsprint, which was made by hand from rags. Like other printers during the Revolution, they made an important contribution to the development of journalism. The Gazette continued through the war to 1786. The Journal, which lasted in Chatham until 1783, was resumed in Elizabethtown where it is published to this day, the fourth oldest newspaper in the country.

24. Douglas Sloan: Education in New Jersey in the Revolutionary Era. Education in New Jersey during the revolutionary era influenced and was affected by the events of the time. It helped to shape the intellectual ideas and the social and cultural climate for independence and revolution, it provided revolutionary leaders from the ranks of educators, and it played a role in the postwar reorganization of society.

Education in the late eighteenth century must be viewed in the broadest sense. Schools constituted only one form of education; much more important was the family which furnished essential social and vocational skills and basic reading and writing instruction. In addition, there was the practice of apprenticeship. And there were the churches. Well educated ministers gave sermons, Bible classes, lectures and counseling which inculcated the values and customs of the community. Indeed, most formal schooling in New Jersey was provided by local churches.

The prime objective of religious schools was to teach reading and writing so that all members of the group could study the Bible and learn the doctrines of their faith. But these basic skills were also increasingly valuable in daily living, occupations and public affairs. Another goal was to preserve sectarian and cultural traditions, including for the non-English their native language. Still another purpose was to promote humanitarian programs, such as schools for the poor, orphans, apprentices, blacks, and Indians. In the forefront in these efforts were the Quakers,

and the Anglican Church with its Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

The major force that helped to transform education in New Jersey for its revolutionary role was the Great Awakening, a religious revival movement which swept the colonies in the middle third of the eighteenth century. Several New Jersey ministers, such as Theodorus Frelinghuysen and Gilbert Tennent, were in the forefront of evangelical programs which led to raging controversies and sectarian schisms. One effect of these conflicts was the founding of religious academies by different churches to train young men to spread their teachings. Another response was the establishment of two colleges in the province, the only colony with more than one. The College of New Jersey, founded by Presbyterian ministers, was chartered in 1746 and first located in Elizabethtown and Newark before it moved to Princeton in 1756. Queen's College, a Dutch Reformed institution chartered in 1766, barely got under way before the outbreak of the Revolution.

The colleges were open to all. Although their major purpose was to train for the ministry, the curriculum was based upon the classics and the liberal arts, which were the established instruments for preparing for the other professions, as well as providing a general education. The College of New Jersey, through its president, faculty and students, became an intellectual force in the movement towards independence from Britain. President John Witherspoon, who also served in the state's Provincial Congress, was a delegate to the Continental Congress, and the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. He made the college an intercolonial center of higher education that produced many of the nation's political leaders. Both the College of New Jersey and Queen's College were disrupted by the war, and like the state's academies, elementary schools and churches, underwent intensive rebuilding when hostilities ended. The period after the war was one of renewed activity and growth of intellectual institutions both in numbers and variety.

12. David L. Cowen: Medicine in Revolutionary New Jersey. The status of medicine in New Jersey at the time of the Revolution was generally the same as in the other colonies. Although it had been the first colony to require the examination and licensing of physicians and the two American medical schools were in nearby Philadelphia and New York, only a small proportion of New Jersey practitioners had formal

medical education. The rest had either learned their trade through apprenticeship or simply were self-appointed doctors. Because of the scarcity of professionals, most Jersevans cared for themselves, practicing folk medicine, learned in part from the Indians, and relying on widely disseminated medical handbooks and imported patent medicines. The causes of diseases and of most illnesses were unknown; attention was focused on the treatment of symptoms, but even there basic diagnostic devices such as the stethescope, blood pressure apparatus and the clinical thermometer were not in use. Surgery was limited to the setting of fractures, the removal of external growths, and the amputation of limbs. Anesthesia, asepsis and antisepsis were yet to be developed. The common treatments were bloodletting and blistering. The most widely used medicaments were Peruvian bark (which contained quinine) for malaria and other fevers, mercurous chloride or calomel, opium, Epsom salts, cantharides, camphor, potassium nitrate or saltpeter, and various other purgatives and emetics.

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This was the medical practice available to the American forces in the war. The Continental Congress established a medical department known as the "Hospital for the Army," which suffered from disorganization, rivalry, corruption, inadequate supplies, and the lack of qualified personnel. There were three types of hospitals: general hospitals of a somewhat permanent nature maintained by the medical department; "flying hospitals" or temporary field installations; and regimental or independently run facilities. None of them had much equipment; those that had fully stocked medicine chests were fortunate. Surgeons used their own instruments, and patients brought their own blankets and lay on straw over an earthen floor. Those located in New Jersey during the early years of the conflict frequently had to be abandoned and the patients evacuated as the British approached.

