NEW JERSEY BRIGADE ENCAMPMENT SITE

November 6, 1968

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NEW JERSEY BRIGADE ENCAMPMENT SITE

A Special Study

By

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DIVISION OF HISTORY
Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation
November 6, 1968

National Park Service  U.S. Department of the Interior
THE NEW JERSEY BRIGADE ENCAMPMENT
Near Morristown, New Jersey

SPECIAL STUDY REPORT
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to identify the site of the 1779-80 encampment of the Jersey Brigade near Morristown. The background of events which prompted its undertaking had its origins in a State of New Jersey plan to locate the proposed Hardscrabble Reservoir in the area immediately south and west of the Jockey Hollow Area of Morristown National Historical Park. If constructed as proposed, the reservoir will occupy approximately 2,400 acres--one half of which will be inundated at the 500 foot contour line on land now owned by private parties, the Morris County Park Commission (Lewis Morris County Park); the Girl Scouts of America (Morris-Sussex Area Council); and the New Jersey Audubon Society's Scherman Wildlife Sanctuary. While the proposed area does not extend into Morristown National Historical Park, some students and local people believed that it might include, within the Scherman Wildlife Sanctuary and adjacent private land, the site of the 1779-80 encampment of the Jersey Brigade. Among those who shared this belief were Mr. Harry Scherman, Mr. Clayton Smith, Mr. Harvey Bennett, and Mr. and Mrs. Fred Bartenstein, Jr. The Bartensteins undertook a historical study to determine whether the brigade encampment was indeed within the area that would be covered by the reservoir's waters. Their study is included in the Appendix of this report.
During the spring of 1968 the New Jersey Audubon Society contracted with Mr. Robert Ditchburn of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, to carry out an archeological study of the site identified by the Bartensteins as that of the Jersey Brigade encampment. Work was begun in April and by the end of the study thirty-six hut sites were located and excavated. The final report is due January 1, 1969, but a general statement of the results of the study will be discussed in this report.

This study is a critical review of the evidence related to the search for the encampment, using the Bartenstein report as a point of departure. Every source and technique used by them has been examined and an effort made to determine whether alternative conclusions can be derived from the evidence.
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This booklet records the Bartensteins' search for the site of the Jersey Brigade's 1779-80 winter encampment and is the basic document from which this report was developed.

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This map corroborates the data concerning the 1779-80 winter encampments that is contained in larger scale in Erskine Map No. 104B, "Road from Morristown thr8 Jockey Hollow." The Jersey Brigade's encampment is identified by the letter J.

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Robert Ditchburn, The New Jersey Encampment 1779-80, Bernardsville, N. J. (Paged 1 through 15.)

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CHAPTER I

The Jersey Brigade Encamps at Morristown

As the year 1779 drew toward its close, the military situation in the North was in stalemate, while the Nation's financial condition worsened. General Washington kept his army in the vicinity of West Point until November, hoping that, with Admiral d'Estaing's French fleet, decisive action could be taken against the British. But the Admiral took his fleet and his 4,000 men to Georgia to lay siege to Savannah. When his final attack was beaten off, he raised the siege on October 20, sent some of his vessels to the West Indies, and took the rest back to France, while Washington waited hopefully for him to appear off Paulus Hook. On November 15 dispatches arrived at Washington's headquarters from Philadelphia telling of the failure of the joint attack on Savannah and the sailing of the French fleet.¹

There was no longer any hope for a decisive move in 1779, and Washington turned his attention to wintering his army. Its disposition was based upon two requirements: keeping the British in New York and its environs under surveillance and preserving his army. To that end, four Massachusetts regiments remained at West Point; Enoch Poor's brigade went to Danbury, Connecticut, along with the cavalry to keep

an eye on Long Island Sound; Albert Pawling's New York State levies and the North Carolina Brigade took up a position near Suffern, New York; and Henry ("Light Horse Harry") Lee's corps went to Monmouth. The major portion of the army, composed of the Pennsylvania Division (two brigades); New York Brigade; Virginia Brigade; North Carolina Brigade; Stark's Brigade; Maryland Division (two brigades); Hand's Brigade; the Connecticut Division (two brigades); and the [New] Jersey Brigade, would go into winter quarters as a body.

On November 30 Washington informed his Quartermaster General, Nathanael Greene, that he had selected a location "back of Mr. Kemble's," some three miles southwest of the village of Morristown, New Jersey, for his winter encampment. 3

The New Jersey Brigade consisted of the First; Second; Third; Independent or Fifth Regiment, better known as Spencer's Regiment; Forman's Regiment, and Sheldon's Connecticut Riflemen, both of which were subsequently incorporated into Spencer's Regiment. 4 It had taken part in Major General John Sullivan's campaign against the Indians of the Wyoming Valley in western New York. At the end of that campaign, it had returned to Easton, Pennsylvania, on October 15. From there

2. The Virginia and North Carolina troops were sent southward on December 9.
4. Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians, Prepared by Frederick Cook, Secretary of State of New York, p. 341. [Hereinafter referred to as JME].
it moved eventually to Scotch Plains, arriving there on November 5 or 6. The brigade spent six uncomfortable weeks at Scotch Plains, living in tents through four November snows. On December 10 the Commander-in-Chief visited the brigade's cantonment.

While the Jersey Brigade shivered through the first month of the century's severest winter, Quartermaster General Greene and his staff planned the winter encampment near Morristown. On December 1 Greene notified the brigade commanders that the camp would be "laid off" that day and advised them to send a detachment from each regiment to "take possession of their ground" and to order their quarter masters to obtain hut plans and draw tools.

As early as November 17 Washington had anticipated that the Jersey Brigade would winter with his main body of troops and he included it in his orders to Greene in laying out the winter encampment, writing:

> The Brigades to stand in the following order from the Right, if on one line. Woodfords, Muhlenbergs, Smallwood, Gist, Irwin, Johnson, Maxwell, Clinton, Hand, Starke, Parsons, Huntington.

> If the encampment is in two lines, and eight Brigades, in the first, they will be: Virginia

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Maryland, Hand, Starke, Connecticut. The pennsylvaniaman's [sic], Maxwell and Clinton the 2d; if the ground should more conveniently suit two lines of six Brigades in each. The Virginians, Maryland, and Connecticut will compose the first line, and Pennsylvania, Maxwell, Clinton, Hand and Stark the second, to be placed as they are named from Right ... 9

An order of December 13 advised General Maxwell that General Samuel Holden Parson's Connecticut troops were under orders to march "towards the Sound" and then when they arrived at their destination the Jersey Brigade was to march "immediately to camp."10 Two days later the following message went to Maxwell:

To Brigadier General William Maxwell
Head Quarters, Morristown, December 15, 1779

Sir:

You are to march by the most direct Route to Mr. Kembles about four Miles south of this; your place of encampment being in that neighborhood. You had best send the Quarter Masters forward to receive information of their ground from the Quarter Master General. I am, etc.

G. Washington11

The brigade immediately prepared to march and decamped on December 16. On the 17th it reached the Morristown area and marched to "Eyre's Forge and encamped and began to build huts."12 On Christmas Day Sergeant Major George Grant, Third New Jersey Regiment, made the

final entry in his journal:

Removed into our huts and ended the Campaign. Here ends the glorious and Noble Campaign, which gave honor to Sullivan, Clinton and Wayne. That they be always crowned with merit, to lead their men on in an undaunted spirit.\textsuperscript{13}

The Jersey Brigade had joined the historic winter encampment at Morristown. The campaign against the Six Nations had ended, and the Jerseymen were about to experience an ordeal that had few parallels in American history.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
CHAPTER II

The Search for the Jersey Brigade Encampment

Nathanael Greene, as Quarter Master General, was responsible for laying out the winter encampment and assigning areas to the several brigades. The best source reflecting his organization of the camp is the group of maps prepared by Robert Erskine, Geographer and Surveyor to the Army, in compliance with the following order:

Head Quarters, Morris Town 9th December 1779

Dear Sir

His Excellency is extremely anxious to have the Roads in front and rear of the Camp accurately surveyed as speedily as possible. He therefore wishes to see you immediately at Head Quarters that he may give you particular directions as to the Business which he wants executed.

I am, Dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

T. Tilghman

Robert Erskine, Esq. Ringwood . . . 1

These maps are in the Erskine-DeWitt Collection in the collections of the New York Historical Society. The one that bears most directly upon

1. Washington Papers, ltr. to Tilghman to Erskine, December 9, 1779.
this study is No. 104B, "Road from Morristown thro Jockey Hollow."\(^2\)
That map locates the Jersey Brigade near the base of a hill north of the junction of two streams approximately two miles west and slightly south of Kembles. This agrees with General Maxwell's marching orders of December 15 directing him to march to "Mr. Kembles about four miles north of this place [Morristown]; your place of encampment being in that neighborhood."\(^3\)

On the face of it, this single contemporary source would seem to provide a simple and incontrovertible answer to the question of where the Jersey Brigade spent the winter of 1779-80. The stream junction is obviously that of the Passaic River and Indian Graves Creek, and once that point is identified, the location of the camp seems certain. However, that location has been disputed by some students of the Morristown story.

One of the soldiers of the Jersey Brigade was William Tuttle, a private, corporal, and sergeant in the First and Third New Jersey Regiments and later an ensign in the First.\(^4\) He served from 1776 to April 1783 and was with the brigade during its encampments at Morristown. After the War ended, Tuttle returned to Morristown, married Temperance

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3. Ibid., p.4.

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"Tempe" Wick, and lived on the Henry Wick farm until he died in 1836. According to another Tuttle, the Reverend Joseph Tuttle, a local historian, William was a valuable source of information about the several encampment sites, especially the Jersey Brigade's. In an article for The New Jersey Historical Magazine, dated June 1871, the later Tuttle wrote:

As good fortune will have it, a former tenant on the Wick farm occupied it several years before Captain Tuttle's death; and in company with the old gentleman, frequently passed over the camp grounds. Under Mr. Mucklow's direction a small party of us passed over the various points of interest. Taking the old Wick house as the starting point, we crossed the road, and following in a southwest direction, came into a tract of timber on an easy slope and extending to a living spring brook. In the upper end of the woods, near the brook, we found the ruins of several hut-chimneys. Following the side hills in the same direction as the stream, that is in a southeast course, we found quite a large number of these stone chimneys, and in some of them the stores, seems [sic] to be just as the soldiers left them. At one point we counted two rows containing forty chimneys; some of them evidently belonging to double huts. Just below these we came into a fine level opening, almost bare of trees, and which may have been grubbed clean of stumps and roots for a parade ground. A few rods higher up the sides of the hill were other ruins, extending with some degree of regularity around the face of the hill, in a curve, until the row was terminated at a brook on the east side, which puts into the stream already mentioned. On the crown of the hill is another row of ruins; and Captain Tuttle informed our guide that the cleared field on the hill was covered with similar remains. Thus far we counted 196 of these and had been over the ground occupied by the Jersey Brigade. Frequently did Captain

Tuttle relate the fact that he had seen the path leading to the Wick house marked with blood from the feet of the soldiers without shoes.  

