

***The American Revolution in Monmouth County:
Notes to Accompany the Book and Additional Essay***

By Michael Adelberg

For the Monmouth County Historical Association

November 2010

The MCHA Historic House Museums and the American Revolution in Monmouth County

Thank you for your interest in the American Revolution in Monmouth County. The main point made in my book, *The American Revolution in Monmouth County: the Theatre of Spoil Destruction*, is that the war for independence was also a civil war that substantially altered the lives of many people. By examining the notes that substantiate my book's narrative, you will gain additional facts and insights into how the war changed lives, and also better understand the 18th Century source materials and historiography on which the book is based.

However successful my book (or any other) might be in examining the impact of the American Revolution on the lives of ordinary people, there are types of learning and information that cannot be gained from even the best books. My own approach to teaching history combines traditional readings with other types of learning: role playing, use of primary documents, and museum visitation. In particular, museums and artifacts offer visual and tactile learning opportunities that can more fully convey a sense for everyday life than the typical history book.

We are fortunate that the Monmouth County Historical Association (MCHA) has preserved and interpreted four Revolutionary Era homes, and that each home owner can be traced through the American Revolution: Garrett Hendrickson (the Holmes-Hendrickson House in Holmdel), William Covenhoven (the Covenhoven House in Freehold), Josiah Halstead (the Allen House in Shrewsbury), and Edward Taylor (Marlpit Hall in Middletown).

These museums expose us to the everyday lives of the English and Dutch inhabitants of Monmouth County during the Revolutionary Era; the buildings and their period furnishings round out the content of my book.

In the interest of completing this connection between my book and the historic home museums of the MCHA, I am pleased to offer short sketches on the lives of each war-time owner of the four historic-home museums.

~~

Garrett Hendrickson of the Holmes-Hendrickson House: Garrett Hendrickson was a prosperous landholder and a member of a large extended Dutch family that settled across Middletown and neighboring townships. He owned a prosperous farm in present-day Holmdel--400 acres, 31 livestock, 2 slaves—making him one of the town's wealthier individuals.

Hendrickson participated in different activities that indicate he was a leading citizen: he was a grand juror at the Court of Quarterly Sessions in Freehold in 1775 and again in 1778. He also signed petitions in 1774, 1777, and 1779—against slave manumission; urging punishment of the

disaffected; in favor of simplifying the process to sell captured British ships. These petitions suggest he was a strong supporter of the Revolution (these people called themselves “Whigs”). In April 1777, when the 1st Regiment of the Monmouth Militia reorganized (following its route at the hands of British regulars two months earlier), Hendrickson was elected a company Lieutenant by his neighbors.

In 1778, Hendrickson’s commitment to the cause of independence was tested—and he took actions that demonstrate that his commitment was indeed strong. He chose to sell clothing to the Continental Commissary, even though by doing so he accepted vouchers of questionable value as reimbursement. On May 27, when a large British and Loyalist raiding party landed at Middletown Point (Matawan) and plundered the village, Hendrickson was among the militia that responded to the call. According to militiaman, John Truax, Hendrickson “was shot in the hand” while skirmishing with the raiders, while many of the militia fled. (Major Thomas Hunn, commanding the militia during the action, was subsequently court martialed for cowardice.)

Despite the wound, Hendrickson remained active in the militia and local Whig politics. In June 1780, he gave leave to a member of his militia company, Joseph Murray, to tend to his family and farm. But this kind act turned tragic when Murray was murdered in his fields by a small party of Loyalist raiders. Later that month, Hendrickson was shot in the ear and wounded by a sword blow to the arm in a skirmish with a different party of Loyalist raiders. He received a pension for these wounds. Disabled, Hendrickson retired from militia service. But the war was not over for him: in February 1782, Hendrickson was captured by Loyalist raiders during their large incursion into Holmdel and Marlboro (but apparently was not confined very long).

Clearly, Hendrickson suffered during the war: he was twice wounded and captured. In addition, his estate withered. Though he still owned the same 400 acres at war’s end, his livestock count fell from 31 to 13 (probably due to plundering) and both of his slaves were gone (probably run off). He was not poor, but did slip from the ranks of Middletown Township’s wealthiest. Despite the material setbacks, he was still respected by his Whig peers; they elected him the township coroner in 1783. At war’s end, Hendrickson joined an association committed to opposing the reintegration of Loyalists, and signed another petition in 1787 that called Loyalists “atrocious monsters of wickedness” and threatened those who might return to claim their pre-war estates.

Sources: Petition Opposing Slave Manumission, February 2, 1774, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscripts Collection, box 14, #17; Grand Juror List, Court of Quarterly Sessions, *List of Officers of the Court, 1774-5*, Common Pleas Minutes, 1769-75 (bound), Monmouth County Archives, Manalapan, NJ; Petition *Urging Action Against the Disaffected*, March 14, 1777, New Jersey State Archives, Department of Defense, Numbered Manuscripts, #1141; Militia Officer Election Certificates, 1777, New Jersey State Archives, Dept. of Defense, Revolutionary War, Numbered Manuscripts, 1046-58; Middletown Township Tax Ratables, 1778 and 1784, New Jersey State Archives; List of Grand Jurors, Monmouth County Court of Oyer & Terminer, January 1778, Morristown National Historical Park Collection, reel 39; Petition *to Better Provision the Militia*, February 25, 1778, National

Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution Library, File Cabinet, Folder: John Lloyd of New Jersey, Washington, DC; *Ledger of Persons Who Sold Clothing for the Use of the Continental Army*, kept by David Forman, June 1778, Princeton University Special Collections, CO 140, David Forman; Narratives of John Truax and Joseph Walling of New Jersey, Revolutionary War Veterans' Pension Application, National Archives, Washington, DC, reels 2416, 2482; Petition *Favoring Quick Division of Prize Money*, December 1779, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscripts Collection, box 14, #51; Deposition regarding the murder of Joseph Murray by Loyalists, April 25, 1788 New Jersey State Archives, Dept. of Defense, Revolutionary War, Numbered Manuscripts, #10639; Edwin Salter, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1980) p303-4; William Stryker, *Officers and Men of New Jersey During the American Revolutionary War* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967); Compensation paid to Doctors Thomas Barber and Thomas Henderson (for tending to Lt. Garrett Hendrickson) December 29, 1780 and January 8, 1781, *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey Assembly*, and January 6, 1781, *Journals of Legislative Council of the State of New Jersey*, in the collection of the Library Company, Philadelphia, PA; *New Jersey Archives: Extracts from American Newspapers* (Trenton: Gazette Publishing Company, 1917), vol. 4, pp. 456-7; Account of Loyalist Raid Against Pleasant Valley, *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, February 23, 1782; William Horner, *This Old Monmouth of Ours* (Freehold: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p407-8; Coroner, 1783-4 List of *County Officers*, 1784; Monmouth County Archives, Box 613 – Election Returns, Folder – 1784, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscript Collection, box 7, #15-20; Petition *Opposing the Return of Tories*, June 10, 1783, New Jersey State Archives, Collective Series, Revolutionary War Documents, #132-5; Petition Against the Return of Tories, April 10, 1787, New Jersey State Archives, Collective Series, Revolutionary War Documents, #147.

~~

William Covenhoven of the Covenhoven House: According to tax lists, there were four adults named William Covenhoven in Freehold Township during the American Revolution. But because two of these men held only small estates (and a house the size of the Covenhoven House likely sat on a large estate) and a third resided in Englishtown, it is possible to deduce that the man listed in the tax rolls as “William A. Covenhoven” was the likely owner of the Covenhoven House. (He is discussed as William Covenhoven in the rest of this essay).

William Covenhoven resided on a 423 acre estate and attended the Dutch Reformed Church in Marlboro; he was part of the one the township's largest and most prominent Whig families.

By 1777, William Covenhoven had clearly sided with the Whigs, though he was too old to serve in the militia. He boarded and cared for two sick militiamen in 1777 (a service for which he was not fully compensated until 1784) and signed a petition calling upon the Quartermaster to settle debts more promptly. These actions strongly suggest that he gave materials to the Continental cause without immediate compensation.

In the days prior to Battle of Monmouth in June 1778, William fled the house, leaving his wife, Elizabeth, to weather various discourtesies from British soldiers as the house was used by General Sir Henry Clinton (the British Commander in Chief) as temporary headquarters.

Although Elizabeth endured numerous indignities and the plundering of some family possessions, William and Elizabeth's house was spared the torch when the British pulled out of Freehold—a sad fate that befell a dozen of their neighbors.

William Covenhoven was an active participant in the raucous and scandal-plagued auctions of Loyalist estates in May 1779. He purchased an estate at one auction, and then signed a petition complaining of the conduct of the estate auctioneers at a second auction a week later. Six months later, he gave testimony against the commissioners in front of the New Jersey Assembly, when the Assembly investigated the matter.

Despite his rivalry with the auction commissioners, William Covenhoven remained an active Whig. In 1779, he signed two petitions encouraging the state legislature to pass stricter militia laws. In May 1780, he sold produce to the Continental Quartermaster (despite being paid in unreliable Continental notes). Weeks later, he joined the Whig vigilante group, the Retaliators. Three months later, he signed a petition begging the Assembly to legalize the practice of retaliation: hoping to legalize the vigilante practice of punishing the kin of Loyalist raiders who remained inside Monmouth County for the crimes of the Loyalist raiders.

In 1781, Covenhoven signed two more Whig petitions: one encouraging the State and Continental Congress to promote free trade, and the second to post a guard at the vulnerable port of Toms River. These petitions suggest that Covenhoven was aware of, and likely active in, the Caribbean trade that went out of that port.

Sources: Book of the *Dutch Reformed Church of Marlboro*, 1770-83, Monmouth County Historical Association, Church Records Collection, Old Brick Church of Marlboro; *Tax List compiled by Asher Holmes*, 1776, (reprint) *Monmouth County Inquirer*, July 1, 1886; Petition for Settlement of Quartermaster Debts, September 6, 1777, New Jersey State Archives, Collective Series, Revolutionary War Documents, #52; Receipts for caring for sick militiamen, October 4, 1777, New Jersey State Archives, Dept. of Defense, Numbered Manuscripts, #6011-2; James Brown, *Clinton's Headquarters: Its Restoration and History*, vol. 1; deposition of Elizabeth Covenhoven, printed in *New Jersey Gazette*, August 12, 1778; purchases Loyalist estate, March 17, 1779, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscripts Collection, box 37, #78; Against Loyalist Auction Commissioners, March 4, 1779, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscripts Collection, box 14, #41; Petitions for Stricter Militia Laws, May 31, 1779, Monmouth County Historical Association, J. Amory Haskell Collection, Box 1, Folder 22 and May 31, 1779, Monmouth County Historical Association, J. Amory Haskell Collection, Folder 22; *Articles of Retaliation (establishing the Association for Retaliation)*, June 1780, printed in Barber, John W. and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of New Jersey*, (New Haven, Connecticut: John Barber, 1868), pp. 371-4; testifies against Loyalist estate commissioners, September 22, 1779, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscripts Collection, box 35, #83; *Account of Books of Persons Who Sold Produce to Continental Quartermaster*, kept by David Rhea, Monmouth County Quartermaster, May-July 1780, New Jersey State Archives, Department of Defense, Revolutionary War, Numbered Manuscripts, #4429; Petition

Supporting Retaliation, September 17, 1780, Tilton, LeRoy W. "New Jersey Petition of 1780, Concerning Retaliation," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, vol. 34, Spring 1946, pp. 75-6; Petition Encouraging Free Trade, May 12, 1781, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscripts Collection, box 14, #65; Petition for Renewing Guard at Toms River, December 10, 1781, Library of Congress, MMC, Monmouth County, New Jersey, Oversize Cabinet 2, Drawer 7; Receipts for caring for sick militia in 1777, November 17, 1783, New Jersey State Archives, Dept. of Defense, Numbered Manuscripts, #6011-2; *Minutes of the New Jersey Legislative Council*, September 2, 1784 (Trenton: Isaac Collins, 1784) p. 23.

~~

Josiah Halstead of the Allen House: Halstead owned a tavern at "four corners" in Shrewsbury, the center of the township. His tavern hosted the annual town meeting: it was the site of local elections, where the town elected its township officers and settled other town business. He also hosted meetings of the Christ Church vestrymen and the Shrewsbury Library Association (the only library in the county).

As the tavernkeeper for the most prominent tavern in the county's largest township, Halstead could be expected to be prominent in local politics. However, there is little evidence that Halstead was as active as his station in the community permitted. In February 1774, he, along with 107 other residents of Shrewsbury and Middletown, signed a petition arguing against the manumission of slaves. The petitioners were alarmed by the increasing restiveness among slaves in eastern Monmouth County (see chapter four of my book for more on this). Prominent Whigs and Loyalists united in signing these petitions; and these petitions serve as the last pre-war example of unity among white landholders in the township. Yet this is the only politically oriented document Halstead signed in the years leading up to the Revolution.

Halstead attended the Anglican Christ Church across the street from his tavern and served as a vestryman himself in 1776. Given the number of Loyalists in his congregation and the large-scale disaffection in Shrewsbury, Halstead likely had Loyalist sympathies. He hosted a town meeting in January 1775 where the residents of Shrewsbury determined not to join the Continental Association or establish a township-level Committee and Correspondence. Four months later, when a large faction of Shrewsbury resident did decide to establish a committee and honor the Continental Association, that meeting was hosted at the tavern of Jeremiah Bonham rather than Halstead's.

The documentation on Josiah Halstead during the war years is confusing. Many of Shrewsbury's residents quit the town early in the war because it was "military frontier" between the Continental and British lines, and people did not feel safe. Halstead may have been among those who left, at least temporarily. It is known that Halstead hired a substitute for at least some of his (mandatory) militia tours. A Josiah Halstead served in the (Loyalist) New Jersey Volunteers as a corporal through July 1778; and a Josiah Halstead is also listed as being drafted into the

Continental Army from the militia in May 1778. With respect to this apparently contradictory information, two scenarios are possible regarding Halstead's military service:

- There were two different men named Josiah Halstead (although only one shows up on the tax lists), and one was a Whig who voluntarily joined the Continental Army while the other continued to serve in the Loyalist New Jersey Volunteers
- There was one Josiah Halstead, and he did in fact serve in both armies, deserting the New Jersey Volunteers and then joining the Continental Army for the rich enlistment bounty (desertion was high in both armies)

In the 1779 tax rolls, Josiah Halstead is listed as a householder (meaning he did not own a farm); this is not unusual for a tavernkeeper. But he was also listed as owning zero livestock, which is very unusual for the owner of a prosperous tavern. This suggests that Halstead lost livestock, either through Loyalist plundering or Whig property confiscations earlier in the war.

Halstead's tavern also hosted the so-called Allen House Massacre: a melee in which a handful of Loyalist raiders successfully ambushed a corporal's guard (12 men) of Continental soldiers stationed in the tavern. The documentation of this raid is built on a letter written many years after the event, but the account is credible in most ways, and this author has previously argued that this account passes the burden of proof threshold necessary to be regarded as "fact". Halstead does not appear in subsequent Shrewsbury Township records after 1779.

The muddy documentary trail makes it difficult to draw a precise narrative for Halstead's wartime experience, but the following can be reasonably concluded:

- He had Loyalist leanings, though whether he was an outright Loyalist or an opportunistic trimmer who supported both sides at different times, is unknown
- The war years were hard on Halstead; he entered the war as the keeper of a well-situated and respectable tavern; it appears he was far poorer at war's end.