Disease was the principal cause of illness and death; the mortality rate from it was estimated nine times greater than from combat wounds. The most contagious diseases were smallpox, putrid fever (typhus or typhoid), and dysentery. In the first years, one-fourth to one-third of those in uniform were unfit for duty. A soldier had a 98 percent chance of survival on the battlefield, but only a 75 percent chance in a hospital. The drugs prescribed and the practices of "bleeding, purging and puking" were ineffective against most diseases and only weakened the patients. No treatment at all, except isolation, fresh air, good food and clean water would have accomplished more. Simple wounds could easily be dealt

with, provided infection was avoided, but the removal of bullets and the setting of broken bones were handled only by the most skilled. Compound fractures and shattered bones necessitated amputation.

As the war progressed rudimentary practices of sanitation, proper diet, ventilation, and clean clothing and bedding were on occasion introduced where possible. During the first Morristown encampment, on orders from General Washington, soldiers and civilians were inoculated against smallpox, thereby preventing an epidemic. At the second Morristown encampment in the winter of 1779-1780, despite extremely trying conditions, the number of fatalities from illness declined significantly.

2. John P. Snyder: The Mapping of New Jersey in the American Revolution. In 1749 there appeared the first map correctly showing the outline of New Jersey. It was drawn by Lewis Evans. In 1777, in the midst of the Revolution, William Faden produced a beautifully executed map of the province as a part of his North American Atlas, but its internal details were no more accurate than the earlier effort. Nevertheless, it delineated the thirteen counties, the cities of Perth Amboy, Burlington, New Brunswick and Elizabethtown, many of the villages and rivers, the post road from New York to Philadelphia which ran through Paulus Hook (Jersey City), Newark, Woodbridge, New Brunswick, Princeton and Trenton, and the line between East Jersey and West Jersey.

The inaccuracy of existing maps required the opposing armies to make their own military surveys of New Jersey. The best of these was made by Robert Erskine, a staunch patriot who had come from Scotland in 1771 to manage the Ringwood Ironworks. At the urging of General Washington, Congress in 1777 commissioned Erskine geographer and surveyor general of the Continental army. With a small staff he prepared over one hundred maps, a third of which were of New Jersey. On his death in 1780 his assistant, Simeon DeWitt, succeeded him and carried the work forward. These maps, drawn to a scale of one-half mile to the inch, covered most of the state and were extremely accurate but they were not published because of the lack of funds.

Another set of maps was made by the British army, which had the advantage of a professional engineering and surveying staff. Its principal cartographer for New Jersey was John Hills. Not as accurate as Erskine, Hills produced an unpublished atlas of most of New Jersey, the only one for any state during the Revolution. He settled in Philadelphia after the

war and became a surveyor and draftman; in 1796 he produced a fine map of northeast New Jersey.

A third but smaller set of military maps of the state was made in 1781 by Louis-Alexandre Berthier, an engineer in the French army. These maps were part of a field project that traced the Franco-American army's route from Providence, Rhode Island, to Elkton, Maryland, on its march to the victory at Yorktown. Six of these handsome watercolor maps covered New Jersey.

After the war American cartography made major strides. Christopher Colles, in a book published in 1789, produced the first set of road maps of the country. A dozen of them were of New Jersey, based on his own survey and the Erskine-DeWitt maps. Six years later there appeared the first American-made atlas. It included a map of the state by Samuel Lewis, which was only slightly more accurate than Faden's map. It would take may more years, refinements in surveying and cartography, the formation of the New Jersey Gelological Survey, the participation of the federal government, and finally aerial photography, before a satisfactory degree of accuracy could be achieved.

11. Charles H. Kaufman: The Music of Eighteenth Century New Jersey. Despite the difficulties and demands of life during the eighteenth century, Jerseyans, like other colonists, found time and energy to partake in musical activities. Although little is known about the vocal and instrumental folk music carried over from Europe, it must have played an important role in daily life.

The most important formal music was that related to religious activities. Because of the diversity of denominations in the colony and the emphasis that most placed upon sacred music in their services, there was a high degree of musical participation. The non-English churches, in particular, emphasized psalm singing by the congregation, at first in the native tongue but by the Revolution mostly in English. Among them were the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church, concentrated in the south; the Dutch Reformed Church in the northeastern counties, which held that psalm singing was an obligation of each member of the congregation; and the German Lutheran and Pietest sects, which had a strong interest in instrumental music. The earliest known organ in the province was used in 1750 in the Zion Lutheran Church at New Germantown where there appeared the first organist, Jacob Klein. The Moravians in

Hope used violins, French horns and trombones, as well as the organ, a native one built by David Tannenberg. Among the British churches the Presbyterians placed the strongest emphasis on vocal music. Psalms were sung line by line, first by the "Choristers" and then by the entire congregation.

