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The Colonization and subsequent History of New-Jersey.

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A DISCOURSE,

PRONOUNCED BEFORE

THE YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION,

OF

NEW-BRUNSWICK,

On the 1st of December, 1842.

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1843.

## A DISCOURSE, &c.



*Mr. President and Gentlemen :*

I will not offer any apology for complying with the invitation, with which I have been honored by the "Young Men's Association of New-Brunswick." To appear before a respectable assemblage of a place, with which and its vicinity,\* my early impressions are more intimately connected than with any other spot in the universe could not, at any time, fail to afford me a gratification of no ordinary character. The occurrences of this evening carry me back through an interval of thirty years. The venerable seat of learning,† to which I am indebted for much valuable instruction

\* The seat of the late Rev. Abraham Beach, D. D. the maternal grandfather of the writer, and to which allusion is made, is extensively known as "THE FARM." Dr. Beach, who died on the 11th of September 1828, at the advanced age of eighty-eight years, was a native of Cheshire, Connecticut. He was admitted to holy orders, in London, in 1767, and, at the same time, was appointed by "the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts" their missionary, to officiate in Christ Church, New-Brunswick. The estate referred to, and which was soon after his arrival in New-Jersey, acquired by intermarriage with a descendant of one of the first settlers, has ever since continued the residence of his family, and at "THE FARM," after officiating for twenty-nine years as the minister of Trinity Church, New-York, to which place he was called in 1784, he passed in tranquil retirement the last fifteen years of his earthly career. His situation, during the war of the revolution was an extremely difficult one, living as he did, during the greater part of it, between the lines of the two contending armies, but, though in principle a loyalist and bound to the mother country by the ecclesiastical connection, which existed between him and the authorities in England, yet he ever scrupulously confined himself to the duties of his sacred office, never absenting himself a single Sunday from his professional labors, and dispensing spiritual consolation alike to Whigs and Tories, to Americans and Englishmen. Indeed, at one time, he was the only Episcopal clergyman officiating in New-Jersey. At the close of the war, he declined offers of the highest preferment in the British provinces.

† The Collegiate department of Queen's College was closed from 1814 to 1825, when it was reopened, under the name of Rutgers College, having been so called in honor of Col. Henry Rutgers of New-York, a respectable member of the Dutch Church, of great hereditary wealth and who had contributed to its funds. Its first President under the new organization was the Rev. Philip Milledoler, D. D. who resigning his office in 1840, was succeeded by the Hon. Abraham B. Hasbrouck, L. L. D. now the eminent head of the institution.

and which notwithstanding its temporary depression during a portion of the intervening period, now constitutes, under its present happy auspices, the proudest monument of your city, recalls the friendships of juvenile days, many of them too soon interrupted by the varied duties which, in our business community, put in requisition the abilities of all, and no few of them long since severed by the unsparing hand of death. In returning to scenes, amidst which so much of my life was passed I cannot feel altogether as a stranger, and I trust that the circumstances, to which I have alluded, will be deemed a sufficient justification of the selection that I have made, and that it will not be considered presumptuous in one thus situated to ask your attention to a few remarks, connected with the colonization and subsequent history of New Jersey.

Indeed, there is so much similarity in the motives, which induced the settlement of the several colonies included in the old Thirteen States, there was so uniformly a love of civil liberty, either brought over from the countries of their origin or engendered by the position of the emigrants, such a determination to follow the dictates of their own consciences in serving God, according to the almost boundless varieties of their religious creeds, that no American can study the history of his own particular State, without becoming more or less conversant with that of the Union, and as regards the citizens of New-York and New-Jersey, their annals, to no inconsiderable extent, are identical. Exposed not only to the same general political changes, which affected the paramount sovereignty, but constituting under the first European claimants a single province, being included in the original grant of the second as such, and afterwards having, though under separate organizations, for a long period of their anterevolutionary existence, the same individuals as Colonial Chief Magistrates, we may even, apart from that charter and safe-guard of our liberties, which has made all Americans one people, deem ourselves in every sense fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen. It is not my design, nor would the limits of a brief hour suffice to present to you even the most succinct analysis of your political annals. My object in this rapid glance is merely by bringing to your recollection the very many incidents, which they afford, worthy of the investigation of every son of the soil, to invite as the best means of cherishing patriotic sentiments and diffusing that knowledge, which all should possess, those among you, who may follow me, to choose their themes from those ennobling topics, by which your history is amply illustrated.

If we look to that colonization, in which Holland, Sweden, Scotland, Ireland and England bore a part, to say nothing of the early emigration from the descendants of the Pilgrims, settled in the more Eastern colonies of our own country, if we consider the various distinctions of sects, which prevailed among the original emigrants, if we examine the systems of government and civil polity, adopted by the Powers, which bore sway in portions of the territory, before its acquisition by England, and the different experiments adopted under the proprietary and royal authorities, if we call to mind the memorable occurrences of the revolutionary struggle within this State, or in which her distinguished sons bore a part, no one can complain that I propose a barren subject.

Not to enter on the questions connected with the ante Columbian discoveries of America, which though but recently discussed in the literature of Southern Europe, have been transmitted to us through Icelandic manuscripts, and are even noticed in the Swedish narratives of the historians of a portion of your State, Campanius and Acrelius, to whom, for another purpose, I shall, by and bye, have occasion to refer—not to inquire, whether New-Jersey formed a part of that *Vinland* which, at the end of the tenth century, was visited by the northmen, to whose voyages the labors of the antiquarians of Copenhagen\* and the narrative of our accomplished countryman Wheaton† have given so much interest, not to trace the parts of our coast explored, as early as the 16th century, by Verazzano, a Florentine in the service of Francis 1st of France and who entered the bay of New-York, we may look to the voyage of Hendrick Hudson, who, in 1609, whilst in the employ of the Dutch East India company, and in search of a north west passage to India, sailed up the magnificent river, which bears his name, as well as entered the Delaware, your other boundary, as laying the foundation of the first European colonization of New-Jersey. Indeed, a redoubt was thrown up on Jersey City point, long before any fortification was erected on Manhattan Island, and the settlements in your territory were nearly contemporaneous with those of the City of New-Amsterdam, which, when visited in 1614, by Argall's expedition, on its return from Port Royal, consisted but of a few huts.