Sources: *Petition Opposing Slave Manumission*, February 2, 1774, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscripts Collection, box 14, #17; *Church Officers and Elders of the Christ Church of Shrewsbury (Anglican)*, 1770-83, Vestry Book, Monmouth County Historical Association, Vault, Shelf 4; *Opposing Slave Manumission*, February 2, 1774, New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscripts Collection, box 14, #17; Shrewsbury Township Committee, January 2, 1775, "Proceedings of the Committees of Freehold and Shrewsbury on the Eve of the American Revolution, Minutes of the Shrewsbury Meeting," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 1st Series, 1845, p189; *Compiled Rolls of First and Second Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers*, January 1777-June 1778, Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections, Muster Rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers, 2 boxes (compiled by Joseph Donohue); Muster Rolls of New Jersey Volunteers, Institute for

Advanced Loyalist Studies, www.royalprovincial.com; List of Militia Substitutes, J. Amory Haskell Collection, Monmouth County Historical Association, folder 10, document H; Id13, *Recruits for State Troops*, May-June 1778, New Jersey State Archives, Department of Defense, Revolutionary War, Numbered Manuscripts, #3363; *Captain Burrowes' Company*, 1777-80, New Jersey State Archives, Revolutionary War Papers, Numbered Manuscripts, document # 3777; List of Continental Army draftees, New Jersey State Archives, Dept. of Defense, Revolutionary War Coll., Numbered Manuscript 5915; Shrewsbury Township Tax Ratable, 1779, New Jersey State Archives; the author's "The Allen House Massacre: Using a Letter to Establish Historical Fact" (Monmouth County Historical Assoc.: Freehold, NJ, 1997); Margie Hofer, "A Tavern for the Town" (Monmouth County Historical Assoc.: Freehold, NJ, 1994).

~~

Edward Taylor of Marlpit Hall: Since Edward Taylor is discussed in great length in chapter 3 of my book, he is not discussed in this essay.

~~

The four MCHA Historic House museum homeowners—Garrett Hendrickson, and William Covenhoven, Josiah Halstead, Edward Taylor—are not perfectly representative of Monmouth County's war time experience. The homeowners were, relatively speaking, older and wealthier than the majority of men in the county, and therefore avoided the kind of irregular military activity generally chosen poorer young men (i.e., privateering, irregular raiding). In addition, all four were from well settled areas in the northern half of the county, so they were largely shielded from the Pine Robber activities that aggravated so many lives in the southern half of the county.

But in other ways, the wartime experiences of Hendrickson, Covenhoven, Halstead and Taylor were representative of the county's wartime experience: Two of the homeowners, Halstead and Taylor, were disaffected, and Halstead might have been an active Loyalist, at least early in the war. The other two homeowners—Hendrickson and Covenhoven—were Whigs, with one serving faithfully in the militia and the other supporting the vigilante practices of the Retaliators. Like so many Monmouth County residents, all four homeowners appear to have suffered during the war: Hendrickson was wounded twice in combat and captured once, he lost more than half his livestock and both of his slaves; Covenhoven fled his home and was plundered of some possessions by the British Army; Halstead, living along the military frontier, spent months away from home in the army, and lost all of his livestock; Taylor was arrested multiple times for disaffection, suffered months of house arrest, and lost much of his wealthy estate. In this important way at least, the wartime experiences of these four homeowners is both instructive and representative of the war in Monmouth County.

If you enjoyed *The American Revolution in Monmouth County: The Theatre of Spoil and Destruction*, I hope you will visit the MCHA's historic house museums to round out your understanding of the life in Monmouth County during the 18th Century.

Michael Adelberg, October 2011

The American Revolution in Monmouth County: The Theatre of Spoil and Destruction

Notes

Chapter 1 – Overview of the American Revolution in Monmouth County

Introductory text: Pages 15-6

Butterworth's trial and riot are summarized in numerous sources, recommended is Brendon McConville's *Daring Distrubers of the Peace* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999) p 11-13. There are scattered references to smugglers using Monmouth County in various New York newspapers through the 1750s and 60s; also see William Steele's Loyalist Pension Application in which he discusses running afoul of Monmouthers for attempting to stop smuggling during his short tenure as Monmouth County Sheriff in 1761, Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of New Jersey* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1927), p206. A letter regarding the Middletown Sons of Liberty is in the Lamb Papers, reel 1, #33, New York Historical Society, and support from the Upper Freehold Sons of Liberty is noted in the *Memoir of the Life and Times of Major General John Lamb* (Annapolis: J Munsell, 1857) p 4. The most complete narrative of the Monmouth County Land Riots is William Eisenring's "Monmouth and Essex Counties' Riots Against Lawyers, 1769-70", *New Jersey History*, 1994, vol. 112, pp. 1-18.

In July 1772, Morris and Newland, in tandem "did set fire to the dwelling house of one Samuel Bennett" in Dover Township. See Monmouth County Court of General Session, July 1772 "The King vs. John Morris and Trevor Newland, Esq.", Monmouth County Archives, Manalapan, New Jersey. The ill-fated tea ship, Nancy, was turned away from New York harbor by mobs in April 1774 and then anchored in Monmouth County, where locals offered it no assistance, it was then driven ashore on Sandy Hook during bad weather. This is told in various antiquarian sources, recommended is the account contained in the *New Jersey Archives*, 1st Series, vol. 29, p 348-50].

Information on Longstreet's company is scattered among several sources, but condensed in the author's *Biographical File* on file at the Monmouth County Historical Association Library, Freehold, New Jersey. Also, see National Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, Coll. 2, p36, 42; Coll. 4, p16, for specific information on the company's composition. In March 1775, the Freehold Committee of Observation, declared of Shrewsbury, "we esteem to treat them, the said inhabitants of Shrewsbury, as enemies to their King and Country, and deserters from the common cause of true freedom; we will hereafter break off all dealings and communications with them" until the committee forms its own Committee of Observation to enforce the British boycott. This occurred in May 1775, though the Shrewsbury Committee did not become active until the end of the year. Documentation on the Committee's activity is in Franklin Ellis, *The History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck, 1883), p 123 and also the notes of Nathaniel Scudder, May 10, 1775, Myers Collection, item 551, New York Public Library. Information on the African American unrest in the county is described in chapter 4 of this book. Information on Forman's Flying Camp is summarized in several sources, including Fred Berg's

Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1968). Interesting information on the Monmouth men in Forman's Flying Camp is in National Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, p 2-11, *the Orderly Book of Sgt. William Walton*, Manuscripts and Rare Books Division, Library of Congress, and Revolutionary Veteran's Pension Applications of Matthias Hulse, John Parsons, and Garrett Schenck.

1776: Pages 16-18

The most complete discussion of the British capture and occupation of Sandy Hook is the author's 'So Dangerous a Quarter' The Sandy Hook Lighthouse During the American Revolution," *The Keeper's Log: Journal of the United States Lighthouse Society*, April 1995, p 10-6. Discussion of the rival militias in Upper Freehold and Freehold Townships is in John Longstreet's Loyalist Compensation Application, in which he discusses forming a militia company in Freehold that opposed independence and was called "the Loyalists of Freehold". Longstreet's application and the applications of other New Jersey Loyalists is on microfilm at Rutgers University Special Collections, New Brunswick, NJ. The first Monmouthers arrested for disaffection were Upper Freehold Loyalists, Richard Robins, Moses Ivins, Anthony Woodward Jr., Joseph Grover, Guisebert Giberson, and Thomas Woodward, arrested on June 26 for organizing men against the Whig Government of New Jersey. See Peter Force's *American Archives*, New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1972) vol. 6, p 1630-1. The June 1776 anti-independence petition was printed in "Local Facts About the Revolutionary War Made Public", *Red Bank Register*, Articles File, Monmouth County Historical Association, or entry 5435 in the author's database.

There are numerous sources that mention the 50 or 60 Monmouth Loyalists who joined the British shortly after the landing at Sandy Hook, particularly recommended in the Loyalist Compensation Application of Robert Morris. George Taylor's problems are detailed in chapter 3. Samuel Breese's troubles as Colonel of the Shrewsbury militia are profiled in 'Patriot Minority: The Story of Samuel Breese', *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, Fall 1995. Charles Read's orders to march into Monmouth County to march into Monmouth County on July 2 are detailed in Peter Force, *American Archives*, (vol. 6, p 1636.

Forman's campaign against the Loyalist insurrectionaries is discussed in chapters 3 and 5. The Loyalist insurrections of December 1776 are discussed in chapters 2 and 5 of this book. Also recommended is chapter 2 of Fowler's *Egregious Villains*.

1777: Pages 18-9

The battle at Freehold is most completely narrated in the author's "The Forgotten First Battle of Monmouth," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, winter 1997. The Continental campaign to topple the county's Loyalist regime is most fully narrated in chapter 5 of this book.

A complete summary of David Forman's many provocative acts is summarized in the author's *Biographical File*. The scandalous events of 1777 and the lack of governance is discussed chapter 5.

The compiled muster rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers demonstrate that the vast majority of recruitment occurred between November 1776 and July 1777; the muster rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers are listed in the appendix of the author's Biographical File. The action against the Middletown Presbyterian Church and capture of Rev. Charles McKnight is in Richard Harrison's biography of McKnight, *Princetonians: A Biographical Dictionary* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976) vol. 2, p 156-9 and Ellis's *History of Monmouth County*, p 522-3. The raid on the Seabrook homestead is summarized in chapter 3 of this book, and the capture of Captain Dennis is discussed in the New York *Gazette* on October 4 and the New York *Gazette & Weekly Mercury* on October 4. Taylor's incursions into Monmouth County are summarized in chapter 3 of this book.

1778: Pages 19-20

The Manasquan raid is reported in the New Jersey *Gazette*, April 1, 1778, the Middletown Point raid is reported in the New Jersey *Gazette* on June 3, 1778 and the Pennsylvania *Gazette* on June 13, and the autobiography of Samuel Forman, *A Narrative of a Journey Down the Ohio and Mississippi*, (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1888) p 7. Results of the June 1778 session of the Monmouth County Court of Oyer and Terminer, including capital convictions, is in Morristown National Historical Park Collection, reel 39, Monmouth County Courts, Morristown, NJ.

There are numerous books on the Battle of Monmouth, particularly recommended are: David Martin's *The Philadelphia Campaign* (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, 1993) and Samuel Smith's *The Battle Monmouth* (Monmouth Beach, N.J.: Philip Freneau Press, 1964).

The best narrative of the British raid on the privateer base at Egg Harbor is Frederick Bogert's "Sir Henry Raids a Hen's Roost," *New Jersey History*, 1986, vol. 104, p 223-32. See Fowler's *Egregious Villains* for discussion of the Pine Robbers. See chapter 5 of this book for discussion of George Washington's reluctance to commit troops to Monmouth County.

1779: Page 21

Documentation of the April 25 raid is in several sources, particularly: New York *Royal Gazette*, April 28, 1779, New Jersey *Gazette*, May 5, 1779, George Washington to Gov. William Livingston, April 25, 1779, in John Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933) vol. 14, p 443, 456, 462, and 465, and the autobiography of Benjamin White in Judith Olsen's *Lippincott: Five Generations of Descendants of Richard and Abigail Lippincott* (Woodbury, NJ: Gloucester Historical Society, 1982), p 159-6. The June 9 raid of Tinton Falls is documented in the New York *Gazette*, June 16, 1779, New Jersey *Gazette*, June 23, 1779, and James Moody's autobiography, *Lieutenant James Moody's Narrative of His Exertions and Sufferings*, (New York: New York Times, 1968).

List of the confiscated Loyalist estates are listed in the appendix of the author's Biographical File. The collusive and likely corrupt public auction of those estates is discussed briefly in Leonard Lundin's *Cockpit of the Revolution*. The Forman-Mott incident and tension among Monmouth Whigs is discussed chapter 6.

The State Troops are discussed in chapter 5. Thomas Farr's rise and murder is discussed in the author's "Necessity Has No Law': Leadership and Governance in Revolutionary Monmouth County, New Jersey" presented at the *New Jersey Forum*, sponsored by the New Jersey Historical Commission, November 2011 (paper on file at the Monmouth County Historical Association Library, Freehold, NJ), and Fowler's *Egregious Villains*.

1780: Page 22

The raids of Colonel Tye are detailed in chapter 4. The privateer militiamen of Dover Township are vividly described in the Revolutionary War pension application of Thomas Brown, National Archives, Washington, DC.

The court martial documents are listed the appendix of the author's *Biographical File*. The Retaliators are described in chapter 6.

The case of *Holmes v. Walton* is discussed is well documented, recommended are Philip Hamburger's *Law and Judicial Duty* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2008) p407-16 and the author's *Factions, Contraband, and Civil War: the Historical Context of Holmes v. Walton*, in Paul Axel Lute, ed., *Holmes v. Walton*, (Rutgers University Center for Law & Justice, <http://njlegallib.rutgers.edu/hw>, February 2010) 17 pages.

1781: Page 23

The June raid into Middletown was the largest Loyalist incursions of the war, though it was not nearly as destructive as some of the smaller ones, see *New Jersey Gazette* June 21, 1780 and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 27. The raid, locally called 'the Battle of the 1500' (the reported number of raiders) is also documented in several Revolutionary War Veteran's pensions, see the applications of John Schenck, William Van Pelt, Walter Van Pelt, Joseph Walling, and Philip Walling (at the National Archives, Washington, DC). Also see the report of Col. Asher Holmes to Governor William Livingston, June 23, 1781, in the William Livingston Papers, reel 15, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ. The raid of October 15, 1781 that resulted in a skirmish in which Congressman Nathaniel Scudder was killed is reported in: the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, October 30, and a letter from Elias Boudinot to his wife, Hannah, on October 21 in Paul Smith, *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1976) vol. 18, p 150; a letter from David Forman to George Washington, October 17 (George Washington Papers, Series 4, reel 81, Library of Congress, Washington, DC); and numerous local history sources including Edwin Salter's *A History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, NJ: E. Gardner & Sons, 1890), p 88 and 210-1, and Hamilton Cochran's *Scudders of the American Revolution*, (Peterborough, N.H.: Scudder Association, 1976), 99-100. Lee's raid on Sandy Hook is described in chapter 5; Hyler's numerous actions around Sandy Hook are best detailed, perhaps with a little embellishment, in Fred Cook's "The Jersey Buccaneer," *Argosy*, October 1957, vol. 345, p 66-9. The militia sweeps that resulted in the arrests of 37 shore residents for contraband trading is documented in Minutes of the Monmouth County Court of Quarterly Sessions, Folder: 1780, Monmouth County Archives, Manalapan, NJ. The Election Day violence in 1781 and continued troubles between radical and moderate Whigs factions and with the disaffected is discussed in chapter 6.

1782-3: Pages 23-4

The persistence of the Pine Robber gangs into 1782 is most fully documented by David Fowler, in *Egregious Villains*. The February 1782 raid is documented in the *New Jersey Gazette*, February 8, 1782 and *Pennsylvania Evening Post* on February 23. The March 24 raid against Toms River is reported in *New York Gazette*, March 27, 1782 and the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* on March 29. Also see Col. Samuel Forman's report to Governor William Livingston, March 25, 1782. See William Livingston, *The Papers of William Livingston*, (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979), vol. 4, p 388-9.

The so-called Huddy Affair is discussed in chapter 6 of this book. It is well-summarized in Sheila Skemp's biography of the leader of the Associated Loyalists, William Franklin, *William Franklin: Son of a Patriot, Servant of a King*, (New York : Oxford University Press, 1990), and Larry Bowman's "The Court Martial of Richard Lippincott," *New Jersey History*, 1971, vol. 89, p 23-36.

William Clark's career and death is summarized in the author's "A Great Villain': William Clark and the Raritan Cowboys," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, winter 1998. The final demise of the Pine Robbers is well documented in Fowler's *Egregious Villains*. Also recommended is Harry Ward's *Between the Lines*, for its discussions of the 'melting away' of bands of Loyalist irregulars in other parts of the new country (i.e., the Chesapeake Picaroons, the Georgia Maroons). The Pine Robbers were not the only irregulars to fade-away at war's end, rather than meet a climactic defeat.