The Tuttle identification of the Jersey Brigade encampment site was accepted by Edmund Halsey in a paper presented to the Washington Society at its Washington's Birthday meeting in 1889 and given detailed support by Emory McClintock in the following paragraph:

West and southwest of Hand's brigade lay the Jersey brigade, which contained nearly twice as many men as Hand's. At the beginning of the encampment it contained from 1300 to 1400 men, but it became reduced through the termination of enlistments and, to some extent also by desertions. Forty years ago the locality was fortunately visited by Dr. Joseph F. Tuttle, the father of Morris history, accompanied by a boy friend, since then treading close in his footsteps as the county historian, the Hon. E. D. Halsey. Dr. Tuttle's minute account of the remains of the Jersey camp is reprinted in Dr. Green's history of Morris Township. That the Jersey brigade was really encamped there is evident, both from the very direct tradition mentioned by Dr. Tuttle and from the fact that the remains lie just beyond the location of Hand's brigade, corresponding to the order of Washington's first line, and from the further fact that all the other brigades are definitely located elsewhere by positive evidence. Mr. Tuttle received his information from Mr. Mucklow, then living in the Wick house, who had been for years a tenant of the Wick farm when the house was occupied by its former occupant William Tuttle, with whom Mr. Mucklow had long and familiar intercourse. Mr. Tuttle was a soldier and finally


an officer of the Jersey brigade, was present throughout the duration of the encampment unless ordered elsewhere on detachment duty, and subsequently became the husband of Temperance Wick, daughter of Henry Wick, builder of the Wick house. The Jersey brigade lay on both sides of a brook rising perhaps a third of a mile southwest of the Wick house and flowing in a southeasterly direction until, some distance below, it joins the brook first mentioned, which rises in ground occupied by Hand's brigade. Both sides of this longer brook were then more or less completely occupied by lines of huts, obviously belonging to different regiments. The remains which existed at the time of Dr. Tuttle's visit towards the upper end of the brook have since been cleared away, but many of the remains along the lower course are still to be seen. Those which are said to be visible on the southwest side occupy a portion of the northeast slope of the high hill heretofore spoken of as Blackly's hill. On the northeast side of the brook, at a point south-southwest from the Wick house, is a space almost circular, obviously cleared of stumps many years ago, which was believed by Dr. Tuttle to have been cleared for a parade ground, and which may very probably have served that purpose for the Jersey brigade. A little to the northwest of the Jersey camp there is a spring, still known as the Cook spring, the water from which flows westward into the Passaic. As no one named Cook has ever owned this land, it seems a reasonable conjecture that the commissary department was located near this spring.  

Dr. McClintock's conclusions obviously were at odds with Robert Erskine's Map 104B, and unlike Tuttle and Halsey, he knew of the map and that his opinion and the map's data were irreconcilable. He dismissed the map's evidence in the following manner:

Washington's map puts the Jersey camp in Somerset county, half a mile beyond the county line, on the

northeast side of a brook [Indian Graves Creek] which flows into the Passaic from the southwest, though at the spot where the camp is indicated it flows from northwest to southeast. The brook in question is the first which joins the Passaic as you ascend that river from the spot where it crosses the Basking Ridge Road. Curiously enough, a newspaper writer from Basking Ridge tells of his passing the camps from Morristown, and remarks that they extend along the hills "nearly to this place," 9 The fair conclusion is that the correspondent was drowsy during the latter part of his journey, and that the mapmaker [Erskine] located the Jersey camp on hearsay. That camp really was, chiefly, on the north side of the southern fork of a stream flowing southeasterly, and to that extent the man is correct. The map, by its title, relates to the Jersey Hollow road, which was no doubt carefully traversed. That it gives the Jersey camp correctly seems most improbable. 10

The writings of Tuttle, Halsey and McClintock found a general acceptance of those interested in Morristown's history, and their identification of the Jersey Brigade encampment met few skeptics. Because they represent such a time-honored alternative to any conclusions based upon Robert Erskine's map, an analysis of position is in order.

All three relied upon an oral account that derived from William Tuttle, the veteran of the Jersey Brigade, through his tenant, Mucklow, and received by Dr. Tuttle and Mr. Halsey some years after the old soldier's death. Ideally, William Tuttle should have been a good source.

9. The newspaper account, which was quoted in Halsey's "The Continental Army in Morris County," p. 8, included this sentence about the American Camp: "Headquarters is at Morristown and the army extends from there along the hills nearly to this place."
According to Heitman, he served with the Jersey Brigade from 1776 until April 1783 and he certainly was with the Sullivan Expedition in 1779. Therefore he probably was in the winter encampment and would have been expected to have been able to recall where his brigade spent that most trying of seasons. However, the winter of 1779-80 was not the only one spent in the Morristown area.

While most of Washington's army spent the winter of 1780-81 in the New Windsor Cantonment near Newburgh, New York, the Pennsylvania Line encamped in the Old Hand's and First Connecticut Brigades encampments in Jockey Hollow. They mutinied on January 1, 1781, and the Jersey Brigade moved from its encampment at Pompton to Chatham to intercept them if they marched to join the British in New York. However, the Pennsylvanians had gone to Princeton, where an amicable settlement ended their meeting. Within a few weeks, similar conditions and grievances produced a mutiny with the Jersey troops, who were back at Pompton, on January 20. This was quelled by prompt and firm action.

During the next month, the Jersey Brigade moved to Jockey Hollow and occupied the huts recently vacated by the Pennsylvania Lines. It remained there until July 8 when it rejoined the main army to participate in the Yorktown campaign.

11. Heitman, HRO . . .; William Styker, Roster of the Jersey Brigade in the Western Expedition of 1779.
After the close of the triumphant Yorktown campaign, in which it had played an important part, the Jersey Brigade returned to Jockey Hollow. Little is known about the Brigade’s activities during the Winter of 1781-82. Military operations lost their commanding role while negotiations went on in Paris, and the soldiers undoubtedly found their final encampment monotonous and trying. The Brigade remained in the vicinity of Morristown until near the end of August 1782, when they transferred to the lower Hudson Valley.\(^{13}\)

In passing, it should be noted that the Rochefontaine map of Jockey Hollow, prepared during January 1780, does not include an encampment for the Jersey Brigade across from the Wick House. Since it was drawn after the Brigade reached the Morristown area, the map would be expected to record the encampment’s position, as it did those of the other units in the vicinity. That it does not do so indicates that the brigade was posted elsewhere.\(^{14}\)

Assuming that William Tuttle was with the Jersey Brigade during its three Morristown encampments and that he showed Mucklow where he camped across the present Tempe Wick Road from the Wick House, we need to know which encampment he was talking about. It could not be all three, since we know that the Brigade’s February-July 1781 encampment occupied the area where Hand’s Brigade and the Second Maryland wintered in 1779-80.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., pp. 12-14.

\(^{14}\) Rochefontaine, Map of Jockey Hollow, January 1780 (Library of Congress). See Appendix, Exhibit III.
He was identifying either the 1779-80 or the 1781-2 encampment. The answer will depend on locating the former.

Joseph Tuttle and Halsey, ignorant of the Erskine map, assumed that the site was that of the 1779-80 camp. McClintock, knowing about the map, had a choice between relying upon contemporary cartographic evidence or upon oral tradition. He chose the latter, dismissing the map as the product of careless acceptance of "hearsay" by Erskine, and a contemporary news story as discredited due to the "drowsiness" of the correspondent. Dr. McClintock's evaluation of Erskine's work is worthless. The skill and accuracy of Washington's cartographer are amply demonstrated by his other maps, and Washington's confidence in him is weighty testimony in his behalf in the light of the Commanding General's experience as a practical surveyor. Accusing Erskine of accepting "hearsay" information is made ridiculous by McClintock's own uncritical preference for oral tradition.

The search for the 1779-80 Jersey Brigade encampment has been advanced to the point at which Erskine Map Number 104B must be studied in conjunction with other source materials. Mr. and Mrs. Fred Bartenstein have done this, and the rest of this study is a detailed review of their work.

Starting with Superintendent Melvin Weig's belief, based upon the Erskine map and Sergeant Grant's reference to Eyre's Forge, that the Jersey Brigade encamped, not across from the Wick House but somewhere
on the Passaic River, the Bartensteins began their search. The first problem was locating Eyre's Forge. Failing to find a reference to it in Morris County sources, they turned to Somerset County records, following Mr. Weig's suggestion to check old road returns. There Mrs. Bartenstein located a survey for relaying Hardscrabble Road made in February 1782 that reads as follows:

We the Commissioners of the roads for the County of Somerset & the County of Morris being lawfully called to take up that part of the road leading from the great road running from Doctor Blachley's to Morristown Town as formerly run to the New Jersey huts in Somerset County and the twelve commissioners being assembled on this fourth day of February one thousand seven hundred & eighty-two, and hearing the allegations of the parties; to take up the aforesaid road & relay it as follows, viz:

Beginning near the aforesaid Dr. Blachley house, two roads west of Dr. Blachley's well

thence South Eighteen Degrees East 13 Chains;

thence South 27 degrees East 8 Chains;

thence South 19 Degrees East 12 Chains & 50 Links;

thence South 27 Degrees east 7 Chains;

thence South 30 Degrees east or thereabout as it will admit for the aforesaid Road to be on good ground 20 Chains;

thence South 47 degrees East one Chain & 50 Links;

thence South 30 Degrees East 15 Chains & 50 Links;

thence South 5 Chains;
thence South 18 Degrees East 5 Chains & 50 Links;
thence South 42 Degrees East 5 Chains & 50 Links;
thence 6 degrees West 5 Chains;
thence South 26 degrees West 3 Chains;
thence South one Degree West 13 Chains & 50 Links;
thence South 60 degrees east 8 Chains & one link;
thence South 53 degrees East 6 Chains;
thence South 76 degrees East 5 Chains & 50 Links;
leading into the great road by the aforesaid New Jersey huts.

The survey was made while the Jersey Brigade was in its final encampment in Jockey Hollow: but the words "formerly run to the New Jersey huts in Somerset County" make it clear that the reference is to an earlier encampment. Since we know that the second encampment was in the area previously occupied by Hand's Brigade and the Second Maryland, the huts referred to were those of the 1779-80 encampment.