Nor were initiatory proceedings for forming settlements taken

\* *Antiquitates Americane Ante Columbianas &c.* Hafnia, 1837.

† The history of the northmen by Henry Wheaton.



only on the Eastern borders of the State. The province of the New Netherlands, which was understood to include the whole country from Cape Cod to the Delaware, was subjected to the West India Company established in 1621. In the same year fort Nassau was built on Timber creek, near Camden, and the forts at New-York and Albany, the latter of which was called fort Orange, were erected.

It was not long subsequent to this period that there were established in the New-Netherlands three colonies, two of them connected with New-Jersey, by which the directors of the West India Company intended to perpetuate, through territorial possessions in the New World, the wealth, which successful commerce had acquired for them in the Old. The charter of liberties of 1629\* granted by the West India Company to the Patroons, allows to any of its members, who should, within a limited period, plant colonies of fifty souls and comply with certain preliminary conditions, the privilege of extending their limits sixteen English miles along shore, that is on one side of a navigable river or eight miles on each side, and so far into the country, as the situation of the occupants would permit. The colonists were free from charges, taxes and duties imposed on others and the Patroons possessed the right of establishing courts of Justice; they had the power of appointing all magistrates and officers and of providing religious instruction, regulating the support of schoolmasters and most other matters, which are supposed to belong to the government of an independent community, and, though we do not find the privilege in the charter of liberties, yet it is a matter of history, that the Patroons of Rensselaerwick, (the first of whom availing himself of a provision of the charter authorizing the grantees to increase their territory according to the number of the original colonists, had extended his possessions to a tract twenty-four miles by forty-eight,) built a fort to maintain their possessions. The virtues of the last individual, who enjoyed the hereditary estates devolving on him, as proprietor of this colony or manor, as it was regarded under the English government, and who, by the ties of family alliance, was connected with one of the distinguished statesmen of New-Jersey, to whom I shall in the course of these remarks have occasion to allude,† has created a respect for the name of Patroon, which has

\*A translation of this document will be found in "the New-York Historical collections," New Series, Vol. 1 p. 369.

†William Patterson.

caused it to be considered a title of honor long after the extinction of the political rights on which it was based.\* Pavonia, the colony of the Director De Paw, and to whom at one time was likewise granted Staten Island, embraced a portion of the Jersey shore, immediately opposite New-York. A plot of sixteen miles square, on the peninsula of Cape May, was bought of the Indians for the Director Goodyn, who gave to it the name of Swanwendael, but soon abandoned his project of colonization, and, at this day, no more vestiges are to be found of the Dutch Patroons, within the limits of New-Jersey than of Plowden's palatinate of New-Albion, which seems, indeed, to have embraced the territory included in Goodyn's grant. For that enterprise a charter was obtained from Charles 1st in 1634, a copy of which may be seen in Hazard's collections of State Papers,† conferring among other powers on the Earl Palatine that of creating orders of Provincial nobility, to which those proposed by Mr. Locke in his Carolina constitutions, among us alone afford any similitude. The colony was to be established between Maryland and New-England. It is said that a settlement was made at Salem in this State, and it is stated in the same work, in which I have found the charter, that the Earl Palatine of Albion resided on his grant for several years and acted as chief sovereign thereof. This effort, the existence of which has been recently questioned, to transplant the hereditary distinctions of European aristocracy to the American soil, was not, however, more successful than that undertaken under the auspices of the great Philosopher, and the colony was soon broken up by the neighboring Dutch and Swedes.

The settlements of the New-Netherlands were made at a glorious period of Dutch History, at a time when a few insignificant provinces revolting from the greatest empire of the world, sustained by the mighty influence of commercial enterprise and an innate horror of foreign domination, were giving to Europe a foretaste of what, a little more than a century afterwards, was illustrated by our own story. There are few of those, who now honor me with their presence, in whose veins does not flow some portion of the blood of the countrymen and associates of Patriots, who disregard-

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\*For a very interesting account of the colony of Rensselaerwick, the reader is referred to "a Discourse on the life and services of Stephen Van Rensselaer by D. D. Barnard."

†See Hazard's State Papers Vol. 1 p. 100.

ing the immense distance, which separated the burghers of Amsterdam from the King of Spain and the Indies, had yet the courage to defend, in the dykes and morasses of Holland, the exercise of their religion and the political rights of man against the most powerful potentate of Europe.

It was, indeed, long before the peace of Munster had given a formal sanction to Dutch liberty, and while the independence of the States General was yet liable to be assailed by their former haughty masters, that the settlements in the New-Netherlands were formed. It is, however, due to historical truth to state that the motives of the Dutch in proposing these establishments were not precisely the same as those of the Plymouth pilgrims, who were themselves escaping from oppression. The Dutch West India company were engaged in a commercial enterprise, and their plans had rather in view the benefit of those by whom the funds were advanced than the happiness of the governed. They were intent on promoting trade. Considerations, however, connected with the success of their own enterprise, rendered necessary a discrimination as to the character of the emigrants, the principle of which is fully maintained in the concessions to the Patroons, to which I have referred, and all the instructions of the Directors to their Governors evince the utmost solicitude as to commercial honor. They were charged to keep every contract inviolate, and the modern doctrine of repudiation would have found no favor, either with the council of nineteen or with their Representatives on this side of the Atlantic. We may learn from the accounts, which the English gave of New-York, at the time of its surrender, the happy effects which had resulted from the honorable frugality and unspotted integrity of the original settlers. "All the early writers and travelers" says a recent historian, (I quote from Mr. Grahame, a most liberal friend of America and whose valuable history of the colonization of the United States is deserving of general perusal,) "unite in describing the Dutch colonial metropolis as a handsome, well built town; and Jossylin declares that the meanest house in it was worth one hundred pounds sterling." "Indeed," continues Mr. Grahame, "the various provisions that were introduced into the articles of surrender to guard the comforts of the inhabitants from invasion, attest the orderly and plentiful estate, which these colonists had attained, as well as explain the cause of their unwarlike spirit. Of the colonists, who had latterly resorted to the prov-



inco, some were persons, who had enjoyed considerable affluence and respectability in Holland, and who imported with them and displayed in their houses costly services of family plate and well selected productions of the Dutch school of painting."\*