Secular music in America came into its own during and after the Revolution. However, in 1759 an ode was performed at the College of New Jersey and was followed by a musical pageant. The composer of these works was a student. James Lyon. Although he and the more famous Francis Hopkinson pursued their careers outside the state. both came from New Jersey. Schools and private tutors provided instruction in vocal and instrumental technique; the latter, particularly in piano, violin and flute, was taught only to males. Schools that offered these lessons charged special fees, considering music an "ornamental" study rather than a part of the curriculum. The most professional of the teachers was Dr. George Jackson, composer and performer, who came from England and spent the closing years of the century in New Brunswick. Andrew Law, a native teacher and composer of music. at times worked in the state, and his music books were sold here. Also in New Jersey were two instrument designers, James McLean and the more prominent John Hawkins, who invented the upright piano.

The revolutionary war served as a stimulus to music. The regular army and the militia made much use of fifes, drums and bugles for marching and battle signals, and this practice created a large pool of musicians in later years. Independence Day celebrations invariably included performances by local military bands and choirs.

Lacking the concentrated population of Philadelphia or New York, public concerts in the state were much less frequent than in those cities. The first known concert took place in Princeton in 1794 and included English vocal and instrumental pieces played by professional and amateur artists. The quality and the number of performances rose during the next few years.

23. Suzanne Corlette: The Fine and the Useful Arts in New Jersey, 1750-1800. Agricultural New Jersey, lacking large population centers, and close to Philadelphia and New York, had few residents engaged in the fine arts but a significant number in those crafts which drew upon native raw materials.

One craft that began early and developed into a flourishing industry was pottery making. Most commonly used was the red brick clay found along the Delaware River and between Elizabethtown and Trenton. It had to be glazed to be made impermeable, and if lead was used in vessels that stored acidic foods there was a serious danger of lead poisoning. A finer, denser blue clay found around Raritan and Newark bays was used for the harder, more vitreous stoneware which could be glazed in the initial firing. The earliest pottery enterprise in the colony was established in the 1680s by Dr. Daniel Coxe, who became governor of West Jersey. In the eighteenth century potteries became widespread, most of them family operations. A center of the production of stoneware developed in the South Amboy area. With the coming of the Revolution, pottery making was disrupted, but because of its sound beginning it became a flourishing industry in the nineteenth century.

The presence in southern New Jersey of abundant amounts of high quality sand, forest for charcoal and potash, and rivers for navigation made possible the development of prominent glass works. The first was established by Casper Wistar and several German glassmen in the 1730s along Alloways Creek near Salem. The United Glass Co. turned out bottles of many shapes and sizes, window panes, and medical and scientific glassware.

Another industry that developed in the colony in mid-century because of the presence of the necessary raw materials was bog iron. The ore was formed in the swamps of the pine barrens, the charcoal was made from the abundant forests, clam and oyster shells provided the limestone, and the streams furnished the power for smelting the ore and forging the pig iron. Farm tools, kettles, tubs and stove plates were cast. Forged iron was manufactured into horseshoes, wagon tires, fine tools, and household hardware and utensils. The iron industry also flourished in the hills of northern and northwestern New Jersey, where hard iron ore was found.

Furniture and cabinet making and some clock making were carried on in the colony during the eighteenth century. The rococo Chippendale style was widely followed. One center was in the New Brunswick-Elizabethtown area, which was influenced by Jersey Dutch and New England tastes; the other center was along the lower Delaware and was influenced by the Quakers. Most of the craftsmen who worked with wood made a variety of objects. The clock makers were generally silversmiths as well, itinerants who utilized coins and flatware for raw material.

The principal expression of the fine arts in the colony was in architecture. Influenced by Sir Christopher Wren, who helped to rebuild London after the fire of 1666, American builder-carpenters favored the balanced and symmetrical style known as Georgian. Outstanding New Jersey examples were Nassau Hall in Princeton, the brick and sandstone Dey Mansion in present Passaic County, which shows the Dutch influence, and the frame Ford Mansion at Morristown.

What painting there was in New Jersey consisted of portraiture done generally by itinerant artists who were also sign and house painters. The best known painters associated with the state were John Watson, Joseph Wright, William Dunlop, and many-sided Francis Hopkinson. In addition, Patience Lovell Wright developed wax sculpture into a fine art. With the coming of the Revolution, American art passed through a transition and emerged into the classicism of the Federal period.