Fortunately, Dr. Blachley's house still stands on Corey Lane, and the next step in the search was to use the road to lead from that known point to the unknown one, i.e., the "New Jersey huts."

However, the Bartensteins could find no good maps of the Hardscrabble Road and learned one of the reasons why the site was lost—"It is on the edge of everything. Hardscrabble Road itself lies both in Morris and Somerset Counties." While they could have set out from the Blachley house with a compass and chain, the Bartensteins solved their problem in an easier way by using aerial maps, joining them in such a way as to get a picture of the area traversed by the road. Their experiment was described by Mr. Bartenstein.

I bought a set of drawing instruments and recreated Hardscrabble Road as the 1782 survey described it. To make the direct comparison between what the old surveyors said the road was to be, and what it is today, we naturally used the scale of inches & feet that was noted on the aerial map. When the survey was drawn, we laid on top of the aerial map, placed Dr. Blachley's on the present Corey Lane, and . . . held our breath.

As it turned out, the top half of the drawing—the first six laps and part of the seventh—did fit nicely the top half of the present road on the aerial map. And all the remaining laps except the last coincided with the bottom of the map. There was an obvious error in the computing or recording of the length and direction of the seventh. We were entitled to adjust for this because all the rest of the courses and their total length were nearly identical to the map of the road today. Actually, considering that two hundred years of use and maintenance will soften the lines of a road, it was a remarkable fit.

The last lap of the survey drawing sliced off from the president Hardscrabble Road just before it gets to Indian Graves Brook, headed across the stream above the current bridge . . . and ended right in the chuck lot. 17

Using Aerial Maps X 472.5 - Y 482.5, 1961-62, Morris County Planning Board, the writer has, like Mr. Bartenstein, plotted the road return's survey and the results were identical.

The Bartensteins next turned their efforts to trying to locate the site of Eyre's Forge, where Sergeant Major Grant's journal said the Jersey Brigade encamped and began to build huts.

Mr. Weig had recognized that the forge was, along with the Erskine map, the major key to the locating of the Jersey Brigade's 1779-80 encampment. After some false starts, Mrs. Bartenstein located two important and illuminating documents. One was a deed, dated March 25, 1748, by which James Alexander and John Budd, Gentleman, sold to Elisha Ayers, Yeoman, a tract of land described as follows:

All that Tract of Land in the County of Somerset Beginning at the Upper Corner of Penn's Land on Pesaick [Passaic] River at Red Oak Tree standing on the Bank of the South West side of said River and from thence runs South West Sixty Chains to a Black Oak, thence North West twenty six Chains and a Quarter to a White Oak; thence North East

17. Ibid., p. 12-13. The "Chuck lot" is a local term applied to the field above the Harry Schermer house, and includes a portion of the Schermer and Audubon Society lands near the mouth of Indian Graves Brook; See Appendix No. 1, pp. 34-40.
Eighty five Chains to a Chestnut Tree standing by the side of said River; thence down the River the several Courses thereof to the place of beginning containing One hundred and Sixty-Eight acres besides allowance for Roads. . . . 18

Another was Elisha Ayres' will, dated April 1, 1795, by which he bequeathed one half the rent from his forge to his wife and gave to his son John all his lands in Somerset County; "also an island of land below the forge which I purchased of Platt Bayles together with all the privileges I now have in the forge." 19

Then documents established the existence of an Ayres Forge during the latter half of the 18th century, but did not supply enough data to permit fixing the forge's location in the Somerset County land records. By January 1808, John Ayres was deeply in debt and was forced to sell his farm of 347 acres, described as follows:

Beginning at a stone planted in the bank of the river Pasaic [sic] a few rods north of the road leading from Sam'l Woodwards Grist Mill to Mendham which is also a corner of Peter Sharpentine's land, thence on the line of said Sharpentine & Samuel Johnson, south forty degrees west twenty nine chains & thirty six links. Thence by lands of sd [said] Sam'l Johnson & David Simpson south forty eight degrees and one half east twenty three Chains & eighty seven links to a stake, thence by lands of said Simpson south twenty one degrees east thirty three Chain[s] and fifty six links to a stake in a wet spot of ground, thence south sixty four degrees and one half west by lands of Thomas Riggs twenty one chain[s] and

19. Ibid., Liber 39, 380; File 1160 R, Will of Elisha Ayres, 1 April, 1795.
sixty one links to lands of Henry Southard and Abner Johnson. Thence by lands of said Johnson north ten degrees and one half west twenty two chain[s] and twenty seven links. Thence by the same South seventy nine degrees and one half west twenty four chains. Thence by the same South thirty one degrees west eighteen chain[s] twenty six links to the middle of the said road leading from Baskinridge Church to Vealtown. Thence along the same north thirty seven degrees & one half west three chains and eighty eight links to a large stone on the west side of said road thence along the same north eight degrees west thirteen chain[s] & thirty six links to a post a corner of Ensley Dalgishe Yard thence north forty degrees east seventeen chains & seventy links along the road leading from Veal Town to Morristown to a large stone planted at the side of the road for a corner of sd farm & said Dalgishe land, thence by the same north fifty degrees and one half west twenty six chains & ninety four links to a birth tree a corner of Israel Rickey's land, thence along said Rickys [sic] line with forty degrees & one half East by lands of William Styles and Jacob Canfield eighty eight Chains & fifty links to a larger chestnut stump standing in the forge pond in the aforesaid Pasaic [sic] river thence down the said river the several courses where the original stream has formerly run adjoining wood land of Peter Sharpenstine to the place of beginning, Containing three hundred forty seven acres . . .20

Mr. Bartenstein then plotted the farm's description, using the scale 1-400' from Aerial Maps X 472.5 - Y 482.5, X 475.0 - Y 4825, Morris County Planning Board. He described his method in the following:

Johnny [his son] and I drew the farm one night last June, using the scale of the aerial map. We didn't have sheets big enough to contain it, and so taped

...along the road leading from Vealtown to Morestown...

...said road leading from Bracing Ridge Church to Vealtown.

Ayers' farm survey lines from Deed Book E, 163, 1808, Somerset County Hall of Records. Tracing from aerial maps X972.5-Y932.5, X917.5-Y982.5, Morris County Planning Board.

Plate 1, facing page 21.
MAP SHOWING PROPOSED SUBDIVISION OF PROPERTY OF
HARRY AND BERNARDINE K. SCHERMAN
BERNARDSVILLE BOROUGH - SOMERSET COUNTY
NEW JERSEY
SCALE 1" = 100'
JULY 1965
TOTAL AREA 164.165 AC.
LESLIE M. ARGER & ASSOCIATES, LICENSED ENGR'S & SURVEYS
BEDMINSTER, NEW JERSEY
NOTE: THIS MAP IS COMPILED FROM THE FOLLOWING DATA:
SURVEY BY KENNETH A. TURNER, DATED AUGUST 1933
" F. J. TAIT, DATED SEPTEMBER 1936
" OFFICE OF LESLIE M. ARGER DATED JANUARY 1965
" LESLIE M. ARGER & ASSOCIATES DATED JULY 1965

TO BE DEDICATED TO THE
OWNERSHIP OF BERNARDSVILLE

SCALE: 1" = 100'
file folders together. As we went, we starred those things that might still show up on the ground today. There was a point somewhere on the Passaic River north of Hardscrabble Road; there was a stretch of road between Basking Ridge and Barnardsville, now Finley Avenue; there was the main road from Barnardsville to Morristown, which at that time was old Child's Road; and, of course, finally, there was a stretch of the Passaic River back to point of beginning.

He next prepared an overlay, placed it on the aerial maps and looked for the place where "a large chestnut stump standing in the forge pond" referred to in the former description should be located. (See PLATE 1.)

The stump and the stone at the place of beginning on the Passaic River fall on the current line of the river in a position where the eighth course of the farm boundary coincides with the Basking Ridge Road to Barnardsville (Vealtown) and the tenth course with Child's Road (the road from Barnardsville to Morristown). The stump stood below the spot where Indian Grave Brook enters the Passaic River. The ruins of the forge and its dam are still in place, and the "island of land below the forge" that Elisha Ayres bought from Platt Bayles is still there; and slag is scattered over the area, unmistakable proof of the existence of a forge.

Mr. Bartenstein had found "Eyres Forge," but had he found the encampment site? Did the information from Sergeant Grant's journal and the evidence presented in the Erskine Map 104B cooperate in fixing the spot where the Jersey Brigade spent the winter of 1779-80—or were

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they in conflict? To answer these questions, we need to return our attention to the map and to how the Bartensteins used it in their search. (See PLATE 2, facing this page.)

Erskine's map, which he entitled "Road from Morristown thro Jockey Hollow," delineates the route from Morristown to the junction of Jockey Hollow and Tempe Wick Road, and a road from that point to the home of Peter Kemble. It also locates the encampments of the several divisions and brigades, including the Jersey Brigade's. Erskine drew a triangle with its apex at the "Cont'l Store" in Morristown and its base from the junction of the Jockey Hollow and Tempe Wick Roads to Kemble's. He extended the line from Morristown to the end of Jockey Hollow Road southwestward to the map's edge. Beginning at a point thirty-one degrees north-west of the Kemble House and approximately 1,650 feet from the house, Erskine drew a double line running south twenty-six and twenty-seven degrees west for a distance of about one mile, 2,860 feet. This double line, whose purpose has not been satisfactorily explained, terminates at a point approximately 3,520 feet north, sixty-seven degrees east of the junction of the Passaic River and Indian Graves Creek and at the right or northerly end of a symbol for a four-regiment encampment. The symbol indicates an encampment near the Western base of the slope of a north-south ridge; and within the hachures is legend "Jersey Brigade" in script.
Mr. Bartenstein prepared an overlay that reproduced the Erskine data and superimposed it upon Morris County Planning Board Aerial Map 118-7-160. The end of the double line and the encampment symbol fell into the "chuck lot" area of the New Jersey Audubon Society's Scherman Wildlife Sanctuary. (See PLATE 3, facing this page.)

The area identified by the above application of the Erskine map's data as the Jersey Brigade encampment is approximately half a mile from the site of Ayre's Forge. This does not mean that Sergeant Grant's Journal and the map are mutually contradictory. One of the two major reasons for selecting the Jockey Hollow area for the 1779-80 winter encampment was its plentiful supply of timber for huts and fuel. It would be normal for a brigade to use an open area for a temporary cantonment until a wooded area could be cleared and the cut timber used in building huts. The vicinity of the forge was undoubtedly relatively open, its timber having been utilized in operations; and it was probably the most convenient such area to the site chosen for the encampment. It is reasonable to believe that the Brigade occupied fields around the forge during the week that it took to build the huts, with work parties going out each day.