But in our commendations of what is valuable in Dutch character and enterprise, we must not forget that the notions of liberty, which prevailed, even in the mother country, were very different from those which, under the blessed influence of magna charta and the common law, accommodated to our circumstances and position, constitute the boast and glory of our present institutions. Liberty in Holland was confined either to the territorial lords or to the municipal burghers. The peasant, the boor had no participation in the elective franchise, no political rights to defend. There was no trial by jury, that distinguishing characteristic of English jurisprudence. Even the officers of the municipalities constituted close corporations, or were nominated by the Stadtholders and by the municipalities were the provincial delegates chosen and by them the delegates to the States General. Nor were the colonies subjected, except by a remote tie, to the political sovereignty of the mother country, but they were the property of a corporation, which, however extensive its powers, could be regarded only as a trading company. From such a source and surrounded by such associations, we would, in vain, look for any provision as to colonial representation. The grants to the Patroons contemplated the establishment of lordships similar to those of Holland, while the island of Manhattan was retained by the company and was the residence of the Governor General. The Sheriff of the City of New-Amsterdam was appointed by the Governor and the Schapen and Burgomasters perpetuated themselves.

The Agriculturists—the farmers of the New-Netherlands were, however, too near the English colonists to submit always to the degradations, to which the institutions of the Fatherland subjected them. We find, as early as 1653, that a voluntary convention was held of two delegates from each village, in which Baxter, an emigrant from New-England, bore a prominent part, and which resulted in a remonstrance unanimously adopted, that breathed the spirit rather of English than of Dutch liberty. To use the elegant version of Bancroft, "The States General of the United Provinces" said they "are our liege lords, we submit to the laws of the

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\*Graham's history of the United States, Vol. 1 p. 225.

United Provinces and our rights and privileges ought to be in harmony with those of the Fatherland, for we are members of the State and not a subjugated people; we, who have transformed the wilderness into fruitful farms, demand that no laws shall be enacted but with the consent of the people, that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people, that obscure and obsolete laws shall never be revived.”\*

The result, however, was what might have been anticipated. Stuyvesant, high minded and estimable as the old Governor was in every relation of life, had not been educated in a school to tolerate language such as this. Though the divine right of kings had been repudiated, he could not conceive that power should emanate from the great body of the people. The assembly was dispersed under threats of exemplary punishment, the Governor declaring that “we derive our authority from God and the West India Company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects.” It is a remark not unfrequently made and to the truth of which the history of the New-Netherlands affords no exception, that revolutions do not go backwards. When menaced by the English in 1663, the necessities of his government induced Stuyvesant to call an assembly and to appeal, as the only means of protection, to those boors, whom he had, a few years before, treated with so much indignity. It was, however, too late. The Colonists would not fight to perpetuate the sway of the West India Company nor would the company spend money for the Colony; and, thus the aristocratic liberties of Holland yielded to the anticipation of equal rights.

Not, however, to dispose so rapidly of our Dutch ancestors—the claims of the New-Netherlands embraced the Connecticut river, and as early as 1633, Fort Good Hope was built within the bounds of the present city of Hartford, but as it does not fall within the territorial limits, to which I propose confining myself, I shall not attempt a sketch of the various diplomatic negotiations, in which the Dutch Governors, who, not without reason complained that the hospitality, which had been accorded to the Pilgrims, during their temporary abode in Holland, had been ill requited by their descendants of New-England were engaged with the wily Yankees, nor shall I speak of those martial achievements of our ancestors, on which one of our most eminent and accomplished countrymen has contrived to cast such a shade of ridicule. Indeed, while doing

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\*Bancroft's history of the United States, Vol. 2 p. 306

justice to the happy irony by which the pages of the Knickerbocker are distinguished, no one who studies the early annals of his country can fail to unite with an historian, whom I have already introduced to your acquaintance, in wishing "that Washington Irving had put a little more or a little less truth in it, and that his talent for humor and sarcasm had found another subject than the dangers, hardships and virtues of the ancestors of his national family."\*

It has been remarked by the historians of New-Jersey that the early settlement of this province was more exempt from the disasters attendant on border wars and Indian fights than that of any of the other old States of the confederacy. That the freedom from such difficulties, under the colonial regime of the English, was fully made up by the military occupation of the country, during the revolution, we shall hereafter see, and though the government of the New-Netherlands was very fortunate in its relations with "the five nations," of which full evidence was afforded during the short restoration of its authority, after the first surrender to the English, yet there were connected with Indian affairs difficulties, while the Dutch bore sway, that prove that the pacific condition of things referred to, even as applicable to that period, was not without its exceptions. In 1630, De Vries was associated with De Laet, Van Rensselaer and other Patroons for the purpose of planting colonies in the New-Netherlands. A settlement of thirty persons was made near Lewistown on the Delaware, all of whom, on the return of their leaders, two years afterwards, were found to have been killed by the Indians, and by this act of the savages was terminated the first colony, which the Patroons attempted to establish in America, under the liberal charter, to which reference has been made.

This massacre, though occurring within the New-Netherlands, was in the immediate neighborhood but without the present bounds of New-Jersey. The picture of the times would be incomplete, did we not give an illustration, that shows that savage cruelty was not confined to the Indians. The war, which arose in 1643, and

\*Graham's United States, Vol. 2 p. 510.

†De Laet was the author of the *New World*, a work which as well as the voyages of De Vries, the histories of Lambrechtson and Vanderdonck will be found in the collections of the New-York Historical Society, the last volume of which, was published in 1841 under the superintendence of George Folsom, Esq. to whom the student of American history is, on more than one account, under great obligations.