Forman's capture of the privateer Captain Nathan Jackson and impounding of Jackson's vessels is in *Revolutionary War Prize Cases*, David Forman v. Nathan Jackson, M162, reel 1, cases 91-2, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. The beating of the British sailors and the continued actions of the Retaliators into 1783 is discussed in chapter 6 of this book. The final defeat of the radical Whigs as a political force and the departure of their leaders is discussed in the author's "Necessity Has No Law", a paper presented at the New Jersey Historical Society's New Jersey Forum, November 20, 2010 (Monmouth University, Long Branch, NJ).

Postwar: Pages 25-6

See the appendix of the author's *Biographical File* for documents on the estate confiscations. See the author's 'An Evenly Balanced County' for a discussion of the 600+ who served in the New Jersey Volunteers, as well as the muster rolls of the New Jersey volunteers, as listed in the appendix of the author's *Biographical File*.

The figure of 358 is compiled by totaling the people who held civil or military officer commissions between 1776 and 1783. Using tax lists, the author has determined that about 1/3 of these men did not meet the acreage requirements to vote prior to the adoption of the New Jersey Constitution. See the author's *Biographical File* on file at the Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, New Jersey. See also "Necessity Has No Law".

The transformation of the county's politics during the war years and new leadership is discussed in chapter 6. The demographic impact of the war is discussed in Peter Wacker's *Land and People: the Cultural Geography of Pre-Industrial New Jersey* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975). The rise of the Shore after the war is fragmentary, but evidence can be found in Arthur Pierce's *Smuggler's Woods* and the significant rise in population of the shore townships in the 1790 Federal Census.

Captain James Green's militia return with the 19 women is printed and discussed in Harriet Stryker-Rodda, "Militia Women of 1780, Monmouth County, New Jersey," *N.S.D.A.R. Magazine*, 113, no. 4 (April 1979), pp 308–12. For information on Esther Frost, see chapter 2 of this book. Information on Dennis is in Franklin Ellis's *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck, 1885), p 196-9; Edwin Salter's *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1980) (re-print), p36. See also the \$30 certificate granted Rebecca Dennis by Col. Daniel Hendrickson for her support after the loss of husband, Capt. John Dennis, in the J. Amory Haskell Collection, box 1, folder 10. Information on Lucretia Emmons is in different antiquarian sources, and some of the accounts strain credibility, Charles Claghorn's *Women Patriots of the American Revolution* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1991) p72 and Ellis's *History of Monmouth County*, p 214 appear credible. Information on Rhoda Sutphin is in the Revolutionary War Veteran's pension application of Derrick Sutphin at the National Archives, in Washington, DC. The autobiography of Eliza Chadwick Roberts is in the collections of the Monmouth County Historical Association.

Chapter 2 - Conceiving Ourselves in a Precarious Situation

Introductory Vignette and Text: Pages 27-8

Information on Jeremiah Bennett is in the author's *Biographical File*, on file at the Monmouth County Historical Association (MCHA) Library, Freehold, New Jersey, and entries 4575, 8656, 8680 in the author's database, also on file at the MCHA Library. See chapter 3 for a full discussion on Edward Taylor and the Monmouth Committees.

These figures are from the author's "An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey," *Journal of Military History*, January 2009, vol. 73, n. 1, pp. 9-48.

Supporters of Independence –Whigs: Pages 29-30

For specific information on Anderson, see Anderson's Revolutionary War veteran's pension application, reel 59, NARA. See also the Middletown Tax Ratables, 1784, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, New Jersey; the following troop returns: "Recruits for State Troops," June 1780, reels 593 and 640, Collection 881, NARA; "Monmouth State Troops," undated, Numbered Manuscripts, #3844-5, 3852, 3856A, Revolutionary War, Department of Defense, New Jersey State Archives.

The numbers of active Revolutionaries and Whigs are from the author's, "An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey," *Journal of Military History*, January 2009, vol. 73, n. 1, pp. 9-48

For specific citations on Morris, see the author's database entries 1566, 4540, 3487, 7325, 7235, 8626, 9385; Morris's own Revolutionary War veteran's pension application, reel 1772, NARA (Morris's pension application was rejected—see *Rejected or Suspended Applications for Revolutionary War Pensions* (Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969), pp 186–98; Middletown Tax Ratables, 1778, and Shrewsbury Tax Ratables, 1784, New Jersey State Archives; most interesting is the "Deposition of Zephaniah Morris," #21, box 1, Council of Safety Collection, New Jersey State Archives; folder 1781, box Loose Common Pleas, Loose Common Pleas Collection, Monmouth County Court of Common Pleas, Monmouth County Archives, Manalapan, New Jersey; Court Docket, #49, box 23, Manuscripts, Manuscript Collection, Bureau of Archives and History, New Jersey State Archives; folder 1783, Court Docket, Court of Quarterly Sessions, Monmouth County Archives.

Opponents of Independence – Loyalists: Pages 30-31

Figures are from "An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey," *Journal of Military History*

Specific citations on Woolley are contained in *The Papers of William Livingston*, ed. Carl Prince, vol. 1 (Trenton, N.J.: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979), 312–15; *Minutes of the Council*

of Safety of the State of New Jersey (Jersey City, N.J.: John H. Lyon, 1872), 13; “List of Tories,” item 70, p. 117, reel 84, Papers of the Continental Congress, NARA; “Deposition of William Sands,” Council of Safety Collection, New Jersey State Archives; “List of Loyalists,” folder: Miscellaneous, box 1, Barricklo Collection, CO 387, Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey; “Compiled Rolls of First and Second Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers,” January 1777–June 1778, compiled by Joseph Donohue, Muster Rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers, 2 boxes, Special Collections, Rutgers University Libraries, New Brunswick, New Jersey; Captain John Taylor, 24 April 1778, “Muster Roll of 1st Battalion of New Jersey Volunteers,” New Jersey Volunteers, Muster Rolls, New Jersey Volunteers, Special Collections, Rutgers University Libraries.

Documentation on Parker is in the author’s database entries 7592, 8242, 8345, 9185, 9235, 9265, 9585, 9590, 9902; “Persons Indicted for Crimes,” folder 1780, Court of Quarterly Sessions, Monmouth County Archives; “Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer,” December 1780–January 1781, folder December 1780–January 1781, box 2, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Judicial Records, New Jersey State Archives; “From Victims of the Association for Retaliation,” September 1782, #121, Collective Series, Revolutionary War Documents, New Jersey State Archives; “Renters of Forfeited Loyalist Estates,” 1779, folder 2.2, box 5, Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, New Jersey State Archives; “Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer,” June 1778, folder June 1778, box 2, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Judicial Records, New Jersey State Archives.

Others: Page 31

Figures are from “An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey,” *Journal of Military History*.

Documentation on Patrick Bailey is in “Compiled Rolls of First and Second Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers,” January 1777–June 1778, compiled by Joseph Donohue, Muster Rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers, 2 boxes, Special Collections, Rutgers University Libraries; “Articles of Retaliation (Association for Retaliation),” June 1779, in *Historical Collections of New Jersey*, by John W. Barber and Henry Howe (New Haven, Conn.: John Barber, 1868), 371–74; “Convictions from the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer,” February 1781, *New Jersey Gazette*, 7 February, 1781; “Recruits for State Troops,” June 1780, reels 593 and 640, Collection 881, NARA; “Monmouth State Troops,” undated, Numbered Manuscripts, #3844-5, 3852, 3856A, Revolutionary War, Department of Defense, New Jersey State Archives.

Monmouth County’s Women: Page 32

The figure of 118 is from “An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey,” *Journal of Military History*.

Documentation of Deborah Williams is in the author’s database entries 6181, 9269; Captain James Green, June 1780, “Militia Return,” in Harriet Stryker-Rodda, “Militia Women of 1780, Monmouth County, New Jersey,” *N.S.D.A.R. Magazine*, 113, no. 4 (April 1979), 308–12; Shrewsbury Township Tax Ratable for 1784, New Jersey State Archives. Documentation of

Esther Frost is in the author's database entry Z287; "Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer," January 1778, box 2, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Judicial Records, New Jersey Archives; "Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer," January and June 1778, reel 39, Morristown National Historical Park Collection, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, Pennsylvania; "Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer," January 1778, folder January 1778, box 2, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Judicial Records, New Jersey State Archives; "Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer," June 1778, folder June 1778, box 2, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Judicial Records, New Jersey State Archives.

Whig Military Service: Pages 32-4

See corresponding section in the author's, "An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey," *Journal of Military History*. To compile the number of militarily active Quakers, the author used the names of Quakers listed in the Minutes of the Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting (at the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College), and cross referenced those names against the military service as listed in the author's *Biographical File*.

Documentation on Curtis is in the author's database entries 2738, 2741, 9225, 9233, 9323; Shrewsbury Township Tax Ratables for 1779, New Jersey State Archives; Captain Stephen Fleming, 11 August 1780, "List of Militia Delinquents," Numbered Manuscripts, #1125, Revolutionary War, Department of Defense, New Jersey State Archives; Captain Daniel Hampton, 25 September 1780, "List of Militia Delinquents," Numbered Manuscripts, #1140, Revolutionary War, Department of Defense, New Jersey State Archives; Captain James Green, 4 October 1780, "List of Delinquents," folder 5, box 5, Holmes Family Papers, New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey; Captain John Burrowes, April 1782, "List of Militia Delinquents," folder 13, J. Amory Haskell Collection, Monmouth County Historical Association; "Account of Books of Persons Who Sold Produce to Continental Quartermaster," kept by David Rhea, Monmouth County Quartermaster, May–July 1780, Numbered Manuscripts, #4429, Revolutionary War, Department of Defense, New Jersey State Archives; "Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer," December 1780–January 1781, folder December 1780–January 1781, box 2, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Judicial Records, New Jersey State Archives; "Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer," November 1782, folder November 1782, box 2, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Judicial Records, New Jersey State Archives.

There is no document that narrates the history of the three militia regiments, but the history of the three regiments can be gleaned by looking at the service records and documentation of the three Colonels: Asher Holmes, Daniel Hendrickson, and Samuel Forman. See the author's *Biographical File* for information on the three regimental Colonels. The militia courts martial are listed in the appendix of the *Biographical File*.

For a discussion of long-service Whig servicemen, see "An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey," *Journal of*

Military History. Fortunately, many muster rolls for the State Troops still exist (see appendix of the author's *Biographical File*). The township of origin of these men is listed on some muster rolls, but others are ascribed a township of origin by comparing the names of the State Troops to either: tax lists or militia lists.

Documentation on Bennett is in the author's database entries Z059, Z287; Shrewsbury Township Tax Ratable for 1779, New Jersey State Archives; Captain James Green, 8 February 1780, "Militia Return," folder 5, box 4, Holmes Family Papers, New Jersey Historical Society; "Recruits for State Troops," June 1780, reels 593 and 640, Collection 881, NARA; "Petition Favoring Quick Division of Prize Money," December 1779, #51, box 14, Manuscripts Collection, Bureau of Archives and History, New Jersey State Archives; "Supporting Peter Schenck," October 1781, folder 22 (3 documents), box 1, J. Amory Haskell Collection, Monmouth County Historical Association; "Petition Opposing the Return of Tories," 10 June 1783, #132-5, Revolutionary War Documents, Collective Series, New Jersey State Archives; "State Troops Present at the Capture of the British Brig *Britannia*," December 1779, Numbered Manuscripts, #10089-10098, Revolutionary War, Department of Defense, New Jersey State Archives; "Account of Books of Persons Who Sold Produce to Continental Quartermaster," kept by David Rhea, Monmouth County Quartermaster, May–July 1780, Numbered Manuscripts, #4429, Revolutionary War, Department of Defense, New Jersey State Archives.

Loyalist Military Service: pages 35-6

See corresponding section in, "An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey," *Journal of Military History*. For information on the Pine Robbers, see Fowler's *Egregious Villains*. Information on the Raritan Bay Cowboys is best summarized in the author's "'A Great Villain': William Clark and the Raritan Cowboys," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, winter 1998. Information on Colonel Taylor is in chapter 4.

The most complete narrative of the New Jersey Volunteers remains William S. Stryker's *The New Jersey volunteers (Loyalists) in the Revolutionary War* (Trenton, N.J., Naar, Day & Naar, 1887). Although more than a century old, it is reliable source.

Numerous Revolutionary War narratives discuss the 1777 Continental Army raid on Staten Island. Most of this action was unsuccessful, but the Continentals were very successful in surprising and taking a large party of New Jersey Volunteers commanded by Lt. Colonel Elisha Lawrence, who was captured during the raid. See Elisha Lawrence's and John Longstreet's Loyalist Compensation Applications, microfilmed at Rutgers University Library, Special Collections, New Brunswick, NJ.

Jacob Fagan served in the New Jersey Volunteers, but deserted during the Battle of Monmouth Campaign. He led a small gang of pine robbers and was responsible for numerous robberies, including a particularly brutal robbery at the home of Captain Benjamin Dennis in Shrewsbury Township. He met a bloody end in late 1778. The most complete narrative on Fagan is Fowler's *Egregious Villains*, chapter 3.

William Reynolds, Jr., enlisted as a private in New Jersey Volunteers on 10 April 1777 and is recorded as dead on 4 June 1777. Documentation on Reynolds Sr. and Jr. is in: Public Record Office, British Headquarters Papers, #5098, on microfilm at the David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA; *Tax List compiled by Asher Holmes, 1776*, (reprint) *Monmouth County Inquirer*, July 1, 1886; Upper Freehold Township Tax Ratable for 1778, New Jersey State Archives; “Compiled Rolls of First and Second Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers,” January 1777–June 1778, compiled by Joseph Donohue, 2 boxes, Muster Rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers, Special Collections, Rutgers University Libraries; “Convictions from the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer,” January 1781, *New Jersey Gazette*, January 3, 1781; “Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer,” May–June 1782, folder May–June 1782, box 2, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Judicial Records, New Jersey State Archives; “Petition of Loyalists to Sir Guy Carleton,” July 18, 1782, reel 14, #5098, British Headquarters Papers, David Library of the American Revolution.

A Note on Trimmers: Pages 36-7

For a fuller discussion on Trimmers and their true number, see “An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey,” *Journal of Military History*. This number was arrived at by counting the number of individuals who appeared to take up arms or actively support both sides during the war using the author’s *Biographical File* (on file at the MCHA Library).

Documentation on North is in: “Compiled Rolls of First and Second Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers,” January 1777–June 1778, compiled by Joseph Donohue, 2 boxes, Muster Rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers, Special Collections, Rutgers University Libraries; “List of Recruits for New Jersey Volunteers,” January 2, 1777, captured by Lt. Col. Francis Gurney, contained in Prince, *Papers of William Livingston*, 1:337–38; “List of Tory Prisoners from Monmouth County in Philadelphia Jail,” circa January 1777, reel 25, frame 691, Records of the Pennsylvania Revolutionary Government, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; “Monmouth Continentals,” undated, Numbered Manuscripts, #3776-7, Department of Defense, New Jersey State Archives; “Persons Indicted for Crimes at the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer,” November 1782, folder November 1782, box 2, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Judicial Records, New Jersey State Archives.

The Toll of Local Warfare: Pages 37-8

For a more detailed discussion of the numbers cited, see “An Evenly Balanced County: The Scope and Severity of Civil Warfare in Revolutionary Monmouth County New Jersey,” *Journal of Military History*.

Documentation on Layton is in the author’s database entry 9309; “Purchasers of Loyalist Estates, Middletown Township,” March 22, 1779, #78, box 37, Manuscripts, Manuscripts Collection, Bureau of Archives and History, New Jersey State Archives; “Compiled Rolls of First and Second Battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers,” January 1777–June 1778, compiled by Joseph Donohue, Muster Rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers, 2 boxes, Special Collections, Rutgers University Libraries.