An examination of the putative site convinced Messers Smith, Harvey Bennett, Bartenstein, and Weig, as well as Dr. John Cotter, Northeast Region Archeologist, that piles of rocks and other surface evidence indicated a possible encampment. The Audubon Society contracted with Mr. Robert Ditchburn, Curator of Military History, Pennsylvania State
Museum, to carry out an archeological study of the site. A copy of the formal report of that study will be appended to this document. Without going into any details of the investigation, it can be noted that they resulted in recovering a number of specimens representative of Revolutionary Period encampment and in locating twenty-one soldiers' and thirteen officers' huts. Since no other unit is known to have occupied this position, it may be assumed that the encampment uncovered was that of the Jersey Brigade.

What about William Tuttle's testimony placing his brigade across the road from the Wick House? On the basis of the above data, it is apparent that he was identifying not the encampment of 1779-80, but that of 1781-2. Thus we have solved not only the problem of the earlier camp, but also the last one, about which little is known.

To sum up: The Erskine Map 104B, the February 1782 road return, and Sergeant Major Grant's Journal cooperate in locating the 1779-80 encampment of the Jersey Brigade in the valley drained by Indian Graves Brook--near the brook's junction with the Passaic River--lying mostly within the lands of the Audubon Society's Scherman Wildlife Sanctuary, with a small portion of its southern end lying on the property of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Scherman. It was here that the Jerseymen spent the severest winter of the 18th century.
CHAPTER III

Probable Appearance of the Jersey Brigade Encampment

As has been apparent from sources cited in other portions of this study, documentary evidence concerning the Jersey Brigade's 1779-80 winter encampment is frustratingly fragmentary. It does not provide a picture of the camp's physical appearance, or the daily life of the unit's officers and men. For such pictures, inferences must be made from sources reflecting the experiences of other commands and from those that are concerned with the whole Continental encampment. What follows is an effort to describe the probable appearance of the Brigade's encampment.

Washington directed that a general plan for the Jockey Hollow encampment be prepared, using as a precedent the Pennsylvania Line's camp at Middlebrook during the winter of 1777-78. Unfortunately, that plan has been lost. We do know that strict adherence to the plan was enjoined and that any hut that was out of line was to be torn down. In fact, one of the Jersey Brigade's huts was removed for that very reason prior to the inspection.¹ A clue to the lay-out of the camp is contained in

¹ General Orders, November 18, 1779, Washington Papers; Brigade Orders, January 2, 1780, Orderly Book, Jersey Brigade, New York Historical Society.
Brigadier General Edward Hand's letter to Greene, dated December 8, 1779, which reads in part:

As the number of Huts laid down in the Genl. Plan Vizt. 24 to cover 12 men each for a Regiment, will not not [sic] be sufficient, we must consequently make some alteration, his Excy [Washington] has refer'd me to you for your directions whether to erect four rows of huts instead of three or to extend our front, the former I think from Our present limits, which can scarcely be enlarged in front, must be the case . . .

The general plan for the encampment apparently provided for a layout of twenty-four huts for each 288 man regiment, twelve men per hut, the huts to be built in three rows of eight each. Thus a four regiment brigade of 1,152 men would occupy ninety-six huts. This is the arrangement that is reflected in the contemporary sketch of Stark's Brigade. However, the third row in Webb's and Sherburne's Regiments contains fewer huts, probably because there were too few men to fill out an eight-hut row. Angell's Regiment occupied three rows with ten huts in the first and third rows and eight in the second; Jackson's Regiment had three rows with nine huts in the first and second rows and five in the third. Thus Sherburne's and Webb's Regiments followed the general plan closely, while some unrecorded factors caused the variants employed by Jackson's and Angell's.

2. Greene Correspondence, 9, ser. 6, quoted in Wesley R. Savadge, Report on Continental Army Encampment Huts In The Revolutionary War, WPA Writers' Project, Morristown NHP, p. 17.
This pattern followed precedents set at Valley Forge and Middlebrook, the two earliest encampments in which huts, rather than tents, were used. 3

Because the strength of the brigades varied and the topography of the encampments differed; the encampments--while following the basic scheme--departed in some details from the over-all plan. The second Connecticut Brigade adhered to the prescribed order very closely, as attested by the archeological excavation that located seventy-two hut sites in two equal rows. 4 This confirms Joseph Martin's account of the encampment, in which he wrote:

After the ground was marked out by the Quartermasters, much after the same manner as for pitching tents in the field, we built the huts in the following manner.---Four huts, two in the front, and two in the rear, then a space of six or eight feet, when four more were placed in the same order, and so on to the end of the regiment, with a parade in front and a street through the whole, between the front and rear, the whole length, twelve or fifteen feet wide. Next in order, in the rear of these huts, the officers of the companies built theirs with their waiters in the same order; every two huts, that is, one in front and one in the rear, had just their width in front indefinitely, and no more to procure the materials for building; the officers had all in the rear. No one was allowed to transgress these grounds on any account whatever, either for building or firewood. 5

3. James Thacher, A Military Correspondence Journal During the American Revolutionary War, p. 190; Washington Papers.
"The Distance for Encamping a Brigade which I have mentioned in my memorandum to Mr Lodge is 320 yards in front and from 90 to 100 yards deep for actual hutting besides the Timber in the Vicinity necessary for Clapboards fire wood &c &c.

"By Allowing one hundred yards for the depth of an Encampment it intends a parade of forty yards in front besides the necessary depth for hutting rows for the men, one for & Subalterns & one Field Officers as at

Yards

40 ---- Parade

Regiment

5 1/3 --- hutts
3 1/3 --- interval
5 1/3 --- hutt

13 1/3 ----- Street

6 1/3 --- Capt & Subs

20 ----- Street

7 1/3 --- Field Officers

100 yd

A Front of 320 yards will allow a parade for 1280 men to a Brigade & the same number may be hutted by hutts two deep but the Camp will be more Airy if the hutts for men are 3 deep same front."
Colonel Clement Biddle submitted a plan for a brigade encampment at Stony Hill to General Greene on November 27, 1779, that resembles some of the details of the First Connecticut and Stark lay-outs and may have resembled the Jersey Brigade's. The plan has special interest because Washington had specified that the Pennsylvania Line's encampment at Middlebrook be used as a model for the Jockey Hollow installations; and Biddle wrote to Greene on November 20: "... I shall tomorrow take the Sketch [sic] plan of the Pennsylvania Encampment & wait for your Orders ..."¹⁶ (See PLATE 4, facing this page.)

This letter suggests that Colonel Biddle was assigned the task of providing General Greene with the basic information needed to follow Washington's directive for laying out the Morristown encampment. Therefore, while not prepared expressly for the Morristown installation, Biddle's plan helps illuminate the subject. [See Plate opposite this page.]

On the basis of the Biddle plan and what is known from other sources concerning the other Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire encampments, the following dimensions may be projected for a typical brigade camp: Front, 320 yards; depth 100 yards, including forty yards for the Parade, totaling 32,000 square yards or 6.61 acres.

Turning to the huts, we find more precise information. The weather was extremely cold, and the snow was about two feet deep. Many of the soldiers lacked blankets and great-coats, and some were without shoes.

¹⁶ Greene Correspondence, American Philosophical Society; Savadge, JME . . ., p. 19.
Working under such conditions was almost unbearable, and the men who recorded their experiences recalled vividly the details of hut construction. Joseph Martin wrote:

The next thing is the erecting of the huts; they were generally about twelve by fifteen or sixteen feet square (all uniformly of the same dimensions) the building of them was thus; after procuring the most suitable timber for the business, it was laid up by notching them in at the four corners. When arrived at the proper height, about seven feet, the two end sticks which held those that served for plates were made to jut out about a foot from the sides a straight pole made to rest on them, parallel to the plates; the gable ends were then formed by laying on pieces with straight poles on each which served for ribs to hold the coverings, drawing in gradually to the ridge pole. Now for the covering, this was done by sawing some of the larger trees into cuts about four feet in length, splitting them into bolts, and riving them into shingles, or rather staves; the covering then commenced by laying on those staves, resting the lower ends on the poles by the plates, they were laid on in two thicknesses, carefully breaking joints; they were then bound on by a straight pole with withes, then another double tier with the butts resting on this pole and bound on as before, and so on to the end of the chapter. A chimney was then built at the centre of the backside, composed of stone as high as the eves and finished with sticks and clay, if clay was to be had, if not, with mud. The last thing was to hew stuff and build us up cabins[*] or births to sleep in, and then the buildings were fitted up for the reception of gentlemen, soldiers, with all their rich and gay furniture.

Documentary evidence has revealed only two requirements for the soldiers' huts: that their dimensions be fourteen by sixteen feet;

[*]. The term "cabin" in 18th century parlance referred not to a building but to a bunk or birth.
and that they be laid out in an absolutely straight line. Beyond that, a concept of what the huts looked like can be had only through a knowledge of 18th century log houses, including the geographical variations, and the results of carefully interpreted archeological study. These are some assumptions upon which one may rely in forming his pictures of the encampment; (1) the huts conformed to Washington's prescribed scheme; (2) they were constructed by men who were experienced in their building—men who had, in fact, more experience with an ax than with a gun; (3) they were as well-built as time, tools, and the weather permitted; and (4) they reflected the geographic peculiarities of New Jersey civilian log structures. "Historic Structures Report, Part II, Reconstruction of Four Soldiers' Hut and One Officers Hut, Jockey Hollow, Morristown National Historical Park," February 1964, by Hugh D. Gurney and J. Duncan Campbell, is a careful study that can help provide a strong conjectural reproduction of what the Jersey Brigade's huts looked like in the winter of 1779-80.

While no contemporary account gives the number of huts built by the Jerseymen, an estimate that should be fairly accurate can be had on the basis of the Brigade's strength in December 1779, when the men built their camp. There were 864 rank and file and 196 officers present for duty. Assuming twelve soldiers occupied each hut, seventy-two huts were required. If the number of men to a hut was ten, the number of huts needed would be

eighty-seven. In the light of the time factor, and the advantages to having twelve men work on each structure, as well as the additional warmth gained by having twelve men occupy each cabin, the former number seems the more probable. Assuming that each regimental commander occupied a hut and that the other officers lived four men to each hut, and that General Maxwell and perhaps three officers of his personal staff, lived elsewhere, there would be forty-seven huts for officers and four for colonels. The total would be 123 huts in the encampment.

During April and May of 1968, Mr. Robert Ditchburn, assisted by Mr. Stanley Landis, carried out a preliminary archeological investigation of the putative site of the Jersey Brigade's encampment. A preliminary report of this project is included in the Appendix as Exhibit V. They completely excavated one officers' and one soldiers' hut and checked and identified a total of twenty-three soldiers' huts and thirteen officers' huts, which Mr. Ditchburn plotted on a plat that is entered into the Appendix and Exhibit IV. On his own time, Mr. Landis devoted several week-ends to excavating and cleaning the hut sites that had been identified, as well as some refuse pits. Mr. Ditchburn's final report will be submitted to the New Jersey Audubon Society during the latter part of November 1968.