which was attended with such destructive consequences to the scattered settlements of the emigrants, would appear, according to De Vries, to have commenced in an unprovoked aggression, on the part of Governor Kieft, who deemed the murder of a few savages at Pavonia, which was as has been remarked, situated in New-Jersey, opposite New-York, a feat worthy of the ancient heroes of Rome. De Vries, who was then at New-Amsterdam, thus describes the massacre. "It was in the night between the 25th and 26th of February 1643, that they executed these fine deeds. I remained that night at the Governor's and at midnight, I heard loud shrieks. I went out to the parapet of the fort and looked towards Pavonia. I saw nothing but the flash of guns and heard nothing more of the yells and clamour of the Indians, who were butchered during their sleep—about day the soldiers returned again to the fort, having murdered eighty Indians. And this was the feat worthy of the heroes of old Rome to massacre a pack of Indians in their sleep, to take the children from the breast of their mothers and to butcher them in the presence of their parents and throw their mangled limbs into the fire or water! Other sucklings had been fastened to little boards and in this position they were cut to pieces! Some were thrown into the river, and when their parents rushed in to save them, the soldiers prevented their landing, and let parents and children drown! Children of five or six years old were murdered, and some decrepid and aged men cut to pieces, those, who had escaped these horrors and found shelter in bushes and reeds, making their appearance in the morning to beg some food or warm themselves, were killed in cold blood or thrown into the fire or water.—Some came running to us in the country having their hands cut off. Some had their arms and legs cut off—some who had their legs cut off were supporting their entrails with their arms, others were mangled in other horrid ways, in parts too shocking to be conceived."\* I need not add that the result was disastrous to all the population without the walls, the revenge on the part of the Indians, was deep and far felt, and, for two whole years, the tomahawk was in active operation. From the shores of New-Jersey to the borders of Connecticut not a settlement was safe and peace ultimately was only effected by the instrumentality of Underhill, an emigrant from New England.

The establishments of the Dutch before the surrender were confi-

\*New-York Historical Collections, N. S. Vol. 1 p. 268.

ned to the vicinity of the North and South rivers, as the Hudson and Delaware were termed. Numerous settlements, however, existed on the shores opposite to New-Amsterdam, while between that City and fort Casimir, now Newcastle, which was their chief seat on the Delaware, more than one communication traversing the entire State of New-Jersey was maintained. These roads crossed the Raritan at this place, where there was a ferry afterwards called Inians; but New-Brunswick, though its colonization was essentially of Dutch origin, was founded long subsequent to the fall of the New-Netherlands, many of its early inhabitants having come from Long Island, while it received in 1730 so large an accession from Albany that the emigration from that source has permanently affixed, in despite of a different legal appellation, to the principal Street, the name of their former residence. At Burlington, where the capital of West Jersey was afterwards established, a few Dutch families were collected at an early day; while the migratory habits of the Eastern settlers had even before the end of the 17th century, already induced them to regard the territory of New-England as too circumscribed for their abode, and brought emigrants to dispute with the Swedes and Dutch the possession of the banks of the Delaware. But, the most important occurrence in the colonial history of the New-Netherlands was the subjugation to their sway by Governor Stuyvesant, in 1655, of the Swedes, whose settlement in this country will require, after we have brought the Dutch matters to a close, even in the cursory view which we are taking, a special notice.

England had always, during the fifty years that the government of the New-Netherlands was in existence, asserted claims to that territory, and it was said that the only right, which the Dutch possessed arose from permission, accorded to them by the former power, to maintain a place of refreshment at the island of Manhattan for vessels proceeding to the Brazils. The existence of any arrangement of this kind is altogether denied by the best authorities; while we cannot attach, as against the voyage of the Half Moon\*, and the actual occupation of the country, more importance to the grant, which James the 1st is said to have made of these territories to the Earl of Stirling, than we accord to the papal bulls. However, there was in the pretension sufficient plausibility to justify an act, which supreme power was capable of enforcing. The

\* Hudson's Ship.

New-Englanders had long regarded with little favor the proximity of the Dutch, while they were assisted in their projects by the views of the inhabitants themselves, to which we have adverted. The anomalous condition of the New Netherlands, the property of the West India Company, without being an appendage to the political authority of the mother country, enabled England to accomplish the conquest of these provinces without even violating the relations between her and the States General, and though in 1673, owing to the naval triumphs of Holland and the pusillanimity of the English officer in command at New-York, who, reversing the course of Stuyvesant and his people, refused to allow the City to make a defence, there was a temporary restoration, throughout the Province, of the Dutch authority; yet for all practical purposes, we may look upon the surrender of New-Amsterdam in 1764, as closing the political domination in America of the West India Company of the Netherlands.

Before, however, we treat of events incident to the surrender to England, we must recur, for a few minutes, to those settlements from Sweden which gave so much additional value to the British acquisitions. Though the project of colonization originated in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus and received the sanction of that illustrious defender of the Protestant faith, before he was, by the battle of Lützen, prematurely lost to the world, yet it was not till 1638, during the minority of his eccentric daughter, and while Oxenstiern directed the destinies of Sweden, that any colonization actually commenced. Christina, which has been corrupted into Christiana, was the place of the first settlement, while purchases were made on both sides of the river from Cape Henlopen, as far up as Trenton. Minuits, who had been Governor of the New Netherlands and had left the employ of the Dutch West India Company, was the chief of the enterprise; but a more direct countenance was, soon after, given to the colony by the appointment of Col. Prinz, an officer in the Royal service, to be governor of New Sweden, who established his residence at Tinicum, an island in the Delaware, below Philadelphia. According to the historian of this colony, those of our fellow-citizens, who can trace their descent from Scandinavian ancestors, have no reason to blush for their origin, for though three classes of people emigrated to America, viz. The Company's servants—the freemen, whose object was the bettering of their fortunes—and the malefactors, who went to perform the duties of slaves, Camperius adds, that “the Europeans



refused to receive these last, declaring that there was no scarcity of good and honest people to settle the country, and that most of these unfortunate beings, so far from being incorporated with the emigrants, perished on their way back.\* To the conquest of this little Colony, before the New Netherlands themselves submitted to England, we have already alluded. Traces of Swedish dominion in the names of places and the appellations of families are still to be found, as well in this State, as in Delaware and Pennsylvania, and though, after a very brief term, from their first emigration, all political dependence on the mother country ceased, a most interesting connection continued to be kept up with her, till a very recent period.

Both of the historians, to whom I have referred, came to this country, at the royal expense and with the promise of further recompense, to administer spiritual consolation and religious instruction to those of their brethren, who had long ceased, by the force of political events, to owe allegiance to the king of Sweden, and it was to the same munificence that we are indebted for the settlement among us of the translator of *Aerelin*, who arrived here, so late as 1771, as the minister at Swedesborough in this State, and who, instead of returning to Stockholm to claim his reward from the king, finished a clerical career of forty-five years as the Pastor of the Swedish Church in Philadelphia.]