Documentation on Johnson is in the author's database entries 0838, 3210, 7959; Shrewsbury Township Tax Ratables for 1779 and 1784, New Jersey State Archives; "Petition Opposing the Return of Tories," 10 June 1783, #132-5, Revolutionary War Documents, Collective Series, New Jersey State Archives; Captain Thomas Cook, November 1775, "Volunteer Militia Return," Numbered Manuscripts, #1095, Department of Defense, New Jersey State Archives.

Leadership and Suffering: Pages 38-40

See the author's *Biographical File* for information on Charles McKnight, John Smock, John Cook, Thomas Seabrook, and Daniel Hendrickson as well as Dr. James Boggs and Joseph Allen. The capture of Smock is also discussed in chapter 6. Allen and Boggs are also briefly mentioned in that chapter.

Documentation on Studson is in: David Fowler's *Egregious Villians*, p 243; William Hess, *On History's Trail* (Point Pleasant, NJ: Barnegat Products, 1973) p 93-6; William Horner, *This Old Monmouth of Ours* (Freehold: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p 164; Arthur Pierce, *Smuggler's Woods* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1960) p 41; Edwin Salter, *The History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (1220) pp 43-4, 194-202; John Dann, *The Revolution Remembered* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1984) pp. 137-41; *New Jersey Archives*, vol. 5, pp. 122-5, 145, 170; Alfred Heston, *South Jersey: A History* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1924), p 238; National Archives, Papers of the Continental Congress, reel 22, item 11, pp 172-6; William Fischer, *Cyclopedia of Ocean County* (7954) p 53-6; List of Dover Township Officials, 1780, Elections Returns, Folder- 1780, box 613, Monmouth County Archives, Manalapan, NJ; Z302; Dover Township Tax Ratables for 1779, New Jersey State Archives; "Articles of Retaliation (Association for Retaliation)," June 1779, in Barber and Howe, *Historical Collections of New Jersey*, 371-74.

Whaleboat Privateers (text box): Page 39

The most complete discussion of the whaleboat privateers of New Jersey is Robert Schiena's "A Matter of Definition: A New Jersey Navy 1777-83," *American Neptune*, vol. 39, 1979, pp. 209-17. William Horner's *This Old Monmouth of Ours* (Freehold: Moreau Brothers, 1932) also narrates numerous exploits of privateers off the Monmouth Coast. See also the pension application of Thomas Brown published in John Dann's *The Revolution Remembered* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) for an excellent narrative of the whaleboat privateers of Toms River, and the blurry line between militia service and privateering.

Conclusion: Pages 40-1

The Dover Township petition is in the J. Amory Haskell Collection, Folder 22, Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, NJ.

Chapter 3 - I am as Innocent as an Unborn Child

Introductory Vignette: Pages 43-5

Thomas Farr's quote is contained in Records of the Upper Freehold Baptist Meeting, reel 1, in the Special Collections of Rutgers University Libraries, New Brunswick, NJ. A good overview of the role of religion in determining attitude toward revolution in New Jersey is in Edward Cody's *Religious Issues in Revolutionary New Jersey* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975). See also, Norman Maring's *Baptists in New Jersey: A Study in Transition* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1964).

The turmoil in the Middletown Baptist Meeting is summarized in the author's "A Purging Time': The Churches of Revolutionary Monmouth County," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, Winter 1994. The conflict between the Taylor family and the Baptists of Middletown are transcribed in John Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company) vol. 2, p 273. See the same source for general information on the Taylor families of Middletown.

The Political Career of Edward Taylor: Pages 46-49

It is interesting to note that Americans at the time of the Revolution, themselves, had many different terms for those who sided with the British during the Revolution. Supporters of the Revolution, tended to term themselves "Whigs" in affiliation with the party of political reform in Great Britain. They generally labeled those of means who were ideologically opposed to the Revolution as "Tories", a reference to the British party that generally opposed democratic initiatives and supported a harder line in the American dispute. Groups of Americans whose Loyalism was manifest (usually intermittently) in partisan and irregular forms of warfare (particularly among the lower classes), were frequently termed "banditti", "ruffians", "robbers", or worse. "Loyalist" was the term of preference used by those who sided with the British to describe themselves. William Benton's, *Whig-Loyalism* (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh-Dickinson Press, 1959) was the first book to profile the cohort of leaders of who led anti-British agitation before the war, before becoming Loyalists during the war. Another work that focuses on the Whig-Loyalists of the Middle Colonies, though it does not employ the label, is John Neuenschwander's *The Middle Colonies and the Coming of the American Revolution* (New York: Kennikat Press) 1973.

New Jersey's Loyalists have been the subject of much research, but the resulting body of scholarship is uneven in that some types of Loyalists are well studied and others remain relatively unstudied. An abbreviated list of recommended readings includes: Larry Gerlach, "Loyalist Studies in New Jersey: Needs and Opportunities," *New Jersey History*, vol. 95, pp 69-84, Van Doren Honeyman, "Concerning New Jersey's Loyalists in the American Revolution," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 1933, vol. 51, pp 117-132, Richard McCormick, *Experiment in Independence: New Jersey During the Critical Period* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1950), Michael Ricchards, "Patriots and Plunderers: Confiscation of Loyalist Lands in New Jersey," *New Jersey History*, 1968, pp 14-28. Several books and dissertation also explore elements of Loyalism in New Jersey particularly well. The

best accounts of the localized civil warfare between Whigs and Loyalists are: David Fowler's "Egregious Villians, Wood Rangers, and London Traders: The Pine Robber Phenomenon in New Jersey During the American Revolution," PhD Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1987, Adrian Leiby's *The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), and Harry Ward's, *Between the Lines: Banditti of the American Revolution* (Westport, Ct: Preager, 2002), which devotes four chapters to New Jersey. There are a large number of works on Loyalism, most of which focus primarily on a key topic such as Loyalists as a military factor in the Revolution, the plight of Loyalists during and after the war, or the ideology of different stripes of Loyalists. An abbreviated list of particularly good scholarly general treatments on these topics include: Wallace Brown's *The King's Friends* (Providence: Brown U. Press) 1965 and *The Good Americans* (New York: Morrow) 1969; Robert Calhoun's *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich) 1973; Robert East, *The Loyalist Americans* (Tarrytown, New York: 1975); W.S. McNutt, "The Loyalists: A Sympathetic View", *Acadiensis*, v 6, n 1, Autumn 1976; Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press) 1980; John Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed* (Ann Arbor: U. of Michigan Press) 1990; Paul Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press) 1964, and "The American Loyalists: An Estimate of Their Strength and Numbers," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1968, pp 268-82; Esmond Wright, *Fabric of Freedom* (New York: Hill and Wang) 1961; Alfred Young, *The American Revolution* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press) 1976.

Brief biographies on both John Dickinson and William Smith are contained in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 5 vols., (New York: Scribner's).

Brief sketches of Edward and George Taylor and several hundred other Loyalists from the Middle Colonies is found in Gregory Palmer's *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Westport, Ct.: Meckler) 1984. For information on the Taylor family, see John E. Stillwell, *Genealogical Miscellany*, 6 vols., (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), v 2 p 273, "The Grover Taylor House," unpublished manuscript used in the training of guides for the Marlpit Hall museum, Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold New Jersey, p 6, Michael Adelberg, *Roster of the People of Revolutionary Monmouth County* (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 1997) pp. 266-9. See also, the Middletown Township Book of Ear Marks, New York Historical Society, BV: Middletown, New Jersey.

Edward Taylor served in the Royal Assembly from 1769-75, a long tenure. Michael Batinski, *The New Jersey Assembly, 1738-1775* (New York: University Press of America, 1987) p 268, 275, 293.

Information on the July 1774 meeting of the Monmouth County Committee is found in Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1885) p 117. For information on the New Brunswick Convention, see Larry Gerlach, *New Jersey in the American Revolution* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission) p 68.

Information on the meeting of the Monmouth County Committee is provided in: Ellis. *History of Monmouth County*, p 117, Edwin Salter, *The History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, New Jersey: E. Gardner and Sons, 1890) pp. 46-50, and *Minutes of the New Jersey Provincial Congress and Council of Safety* (Trenton: Naar, Day & Naar, 1879) pp. 19-25.

“Proceedings of the Committees of Freehold and Shrewsbury on the Opening of the Revolution,” *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, First Series, vol. 1, 1845, pp. 187-8. For further information about the Monmouth County effort to raise food for Boston, see: “Local Facts and Revolutionary War Made Public,” Vertical Files: American Revolution, Monmouth County Historical Association.

For information on Edward Taylor’s involvement in the New Jersey Provincial Congress, see: Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1885) p 126-7, *Minutes of the New Jersey Provincial Congress and Council of Safety* (Trenton: Naar, Day & Naar, 1879) pp. 169, 184, 197, 445. For general information on the evolution of the New Jersey Provincial Congress into the de facto Government of the New Jersey, see: Larry Gerlach, *Prologue to Independence* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1976) and Richard McCormick, *New Jersey from Colony to State* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964).

Documentation of democratization and other changes in New Jersey governance are in the following: Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1885) p 139, Larry Gerlach, “Power to the People” in William Wright, ed., *The Development of the New Jersey Legislature from Colonial Times to the Present* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1976) p 27, Richard McCormick, *The History of Voting in New Jersey* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1953) p 67, and Monmouth County Historical Association, Curator’s Files, Marlpit Hall, Folder: Taylor Association.

Evidence Edward Taylor’s disaffection and eventual apprehension are in: Peter Force, *The American Archives*, (New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1972) vol. 6, p 1628, Arthur Pierce, *Smugglers Woods* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1960) p 235, *Minutes of the New Jersey Provincial Congress and Council of Safety* (Trenton: Naar, Day & Naar, 1879) p 478, and Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1885) p 139.

Evidence of Edward Taylor’s support of the Loyalists and refusal to accept Continental money are in: New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Council of Safety Collection, box 1, documents 19, 21 and deposition of Henry Segollets. The Loyalist Rebellion of December 1776 is discussed in several sources, though no comprehensive narrative has been written. Recommended are: David Fowler’s *Egregious Villains, Wood Rangers, and London Traders: the Pine Robber Phenomenon in New Jersey During the Revolutionary War* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1987) chapter 2, and Michael Adelberg, “‘They Do Rather More Harm than Good’: An Examination of Continental Soldiers in Revolutionary Monmouth County,” in *Impact: Papers Presented at a Symposium on the Impact of the War of Independence on the Civilian Population* (Morristown, New Jersey: Morristown National Historical Park, 1995).

The Military Service of George Taylor: Page 49-55

Documentation on George Taylor’s early militia service are in: Monmouth County Historical Association, Curator’s Files, Marlpit Hall, Folder: Taylor Association, and the unpublished paper, “The Grover-Taylor House.” See also William Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours* (Freehold: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p 54.

Evidence of disaffection in Shrewsbury is in: Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1885) p 123, David Fowler's *Egregious Villains, Wood Rangers, and London Traders: the Pine Robber Phenomenon in New Jersey During the Revolutionary War* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1987) p 33, William Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours* (Freehold: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p 54.

The Shrewsbury petition on Taylor's behalf is summarized in *Minutes of the New Jersey Provincial Congress and Council of Safety* (Trenton: Naar, Day & Naar, 1879) pp. 374, 385. For a brief narrative of the military career of Samuel Breese, see 'Patriot Minority: The Story of Samuel Breese,' *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, fall 1995, p 4.

For a good brief narrative of the Taylor-Malcolm mission to disable the Sandy Hook Lighthouse, see Michael Adelberg, "So Dangerous a Quarter: The Sandy Hook Lighthouse During the American Revolution," *The Keeper's Log*, April 1995, pp. 10-6. See also: "The Sandy Hook Lighthouse," *American Historical Record*, vols. 3, 1874, pp. 510-1, and William Morgan, *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1970) vol. 4, pp. 194-5 and 1310-3.

Benjamin Tupper's complaint is found in William Morgan, *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1970) vol. 5, pp. 663. The petition is found in 'Local Facts About the Revolution Made Public,' Articles files: American Revolution, Monmouth County Historical Association.

George Taylor's appointment as commissary officer is located in *Minutes of the New Jersey Provincial Congress and Council of Safety* (Trenton: Naar, Day & Naar, 1879) pp. 479.

George Taylor's desperate dispatches from the Navesink Highlands are in: *Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey* (Jersey City: John H. Lyon, 1872) p 26; Peter Force, *American Archives* (New York Johnson Reprint Company, 1971) vol. 6, pp. 1133-4; and Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1885) p 136-43.

The quoted anti-independence petition excerpted is in 'Local Facts About the Revolution Made Public,' Articles files: American Revolution, Monmouth County Historical Association. Information on George Taylor's orders to command a regiment of State Troops is in *Minutes of the New Jersey Provincial Congress and Council of Safety* (Trenton: Naar, Day & Naar, 1879) pp. 565.

Evidence that Taylor's converted militia-men never went beyond Perth Amboy, is in William Anderson's pension record, Revolutionary War Pension Applications, reel 59, William Anderson of New Jersey, National Archives, Washington, DC.

George Taylor's tense relationship with Josiah Holmes and the Shrewsbury Committee of Observation is documented in Peter Force, *American Archives* (New York Johnson Reprint Company, 1971) vol. 1, pp. 602-3 and pp. 1534-5. Proof that Taylor was secretly supporting Samuel Wright's Loyalist Association is in William Sands' deposition before the New Jersey Council of Safety, see: William Livingston, *The Papers of William Livingston* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979) vol. 1, pp. 312-5. Taylor's support of Daniel Van Mater is documented in Daniel Van Mater Loyalist Claim, see Daniel Van Mater's Loyalist Claim, D96,

AO 13/112, microfilm reel 11, Rutgers University Special Collections, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

For information on the *Betsy* incident and George Taylor's alleged role in it, see Galliard Hunt, *Fragments of Revolutionary History* (New York: Arno Press, 1971) pp. 112-5, and Peter Force, *American Archives* (New York Johnson Reprint Company, 1971) Fifth Series, vol. 2, pp. 1093 and 1129.

George Taylor's and Samuel Forman's letters regarding Taylor's refusal to take the Loyalty Oath to the State of New Jersey are in *Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey* (Newark: Newark Daily Advertiser, 1848) p 7.

Samuel Forman's letter is in *Selections from the Correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey* (Newark: Newark Daily Advertiser, 1848) pp. 18-20. For general information about the retreat of the Continental Army across New Jersey and de facto British takeover of much of New Jersey, including Monmouth County, see Robert Calhoun's, *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich) pp. 360. Another good narrative of the impact of the British Army's takeover of and retreat from New Jersey in 1776-1777 is Piers Macksey's *The War of America* (Cambridge: Harvard U. Press, 1965), p 215-8.

George Washington's orders to David Forman are in: George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office), vol. 6, pp. 307. For more information on Forman's actions, see Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, p 136-43, William Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours* (Freehold: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p 54.

George Taylor's commission and orders are found in the records of Great Britain's Public Record Office, Treasury documents, Class 1, volume 634, folio 185-6. The most complete narrative of the defeat of the Loyalist militia at Freehold is Michael Adelberg, "The Forgotten First Battle of Monmouth," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, Winter, 1997. Taylor's orders to re-enter Monmouth County in February are contained in Great Britain, Public Record Office, Treasury Class 1, vol. 634, folio 186 microfilmed at the David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA.

Edward and George Taylor as Active Loyalists, Pages 55-60

The three depositions against Edward Taylor are in: New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives, Council of Safety, box 1, document #19, #21, and #39.