The preliminary study recovered a number of artifacts that helped identify the site as one of military origin. These included two frizzens, one from a Tower musket, the other from a Charleville type musket; part of a bayonet; two bayonet scabbs and tips; two Charleville musket barrel band springs; gunflints; and four musket balls. Mr. Landis' efforts recovered other specimens, including two Revolutionary period U. S. buttons.
A study of Mr. Ditchburn's plat provides valuable clues to the encampment's lay-out and size. The site is divided by an old road that appears to have been associated with the camp. The soldiers' huts parallel the road on the west in groups of four, spaced with mathematical precision as to distance between huts and orientation. The typical four-hut grouping occupies a linear space of forty-three and three-quarters feet. The distance between groups is approximately thirteen and one-half feet. Assuming that there were seventy-two soldiers' huts, the total length of encampment was at least 1,008 feet, or 336 yards. The officers' huts parallel the old road on the east, but they are not precisely spaced or oriented. This 336 yard front exceeds the one of 320 yards that was typical of the brigade encampments in Jockey Hollow.

Turning to the encampment's depth, it is possible to apply the typical 100 yard figure. Mr. Ditchburn's study revealed a camp depth of 162 1/2 feet, excluding the parade, which would fit very well into the 300 foot figure, with seventeen and one-half feet to spare. The probable area occupied by the encampment would measure 336 yards by 100, or slightly more than 6.36 acres. Remembering that the site was heavily wooded, this would represent about the optimum area that 864 men could have cleared while they constructed 123 huts during the week of snow and cold between December 17 and 25.

The next problem to be met is to locate the encampment area. Mr. Ditchburn apparently believes that his study established the northern limit. If this is so, the southern terminus should be approximately
1,008 feet or 336 yards south and 21 1/2 degrees west of the northernmost hut sites located during the archeological study. However, because there appear to be some surface evidence northeast of the hut sites that may be associated with the encampment, the putative area has been lengthened to 12,000 feet to allow for whatever error may occur in Mr. Ditchburn's interpretation of the evidence. This projection of the encampment is plotted on the plat that is entered into the Appendix as Exhibit VII.
CHAPTER IV

Conclusions and Recommendations

The evidence collected and studied by Mr. and Mrs. Bartenstein has established the location of the Jersey Brigade's 1779-80 encampment on the lands of the New Jersey Audubon Society's Scherman Wildlife Sanctuary and the property of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Scherman. The archeological investigation has corroborated that evidence.

The encampment was as important a part of the Continental Army's position in the Morristown area as were the encampments of the units located within the bounds of Morristown National Historical Park. The Brigade played a significant role in the American Revolution, and since this Park is within the parent state, a special effort should be made to preserve and interpret its encampment site.

The Audubon Society and Mr. and Mrs. Scherman have indicated a desire to donate a portion of their holding to the Government of the United States for preservation of the site of the Jersey Brigade Encampment. It is recommended that the National Park Service accept the donation of the encampment site for incorporation into the Morristown National Historical Park.

In the interests of insuring the inclusion of all of the encampment site, on the Scherman Property Map (See Plate 5, facing this page)
there has been plotted the minimum proposed area for donation. The putative encampment area is delineated by the dotted line [---]. The minimum area required for preservation and interpretation—which will, at the same time, insure the inclusion of all of the historic site—is marked by the solid line [———].
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Maps


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APPENDIX

REPORTS, MAPS & PHOTOGRAPHS

EXHIBITS I through VIII
THE NEW JERSEY BRIGADE ENCAMPMENT

NEAR MORRISTOWN

WINTER OF 1779-80

APPENDIX

EXHIBIT I  Fred Bartenstein, Jr., The New Jersey Brigade Encampment Near Morristown Winter of 1779-80, based on materials collected by Isabel A. Bartenstein. (Paged 1 through 61.)
THE NEW JERSEY BRIGADE ENCAMPMENT

NEAR MORRISTOWN

WINTER OF 1779-80

By Fred Bartenstein, Jr.
based on materials collected by
Isabel A. Bartenstein

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Mendham, New Jersey, October 1967
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INTRODUCTION

General Washington established the 1779-80 winter camp of the American Continental Army in the New Jersey hills near Morristown so that he could keep the British in New York and Staten Island under close surveillance. Before the winter months were gone and spring had come, the more dangerous enemy was the weather.

Relentless cold and snow closed in on the men in their stone-log huts. Hunger, illness, and poor morale attended them. The thaws did come, and they moved again and fought.

The encampment site, used as farm and woodland over the years, was preserved from oblivion when the Morristown National Historical Park was established in 1933.

An extensive set of the documents and studies that relate to the camp are assembled at the National Park Library in Morristown. They deal with the troops from Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island in the winter camp. There is a paucity of material about the four New Jersey regiments that made up that State's Brigade.

The official papers clearly indicate they were there, but that is almost all. Diaries and letters that might have shed some light stop short of the winter camp. In some cases, key volumes or pages are missing.

This study was an effort to find the Brigade campsite. We found the troops fighting Indians in New York the summer before. They came back from the Finger Lakes, camped in tents at Scotch Plains in November, then marched to the winter encampment south of Morristown.
They camped in one place, but historians came to think they were in another. The ambiguity may have dimmed their role.

In these pages we summarize what we found. It is in some ways a history of historians.

We had the help and encouragement of Melvin Weig, Superintendent of the Edison National Historic Site, who spent many years doing research on the Jockey Hollow encampment. He gave us what he had collected on the role of the New Jersey troops, and thoughts on where we might search for more.

Mrs. Raymond Vanderhoff's forbears lived near Log Town during the Revolution when the troops camped there. She grew up in the vicinity. She gave us deeper roots in the ground with her collected papers and memories of the old traditions.

We had added help from Bruce Stewart, Historian of the Morristown National Historical Park, and Hans Mayer, Librarian of the Park; also from Harvey Bennett who found some of the maps and books we used; and from Clayton Smith who gave us the idea of the aerial maps.

The search took us back into the records of the ancient land transactions. It also took us over open ground in Somerset and Morris Counties - abandoned fields, woods, old roads, and remnants of stone fences. The land was used for a few short months by the soldiers; for years by others. All made their marks on the ground and passed it on. In this still natural, open country, the signs they left have been gentle, transient ones.
CHAPTER I
ARRIVAL AT THE ENCAMPMENT - ORIGINAL SOURCES

We know that the summer before the New Jersey Brigade went into winter quarters near Morristown it was engaged in the Western Campaign against the Indians. Many of the soldiers related their experiences in diaries. So many did, in fact, that the expedition is one of the best documented episodes of the war. A brief review of it sets the stage for the winter that was to follow.\(^1\)

For some time before 1779, the Iroquois, led and supported by the British garrisons at Niagara and Oswego, had attacked the frontier settlements of western New York and western Pennsylvania. The raids weakened the frontier, threatened sources of supply for the army, and kept in enemy hands territory that could be used for invasion. General Washington ordered the expedition into the Indian country in the summer of 1779.

During the month of May the main body of troops was assembled at Easton, Pennsylvania, under command of General John Sullivan. Contingents from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania, and four New Jersey regiments left Easton in June, were joined by General James Clinton's New York troops at the New York-Pennsylvania border, and struck out for the Indian country in mid-August. The combined force of about 4,000 men met and defeated Indians and Tories at Newtown, five miles south of the present Elmira, New York, continued north and

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west destroying Indian crops and villages as they went, reached the western Finger Lakes in September, then turned, retraced their steps to Easton, and were back in New Jersey by late October.

As the expedition came to an end, so did the soldiers' diaries. Quartermaster Sergeant Moses Sproule of the 3rd New Jersey Regiment kept the record of his summer experiences with meticulous care, but made no more entries after October 7 at Easton. It was typical. Certainly marching to winter quarters was less novel than fighting Indians, but diary writing must have been hampered also by the rigors of a winter that was starting early.

Few of the surviving diaries describe the arrival of the soldiers at their winter quarters; only one did for the New Jersey troops. It was that of Sergeant Major George Grant of the 3rd New Jersey Regiment. Grant wrote that the men were marched

2. Other final diary entries: Dr. Ebenezer Elmer - August 12. Describes reconnoitering Chemung.
Sergeant Thomas Roberts - September 10. "At 8 o'clock marched seven miles." Dr. Jabez Campfield - October 2. "Arrived at my house Morristown." Lt. William Barton - October 9. "This day orders for marching in the morning at 6 O'clock for Easton." Major John Burrowes - October 13, Sunbury. "This day was spent chiefly in getting the men that are discharged from the Hospital ready to march for Headquarters." Lt. Samuel Shute - November 5. "8 miles to Scotch Plains." November 9. "Still ..." In some of these diaries, including the last, the final pages are missing.

across New Jersey to Warwick, New York, and from there to join Washington's army at Morristown. His November entries were as follows:

"November
1 To Warwick.
2 Parted with the Western Army.
3 Marched to Sterling Iron Works and from thence to Pompton.
4 To Morristown.
5 To Springfield.
6 To Scotch Plains and encamped. Remained there in tents for six weeks during the most severe and cold weather." 4

It was a poignant understatement. They went through four snows in November, and by the end of December seven more. 5

While the New Jersey troops waited in their snowbound tents at Scotch Plains, Washington's staff planned the winter camp. General Washington arrived at Morristown in December, having chosen for the camp "the position back of Mr. Kemble's" about four miles south of there, a spot "compatible with our security which could also supply water and wood for covering and fuel." The Quartermaster General, Nathanael Greene, had charge of preparing the ground. On December 1, he sent word to the brigade commanders that he would have it "laid off this day," and added:

"It will be well to send a small detachment from each Regiment to take possession of their ground. You will also order on your

4. Vail's The Western Campaign of 1779, cited above, 36.

brigade quarter master to draw the tools for each brigade and to get a plan for hutting which they will find made out at my quarters."6

A week later General Washington ordered in his official cartographer, Robert Erskine, who was back at his labors at the Ringwood Mine in northern New Jersey:

"Head Quarters, Morris Town 9th Decembr 1779
Dear Sir

His Excellency is extremely anxious to have the Roads in front and rear of the Camp accurately surveyed as speedily as possible. He therefore wishes to see you immediately at Head Quarters that he may give you particular directions as to the Business which he wants executed.