It is also to be noticed, while on ecclesiastical topics, that as in the case of the Swedes, so likewise with regard to the Dutch, political revolutions did not affect the relations between the churches of the mother country and the colonies, but for a long period after the surrender to the English our Dutch congregations continued subject to the Classis of Amsterdam, and many of the most distinguished ornaments of the church, during the last century, received their education in the Universities of the United Provinces. It may likewise be added that the intelligent agent,† whom the State of New-York has employed to procure copies from abroad of the documents, connected with her colonial annals, has also been fortunate in obtaining papers to illustrate the early history of the Dutch Church in America.

The grant of New-York and New-Jersey to the Duke of York, who had indeed some pretensions derived from the purchase of

\* Duponceaux's Translation of *Campanius in the Pennsylvania Hist. Coll.* Vol. 3, p. 73.

† The Rev. Dr. Collin.

J. R. Brodhead, Esq.

Lord Stirling's rights, was almost simultaneous with its acquisition by Great Britain, and was the same year followed by the conveyance of New-Jersey to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. And though this royal personage does not seem to have acted with better faith, on this than on other occasions, and the numerous private grants made by his governor Nicolls, at New-York, led to much litigation in a subsequent period of the history of the colony, yet after the departure of the Dutch in '73, the title of Carteret and Berkeley was confirmed, as well as respects the political as the territorial rights. It was the acts of Nicolls, which gave rise to the controversy respecting what was called the Elizabeth-Town grant, involving 400,000 acres of land, and which led to the filing in 1745 of that bill in Chancery, from which so much of the early history of the State may be learned.\* Settlements on the Raritan and from Bergen to Shrewsbury were made by Eastern people from Long Island, who had come hither during the Dutch regime. After the surrender, New England, that nursery of nations, at once availed herself of the new territory and Newark was soon obtained and settled by emigrants from that region.

In the first days of colonial history, the same view which, in support of independence, was afterwards maintained by the Americans, that the foreign possessions depended on the Crown alone, and were not subject to the intervention of Parliament, was recognised as a universal principle. Hence the grant to the Duke of York and his subsequent transfer of New-Jersey, as well as the establishment of other proprietary governments in Pennsylvania, Maryland and the Carolinas. These proprietary rights were not confined to the mere ownership of the soil, or the exclusive privilege of extinguishing the Indian title, but went even far beyond the grants made by the West India Company to the Dutch Patroons. The colonies of the latter were restricted to a few square miles, and were subjected to the superior authority of the Governor of the New-Netherlands, while the proprietary grants embraced provinces, large enough to constitute independent empires, and their owners knew, in their provincial governments, no superior authority save that of the paramount Sovereign. Nor were these rights, like the English peerage or the kingly power transferable only by descent

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\*Bill in the Chancery of New-Jersey, at the suit of John, Earl of Stair, and the Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New-Jersey, against Benjamin Bond and some other persons of Elizabethtown distinguished by the name of the Clinker Lot Right men, filed in 1745.

and confined to the families of the original grantees, but the jurisdiction, equally with the soil, was a matter of traffic and was sold as merchandize or transferred by the operations of bankruptcy and more than one instance of such changes of proprietorship is to be found in the annals of New-Jersey, before the surrender of the political powers of the proprietaries of East and West New-Jersey to the Crown, in 1702.

Notwithstanding, however, the disadvantages, which in theory would seem to attend governments regulated upon the principles of trading companies, the self interest of those who looked to the colonization, as a means of pecuniary profit, accomplished more for the establishment of free principles than ever could have been obtained from the voluntary grant of an independent monarch.—The proprietaries in the American colonies looked for emigrants to the people of England, on whose minds the excitements attendant upon the civil wars and the establishment of a Republic were still vivid, and they had to compete with one another and with the advantages, which the chartered colonies, already independent in fact, held out to settlers. Popular rights were thus wrested by considerations of avarice from the most bigoted royalists. It would have been in vain, for Sir George Carteret and the representatives of Lord Berkeley's interests, when they partitioned New-Jersey between them, to have invited Englishmen to settle here, had they refused them the privilege of selecting their own spiritual instructors, had they denied them the rights of determining their own taxation, through colonial representation. We accordingly find that while New-York was till 1683 without any colonial assembly, the inhabitants being ruled by the Duke's governors and councils, who from time to time, made regulations, which were esteemed as laws, the legislature of East Jersey was convened under the proprietary governor, Philip Carteret, as early as 1668, holding its sessions at Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, Middletown and Piscataway or Piscataqua, as it was then called, some of which provincial capitals, from their present aspect, would seem, indeed, not to have justified the ambitious anticipations of their founders.

The concessions, as they are styled, of the Proprietaries of both the Jerseys, though the term "concessions" may sound somewhat discordant to republican ears, granted to the Colonists the most ample privileges and in one respect, as has been frequently remarked, went far beyond the constitution adopted by the provincial congress of 1776. While that instrument confines political privileges to

protestants, the concessions made no religious distinctions whatever. There is a provision against the imposition of any taxes, assessments or duties; without the authority or consent of the general assembly, and the exercise of religion, according to every one's conscience and judgement, is secured in the fullest manner.

At an early day, in the annals of the proprietary government of both Colonies, we are introduced to the great leaders of a sect, whose enthusiasm then attracted no little attention in the mother country, but the quiet deportment of whose followers, as we have ever known them, would induce the belief that its distinctive appellation, like *lucus a non lucendo*, was derived from the absence of the quality implied by it. This is not the occasion to treat of the dogmas of theology or even to allude to that "inner light, which the Quaker regards not only as the revelation of truth but the guide of life and the oracle of duty." Intellectual freedom, supremacy of mind, universal enfranchisement constitute Quakerism, so far as regards civil society. But, however, George Fox might have relied on natural impulses, unaided by what the world calls learning, it could not have been so with Robert Barclay and William Penn. They were both skilled in all the knowledge of their age, had been familiar with the most refined Society of England and the continent, while the son of Admiral Penn, notwithstanding the diversity of their religious tenets, enjoyed the personal intimacy of James the second. Penn, though identified with the origin of another State of our confederacy, has greater claims than any other individual to be remembered in connection with the Province of New-Jersey.

Robert Barclay, who has done more than any other writer of his persuasion to render Quakerism a methodical and rational system, though on his conversion, acting under one of those irresistible impulses, by which its votaries were then influenced, he is said to have traversed the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth and ashes\*, was the first governor of East Jersey. He never visited America, but from 1683 till his death in 1690, acted by a deputy. He was very instrumental in inducing the emigration of his countrymen the Scotch, as well those of other sects as the Quakers, and to conciliate other interests, there were introduced among the proprietaries, who made the purchase from the representatives of Carteret, several, whose religious opinions were utterly at variance with Barclay's.