Edward Taylor's appearance before the New Jersey Council of Safety and his posting bonds for the release of other Tories, are documented in: *Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey* (Jersey City: John H. Lyon, 1872) pp. 29, 37-8. Dennis Ryan, "Six Towns: Continuity and Change in Revolutionary New Jersey," (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1974) p 188.

George Taylor's role among the New Jersey Volunteers and Loyalist irregulars at Sandy Hook is somewhat mysterious. The Muster rolls of the formally New Jersey Volunteers omit George Taylor, though there is abundant documentation that he was active at and around Sandy Hook

throughout first half of 1777. Skinner's orders to Taylor are in the records of Great Britain's Public Record Office, Treasury documents, Class 1, volume 634, folio 186. Copies of the Muster Rolls of the New Jersey Volunteers are in Rutgers University Library, Special Collections, 2 boxes. Proof of Taylor's activity at Sandy Hook is provided in subsequent notes.

Documentation on these spring 1777 raids is in: John Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970) vol. 4, pp. 236-8, and David Munn, *Battles and Skirmishes*, (Trenton: Department of the Environment of the State of New Jersey, 1976) p 54. Additional documentation on bayoneting of Stephen Seabrook is in John Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970), v4, p 247-8. Taylor's skirmish with the militia is documented in Howard Peckham's *The Toll of Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) p 35. Taylor's conversation with Stephen Seabrook is in John Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970) v4, 247-8. The June 24 and July 2 incursions of George Taylor are documented in: Monmouth County Historical Association, Articles File, Revolutionary War, "Letter from Freehold," and *Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey* (Jersey City: John H. Lyon, 1872) pp. 37-8.

David Forman's order to confine Edward Taylor and Taylor's plea to the New Jersey Government are documented in: William Livingston, *The Papers of William Livingston* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979) vol. 2, pp. 108, "The Grover-Taylor House" and Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, p 202-3.

Edward and George Taylor During the Later Years of the Revolution, Pages 60-65

Documentation of Edward Taylor's continued problems with the New Jersey Government are in: *Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey* (Jersey City: John H. Lyon, 1872) pp. 164, 168, 242-3, and Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, p 202-3.

Edward Taylor's parole and prisoner exchange are documented in Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1885) p 202-3, *Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey* (Jersey City: John H. Lyon, 1872) p 242, 253.

Documentation of Forman's campaign against the Taylors are in the records of Great Britain's Public Record Office, Treasury documents, Class 1, volume 634, folio 186-7.

George Taylor's commission is in the records of Great Britain's Public Record Office, Treasury documents, Class 1, volume 634, folio 187. Authorship of the map is provided in: William Smith, *Historical Memoirs from 26 August 1778 to November 12, 1783 of William Smith* (New York: Arno Press, 1971) p 308 (note). The map Taylor authored is in the collections of the William Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Documentation of George Taylor's capture is in *New Jersey Archives, Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from American Newspapers* (Trenton: State Gazette Publishing Co., 1917) vol. 4, pp. 551-2. There is abundant documentation on the fate of George Taylor's party and courts martial that rocked the Monmouth militia following his capture, see: *New Jersey Archives, Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from American Newspapers* (Trenton: State Gazette Publishing Co., 1917) vol.

5, p 200, William Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours* (Freehold: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p 54, William Smith, *Historical Memoirs from 26 August 1778 to November 12, 1783 of William Smith* (New York: Arno Press, 1971) p 308 (note), and New Jersey State Archives, William Livingston Papers, reel 14, February 14, 1781.

George Taylor's confiscation order is located in: "Forfeited to the State," Articles File, Revolutionary War folder, Monmouth County Historical Association.

George Taylor's role in arranging the release of Swart is revealed in the letter of Daniel Covenhoven to Gov. William Livingston in which Covenhoven writes that Swart told him that "George Taylor took them before the Commanding Officer" and arranged the release. Covenhoven's letter is in the William Livingston Papers, reel 14, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ.

George Taylor's role in the illegal trade is suggested in a deposition of Tunis Swart taken by Magistrate Peter Covenhoven. Swart confessed to "going to the enemy, and at the time of the tryal [sic] confessed he was going to land it [four sacks of foodstuffs] to George Taylor, an avowed enemy." See Monmouth County Court of Quarterly Sessions, Folder: 1782, Monmouth County Archives, Manalapan, NJ. See also and the Admiralty Court prize case of Forman v. Jackson cited in note 24 above. The Loyalist petition in favor of Tilton is in the British Headquarters' Papers, #5098, Public Record Office, Great Britain, microfilmed at the David Library of American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA.

Documentation on Deborah Taylor is in author's biographical file in the collections of the Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, NJ. Information on the family estate is in the Middletown Township Tax Ratables, 1778 and 1783, microfilmed at the New Jersey State Archives.

Documentation on George Taylor procuring the release of two captured Monmouth Whigs is in New Jersey State Archives, William Livingston Papers, reel 14, February 14, 1781. The memorial from Monmouth Loyalists protesting Ezekiel Tilton's imprisonment is in the British Headquarters Papers, document #5098, at the David Library of the American Revolution, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA. Swart's confession is at the Monmouth County Archives, Records of the Court of Quarterly Sessions, folder: 1782. The confusing contraband trading career of Nathan Jackson is thoroughly documented in the Admiralty Court Appeals case of David Forman vs. Nathan Jackson, National Archives, Revolutionary War Prize Cases, Forman vs. Diamond and Dolphin, reel 12. George Taylor's post war pension is documented in the Loyalist Claim of his cousin, William Taylor. See Williams Taylor's Loyalist Claim, D96, A/O 13/112, microfilm reel 10, Rutgers University, Special Collections. DeLancey's letter is in the records of Great Britain's Public Record Office, Treasury documents, Class 1, volume 634, folio 184.

Evidence on the sad plight of the Taylor family in later years of the war is in "John Eldridge in the American Revolution," Articles File, Revolutionary War, Monmouth County Historical Association. This article chronicles an incident in which Eldridge, a young Whig, pushed John Taylor into a fire. See also, "Grover-Taylor House," and John Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970) vol. 3, p 331-5.

Edward Taylor's court troubles are documented in: Court of Common Pleas (Loose Records), Monmouth County Archives, Box: Court of Common Pleas, Folder: 1779, and New Jersey State Archives, Judicial Records, Court of Oyer and Terminer, Box 2, Folder: November 1781. Edward Taylor's estate is listed in the Middletown Township Tax Ratables for 1778 and 1783, at the New Jersey State Archives. Tax ratables for the intervening years are not extant. Mary Hagerty submitted a Revolutionary War Veteran's Pension Application for her husband, John, noting her father as the militia Colonel.

Monmouth County's Other Whig-Loyalist Leaders, Pages 65-66

Information on the Middletown Township officers from 1770-6 is in the *Middletown Town Book* at the Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, NJ. Middletown's officeholders between 1770 and 1776 were cross-referenced against the author's *Biographical File* to determine which leaders were Whig or Loyalist leaning, and which gained and lost wealth during the war years.

Information on these individuals additional pre-war officeholders who became either disaffected or active Loyalists is contained in the author's *Biographical File* at the Monmouth County Historical Association.

Chapter 4 - A Motley Crew at Sandy Hook

Introductory Vignette, Pages 75-6

Tye's raid of Colt Neck has been well summarized in other sources, including David Fowler's *Egregious Villains*, p. 191; Franklin Ellis's *History of Monmouth County*, p. 214. Good primary accounts, see Nathaniel Scudder to John Anderson Scudder, Sept. 11, 1780, MSS – Scudder, New Jersey Historical Society, Newark. See also Fitzpatrick's *Writings of George Washington* (Washington, DC: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1932) v. 23, p. 443-4.

Racial Divisions and Conditions in Pre-Revolutionary Monmouth County, Pages 76-81

Information on Monmouth County demography, particularly with respect to African Americans, is in: Dennis Ryan, *Six Towns: Continuity and Change in Revolutionary New Jersey*, Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1974, and Peter Wacker, *Land and People: The Cultural Geography of Pre-Industrial New Jersey*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1975) p. 138-46 and 190-201.

For information on land holding among Monmouth African-Americans, see Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County During the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) pp. 7-11, and Kenn Stryker-Rodda, *The Revolutionary Census of New Jersey* (New Orleans: Polyanthus, 1972). For information on the activities of the Shrewsbury Quakers, see the Minutes of the Shrewsbury Friends Meetings, Friends Historical Library, reel MR-PH 51. For general information on slave life in Revolutionary Era New Jersey, see Dennis Ryan, *Six Towns: Continuity and Change in Revolutionary New Jersey*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1974) pp. 96-9, and Peter Wacker, *Land and People*, p. 190, 201. According to the 1776 tax lists for Freehold Township, 129 slaves were listed as property, versus 267 tax payers, see *Tax List compiled by Asher Holmes*, 1776, (reprint) *Monmouth County Inquirer*, July 1, 1886. The records of the Shrewsbury Township Overseers of the Poor include information on the care of three mulatto children and 'Old Negro Harry', see *Shrewsbury Township Poor and Road Book*, BV- Shrewsbury, New York Historical Society, NY.

For an excellent overview of the question of slavery in pre-Revolutionary agitation, see Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961) p 41. The petition questioning the wisdom of maintaining slavery is in Francis Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and a State*, v. 4, p. 32.

For the complete text of the Monmouth County anti-manumission petitions, see New Jersey State Archives, Bureau of Archives and History, Manuscripts Collection, box 14, document 17. See also Francis Pigeon. *Blacks in the Revolutionary Era*, (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975) p. 16-7.

For information on William Corlies, see Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County During the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County

Park System, 1990) p 15. For information on the Hartshorne and Williams incidents, see Minutes of the Shrewsbury Friends Meetings, Friends Historical Library, reel MR-PH 51 & 585.

The proceedings of the Shrewsbury Township Committee are in "Proceedings of the Committees of Freehold and Shrewsbury on the Opening of the Revolution," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, first series, vol. 1, pp. 191-3.

Dunmore's declaration offered freedom to "indentured servants, Negroes and others" willing to "bear arms" and join "his Majesty's troops". For full text of the declaration, see Proclamation of Lord Dunmore, November 11, 1775, *Africans in America*, www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2. Harry Ward discusses Dunmore's slave soldiers in *Between the Lines* (Westport, CT: Preager, 2004), pp 120, as does Gregory E. Dowd in "Declarations of Dependence," *New Jersey History*, vol. 103, Spring 1985, pp. 50-1. Evidence of the military activities of Dunmore's brigade being active in New York is in a report of a raid and counter-attack by New York militia contained in the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, August 341, 1776.

For information on African-Americans in New Jersey's Revolutionary Militia, see Robert Gough, *Black Men and the Early New Jersey Militia*, *New Jersey History*, vol. 88, 1970, pp. 228-9. Jonathan Sargent's idea is contained in a letter to John Adams, August 17, 1776, contained in Paul Smith, *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976-1995), vol. 6, p 11, and note 2.

The late 1776 Loyalist insurrections in Monmouth County remain a frustratingly under-researched topic. Though no source is comprehensive, two informative narratives of the uprisings are: David J. Fowler, "Loyalist Insurrection in Upper Freehold Township," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, vol. 13, n. 1, p 1, and the author's discussions of the insurrections throughout this book.

The activities of Sip are described in the deposition of Abraham Lane, New Jersey State Archives, Council of Safety Collection, box 1, document 41.

Documentation on the imprisonment of these four slaves is spread across several sources. See: *Pennsylvania Archives*, (Philadelphia: Joseph Stevens, 1853) First Series, vol. 5, p 348; William Livingston, *The Papers of William Livingston* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979) vol. 1, p 338; *The Papers of William Livingston* (unpublished), New Jersey State Archives, reel 4, May 12, 1777, and *Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey*, (Jersey City: John H. Lyon, 1872) pp. 43, 52. See also Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961) p 59, note 52. Information on the assault on Moore is in *Minutes of the Shrewsbury Friends' Meeting*, reel 585, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.

The Lure of Sandy Hook, Pages 81-4

Tony Ward's runaway advertisement is contained in, *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from New Jersey Newspapers*, Second Series, (Trenton: State Gazette Publishing, 1917) vol. 1, p 60.

For information on Monmouth Loyalists joining the British, see: Peter Force, *The American Archives*, (New York: Johnson Re-Print Company, 1972) vol. 6, p 1651. For information on Daniel Hendrickson, William Kipping, and William Corlies going to the British to retrieve slaves from the British fleet, see:

Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck and Company, 1885) p 138, and Peter Force, *The American Archives*, (New York: Johnson Re-Print Company, 1972) vol. 1, pp. 602-3.

Biographical information on the slave holders who lost slaves during the Revolution is provided in a multitude of antiquarian and genealogical sources. Much of this information is condensed in Michael Adelberg's, *Roster of the People of Revolutionary Monmouth County* (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 1997), and the author's *Biographical File* at the Monmouth County Historical Association.

The report on the Black Pioneers is in Graham Hodges' *The Black Loyalist Directory*, (New York: Garland, 1996) p. 218-20.

For additional background information, see: Graham Hodges, *Pretends to be Free* (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1996), New Jersey State Archives, Department of Defense, Numbered Manuscripts, #10111, and Library of Congress, Peter Force Collection, Series 7C, box 24, folder 3, pp. 53:281-7. See also, Hodges' "Black Revolt in New York City and the Neutral Zone," in Paul A. Gilje's *New York in the Age of the Constitution* (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh-Dickinson University Press, 1992).

Each of the individuals named in Table 2 are listed in the author's *Biographical File*, on file at the Monmouth County Historical Association. See also, several key documents listing runaway slaves from New Jersey: Graham Hodges, *Pretends to be Free* (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1996) and *Black Loyalist Directory* (New York: Garland, 1995); New Jersey State Archives, Department of Defense, Numbered Manuscripts, #10111; *Report of a Committee - Records of Slaves Belonging to New Jersey Citizens, 1786*, AC83, New Jersey Department of State Collection, Special Collection, Rutgers University; *Return of the Black Brigade*, April 1783, in Papers of the Continental Congress, Library of Congress, item 153, reel 66, p. 276-94; and Library of Congress, Peter Force Collection, Series 7C, box 24, folder 3, p. 53:281-7.

African American Loyalists in Irregular Warfare, Pages 84-92

For general information on the Black Brigade and other African-American units attached to the British Army, see: Philip Katcher, *The American Provincial Corps*, (Reading, United Kingdom: Osprey Press, 1973) and Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County During the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) p 24, and *Minute Book of Proceedings of a Board of General Officers of the British Army at New York, 1781*, (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1916) pp. 85-6. See the *New Jersey Gazette*, February 10, 1779 and February 17, 1779, for advertisements on Mark and Chess.

Hodges asserts that African-Americans played a role as guides at the Battle of Navesink; while this possible, the documentation may not be precise enough to identify the race of the guides. For information on Hodges' account of the Battle of the Navesink, see: Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County during the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) p 18. For a detailed account of the battle, with several primary accounts, see Mary Hyde, "Battle of the Neversink," *New York Times*, February 23, 1896, and "The Battle of the Navesink Highlands," *American Monthly Magazine*, vol. 9, 1896, pp. 26-30. For information on the Jamaica Volunteers, see Philip Katcher's *The Encyclopedia of British, Provincial and German Units, 1775-83* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 1973) p. 87, 92.

David Forman's account of the clash with the mixed-race party is contained in the New Jersey State Archives, re-printed in *The News Transcript*, "Letter from Freehold," contained in the Articles Files of the Monmouth County Historical Association, folder: Revolutionary War. For information on George Taylor's several incursions into Monmouth County, see Michael Adelberg, "I am as Innocent as an Unborn Child': the Loyalism of Edward and George Taylor", *New Jersey History*, Spring/Summer 2005, pp 3-45. Documentation on the theft of Crawford's horses is in the Special Collections of Rutgers University Libraries, Crawford Papers, box 1.