I am, Dear Sir,
Sincerely yours,
T. Tilghman

Robert Erskine Esq., Ringwood..."7

Erskine's first maps drawn as a result of this rush assignment were numbered 104, 104B, which he designated "Road from Morristown thro' Jockey Hollow," shows most of the campsites on it, including that of the New Jersey Brigade. The original, in the Erskine-DeWitt Maps Collection at the New-York Historical Society, is undated. (See copy on page 11.) It was one of a numbered sequence the surveyor made in a hurry, but there is no reason to suppose he finished each one in the order numbered. Map 105, entitled "Survey of Morristown by the Chain only," bears the

6. Description and quotations from Weig's Morristown National Historical Park, cited above, 12.

date December 12. If 104B was drawn before that
date, it was in existence before the New Jerseyans
were ordered in from Scotch Plains, but it seems
unlikely Erskine could have moved that fast. It
probably was finished a short time later.

On December 10, Washington rode to Scotch
Plains, reviewed the situation there, and reported
to the President of the Congress:

"Headquarters, Morris Town, December 10, 1779
Decr. 11th 1/2 after 10 O Clock.
Sir:
I have this minute returned from visiting
the Light Troops and General Maxwells Brigade
[the four New Jersey regiments] which lie
advanced in the Country below."8

Three days after this, Maxwell was told to
get ready to bring his troops in to the winter camp:

"To Brigadier General William Maxwell
Morris Town, December 13, 1779
Sir:
General Parsons, with a detachment,
is under marching orders toward the Sound:
When he arrives at the place of his destination
he will give you notice, and, you will march
your brigade immediately to camp. .."9

Two days later, the final order came from
General Washington:

"To Brigadier General William Maxwell
Headquarters, Morris town, December 15, 1779.
Sir:
... You are to march by the most direct
Route to Mr. Kembles about four Miles south

8. Fitzpatrick, John C.; The Writings of George
Washington, Vol. 17, 244.

9. Ibid., 256.
of this; your place of encampment being in that neighborhood. You had best send the Quarter Masters forward to receive information of their ground from the Quarter Master General. I am, etc.

General Maxwell moved the next day. Grant's diary picks up the story:

"December
16 Marched for Chatham."

On the following day, we must speculate, the troops went from Chatham to the Kemble House, where Tempe Wick Road now crosses Route 202, and from there were told where to go. We have no record of what information the Quartermaster General gave to General Maxwell. That same day the soldiers reached a spot for camping in the vicinity of where their huts would be, and Sergeant Major Grant wrote down in his diary where it was. Then in five terse words he described their week of work in frozen ground, and on Christmas Day closed out his journal:

"December
17 To Eyre's Forge and encamped and began to build huts.
25 Removed into our huts and ended the Campaign. Here ends the glorious and Noble Campaign, which gave honor to Sullivan, Clinton and Wayne. That they be always crowned with merit, to lead their men on in an undaunted Spirit."

Seven days later there was a four foot blizzard with drifts up to six feet reported. Only once in January was the thermometer to go above zero. As far as is known, Grant made no more journal entries.


"Eyre's Forge" is not on Erskine's Map 104B. The map does not go into such details. The presence of a forge would mean the troops camped near a stream, a stream large enough for forges, and that a forge pond and dam were near. Map 104B, placing the camp in an area well-laced with substantial streams, accords with this signal. But the map, closely read, tells much more than that, and the directions are buttressed by the surveyor's lines Erskine used.

The place for the New Jersey Brigade huts, it says, is separate from the main encampment, about one and a half miles south; it is to be within the fork of two streams, by location and configuration the Passaic River and its tributary, Indian Graves Brook. The camp will lie to the west and near the bottom of the ridge beside Indian Graves Brook, and the huts for the four regiments are to be constructed in a northerly line, in the area where the brook makes a turn to the west.

The intent of the map-maker's directions and the substantiating effect of his lines can be demonstrated graphically by superimposing what he drew on a current aerial map of the area. On the following pages are a copy of the original Erskine map, a blow-up of its lower left corner, a tracing from a current aerial map of the landmarks on the original map with its surveyor's lines superimposed, and a tracing of the same area with the current landmarks shown. 12

12. Erskine's double lines to the right wing of the campsite have never been satisfactorily explained. Melvin Weig suggested in unpublished notes they were too straight for a road and may have been a plan for a road. Clayton Smith found they coincided with the edge of a field along the route. Erskine started the lines from a spot near where two now-abandoned roads seem to have met behind Kemble's, one of which was a by-road leading across the hills to the vicinity of the designated campsite. The double lines may have been meant to show the general direction from that juncture.
ROAD FROM MORRISTOWN THRO' JOCKEY HOLLOW. Erskine-DeWitt Map No. 104B

Lower left quadrant of Erskine-DeWitt Map No. 104B. "Jersey Brigade" written beside campsite in lower left corner is clearly seen in the original. (Courtesy of the New York-Historical Society, New York City.)
TRACING FROM
AERIAL MAP 1118-7-160, 4-20-61
MORRIS COUNTY PLANNING BOARD
DIRECTION LINES FROM
ERSKINE MAP 1043
NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Erskine map 106A, drawn later, shows the brigade campsites on the panorama of a larger area and smaller scale. The map confirms the location given in the earlier Erskine map, but supplies no additional information.13

The drawing of the Jockey Hollow encampment by the French Engineer, Rochefontaine, on January 16, 1780, included all the brigade campsites except that of New Jersey. Rochefontaine's map extended south to Blachley's Hill half a mile away, not covering the area that Erskine designated for the New Jersey camp. His omission of that camp thus accords with the Erskine data.14

The British made a map of Washington's infantry encampment on February 20, 1780, based on espionage information. Although many British spy maps were accurate, this one fails on many details of roads, streams, and campsites. In placing the New Jersey campsite south of the other camps, however, it accords with what Erskine said.15


14. Position of the Continental Army at Jockey Hollow in the Winter of 1779-80. Captain Bichet de Rochefontaine. Original at Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. This drawing was incorporated in General Greene's and Duportail's report on a plan for the defense of the Jockey Hollow position ordered by Washington on December 15, 1779. The area covered by the report was limited to the main campsite and the main hills surrounding it. This information based on Report on the Site of the Camp of the New Jersey Brigade, V. G. Setser, August 31, 1933, in Morristown National Historical Park Library, Morristown, N. J.

One more small bit of the oldest evidence fits this pattern. On February 23, 1780, a General Order was issued from headquarters at Morristown that read as follows:

"From the remoteness of General Stark's and Jersey brigades from the grand parade their camp guards are excused from attending there, not only in the case mentioned in the order of the 16th, but in general, when the roads are very wet and bad. The officers of the day are to be notified in time on parade when this happens."16

No brigade positioned at the main campsite in Jockey Hollow was much more than a mile from the Grand Parade. The New England troops of General Stark on the east side of Mount Kemble were only a mile away as the crow flies, but the distance by road was two or three times that. The New Jerseyans down on Indian Graves Brook could not have made it to the Grand Parade in less than three miles by any road they took.

CHAPTER II

LOSS OF THE SITE - A HISTORY OF HISTORIANS

The men of the New Jersey Brigade endured the bitter cold and snow of January, February, and March 1780 far from the campfires and the comings and goings of their fellow soldiers at the main encampment. Besides the desperate weather they endured, and the isolation, they had their quota too of hunger, poor clothing, and illness and death. Yet their location must have had some compensations. They were in a place called Log Town. It was a small but active community, with its forge, grist mill, and fulling mill. And the soldiers were not much more than three miles from the numerous inns and taverns at Veal Town and Basking Ridge.

There is every reason to suppose the huts they lived in were built as Washington ordered all the huts - stone and logs, dug in the side of the hill, and precise distances apart. Chimneys of stone, fires burning inside, they were more secure against the driving storms than the tents at Scotch Plains had been.

After the soldiers left, farmers and loggers reusing the ground must have tampered with some of the huts, and masons probably moved away some stones. But the little buildings were not in the best place for agriculture, and there is not much question their remains would have been visible for many years. Nevertheless, in time the huts were lost. Looking back, the story of how that happened is a fascinating one. A series of perfectly natural events and pronouncements of devoted students of the ground conspired to lose them. What follows is a chronological summary of these events and the role played by the commentators.

Warmer weather finally came to melt the snow, and the closed-in army began to move again. On
April 17, the Maryland Brigade was ordered to South Carolina. The New Jersey Brigade Orders for that same day read, in part, as follows:

"The troops are to hold themselves in readiness to move to the Hutts lately occupied by the Maryland line at the shortest notice. . . ."

The Brigade "After Orders" repeat these words and add the time:

". . . The troops are to hold themselves in perfect readiness to move tomorrow at one o'clock, the commanding officers of Regts. and companies in the Brigade are to take special care that no damage is done the Hutts when or before they march." 17

They came up to locations clearly marked in later years, camped, paraded once before some foreign dignitaries, 18 marched to Elizabethtown in May, and


18. "Later in April, the army was put on its best footing to be reviewed by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Minister, and Don Juan de Miralles, a Spanish gentleman of wealth and distinction, who for a year had represented his nation to our Colonial Congress. On the 24th, a review of four Battalions was had under the direction of Gen. Steuben for the benefit of the distinguished strangers. . . . The uniforms of the men from Maxwell's Brigade were blue and red. . . ." Halsey, Edmund., The Continental Army in Morris County in the Winter of 1779-80, Proceedings of the Washington Association of New Jersey, February 22, 1889, Morris-town, N. J., 20-21.
fought at Springfield. It now was June, and they did not return to the winter camp.

They came back in February 1781 after the mutiny at Pompton, and stayed until July in the old huts of the Connecticut line.

In the winter of 1781-82, they were back again. No more battles were to be fought, but the British were still in New York and Washington was watching them closely. This time the Brigade seems to have been at a new campsite - across the road from the Wick House, down the hill and to the left. They marched off to King's Ferry in August. It was the end of the winter camps at Morristown.

With them in the winter of 1781-82, not far from the Wick House, had been Private William Tuttle of the Third New Jersey Regiment, 20 years old.


21. Washington's orders to General Lincoln, October 1781: "The Troops which you will have under your command are to be Marched, after debarking at the head of the Bay into the States of New Jersey and New York. Those of New Jersey will take post somewhere in the vicinity of Morristown to cover the Country adjacent and to secure the communications between the Delaware and North [Hudson] River." Fitzpatrick, cited above, Vol. 23, 323.

He must have camped somewhere near the Wick House and likely was a visitor there. When the war was over he returned, married one of the Wick daughters, and lived on the farm until he died in 1836.  