\*Biographie Universelle, Tome, 3, p. 360.

Of this number was the Earl of Perth whose name was given to the seat of government, and which was not unreasonably, from its location, intended for a great commercial emporium. There was also a large infusion of New Englanders into the population of East Jersey, and a subsequent immigration of Dutch during the convulsions, that preceded the assassination of Dewitt and the triumph of the Prince of Orange.

Lord Berkeley had sold his interest to two Quakers, as early as 1673, by one of whom a settlement was commenced on the Delaware, and in 1677 a large immigration of the people of that sect took place under the proprietaries of West Jersey, among whom Penn was conspicuous. In 1681 the first assembly was held.—The commencement of the government was signalized by a determined resistance to the exactions of Andross, who was then governor for the Duke, at New-York, and of whom it was said that "he knew no will but that of his master, and that Kirk and Jeffries were not fitter instruments to execute the despotic projects of James the second." To preserve the population from the contamination of vice, every emigrant was obliged to prove that his change of residence was "not the effect of crime nor an act of fraud, but that he was reputed a person of blameless and sober life."

Among the names at this epoch deserving of commemoration in the annals of West Jersey is that of Thomas Jennings. He came to America in 1679 as the deputy of the Proprietary Byllinge, and was soon after made Governor. On the surrender of the proprietary rights of jurisdiction, he remained in the province and became the first Speaker of the Assembly of New-Jersey and in a public career, that continued till his death in 1708, was distinguished as the unbending advocate of popular rights against the exactions of Cornbury.\*

The various acts of James the second, while Duke of York, did not protect the proprietaries of New-Jersey from an usurpation of their rights, when he became king. He caused writs of *Quo warranto* to be issued against East and West Jersey, as well as against the charters of the Eastern Colonies and proposed to unite all New-England, New-York and New-Jersey under the government of that Andross, of whom we have spoken—that arbitrary and time-serving ruler, who, after having fulfilled the views of the Catholic James, towards the Protestants while he was in power, on the

\*Smith's History of New-Jersey, p. 352.

change of government stood ready to act as the agent of William in an usurpation, equally unjust, against the rights of the Catholic, but tolerant proprietary of Maryland. These measures against the Jerseys, were of course arrested by the English revolution of 1688, which however was in its consequences far from benefiting the colonies. It secured the rights of the people at home ; but, at the same time, established the parliamentary ascendancy over those possessions, which, as has been observed, it had till then been admitted, were subject to the king alone.

The surrender of the government to the crown in 1702, though termed a voluntary act, seems to have had in view the avoiding of an expensive litigation. By the new system the proprietaries, whose organization continues to this day, were confirmed in their rights to their estates and quit rents, and were alone permitted to make purchases from the Indians, but their political authority was at an end. There was a confirmation of the rights of conscience, though they were not, as before, extended to the Papists. Quakers were rendered eligible to all offices, and conformably to the spirit of that age, the Governor was instructed to give special countenance to the Royal African Company in the sale of their negroes.

Though the two divisions of New-Jersey were thus consolidated with a single legislature, the effect of the arrangement, by placing the government of the colony under the same individual as that of New-York, was to subject the lesser province to all the inconveniences attendant on a connection with a greater State. New-York was the Governor's residence and there also most of the other officers of State resided. Lord Cornbury, who succeeding the Earl of Bellamont at New-York, was under this arrangement the first Governor of New-Jersey, though a near connexion of Queen Anne, being the grandson of that illustrious Earl of Clarendon whose daughter married James the second, was extremely needy and came to this country for the purpose of exacting from his situation as much money as possible. Never, it is said, was a governor so detested as Cornbury, and the Queen was obliged to yield to the remonstrances of her subjects of both provinces and remove him from his office. Among other difficulties attendant on his administration no little dissatisfaction was created by the attempt to give extraordinary favor to the Episcopal church with a view to rendering it, as in England, the establishment, contrary to the wishes of the great body of the People. Indeed, though Churches were built at Perth Amboy in 1685, at Elizabeth Town in the time of Carteret



and at several other places before the revolutionary war, it is only within our own recollection that the Church of England in this State obtained its complete organization by the consecration to the Episcopate of a reverend clergyman, long the respected minister of this parish.\*

It was in 1738 that the colony succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a separate governor in the person of Lewis Morris, who had been Chief Justice both in New-York and New-Jersey, and a prominent member of the Councils of those Colonies, who had more than once temporarily administered the government during a vacancy, and who, as a member of assembly in Cornbury's time, had been associated with Jennings in the support of popular rights. He was the son of the first patentee of Morrisania, and was in all respects a very remarkable individual, and would alone have rendered memorable the name of Morris,† but the almost hereditary influence, for upwards of a century, of his family in the two States, with which he had been connected, and the brilliant talents and revolutionary services of one of his descendants, in the second degree, have added to it far greater éclat. Though much gratitude was, at first, evinced towards Governor Morris for achieving, as it were, the freedom of the Province from the thralldom of New-York, his career was another illustration of the instability of popular favor. After the death of Morris in 1746, Bolster and Bernard occupied the chair of State, which without referring more particularly to the series of Governors, was, at the breaking out of the revolution, filled by Franklin, who, though possessed of the talents and acquirements adequate to his position, is particularly

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\*The Right Reverend John Croes, D. D. Rector of Christ Church, New-Brunswick, was consecrated Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New-Jersey, on 19th Nov. 1813, and was, on his death, in 1832, succeeded by the Right Rev'd George W. Doane, D. D. L. L. D., the present Diocesan.

†Robert Hunter Morris, a son of Governor Morris, was Chief Justice of New-Jersey, subsequently Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, and his other son Lewis, was Speaker of the Assembly of New-York. Lewis Morris, one of Governor Morris's grandsons was a signer of the Declaration of Independence—another, Richard, was Chief Justice of New-York—while their brother Gouverneur, to whom special allusion is made in the text, was a member of the Continental Congress from New-York, of the Convention that formed the Constitution of the United States from Pennsylvania, a Minister Plenipotentiary abroad and a Senator of the United States from New-York. See Spark's Life of Gouverneur Morris.

distinguished by the difference between his political course and that of his illustrious father.