Forman's quote is noted in the diary of his protégé, John Stillwell, Diaries Collection, box 2, Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, NJ. Bowne's participation in contraband trading is in the deposition of Thomas Sands to the New Jersey Council of Safety, April 1777, printed in *The William Livingston Era: Documents of the American Revolution, Exhibit at the Monmouth County Library Headquarters*, October 2003, Monmouth County Archives, Manalapan, NJ. For a description of Sandy Hook generally during the war and the quote, see the author's "'So Dangerous a Quarter': The Sandy Hook Lighthouse During the American Revolution," *The Keeper's Log: Magazine of the United States Lighthouse Society*, April 1995, p. 10-6.

Richard Robert Crowe was an officer in the British Army during the French and Indian War who had retired to New Jersey in the 1760s. He re-joined the British Army in 1776. Proof of the Black Brigade's quasi-official status is provided in Crowe's Loyalist application for compensation. In his Loyalist application Crowe does not even give the name of the Black Brigade; he instead only makes reference to commanding a company of "pioneers." See Crowe's loyalist application, Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections, D96, AO 13/17, reel 5. Information on the composition of the Black Pioneers is contained in "A Return of Loyalist Forces in the British Army", August 1781, in the *Minute Books of a Proceedings of General Officers of the British Army at New York*, (New York: New York Historical Society, 1916) p. 85-6 as well as the *Return of Provincial Forces, 1782*, New York Public Library, Collection: Great Britain: Army and Provincial Forces. See also the notes following the table of this chapter for information on the Monmouth slaves who can be documented as serving in the Black Brigade.

For information on these early irregular actions, see Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County During the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) p 18; see also Walter Finney, *Diary of Walter Finney*, Chester County Historical Society, Chester, PA.

Graham Hodges gives information on Col. Tye running away from William Corlies in Hodges's *African Americans in Monmouth County During the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, NJ: Monmouth County Park System, 1990), p. 16. He speculates on Col. Tye's early activities in, *African Americans in Monmouth County during the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) p 19. A runaway slave advertisement posted by John Corlies of Shrewsbury for the return of Titus was posted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on November 8, 1775. That advertisement speculates that Titus "will probably change his name." Hodges and other historians have assumed that this Titus is the same man who became Colonel. This appears a logical supposition, but cannot be conclusively proven or disproven.

Information on these early actions are in: William Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours*, (Freehold, New Jersey: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p 403, and Graham Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County During the Age of the American Revolution*.

Documentation of the July 20 raid is provided in: William Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours*, (Freehold, New Jersey: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p 406, David Munn, *Battles and Skirmishes*, (Trenton: Department of the Environment of the State of New Jersey, 1976) pp. 95-7, and *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from New Jersey Newspapers*, Second Series, (Trenton: State Gazette Publishing, 1917) vol. 3, p 504.

General information on the treatment of runaway slaves behind British lines is in Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, p. 113-4, Wallace Brown's *The Good Americans* (New York: Morrow, 1969) p. 102. For the cited verse, see *New York Gazette*, July 3, 1779.

William Lloyd's pension is contained in John C. Dann's *The Revolution Remembered* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) p 126. Samuel Lippincott's pension in the National Archives, Revolutionary War Veterans' Pension Applications, reel 1569, Samuel Lippincott of New Jersey. William McBride's pension is also at the National Archives.

Abiel Aiken's letter regarding John Thomas is printed in *New Jersey Gazette*, August 4, 1779. The captured of the African-American guides are noted in the *New Jersey Gazette*, February 23, 1780. Information on these actions are in Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck and Company, 1885) p 208, Howard Peckham, *The Toll of Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) p70. The most complete narrative of the raid on the Russell homestead is the report printed in the April 12, 1780 edition of the *New Jersey Gazette*.

For information on the notorious careers of William Gillian, Richard Lippincott, and John Farnham, see Michael Adelberg's *Roster of the People of Revolutionary Monmouth County* (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 1997) pp. 97, 110, 173. Additional information on the inter-racial Sandy Hook raiding parties is contained in several previously-cited sources, as well as David Munn, *Battles and Skirmishes*, (Trenton: Department of the Environment of the State of New Jersey, 1976) pp. 95-7, and Francis Pigeon, *Blacks in the Revolutionary Era*, (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975) p 21.

Information on Col. Tye's June 9, 1780 raid is provided in several sources: Monmouth County Historical Association, J. Amory Haskell Collection, box 1, folder 3, document A, Francis Pigeon, *Blacks in the Revolutionary Era* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975) p 22, David C. Munn, *Battles and Skirmishes*, (Trenton: Department of the Environment of the State of New Jersey, 1976) p 90, William Livingston, *The Papers of William Livingston*, 5 vols., (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979) vol. 3, p 423.

Information on Tye's June 22, 1780 raid is provided in: William Horner, *This Old Monmouth of Ours*, (Freehold: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p 407, Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County During the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) p 22, *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from American Newspapers* (Trenton: State Gazette Publishing), Second Series, vol. 4, p 456-7. Mott's account is in the Cherry Hall Papers, box 15, folder 11, Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, NJ.

For the discussion of the skirmish with the African American partisans, see Benjamin Van Cleaf's pension application: National Archives, reel 2441, Benjamin Van Cleaf of New Jersey.

Samuel Forman's letter on the skirmishes with African American Loyalists appears in: William Livingston, *The Papers of William Livingston*, 5 vols., (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979) vol. 4, pp. 12, 28-9.

For an overview of the Retaliators, see Michael Adelberg's *A Combination to Trample All Law Underfoot*. The articles founding the Retaliators are printed in various antiquarian sources, including Ellis's *History of Monmouth County*, p 229-32. For information on the capture of Lt. Col. John and Capt. Hendrick Smock, see Hornor, William, *This Old Monmouth of Ours*, (Freehold, New Jersey: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p 137, and *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from American Newspapers* (Trenton: State Gazette Publishing), Second Series, vol. 4, pp. 603, 608. Further information is provided in Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County during the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) p 22; see also New York *Royal Gazette*, August 26, 1780. The militia return showing that only two men responded to the call to march after Col. Tye is in the collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, Holmes Family Papers, box 4, folder 2.

For information on Tye's raid of Colts Neck, see Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County during the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) pp. 22-3, Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck, 1885) p 214, Howard Peckham, *The Toll of Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) p 71; New Jersey Historical Society, Collections Alphabetical, Letters, Nathaniel Scudder to John Scudder, September 11, 1780; and National Archives, Revolutionary War Pension Applications, Jacob Truax, reel 2416. There is abundant documentation on Joshua Huddy's hanging, the most reliable and comprehensive narratives of which are: Larry Bowman, "The Court Martial of Richard Lippincott," *New Jersey History*, vol. 89, pp. 23-36, and Kinvin Wroth's essay in Howard Peckham's *Sources of American Revolution*, 2 vols., (Chicago: Caxton Club, 1978). Scudder's letter is at the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, NJ.

For information on Stephen Blueke, see Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County during the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) p23, and Harry Ward's *Between the Lines*, p. 111-3. Documentation on the Negro's Hill Massacre is found in the letters of Edwin Woolley, a boy at the time of the Revolution (Steen Collection, Monmouth County Historical Association, box 1, folder 13).

Documentation on Prime's capture and sale back into slavery is found in a Admiralty Court Certificate dated June 25, 1781. The certificate is found in AC2889, Rutgers University Special Collections, New Brunswick, NJ. See also the William Livingston Papers, v. 4, p. 397-8. York's capture is detailed in two local history sources: Alfred Heston's *South Jersey*, (New York: Lewis, 1924) p. 227, and David Munn's *Battles and Skirmishes of the American Revolution in New Jersey* (Dept. of Environmental Protection, Bureau of Geology and Topography, State of New Jersey, 1976) p. 24. For information on Hyler's capture of the Alert, see John Bray to Governor William Livingston, April 25, 1782, in J.A. McManemin, *Captains of Privateers* (Spring Lake, N.J. : Ho-Ho-Kus Pub. Co., 1994), pp. 467-77. Hyler's capture of Jeffrey is

reported in the *New Jersey Gazette*, June 5, 1782.

Documentation on the African American Loyalists appearing before the Monmouth County courts are provided in *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from American Newspapers* (Trenton: State Gazette Publishing), Second Series, vol. 5, p 129, and vol. 5, p 194, and New Jersey State Archives, Judicial Records, Court of Oyer and Terminer, box 2, folder: June 1782. See also William Livingston, *The Papers of William Livingston*, 5 vols., (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1979) vol. 4, p 433. The May 1782 docket and results from the Monmouth Court of Oyer and Terminer are in the Judicial Records of the New Jersey State Archives, box 2, folder - May 1782, Trenton, NJ.

Major John Cook's murder is contained in the deposition of Daniel Randolph, contained in the Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Transcripts of the Court Martial of Richard Lippincott, reel 1, frames 201-4. Information on the Loyalist party that was taken at Long Branch in March 1782 is provided in a petition compiled by a number of Monmouth Whigs, chronicling the string of events that led to the hanging of Joshua Huddy. Joshua Huddy was hanged two weeks after a member of the Loyalist party, Philip White, was murdered by three guards. The same petition reveals that Huddy's hangman, Moses, was an African-American partisan. The petition is in the National Archives, Papers of the Continental Congress, reel 171, item 152, volume 10, pages 479-84. Parker's description is in the Revolutionary War Veteran's Pension Application of George Parker, National Archives, reel 1872.

Accounts of the defeat of Davenport's Loyalists are in: Graham R. Hodges, *African Americans in Monmouth County during the Age of the American Revolution* (Lincroft, New Jersey: Monmouth County Park System, 1990) pp. 22-3; *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from American Newspapers* (Trenton: State Gazette Publishing), Second Series, vol. 5, p 129, and vol. 5, p 446, Alfred M. Heston, *South Jersey: A History*, 4 vols., (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1924) p 241. Jacob's capital conviction is mentioned in a report on the proceedings of the Monmouth County Court of Oyer & Terminer, June 20, 1782, as summarized in the William Livingston Papers, v. 4, p. 426-7, 433.

Information on Shrewsbury and Middletown's post-war African American population is in Dennis Ryan, *Six Towns: Continuity and Change in Revolutionary New Jersey*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1974) p. 96-9, and sources cited above.

The African Americans Who Stayed in Monmouth, Pages 92-3

Monmouth's Quakers, themselves, were frequently at odds with the Whig authorities due to their refusal to bear arms. For statements on the Friends' support for newly-freed African Americans, see Shrewsbury Friends Meeting Minutes for 1780: January 3, April 3, July 3, August 7, and October 2, at the Friends' Historical Library, reel 585, Swarthmore College.

The slaves of Loyalists sold as property at auction as part of the Loyalist estates were: 1. from the estate of John Longstreet - an adult man, Prince, 2. unnamed adult woman and a child; 3. from the estate of Thomas Leonard an adult man, Paris, and an unnamed woman and child; 4. from the estate of John Morris two adult men, Will and Ump; and 6. from the estate of James Grover, "a slave boy". See Numbered Manuscript 10,122 in the Revolutionary War, Department

of Defense Collection, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ. Information on these court cases is found in the following: *Report of the New Jersey Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery*, Rare Books and Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA, p. 59-76 and 257; *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey Assembly*, December 6, 1779, p. 62, 70, at the Library Company, Philadelphia, PA.; and Shrewsbury Friends' Monthly Meeting Minutes, Friends Historical Library, April 2, 1782, reel 585, Swarthmore College.

Information on Seabrook's slave helping the Seabrook family is in John Stillwell's *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, (New York: privately printed, 1916) v. 4, see entry for Thomas Seabrook. Dr. Read's account is in John Rees, 'What is this You have been about Today?': *The New Jersey Brigade at the Battle of Monmouth*, www.revwar75/library/rees/monmouth/Monmouth.htm, p. 32-3. Information on the Presbyterian Church communions is in Frank Symmes, *History of the Old Tennant Church* (Cranbury, NJ: George Burroughs, 1890) p. 183-5. Tax Ratables for each of Monmouth County's six townships are in the New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, NJ, but only for two years per township.

The argument that Whig families needed their slaves is made in the *New Jersey Gazette*, in 1780, as printed in Francis Pigeon's *Blacks in the Revolutionary Era*, (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1976) p. 18.

Conclusion, Pages 94-6

The sad fate of many African-Americans in New York City during the war is beyond the scope of this paper, but British commanders frequently admonished New York Loyalists about claiming rights to runaway slaves. On June 7, 1779, British Superintendent General David Jones decreed that "all Negroes who fly from the enemy's country are free – no person whatsoever can claim right to them – whoever sells them shall be prosecuted with utmost severity." See the Papers of General James Pattison, reel 1, at the David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA. General Henry Clinton's warning statement of October 27, 1779, in the *New York Gazette*, is another example, "I do most strictly forbid any person to sell or proclaim rights over any Negro, the property of a rebel, who may take refuge with any part of the Army."

A number of historians have researched and formed different opinions on the lives of runaway slaves in New York, particularly insightful are: Graham R. Hodges, 'Black Revolt in the New York City and the Neutral Zone,' in Paul A. Gilge, *New York in the Age of the Constitution* (Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh-Dickinson University Press, 1992), Sylvia Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1991), Robert A. East, *The Loyalist Americans: A Focus on Greater New York* (Tarrytown, New York, 1975). It is worth noting that Hodges' interpretation of New York as a runaway slave haven is a great deal more positive than the depictions of most other historians. See also, Francis Pigeon, *Blacks in the Revolutionary Era* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975), Wallace Brown, *The Good Americans*, (New York: Morrow, 1969), Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 113-4, and Philip Katcher, *The Encyclopedia of British, Provincial, and German Army Units, 1775-1783* (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1973) pp. 87, 92. Throughout the war, a significant minority in New Jersey lobbied for the abolition of slavery, but the abolition movement suffered

a long term defeat in October 1780 when the New Jersey Legislative Council passed a bill to suspend further debate on bill to abolish the importation of slaves, *Journals of the Legislative Council of the State of New Jersey*, October 5, 1780, p 120. The vigilante Whigs of Monmouth County are profiled in Michael Adelberg's "'A Combination to Trample All Law Underfoot': The Association for Retaliation in Monmouth County New Jersey, *New Jersey History*, n 1, 1998, pp. 1-28.

Information on Thomas Merigold is contained in Alfred Jones's *The Loyalists of New Jersey* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1927) p. 217. Orders to Provincial Officers regarding African American enlistments are in Oliver DeLancey, *Orderly Book of Three Battalions of Loyalists* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1972) p 6.

For information on the Picaroons of the Chesapeake and Georgia-Florida border, see Harry Ward's *Between the Lines*. For information on integration blacks into the Continental Army, see: Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Military History, 1983), and Richard S. Walling, *Men of Color at the Battle of Monmouth* (Trenton: Friends of Monmouth Battlefield, 1993).

Chapter 5 - They Do Rather More Harm than Good

Introductory Vignette, Pages 97-9

Tupper's campaign against the Sandy Hook Lighthouse is well narrated in two publications: the author's "'So Dangerous a Quarter': The Sandy Hook Lighthouse during the American Revolution," *The Keeper's Log*. April, 1995, pp. 10-6 and Bruce Bliven's, *Under the Guns: New York, 1775-1776* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972). For Tupper's account, see William Morgan's, *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*. (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1970), vol. 5, pp. 663. Other primary accounts used in this paper are: Solomon Nash, *The Journal of Solomon* (New York: Privately printed, 1861), pp. 20-1; Margaret Willard, *Letters on the American Revolution*, (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1925) p. 326; and the Revolutionary War Veterans' Pension Application of Thomas Cummings of Massachusetts, National Archives, Washington, D.C., p30. Hartwick's reports is discussed in John Lopez, "The Sandy Hook Lighthouse," *The Keeper's Log*, Winter 1986, p. 5-6.