Joseph Tuttle, apparently not related to William, grew up in Morris County, became a minister, delved into Revolutionary history, and later became President of Wabash College in Indiana. "No one," it was said of him, "has studied more fully or written more carefully the Revolutionary history of Morristown. . ." Writing in The New Jersey Historical Magazine of June 1871, Joseph Tuttle says that William Tuttle in later years told his tenant, Mr. Muckloe, the New Jersey troops camped across the road from the Wick House, and showed him the old hut ruins. Joseph Tuttle later traversed the ground with Muckloe, and Muckloe's story is what he based his data on.  

The story was factually correct no doubt. William Tuttle must have told Muckloe where he camped in the winter of 1781-82. Did he also tell him where he camped two years before? He had joined the New Jersey troops in 1779 in time to be with


24. Ibid., 120

25. Ibid., 122

them on the Sullivan Expedition\textsuperscript{27} and must have been at the winter camp on Indian Graves Brook in 1779-80. No one knows the answer. Even if William Tuttle had been at the camp near "Eyre's Forge" and had told Muckloe of it, and Muckloe had passed it on so that Joseph Tuttle knew it, the failure to put it in his article would not necessarily mean that Joseph Tuttle thought it wasn't there. The chances are good that the full story was never told to him. The omission could have many explanations. Here, in any case, began the process that was to lose the old campsites to history.

On February 22, 1889, at a meeting of the Washington Association, Edmund D. Halsey presented a paper, "The Continental Army in Morris County in the Winter 1779-80," which was later published.\textsuperscript{28} He spoke only of the major winter encampment in 1779-80, but as to the New Jersey soldiers, Dr. Halsey quoted Dr. Tuttle: "The New Jersey troops were in the hollow in front and to the left of the [Wick] house.\textsuperscript{29} That was all. Dr. Halsey obviously did not have access either to Erskine's maps or to Grant's Journal, and he seems to have had no other evidence on the New Jersey camp.

Emory McClintock owned the land where Stark's Brigade had camped and tended it with reverent care. He wrote a thorough paper on the 1779-80 winter camp, and presented it to the Washington Association in Morristown on February 22, 1894. Edmund Halsey's publication, McClintock said, "contained all the extant knowledge related to the localities embraced

\textsuperscript{27} "William Tuttle, Private in Sixth Company." Stryker, William, Roster of the New Jersey Brigade in the Western Expedition of 1779.

\textsuperscript{28} See footnote 18 above.

\textsuperscript{29} Halsey's The Continental Army in Morris County, cited above, 9.
within the encampment," and he accepted Halsey's evidence - and thus Tuttle's apparent word - for the location of the New Jersey troops in 1779-80. 30

But Emory McClintock had a problem: unlike those before him, he was aware of the Erskine maps, and he saw they conflicted with what Tuttle and Halsey had said. Halsey himself had quoted a news account written from Basking Ridge which cast a further doubt:

"Most of our poor soldiers are under good roofs. The encampments are exceedingly neat; the huts are all of a size and placed in more exact order than Philadelphia. You would be surprised to see how well they are built without nails. Headquarters is at Morristown and the army extends from there along the hills nearly to this place." 31

McClintock knew the distance from the main camp to Basking Ridge was five miles, and from the spot where Erskine placed them it would have been a little more than three. McClintock pondered, then made a choice:

"Curiously enough a newspaper writer from Basking Ridge tells of his passing the camps from Morristown and remarks that they extend along the hills "nearly to this place." The fair conclusion is that the correspondent was drowsy during the latter part of his journey, and that the mapmaker located the Jersey camp on hearsay. That camp really was, chiefly, on the north side of the


31. Halsey's The Continental Army in Morris County, cited above, 8.
southern fork of a stream flowing southeast and to that extent the map is correct. The map by its title relates to the Jockey Hollow road, which no doubt was carefully traversed. That it gives the Jersey camp correctly seems most improbable.  

The error that had started with an omission had now come full circle to authority, and had overwhelmed the Erskine maps.

At the turn of the century, the Reverend Andrew Sherman walked over the ground that Joseph Tuttle had described, carrying Tuttle's article with him. He found with a thrill what he thought were the hut remains, and described what he saw in his history of Morristown.  

As Halsey and McClintock had done before him, on the basis of the Tuttle evidence he reported them the remains of the Jersey camp in 1779-80.

Three decades passed. The National Park was on the way. In 1929, Joseph Frelinghuysen spoke in Morristown, urging citizen support. A purpose, he said, was "to obtain widespread interest in the plan to acquire the land within the area of this historic spot and to restore it so far as records of the time permit to a replica of what it was when those hunger-stricken and frost bitten patriots built their crude shelter huts of boulders and logs along the Jockey Hollow Road."


The National Park was dedicated on July 4, 1933. Lloyd W. Smith had purchased, held, and given most of the land. That land encompassed the 1779-80 camps of the Maryland, New York, and Pennsylvania Brigades, and part of the Connecticut troops. It also included an area across the road from the Wick House in which it was thought the New Jersey Brigade had camped that winter.

The separated 1779-80 camp of Stark's Brigade on Mount Kemble Hill was well documented when the Park was first established, and the land that held it was later added to the Park's domains. But the New Jerseyans' separated camp down at "Eyre's Forge" was by 1933 nearly out of mind.

Yet never entirely so.

Shortly after the National Park was established, Vernon G. Setser, a Park historian, wrote a report on the New Jersey campsite. He had the Erskine maps, but evidently had not seen Grant's diary or all of Washington's collected writings. "The area occupied by the huts of Brigadier General William Maxwell's New Jersey Brigade," Setser wrote, "is the only camp site occupied by the Continental Army near Morristown in the winter of 1779-80, with regard to which any doubt exists as to the exact location." Setser reviewed the Tuttle source, its conflict with the Erskine maps, then stated his conclusion:

"Emory McClintock... who accepts Tuttle's account, dismisses this [Erskine 1048] map as inaccurate, remarking that the camp had

35. John C. Fitzpatrick's 39 volumes, The Writings of George Washington From the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799, prepared under the direction of the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, and published by authority of Congress, were in preparation from 1931 to 1944. Volume 17, with papers relating to the beginning of the Jockey Hollow encampment, issued May 1937, four years after Setser's report was written.
doubtless been located on hearsay. To the writer it appears inconceivable that a military officer, particularly one of Washington's trusted aides, should be so careless as to report a large military unit as being at a point far from its true position, especially when that position must have been generally known."

Melvin J. Weig, Historian of the National Park from its early period until 1956, studied the ground and its related documents with great care, and left a wealth of collected materials in the Park's official files. He had access to Grant's diary and Washington's collected papers. These, together with his evaluation of the Erskine evidence, brought him to the conclusion that the New Jersey Brigade was assigned to campgrounds -

"... at 'Eyre's Forge', on the Passaic River, somewhat less than a mile further southwest."\(^{37}\)

Clayton F. Smith gave a paper before the Morris County Historical Society on March 7, 1961, in which he discussed Erskine and old roads of the Revolution. Reporting his conclusion on the New Jersey Brigade campsite, Mr. Smith used these words:

"Having studied Erskine for some time, of one thing I feel certain, and that is, that he would never have presented General Washington, who himself had been a surveyor, with a military map containing an important Brigade

\(^{36}\) Setser, V. G., Report on the Site of the New Jersey Brigade, Continental Army, Morristown, 1779-80 (August 31, 1933) in the files of the Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N. J.

\(^{37}\) Weig's Morristown National Historical Park, cited above, 12.
site, that was added because of 'hearsay'.”

A local tradition at the site had also stayed alive. Mrs. Raymond Vanderhoff, living now in Bernardsville, spent most of her life in the vicinity of what was Log Town. She is a great, great granddaughter of Cyrus Sanders who lived in Log Town during the Revolution and shortly after operated the forge on the Passaic River just over the hill, and also of Oliver Woodward who owned the grist mill there at that time. Mrs. Vanderhoff had long heard the soldiers' huts were there. From the time of childhood, she relates, she had gone into what was called "the chuck lot" where they camped. The tradition also held, and she has kept inviolate, the place of two of their officers' graves.

CHAPTER III

TESTIMONY OF THE JOINT ROAD COMMISSION

Some of the oldest New Jersey roads follow their original routes, but not for many miles. What we have today is the result of constant change - years of adding, shifting, connecting, and abandoning. The changes seriously affected rights and property, so they were deliberately and formally made, and the records were carefully kept. Sometimes, surprisingly, the earliest of these records contain bits of interesting incidental information.

In one of the first maps of the area, Dr. Blachley's home is shown on a single road that runs from Bernardsville to Mendham. That home still stands today - owned by Mrs. Sidney Doggett, on Corey Lane, across from the upper end of Hardscrabble Road. Hardscrabble runs south from there toward Bernardsville, and may have been in some part that single road between the towns. In any event, the road is an ancient one, and is of interest in this search because it runs quite near the place Erskine designated on his map as the 1779-80 campsite of the New Jersey Brigade.

Hardscrabble Road was relaid in February 1782. A twelve man joint road commission from Morris and Somerset Counties agreed upon the survey of the new road, signed it, and formally placed it in the records. It can be found in the Somerset County Hall of Records, Road Book A-2, in Somerville.

At the time the declaration was made, the New Jersey soldiers were back, camping in Jockey Hollow proper. Their winter huts of two years before were standing empty a mile and a half to the south, somewhere near the road that ran from Dr. Blachley's.

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The luck that favored the loss of the campsite reverses itself completely here. The road commissioners chose to describe the road that was to be relaid as "formerly run to the New Jersey huts in Somerset County," and the newly relaid road as ending at the same place or nearby. Following are the words of the old document plotting out the new road from its beginning to its interesting end:

"We the Commissioners of the roads for the County of Somerset & the County of Morris being lawfully called to take up that part of the road leading from the great road running from Doctor Blachleys to Morristown Town as formerly run to the New Jersey huts in Somerset County and the twelve commissioners being assembled(?) on this fourth day of February, one thousand seven hundred & eighty two, and hearing the allegations of the parties; do take up the aforesaid road & relay it as follows, viz:

Beginning near the aforesaid Dr. Blachley house, two roads west of Do. Blachley's well,
thence South Eighteen Degrees East 13 Chains:
thence South 27 degrees East 8 Chains,
thence South 19 Degrees East 17 Chains & 50 Links;
thence South 27 Degrees east 7 Chains;
thence South 30 Degrees east or thereabout as it will admit for the aforesaid Road to be on good ground 20 Chains;
thence South 47 degrees East one Chain & 50 Links;
thence South 30 Degrees East 15 Chains & 50 Links;
thence South 5 Chains,
thence South 18 Degrees East 5 Chains & 50 Links;
thence South 42 Degrees East 5 Chains & 50 Links;
thence 6 degrees West 5 Chains;
thence South 26 degrees West 3 Chains;
thence South one Degree West 13 Chains & 50 Links;
thence South 42 degrees East 5 Chains & 50 Links;
thence South 24 degrees east 17 Chains;
thence South 60 degrees east 8 Chains & one link;
thence South 53 degrees East 6 Chains;
thence South 76 degrees East 5 Chains & 50 Links;
leading into the great road by the aforesaid New Jersey huts,

and order the aforesaid road to be laid open by the first day of May next and do allow the aforesaid old road to be closed up at the aforesaid time --

Witness our hands the day & year first above written

(Signatures)

Came to my Office Feb. 8, 1782
and was recorded July 5th, 1782 by

Frelinghuysen, Clk."