In looking through the colonial annals, we find that New-Jersey, even as a province, was not deaf to what she deemed patriotic appeals. She voted in 1745 £2000 to the Louisburg expedition, an enterprise which, perhaps as much as any other event, taught the Americans, and particularly the people of New-England, to rely on that skill and courage, which, thirty years afterwards, were to be attended with such prodigious results. As early as 1746, 600 men were sent by the colony to Canada under Col. Schuyler and that this expedition eventuated in nothing, was owing to the neglect of the mother country to perform her part of the undertaking. Nor was New-Jersey inactive, during the war of 1756. In 1758-9 and 60, she voluntarily kept up one thousand men. Nor is it only with respect to her contributions to the military service of what was then deemed the common country, that information is to be gleaned from her colonial history. The political student will find no little discussion in her annals on matters cognate to the debates of the present day. Arguments in abundance are to be met with on the relative advantages of paper money and an exclusive specie circulation, as induced by the several acts passed for the issuing of bills of credit, and which were generally vetoed by the Government at home to the no small disappointment of the Province.

The boundaries, also, are a prolific subject, some of the questions relating to which, outliving all the changes in the forms of government, came down to our own time. Fortunately, however, the treaty of limits between New-York and New-Jersey, concluded in 1834, based, like that recently entered into on a similar subject between England and the United States, on principles of mutual concession and reciprocal advantage, has already buried in oblivion the many cases of conflicting jurisdiction, which had agitated the public mind, and led to acts of hostile legislation.

When the Stamp act was received in this country, the spirit which prevailed elsewhere, existed in no less force in New-Jersey. The first proceedings of the Assembly, in answer to the overtures of Massachusetts, were indeed equivocal, but at an extra session, convened for the purpose, delegates were appointed to the Congress at New-York of 1766, and the Assembly subsequently adopted the warmest measures advocated in that body. This was followed up by sanctioning the Virginia resolutions of '69 and all the other measures, preliminary to the great event of '76. The provincial

Congress, that chose the members of the continental Congress of 1774, met at New-Brunswick, and among those selected, though he had been, only for a year or two, a resident of New-Jersey, we find the name of William Livingston, a member of a family not only distinguished in the civil history of New-York, of this State, and of the Union,\* but associated in the recollection of all, who hear me, with the venerable aspect and dignified form of one equally illustrious as the Patriarch of the religious community, to which he was attached.† Of the five delegates first named to the continental congress, it is said by the biographer of Gov. Livingston that only two remained throughout the contest faithful and steady to the cause. And when we learn that even these doubted the expediency of the final separation from the mother country, we may

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\*Without enumerating others of an earlier date, Philip Livingston, the brother of Gov. Livingston was a signer of the Declaration of Independence from New-York, and Brockholst Livingston, who succeeded Judge Patterson as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was a son of the Governor. Of another branch of the family, Robert R. Livingston was distinguished in revolutionary history as a member of Congress, and Secretary for foreign affairs, and Chancellor of New-York; while Edward Livingston, the youngest brother of the Chancellor, is known as an eminent jurist, a member of both houses of Congress and a diplomatist of later days.

†The Rev'd John H. Livingston, D. D. received his theological instruction in the University of Utrecht, and after being invested by the Classis of Amsterdam in 1770, with the ministerial office, and having obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity from his University, he returned, declining a call from one of the churches at Amsterdam, through England, to his native country. He immediately, on his arrival, entered on the duties to which he had been invited during his absence, as one of the Ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church of New-York. He soon rose to the highest eminence in the Church, being in 1771 the President of a convention of the Ministers and Elders of the two Provinces of New-York and New-Jersey; and he was offered the Presidency of Queen's College, New-Brunswick, then just incorporated, an office, which was subsequently conferred on the Rev'd Jacob R. Hardenbergh, D. D. who filled it from 1780 to 1790. He was also recommended by the Theological faculty of Utrecht in 1774 as Professor of Theology in the new College. This arrangement was defeated by the war, but in 1785, he accepted the office of Professor of Theology, to which he was appointed by the general Synod. He removed to New-Brunswick in October 1810, the academical department of Queen's College having been reconstituted in 1807, as President of the College as well as Professor of Theology; and in this City he continued to reside, employed in the duties of the Divinity school, until his death on the 20th of January 1825, in the 70th year of his age.

without, in the slightest degree, abating from the warmth of our gratitude and admiration for those fearless champions of liberty, who from the beginning perseveringly asserted our natural rights, show some indulgence to those Americans, whose private virtues were an honor to the land of their nativity, but who, educated in the principles of a monarchical government, abandoned all that men hold most dear to what they deemed the paramount obligation of loyalty. These remarks, however, do not apply to such individuals as *Tucker*, who, after having been President of the Provincial congress and done every thing in his power to commit his countrymen to a contest, in which no middle course could be sought, had the baseness to abjure the institutions of his own creation and to seek a protection from the British military commanders. With *Livingston*, the question of independence was only one of time, and though his private opinion on that subject might not have coincided with that of *Jay*, with whom he was connected by the intimate ties of family alliance, and of his other bolder associates, he yielded to the judgement of his peers. The name of *William Livingston* is not signed to the declaration of independence, as he had, before its adoption, left congress for the more active duties of the military command, with which he had been invested, as one of the Generals under the Provincial congress, and on the organization of the constitutional legislature, he was chosen Governor of the State, an office which, declining foreign embassies and all other public situations, except a seat in the convention that adopted the Federal Constitution, he filled during the whole revolutionary war and indeed till his death in 1790. The administration of *Livingston* is, in every sense, the most important that can ever occur in the annals of New-Jersey. For several successive years, the State was the battle ground of the revolution. The ordinary meetings of the legislature, official forms had to yield to necessity, and, on more than one occasion, the Governor and council were invested with dictatorial powers. Upon *Livingston* did *Washington* frequently rely to furnish the aids essential to the maintenance of the Continental army, but, even during these momentous periods, the governor did not confine his efforts, in behalf of the revolution, to the performance of his official acts. The columns of the *New-Jersey Gazette*, which, established in 1777, was throughout the war to the Whigs what *Rivington's New-York Gazette* was to the Tories, abounded in his well written Essays, addressed to his countrymen and intended to arouse their patriotism.