For a good summary of the attitudes of Americans toward standing armies, see Stuart, Reginald, "'Engines of Tyranny': Recent Historiography on Standing Armies During the Era of the American Revolution," *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. 29, August, 1984, pp. 183-99.

Loyalist Insurrection and the Continental Response, Pages 99-105

For information conditions in Monmouth County, and the march of the Pennsylvanians through Monmouth County in July 1776, see: *Journals of the Continental Congress*, July 3, 1776; Peter Force, *American Archives*, v. 6, p1298; *New Jersey Archives*, v 1, p. 138; Force, Peter, *The American Archives*, vol. 6, pp. 1638-9; *The Papers of the Continental Congress*, National Archives, Washington, D.C., reel 82, item 68, pp. 183-4; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 1, v 4, p781-2; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, New Jersey Papers, Historical MSS, 1654-1853, p 201, 203; and McMichael, James, "Diary of Lieutenant James McMichael, 1776-1778," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, v. 16, 1892, p. 131-2; *Orderly Book*, Pennsylvania Regiment, New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, NJ, Coll. 224.

Stirling's letter on the vulnerability of the New Jersey shore is in Peter Force's *American Archives*, v. 5, p. 132.

For additional information on the Pennsylvania Continentals in Monmouth County, see *American Archives*, vol. 1, pp. 412; *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 178, item 159, p. 153, 178; Peter Force, *American Archives*, v. 1, 1534-5; and Livingston, William, *The Papers of William Livingston*, vol. 1, p. 56.

For overview on Loyalism and tumult in Monmouth County through the second half of 1776, see: Fowler, David J., *Egregious Villains, Wood Rangers, and London Traders: The Pine Robbers Phenomenon in New Jersey During the Revolutionary War*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1987 and Pierce, Arthur, *Smuggler's Woods*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1960.

Two succinct narratives of Samuel Wright's capture are provided in: Ward, Harry, *Major General Adam*

Stephen and the Cause of American Liberty, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1989, p. 146-7, and Dwyer, William M, *The Day Is Ours! An Insider View of the Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, New York: Viking Press, 1983, p. 38. For more information on Samuel Wright's Loyalist association, see the author's, 'A Parcel of Tories' Samuel Wright's Rebellion, *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*. Winter, 1994, p. 3.

The strength reports for Forman's 1776 Regiment are contained in, Lesser, Charles H., *The Sinews of Independence: Monthly Strength of the Continental Army* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1976) p. 26-34, and National Archives, Revolutionary War Rolls, Coll. 69, p2, 5, 7, 11. Forman's orders are in Washington, George, *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932) vol. 6, p. 307.

Information on the actions of Forman's Regiment while in Monmouth County is contained in the following sources: *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 84, item 70, p. 117; Force, Peter, *American Archives*, 5th Series, vol. 2, p. 1603; and William Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours*, (Freehold, New Jersey: Moreau Brothers, 1932) p.213. See chapter 3 for information on the Taylor family.

Forman's attack on Sandy Hook is noted in Peckham, Howard, *The Toll of Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974) p. 26.

For a good overview of the retreat of the Continental Army across New Jersey, see Middlekauff, Robert, *The Glorious Cause*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 354-62. The pension application of Samuel Mount and William Anderson are at the National Archives, Washington, D.C., Anderson's application is located on reel 59, Mount's on reel 1784. His account of the Loyalist ascendancy is corroborated by William Brinley (reel 342), and Linton Doughty (reel 840).

The best sources for information on John Taylor are: *The Grover-Taylor House*, an unpublished manuscript in the collection of the Monmouth County Historical Association, p. 19-21, and Stillwell, John E., *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, 6 vols., (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970). See Fowler, David J., "Egregious Villains," Chapter 2 for a strong narrative of the Loyalist insurrection in Upper Freehold Township in late 1776. Also see chapter 3 of this book.

The tension between Pennsylvania and Delaware Continentals is discussed in: Rodney, Thomas, *Diary of Captain Thomas Rodney*, (New York: DaCapo, 1974) p. 27-30.

Hubley's account of the battle at Freehold appears in several sources, most recently in: Ryan, Dennis, *A Salute to Courage*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979, p. 60-1. Further information on the battle of January 2, 1777, is provided in the following sources: Peckham, Howard, *The Toll of Independence*, p. 29; and *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 178, item 159, p. 33. See also the author's "The Forgotten First Battle of Monmouth," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, winter 1997.

Information on the campaign of the Pennsylvanians in Monmouth County is in: *New Jersey Archives*, vol. 1, pp. 277, *The Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st Series, (Philadelphia: Joseph Stevens, 1853), vol. 5, p. 177, and Hunt, Galliard, *Fragments of Revolutionary History* (New York: Arno Press, 1971), p. 112-5.

Information on the activities of the Pennsylvania soldiers are in: Rodney, Caesar, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933), p. 170-1; *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 178, item 159, p. 35; Hunt, Galliard, *Fragments of Revolutionary History*, pp. 112-5; *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 53, item 42, p. 281-2; and "Hendrickson Family Papers", Special Collections, Rutgers University Libraries, Box 2.

General Israel Putnam's report of January 31, 1777, is in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series I, v5, p209. The Pennsylvania Council of Safety sent a party of troops to guard the Pennsylvania Salt Work on February 5, see *Minutes of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety*, vol. 2, p114. Scudder's letter was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 5, 1777. Thomas Savadge's report on the need for troops is in *Pennsylvania Archives*, v. 5, p. 216-8. See also, Fowler, David J., *Egregious Villains*, p. 49.

David Forman as Military and Political Commander, Pages 105-9

For an overview of the history of Forman's Additional Regiment, see Wright, Robert K., *The Continental Army*, (Washington, D.C.: Center for Military History, 1983), p. 100, 321 and Berg, Fred A., *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units*, (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1968), p. 43. For more specific information on Forman's recruiting problems, see: *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 49, item 41, vol. 3, p. 179-80, and *Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey*, (Jersey City: John H. Lyon, 1872), p. 53, 55, 57-8.

Forman's misconduct is detailed in Pierce, Arthur, *Smuggler's Woods*, p. 231; *The Livingston Papers*, v. 2, p. 252-4; and *Pennsylvania Archives*, v. 5, p. 216-8, 228.

Washington-Livingston communications on Forman's plans are in: *New Jersey Archives*, v. 1, p. 321, Washington, George, *Writings*, v. 7, p. 344, and *the William Livingston Papers*, v. 1, p. 292-3; also see *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 178, item 159, pp. 65. Information on the raid is in several local history sources. For a credible account of this raid, see Ellis, Franklin, *The History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck & Company, 1885) p. 533. Forman's claim to have dispersed the Loyalist's on April 14 is contained in Lender, Mark E., *The Enlisted Line*, p. 93 note 130.

Scudder's letter to Forman is in the Neilson Family Papers, Rutgers University Special Collections. Forman's appeal for cannon is in George Washington Papers, Library of Congress, series 4, reel 41, May 27, 1777, Gratz Collection, case 4, box 11, Pennsylvania Historical Society; and Washington's reply is in the George Washington Papers, Library of Congress, series 4, reel 41, July 7, 1777. The newspaper account is in *New Jersey Archives*, v. 1, p. 399-400.

Forman's petition to Congress for guarding the salt works is in *Journals of the Continental Congress*, September 11, 1777, p733; Forman's letter to Trumbull is in the Emitt Collection, Special Collections, New York Public Library, reel 7, frame 7830. See the author's *Biographical File* for a full listing of Forman's troubles with the New Jersey Legislature and controversies generally.

Washington's reluctant decision to transfer Forman's regiment to Colonel Shreve is discussed in, Pierce, Arthur, *Smuggler's Woods*, p. 232. Forman's standoff with the General Assembly is discussed in greatest

detail in *The William Livingston Papers*, vol. 2, p. 108, and Lundin, Leonard, *Cockpit of the Revolution*. Copies of the muster roles of the New Jersey Volunteers are contained in, New Jersey Volunteers, Special Collections, Rutgers University Libraries, 2 uncataloged boxes.

Raid Warfare and the Continental Response, Pages 109-15

David Forman's report on the raid on Manasquan is in the Israel Shreve Papers, at the University of Houston Special Collections, and newspaper accounts, see also the Livingston, William, *Papers*, v. 11, p. 256, 436. There are many good narratives of the Battle of Monmouth, as good as any is the one contained in Martin, David G., *The Philadelphia Campaign: June 1777–July 1778*, (Conshohocken, Pennsylvania: Combined Books, 1993).

Asher Holmes's letter to Governor Livingston is in the Cherry Hall Papers of the Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, NJ, box 5, folder 9. Information on Howell and his troubles are in Washington, George, *Writings*, v. 13, pp. 120; George Washington Papers, series 4, reel 5; and Greene, Nathanael, *The Papers of Nathanael Greene*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1984), v. 2, p. 487.

There are numerous accounts of the British attack on Little Egg Harbor and the events which followed. Perhaps the best of these is: Bogert, Frederick, "Sir Henry Raids a 'Hen's Roost'", *New Jersey History*. v. 104, 1991, p. 223-232. Specific information in the paragraph above is found in the following sources: Fowler, David J., *Egregious Villains*, p. 192, Pierce, Arthur, *Smuggler's Woods*, p. 51, and Syzmanski, Leszak, *Kazimierz Pulaski in America*, (San Bernadino Press: Borgo Press, 1987) p. 217-9.

Governor Livingston requested assistance for Monmouth County twice, on December 14 and 15, see Livingston, William, *Papers*, v. 2, p. 510, 512. For Washington's reply, see Livingston, William, *Papers*, v. 2, p. 513-4.

Information on North's regiment is in Washington, George, *Writings*, v. 13, p. 496, v. 14, 103-4, and *New Jersey Archives*, v. 3, p. 77; Capt. Andrew Brown and Maj. John Burrowes requested Continentals for Toms River and Middletown respectively, see Cherry Hall Papers, box 5, folder 9; and Library of Congress, *George Washington Papers*, series 4, reel 55, January 13, 1779 and February 3, 1779. See also Captain Walter Finney's Diary, at the Chester County Historical Society.

Beacons were first proposed by Washington on March 23, 1779, see Washington, George, *Writings*, v. 14, p. 281-3. For an overview of the beacons constructed in Monmouth County see, Raleigh, James, "Monmouth County Militia Revolutionary War Beacons," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, v. 7, spring 1978, p. 1.

Gist's problems are detailed in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 49, item 41, v. 3, p. 460-3, and letter of Asher Holmes, Cherry Hall Papers, Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, NJ, box 5, folder 9.

The misconduct of the Continental troops is discussed in Gustav Kobbe's *The Jersey Coast and Pines*,

(Short Hills, New Jersey: Privately printed, 1889). The most complete treatment of the ambush of the Continentals at the Allen House Tavern in Shrewsbury is the author's *The Allen House Massacre*, unpublished manuscript in the collection of the Monmouth County Historical Association. It must be noted that primary documentation of both of these incidents is tenuous.

Washington's April 22, 1779 letter is in: Washington, George, *Writings*, vol. 14, pp. 427-8. Beatty's account is in William Beatty's "The Journal of Captain William Beatty of the Maryland Line, 1776-1780," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, v. 3, 1908, p. 117.

The attack on Ford's regiment is abundantly documented, but not always accurately documented. For example certain sources reported the size of the invading force to be as large as two thousand men, an unlikely figure. For primary documentation of this attack see the following: Moore, Frank, *Diary of the American Revolution*, (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 356-7; Smith, William, *Historical Memoirs from 26 August 1778 to November 12, 1783*, New York: Arno Press, 1971, p. 97-8; Washington, George, *Writings*, v. 14, p. 465; Morris, Robert, *Letters of Chief Justice Robert Morris, Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, v. 5, July, 1920, p. 172-4, and Clinton, Henry, *The American Rebellion*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954, p. 123, *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 168, item 152, v. 3, p. 275-7.

Benjamin White's quote is in Olson, Judith, *Lippincott: Five Generations of Descendants of Richard and Abigail*, (Woodbury, New Jersey: Gloucester County Historical Society, 1982), p. 159-61.

Robert Morris's understated appraisal of local disappointment with Ford's Continentals is in, Robert Morris, *Letters of Chief Justice Robert Morris, Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, v. 5, July, 1920, note 60.

Washington's April 28 report is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 168, item 152, v. 7, p. 275-7. His downbeat assessments of affairs in Monmouth County are in: Washington, George, *Writings*, v. 16, p. 279, 367.

Henry 'Light Horse Harry' Lee in Monmouth County, Pages 116-8

Information on the role played by Lee's men in the killing of Lewis Fenton is contained in, Fowler, David J., *Egregious Villains*, pp. 164-6, Livingston, William, *Papers*, v. 3, p. 206, and Ellis, Franklin, *The History of Monmouth County* (Philadelphia: R.T. Peck, 1889) p. 198. The raids on Sandy Hook conducted by Lee's men are found in several sources, the most informative of which are: *New Jersey Archives*, vol. 4, pp. 129, 134, 154-5, and Washington, George, *Writings*, v. 17, p. 400-1, 422. Information on Lee's mission to impress the stock of suspected Tories is found in: Washington, George, *Writings*, v. 19, 244-5, 248, and Greene, Nathanael, *Papers*, v. 6, p. 218, note. The rebukes are noted in Livingston, William, *Papers*, v. 3, p. 271, and David Rhea, letter, item 5599, Revolutionary War, Numbered Manuscripts, Dept. of Defense, New Jersey State Archives. Lee's compliment to the people of Monmouth is in Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, series 4, reel 63, January 17, 1780.

Information on Col. Armand's troops in Monmouth County is in: Washington, George, *Writings*, vol. 17, p. 211; Smith, William, *Historical Memoirs*, p. 229-30; Library of Congress, *George Washington Papers*, series 4, reel 63, December 28, 1779.

Washington's letter on the Pine Robber threat is in: Washington, George, *Writings*, v. 23, p. 444-5.

Chapter 6 - A Combination to Trample All Law Underfoot

Introductory Vignette, Pages 121-2

For information on James Pew, his family, and James Tilley, see the author's *Biographical File* and "'An Act of Cruelty and Barbarity': The Murder of James Pew," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, Fall 1997. The Loyalist report of Whig atrocities is in the Transcripts of the Court Martial of Richard Lippincott, George Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Narratives of the Stephen Edwards hanging are in Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 205, Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 182—83, and Edwin Salter, *Old Time in Old Monmouth* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980), 66. The threat of the Continental Congress to practice retaliation is referenced in the Articles for Retaliation, printed in Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 206. For a narrative of the massacre of Count Pulaski's men, see Frederick W. Bogert, "Sir Henry Raids a 'Hen's Roost,'" *New Jersey History* 98, 3-4 (Fall/Winter 1980): 223-32.

Background and Precedents for Retaliation, Pages 122-3

Information on the raids against Tinton Falls, see Michael Adelberg, "'They Behaved Like Wild or Mad Men': The Destruction of Tinton Falls," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, Summer 1997. For a comprehensive narrative of the Pine Robbers, see Fowler, "Egregious Villains."

The May 1779 petition and subsequent actions in the New Jersey Assembly are documented in *New Jersey Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey Assembly*, May 17 and Sept. 28, 1779, 101, 178-80. These bound proceedings are in the collections of the New Jersey State Library, Trenton, N. J., and the Library Company, Philadelphia, PA. The May 1779 petition was actually not the first time a Monmouther proposed compensation for losses through retaliation. In February 1778 Peter Imlay, who had been plundered during the Loyalist uprising of December 1776, petitioned the New Jersey Assembly to recover his losses by seizing equivalent property from the estate James Nealon, a Loyalist who was active in the Loyalist uprising and went on to serve as a captain in the Loyalist New Jersey Volunteers. The Assembly never acted on this request. *New Jersey Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey Assembly*, Feb. 19, 1778, 55, 58.