The last legislature under the Royal Government was prorogued in December 1775. The necessity of a political organization did not afford time for the discussion of abstract propositions, and the provincial congress of 1776, which met at Trenton, and in which all executive, judicial and legislative powers seemed to be united, likewise undertook the new modelling of the organic law of the State, and though only two days were allowed in which to frame it and six to adopt it, and though evidences of haste may be found in it, yet it has answered for sixty six years all the purposes of a Constitution. Of the peculiar provisions of this instrument, it would not, of course, become me, even if my limits permitted, to speak; and I only allude to its establishment, as one of the most important incidents in the history of the State.

The active military operations in New-Jersey commenced, on the capture of New-York in 1776, and with the exception of two short periods, the American grand army was always throughout the war within the State or on its borders. There are no few places, within the immediate vicinity of the spot, on which we are now assembled, that are marked out either by the encampments of the British or American forces, or by the battles or skirmishes of which they were the scenes. The retreat of the Americans, through the Jersey, exhibited the strongest evidence of military skill, and it was at Trenton and at Princeton, under the Commander-in-chief himself, that the cloud which the events at New-York and the surrender of Fort Washington had thrown around the affairs of America was dispelled, while the battle of Monmouth, productive of less important results to the general cause, is, on other accounts, among the important events of the revolution. Nor was New-Jersey unrepresented, even in the highest rank of the continental army.—William Alexander, the brother-in-law of Governor Livingston, who, though his title of Earl of Stirling was never finally established, is known by that distinction in our history, was at the onset of the revolution, expelled from his seat in the council of New-Jersey, under the royal government, for his active participation in the proceedings of the rebels. He was taken prisoner on Long Island before the fall of New-York—was afterwards engaged in the retreat through the Jersey—was at the battles of Trenton and Princeton—fought at the Brandywine and at Germantown and at Monmouth, and having every where distinguished himself and enjoyed, to an unprecedented extent, the personal confidence and friendship of Washington, died at the close of the war, in the command of the Northern department of the United States.

But it was not only by military services and contributions to the charges of the war that New-Jersey did her part in promoting the common weal. The names of Stockton, the competitor, at his first election, of Livingston for the gubernatorial chair, of Witherspoon,\* who, regarding the exigency as one setting at nought all ordinary rules, did not deem it derogatory to his sacred character and the high duties of his literary charge, to contribute his mature judgement and varied acquirements to the cause of his adopted country, will ever hold a prominent rank among American worthies, while in the person of Boudinot,† New-Jersey, under the old confederation, gave a President to Congress.

Nor was her part an inactive one in those measures, which put the seal, through the Constitution of 1787, to the liberties of the Union. In that Convention, not to refer in this connection to his distinguished colleagues, William Patterson, who first appears in the political history of New Jersey, as the Secretary of the Provincial Congress of 1775, and who after having administered the government of his State and been a Federal Senator, terminated his career in 1806, as one of the members of that more than Amphictyonic Council, the Supreme Court of the United States, occupied a distinguished position; and to his efforts, as we learn from Mr. Madison,‡ the smaller states are indebted for the equal representation in the Senate.

The events, subsequent to the adoption of the Constitution, are too much connected with matters which, even at this day, are capable of engendering partisan feelings to admit of their introduction into a discourse from which it is intended to discard all discussions,

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\*John Witherspoon, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was a Scotchman by birth and a minister of the established Church of his native country. He was chosen, at the suggestion of his revolutionary compeer, Stockton, who was then in London, in 1766, President of the College of New-Jersey at Princeton; and, while at the head of that institution, was in 1776 elected a member of the Provincial Congress of New-Jersey, and the same year a member of the Continental Congress, where he served, with the exception of a short interval, till 1782. He died in 1794 at the age of 72.

†Elias Boudinot was President of Congress in 1782 and in that capacity signed the ratifications of the treaty of Peace with Great Britain. He died in 1821 in the 82d year of his age, having devoted the last years of his life to objects of benevolence and religion. He was the first President of the American Bible Society and its most munificent patron.

‡Madison's Papers Vol. 2, p. 1048.



that can call forth any contrariety of sentiment among Americans, nor do I feel that I can, without the risk of touching on debatable ground, more particularly refer to those worthies, who, since the adoption of the constitution, have sustained the reputation of their native State in the Cabinet of the nation, in the Senate of the Union, and on the bench of your own Courts.

With respect, however, to your Southard, distinguished in the several stations to which I have alluded, and who having attained to a place second only to the highest to which an American can aspire, had the good fortune to possess as an eulogist the venerable chief of whose administration he had constituted a component part, death has rendered his fame the common heritage of your State; while the transfer of one, long his colleague in the most august assembly of the Union, from the strifes of political contention to the tranquillity of an academic life permits a reference to Frelinghuysen who, as well as his honored father, illustrated in the public councils a name previously consecrated in your ecclesiastical annals.\* An allusion to the judiciary cannot fail to recall to me a venerable and distinguished jurist of the last generation,† most intimately associated with all my reminiscences of New-Brunswick, now worthily represented in the President of this association; nor is it a source of small gratification for me to recognise, among the members of your present supreme tribunal, an individual,‡ who reminds me of one of those juvenile friendships, to which I have referred in the opening of this discourse.

Nor is New-Jersey, without a special claim to participate in the fame, that attaches to some of the most distinguished Statesmen, who more peculiarly belong to other sections of the Union. Of

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\*The Rev'd Theodore James Frelinghuysen came to New-Jersey from Holland in 1720 as a minister of the Dutch Church on the Raritan. He was an able and successful preacher and a prominent member of the Assembly of 1737, which formed the plan of a church, subordinate to the Classis of Amsterdam. His five sons all adopted the profession of their father. Frederic Frelinghuysen, the grandson of the first emigrant, advantageously known both in the civil and military history of the revolution and as a Senator of the U. S. under the present constitution, was the father of the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, L. L. D., now Chancellor of the University of the City of New-York and from 1829 to 1835 a Senator in Congress from New-Jersey.

†Hon. Andrew Kirkpatrick was chief Justice of New-Jersey from 1797 till his death in 1831. His son Littleton Kirkpatrick, Esq. is President of the association before whom this discourse was pronounced.

‡Hon. James S. Nevins.

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