Spring 1780: The Articles for Retaliation, Pages 123-5

Information on Colonel Tye's raiders is in chapter 4 of this book. The exploits of the Raritan cowboys and their prolific leader, William Clark, are profiled in Michael Adelberg, "William Clark and the Raritan Cowboys," *Monmouth County Historical Association Newsletter*, Winter 1998, and scattered throughout numerous antiquarian sources, including E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of New Jersey* (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1927), 43, and John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of New Jersey* (New

Haven, CT, 1868), 325—26. The activities of the Pine Robbers and London Traders are most comprehensively discussed in Fowler, "Egregious Villains."

Forman's June 23, 1780, letter to Washington is in the George Washington Papers, Series 4, reel 67, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. The two petitions are summarized in the *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey Assembly*, June 9, 1780. Following the preamble, the Articles for Retaliation made three explicit pledges: 1. "For every good subject of this State residing in this State that shall become an Associator and shall be taken by any party or parties of the Refugees there shall be taken an equal number of the most disaffected and influential residing and having property in the County; and them confine in the Provost jail, and treat them with British rigor until the good subjects of this State shall be fully liberated." 2. "For every house that shall be burned or destroyed there shall be made full retaliation upon or out of the property of the disaffected." 3. "That for every article of property taken from any of the Associators, being good subjects, the value thereof shall be replaced out of the property of the disaffected." The Articles for Retaliation are printed in a number of antiquarian sources, the most accessible of which is Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 206.

The reference to the Retaliators is in the New York (Royal) *Gazette*, July 1, 1780.

Summer 1780: The Struggle for Legitimacy, Pages 125-31

Samuel Bard's troubles are summarized in E. Alfred Jones, *Loyalists of New Jersey*. Joseph Wood's murder is reported in a list of atrocities committed against Monmouth 11 Loyalists that was compiled and presented by the Associated Loyalists at the court martial of Captain Richard Lippincott, See the Richard Lippincott Court Martial Collection (microfilm), 111-I I, frames 15—65, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The newspaper account is the New York *Gazette*, July 1, 1780.

Gerard's extraordinary passage is in, Conrad Alexandre Gerard, *Instructions and Despatches of Conrad Alexandre Gerard, 1778-80* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1939), 510-11.

This pro-retaliation petition and memorial are in: the Ely Collection MG14, New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N.J. *Notes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, June 9, 1780, 229; and the *Journals of the Legislative Council of New Jersey*, June 9, 1780, p 95-6 at the Library Company, Philadelphia, PA.

Information on the first public meeting of the Retaliators and David Forman's election as chairman is provided in William Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours*, (Freehold: Moreau Brothers, 1932), 219-20, and Dennis Ryan, *New Jersey in the American Revolution: A Chronology*, (Trenton, N.J., 1975), 67. Scudder's letter to his son is in the Letters Collection, Nathaniel Scudder, July 1780, New Jersey Historical Society. A complete accounting of all the sources that discuss one or more of the scandals surrounding David Forman would take pages. Instead, only a brief list of works follows: Fowler, "Egregious Villains"; Leonard Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940); Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*. For an overview of the history of Forman's additional regiment, see Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army* (Washington, D.C., 1983), 100, 321, and Fred A. Berg, *Encyclopedia of Continental Army*

Units (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1968), 43. For more specific information on Forman's problems, see *Papers of the Continental Congress*, reel 49, item 41, vol. 3, 179-80, National Archives, Washington, D.C., and *Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey* (Jersey City: John C. Lyon, 1872), pp. 53, 55, 57-58, 141.

Nathaniel Scudder's letter concerning retaliation, is: Nathaniel Scudder to John Anderson Scudder, June 17, 1780, Dreer Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia.

The September 17, 1780, petition was printed in LeRoy W. Tilton, "New Jersey Petition of 1780, Concerning Retaliation," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 34 (Spring 1946): 75-76.

The Legislature's consideration of the Retaliators and Salter's petitions are noted in *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, Sept. 23-Oct. 2, 1780, 270-80. Daniel Van Mater's memorial complaining of Retaliator actions is in the *Minutes of the New Jersey Legislative Council*, December 29, 1780, p49, at the Library Company, Philadelphia, PA.

Fall 1780 and 1781: Opposition on the Homefront, Pages 131-6

Information on each of the Whig leaders is in the author's *Biographical File*, at the Monmouth County Historical Association, Freehold, NJ.

Documentation of the Forman-Mott incident at the county election is in the records of the Court of Quarterly Sessions, October 1780, folder: 1780, Monmouth County Archives, and *Votes and Proceeding of the New Jersey General Assembly*, Oct. 26-7, 1780, 1-8. In the aftermath of the incident, 241 pro-moderate Monmouthers petitioned the legislature to order a new election. That petition was countered by two pro-radical petitions with nearly three hundred signatures that maintained that the election was fair and should stand. The legislature ultimately upheld the election as legal. Unfortunately, none of these three petitions still exist, as they would be excellent sources for revealing the rank-and-file membership of Monmouth's moderate and radical blocs.

The Whig activities of Hendrick, John, and Barnes Smock are profiled in Adelberg, *Roster of the People of Revolutionary Monmouth County*, 249-50, and the author's more comprehensive *Biographical File* at the Monmouth County Historical Association. Hendrick Smock was a wealthy horse breeder who had served two years in the New Jersey Legislature. After being voted out of office in October 1779 Smock returned home and was elected captain of his local militia company. Along with kinsmen Captain Barnes Smock and Lt. Col. John Smock, Hendrick Smock was a leading member of an important family that had sacrificed dearly for the Revolution. In his two years in the state legislature, Smock consistently supported measures to strengthen New Jersey's military but also resisted efforts to give officeholders more power. As such, he was an unquestioned supporter of the Revolution, but his support was tempered by an overarching fear of tyranny. Like most other leading moderates, Smock joined the Association for Retaliation. Evidence of Hendrick Smock's fear of central authority and

tyranny as a legislator is provided in two critical votes from November 1778. In that month, Smock voted against the Articles of Confederation and opposed a bill that would empower commissary officers to raise agricultural goods by levying a tax upon recalcitrant farmers. On the other hand, Smock was a consistent supporter of measures designed to bolster the military and supported two bills to raise troops for the New Jersey Line and state troops in May and June 1780. *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, November 1778, p 32-35, and May and June 1780, 13, 23. For information on the capture of Hendrick Smock, see Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours*, 137, and *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from American Newspapers*, 2d ser., vol. 4, pp. 603, 608.

Information on Asher Holmes' parole of John Williams is detailed in Retaliating Order No.16, Cherry Hall Papers, box 5, folder 9, Monmouth County Historical Association. It is safe to assume that the Board of Directors of the Association for Retaliation issued at least fifteen previous orders and probably subsequent orders, but apparently none of those other orders still exist.

Forman's letter to George Washington on prisoner exchanges is in the George Washington Papers, ser. 4, reel 68, July 12, 1780, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. The actions of the New Jersey Assembly are documented in *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, Jan. 6, 1781, 102-3. Documents pertaining to the Smock, Johnson, and Tanner prisoner exchange are in the Clinton Papers at the William Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.; see Asher Holmes to Thomas Crowell, Jan. 3, 1781, Clayton Tilton to Asher Holmes, Jan. 4, 1781, and the Minute Books of the Board of Associated Loyalists, Jan. 6 and 15 and Feb. 5, 1781, at the Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Information on the founding of the Monmouth County Whig Society is contained in the *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts of American Newspapers*, 2d ser., 5: 249, 291. There was also a Whig Society in Somerset County.

The Whig petitions, including the anti-Retaliator clause, are found in the Bureau of Archives and History Collection, Manuscripts, box 14, # 65, and Department of Defense Collection, Revolutionary War, Numbered Manuscripts, #11037, New Jersey State Archives, and *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, May 22-June 4, 1781, 8-32.

Henderson's bill is noted in *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, Oct. 3, 1781, p 22.

The meaning of the term "trader" in the petition is, no doubt, a reference to the so-called London Traders. These nearly identical petitions are contained in Larry Gerlach, *New Jersey in the American Revolution* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975), Department of Defense Collection, Revolutionary War, Numbered Manuscripts, #10948 and #11036, and Collective Series, Revolutionary Documents, #114, New Jersey State Archives.

Evidence of moderate Whigs and mildly disaffected citizens voting against radical Whigs is provided in the 1783 List of Officeholders for Dover Township. In 1783, the mildly disaffected Woodmancy family (several of whom had been convicted of contraband trading and other lesser crimes) dominated local politics, holding six of fourteen local offices. This same alliance also managed to keep a number of moderates and mildly disaffected in offices in Middletown and the shore townships. Unfortunately, the lists of local officeholders for most Monmouth County townships no longer exist. See the list of officeholders in the appendix of the author's *Biographical File*, Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 352, and Middletown Town Book, Vault, shelf 5, Monmouth County Historical Association.

1782: Climactic Retaliation, Pages 136-140

In 1782 Monmouth County was the scene of thirteen military clashes, while only eight took place in the rest of New Jersey combined. This assertion is based on tabulations made from a map compiled by David Munn, *Battles in Skirmishes of the Revolutionary War in New Jersey* (Trenton: New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection, 1974). Munn's figures underestimate the number of clashes that occurred in Monmouth County, according to the author's own research.

In the articles that established the Associated Loyalists, the board promised "to make the enemy feel just vengeance" for mistreating any Associated Loyalist; see New York *Royal Gazette*, Dec. 12, 1780. Though this statement is less explicit than the eye-for-an-eye retaliation in the Articles of Retaliation, the policy of retaliation was clearly practiced by the Associated Loyalists. The best overview of the Associated Loyalists is Edward Tebbenhoff, "The Associated Loyalists," *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 63 (Spring 1979): 115-44. In addition, two sources provide good information on the Associated Loyalists: Sheila Skemp, *William Franklin* (New York, 1990), and Kinvin Wroth, "The Court Martial of Richard Lippincott," in *Sources of the American Revolution*, ed. Edward Peckham (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1978), 2: 499-591.

General information on Associated Loyalist Captains Joseph Allen, Clayton Tilton, Thomas Crowell, and Richard Lippincott is contained in Adelberg, *Roster of the People of Revolutionary Monmouth County*, 78, 173, 275. Specific information on the raiding activities of these men are in the author's *Biographical File* at the Monmouth County Historical Association. Also see the minute books of the Associated Loyalists, most of which are in Clinton Papers collection at the William Clements Library; others are in microfilm collection 1081.133, Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

Henderson's report on the Associated Loyalists is in: *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, Dec. 15, 1781, 58. The resolve of Continental Congress is in *the Journals of the Continental Congress*, p1029-30. The Board of Associated Loyalists authorized Richard Lippincott to attack Freehold on Apr. 9, 1782. Its outrage with the Monmouth courts is profiled in a report compiled on Apr. 25, 1782. The corresponding documents are in the microfilmed collection of the Richard Lippincott Court Martial, Manuscripts Division, reel 1, frames 158-170, Library of Congress.

Narratives on the murder of John Russell, Sr., and Philip White's partisan activities and death are provided in several credible local histories, including: Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 209, 218; Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 122-24; Salter, *Old Times in Old Monmouth*, 63-65; and John E. Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, vol. 5, pp. 322-25.

There is a large amount of writing on the so-called Huddy Affair in both scholarly and antiquarian historical sources. Among the more readable and accurate narratives are Kinvin Wroth, "The Court Martial of Richard Lippincott," in *Sources of the American Revolution*, 499—591; Skemp, *William Franklin*, and Larry Bowman, "The Court Martial of Captain Richard Lippincott," *New Jersey History* 89, 1 (Spring 1971): 23-36. The note affixed to Huddy's chest appears in Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 185—86. The Loyalist statement on the Retaliators and the defense of Huddy's hanging is in an April 27, 1782 letter from the Board of Associated Loyalists to the Commander in Chief, it is contained in the *Transcript of the Court Martial of Richard Lippincott*, George Washington Paper, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Carleton's letter to Washington is in the Great Britain Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Series 5, reel 8, vol. 107, folio 107, 209 (on microfilm at the Library of Congress). The anonymous memorial is in the Jared Sparks Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS 49.2, #141.

The May 1782 pro-Retaliation petition is noted in *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, May 25-31, 1782, 13—20.

The impressment warrants issued by the Monmouth Courts under Forman's direction, are in the Department of Defense Collection, Revolutionary War, numbered manuscripts #4360-1, New Jersey State Archives. The anti-Retaliation petitions and the subsequent actions of the New Jersey Assembly are contained in the Collective Series, Revolutionary War Documents, #121, New Jersey State Archives; *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, Oct. 29, 1782, 13; and Ryan, *Six Towns*, 191. For information on the Legislatures consideration of Forman's conduct, see *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, Sept. 25, Oct. 29, Nov. 9, 19, and 21, 1782.

1783: Dissolution, Pages 141-2

Information on the Retaliators' open meeting of 1783 and Kenneth Hankinson's selection as chairman is contained in *New Jersey Archives: Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of New Jersey, Extracts from American Newspapers*, 2d ser., vol. 5, p. 365. Hankinson's tainted record included prominent roles in two scandals—1. the 1777 county election that was voided by the New Jersey Legislature because of election-day coercion; 2. the scandals associated with the preferential sales of confiscated Loyalist property in Monmouth County, for which Hankinson, one of the auction commissioners, was nearly removed from office. For information on the first scandal, see *Votes and Proceedings of the New Jersey General Assembly*, November 1777, 5—17; for a brief narrative of the second scandal, see Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution*, 286-88.

Lieutenant White's letter to Forman is in the British Headquarters Papers (microfilm), #8405, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA.

Evidence of retaliatory acts against Tories after the war is detailed in Fowler, "Egregious Villains," 278—79; Hornor, *This Old Monmouth of Ours*, 220; and Salter, *Old Times in Old Monmouth*, 46-47. The charter establishing the Association to Oppose the Return of Tories is in the Monmouth County folder, Special Collections, New Jersey Collection, Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library.

Conclusion, Pages 142-3

Though the Articles for Retaliation promised support to the military, many of the leading Retaliators ceased such support later in the war. David Forman, for example, ceased commanding men in 1778 when his Continental regiment was merged into the New Jersey Line. Thomas Henderson and Thomas Seabrook, who held the ranks of Lieutenant Colonel and Major in the militia respectively, left the militia prior to 1780. In fairness to these men, it must be noted that each frequently held civilian office, and Forman remained militarily active on an ad hoc basis throughout the war. It also should be noted that another key Retaliator, Major Elisha Walton, remained an active militia officer throughout the war. The dislike between the Retaliators and Asher Holmes probably had something to do with the minimal militia roles of most of the leading Retaliators. By 1780 Holmes was colonel of Monmouth's First Militia Regiment (the only fully functional regiment of the county's three) and was simultaneously the colonel of the regiment of state troops assigned to defend central New Jersey. As such Holmes was Monmouth's most powerful military officer, and the more strident Retaliators were probably unwilling to serve as his subordinates. For documentation of the military and public service of these men, see the author's *Biographical File*.

Ample evidence of continued Loyalist raids into Monmouth County in 1781 and 1782 is found in David Munn, *Battles and Skirmishes*, Edward Peckham, *the Toll of Independence*, and Alden, *Battles in Skirmishes of the Revolutionary War in New Jersey*. Two good discussions of the civil war in Bergen County are Leiby, *The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley*, and Ruth Keeseey, "Loyalism in Bergen County, New Jersey," *William and Mary Quarterly* 79, 4 (Fall 1961), pp. 558-76. An overview of the radical Whig-led scandals in Revolutionary Monmouth County does not exist, but information on many of these scandals is contained in Fowler, "Egregious Villains," Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution*, and the author's "Necessity has No Law". A comprehensive list of these scandals is spread across the author's database and *Biographical File* at the Monmouth County Historical Association.