On the fifth course of the declaration the surveyors gave the roadbuilders leeway with the words, "or thereabouts as it will admit for the aforesaid road to be on good ground." The ground is marshy there today, and must have been so at the time. The builders of the new road shifted the course somewhat in this area, moving to the north of the marshy ground before the surveyors did, but joined the laid-out course again promptly after that.

The builders found it necessary to change the seventh course as well, shortening and bending it to meet the stakes of the eighth. It apparently was a
surveying error. All remaining courses except the last track the present road quite closely, allowing for the natural softening of nearly two centuries of use and maintenance.

The final course of the survey varies sharply from the present road. It strikes off to the left before reaching the bridge over Indian Graves Brook, crosses that brook somewhat north of where it crosses now, and heads directly into the field that holds the hut sites Erskine designated and that Mrs. Vanderhoff calls the "chuck lot." There it ends.

The chart on the following page shows the course of the current Hardscrabble Road traced from an aerial map, and two drawings of the survey as the road commissioners gave it - one paralleling the road and the other superimposed upon it.

The spot on the contemporary map where the commissioners chose to end their survey is where their new road led into the "great road by the aforesaid New Jersey huts." It is not clear what that "great road" meant. Ordinarily it would be a wide, publicly used road. There are signs of roads that led up through the "chuck lot" and over the hill to the Passaic River, and there may have been a road that went that way in those days. It would, in any event, have gone up the northern side of Indian Graves Brook "by the ... New Jersey huts" as Erskine placed them. If the ambiguity in the language of the commissioners is resolved the other way, one road would have "led into" the other at a spot near enough to the Erskine site to be "by the ... huts," as the old commissioners said.

This testimony of the road commission, given contemporaneously, while the huts were new, was formally certified and recorded, and must be free of all taint of bias. It would seem to settle the question of the location of the camp. So assessed, it prompts reexamination of the prior evidence and
HARDCRABBLE ROAD

SHOWING SURVEY LINES
OF MORRIS-SOMERSET
ROAD COMMISSION
RELAYING ROAD
DATED FEBRUARY 4, 1782

CURRENT ROAD TRACED
FROM AERIAL MAP
X472.5 - Y482.5, 1961-62
MORRIS COUNTY PLANNING BOARD

"BEGINNING
NEAR
THE
AFORESAID
DR. BLYCIE
HOUSE..."

WASHINGTON CORNER ROAD

OLD JOCKEY HOLLOW ROAD

LLOYD ROAD

INDIAN GRAVES BROOK

"...LEADING INTO THE GREAT ROAD BY
THE AFORESAID NEW JERSEY HUTS"

* 7th course modified
to fit current road
the studies that had been made of it. Thus, it would seem -

Erskine had been right, even meticulously accurate.

William Tuttle evidently had told of camping in a later year.

Halsey had taken the story Muckloe told as meaning more than it was meant to mean.

McClintock had known enough to feel a doubt, but faced with a conflict in the evidence had guessed wrong.

Sherman had not probed deeply enough.

Setzer, Weig, and Smith had been right.

Mrs. Vanderhoff's tradition had been soundly grounded.

And Sergeant Major Grant's reference to "Eyre's Forge" fell more comfortably into place. Grant wrote in his diary, "camped at Eyre's Forge and began to build huts." On the testimony of the commissioners, if Grant were right, "Eyre's Forge" must be nearby.
CHAPTER IV

THE TESTIMONY OF SERGEANT MAJOR GRANT

The following words from the introduction to the just-republished volume, History of Morris County, 1739-1782, set the stage for the search for "Eyre's Forge."

"It is altogether probable that the presence of ore in great abundance, the forests which covered the whole land, ready for the collier, and the abundant waterfalls of the many rivers and brooks which traversed the mountainous region were the chief inducements which led the first settlers into its wildernesses. It is a circumstance which has not failed to impress itself upon those familiar with the records of the proprietors of East Jersey that among the first lands to be taken up or purchased, especially in the northern part of the county, were the lots containing waterfalls, and where veins of ore cropped out on the surface..."40

The forges were made of stone, along the streams, behind or beside stone and earthen dams. They were built where the flow was heavy enough to carry a wheel and where the beds of the stream were deep in valleys or the drop in water level great. Ready means of access were important for hauling in ore and the massive loads of wood for the air-blown furnaces, and for taking the finished pig and bar iron out.

The old sites are marked today by mounds of slag and charcoal imbedded in the earth. Sometimes, where

the floods that came in later years were not too
devastating, signs of the ancient buildings
themselves remain.

British spies made a map in 1781 which shows
two forges on the Passaic River - one about a third
of the distance from what is now Leddell's Pond
on Tempe Wick Road to Route 202 where it is crossed
by the Passaic, the other about two thirds that
distance. Neither is given a name.41 The upper
one appears to be Leddell's Forge on the Morris'
Somerset County line. It was owned by Dr. William
Leddell of Morris County during the Revolution, and
its remains can be seen today. Because it was a
mile away, and the substantial ridge between it and
the hut sites was a natural obstacle, it did not
 qualify as the landmark Grant had named. The other
unnamed forge on the map was lost.

'Log Town in earliest times, according to
local historians, had a grist mill, a fulling mill,
and forge."42 The sites of the grist mill and fulling
mill were known. Ruins of the grist mill are in
evidence today. The fulling mill pond survives. No
one seemed to know two hundred years later where the
forge had been.

Although there was the local tradition of a
forge, there was no tradition of an "Eyre's Forge,"
and no tradition of an Eyre. Eyre seems not to have
been a local name.

41. A Sketch of the Northern Parts of New Jersey
copied from the original by Lieutenant John Hills,
Engineer for the British General Clinton, 23rd
regiment, 1781. Original at Clements Library,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

42. Spinning, Edwin S., article in Bernardsville News,
Vanderhoff, and of Miss Mary Anderson, of Bernards-
ville, New Jersey.
The road commission testimony said there must have been an Eyre's Forge, if Grant were right. This prompted the search for what Grant could have thought he heard for "Eyre," or misspelled. The simple answer, of course, is Ayer or Ayers.

The name Ayers is of English origin. According to published genealogies of the family, the various ways to spell and say it have been interchangeable over the years, and this was the case even in early England.

This brought results. Ayers had been a local name. Property in the vicinity of the New Jersey soldiers' camp had been owned by a family of that name. Among the deeds and wills of the Ayers there was reference to a forge.

The first one found was a will made by Elisha Ayers in 1795 recording that he left the farm he owned to John, his son, and "also an Island of land below the forge which I purchased of Platt Bayles." The will instructed that the income from the forge was to be divided by John with his mother, Hannah.43

In 1808, seven years after his father died, John's farm of 347 acres was attached and sold, and the deed that conveyed the land named as one of the monuments, "a large chestnut stump standing in the forge pond in the aforesaid Pasaic River."44

Going back in time, Elisha Ayers bought the northern half of his farm from two of the East Jersey

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44. Recorded in Somerset County Hall of Records, Somerville, New Jersey.
Proprietors in 1748. In the deed that conveyed this land, the monument later called "a large chestnut stump" was "a Chestnut Tree standing by the side of said [Passaic] River." 45

These three documents establish that there was a forge in the vicinity of the campsite, that being built and owned by Elisha Ayers, it would have been "Ayers Forge." They show the land on which the forge was built was owned by Ayers when the troops camped in the vicinity in 1779-80. We can tell from the documents that the forge was built after 1748, and was in operation before the will was made in 1795. They do not evidence the date the forge was built, but that it was before the Revolution is likely from the generally known circumstances of the time. 46

To place Ayers Forge today, we plot the deed description as on a surveyor's drawing, place it over a current aerial map, and affix the monuments and courses the deed describes over their current places. The deed of 1808 that sold out John Ayers' farm contains the following description. Monuments

45. Original in Liber G3, 119, New Jersey Archives of Colonial Documents, State Library, Trenton, N. J.

46. Before 1748 the British taxed imports of iron from the colonies. Following a petition in 1741, Parliament enacted the statute of 1750 which was "to encourage the importation of pig and bar iron from his Majesty's colonies in America..." The British intended also to inhibit the making of finished iron products, but this statute probably did encourage production of the crude. Nelson, Boris Erich, New Jersey Iron - The State Museum Exhibit, Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society (1954), Vol. 72, 270. "About this time, that is to say from 1750 to the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, were also erected many... ancient forges..." History of Morris County, cited above, 42.
and courses that exist today are underlined in the text:

"Beginning at a stone planted on the bank of the river Pasaic a few rods north of the road leading from Sam'l Woodward's Cist Mill to Mendham which is also a corner of Peter Sharpenstine's land,

Thence on the line of said Sharpenstine & Sam'l Johnson, south forty degrees west twenty nine chains & thirty six links,

Thence by lands of sd. Sam'l Johnson & David Simpson south forty eight degrees and one half east twenty three chains & eighty seven links to a stake,

Thence by lands of said Simpson south twenty one degrees east thirty three chain & fifty six links to a stake in a wet spot of ground,

Thence south sixty four degrees and one half west by lands of Thomas Riggs twenty one chain & sixty one links to lands of Henry Southard and Abner Johnson,

Thence by lands of said Johnson north ten degrees and one half west twenty two chain & twenty seven links,

Thence by the same south seventy nine degrees and one half west twenty four chains,

Thence by the same south thirty one degrees west eighteen chain & twenty six links to the middle of the said road leading from Baskinridge Church to Vealtown,

Thence along the same north thirty seven degrees & one half west three chains & eighty eight links to a large stone on the west side of said road,
Thence along the same north eight degrees west thirteen chain & thirty six links to a post a corner of Ensley Dalgish's Yard,

Thence north forty degrees east seventeen chains & seventy links along the road leading from Veal Town to Morristown to a large stone planted at the side of the road for a corner of sd. farm & said Dalgish's land,

Thence by the same north fifty degrees and one half west twenty six chain & ninety four links to a birch tree a corner of Israel Rickey's land,

Thence along said Ricky's line north forty degrees & one half east by lands of William Styles and Jacob Canfield eighty eight chains & fifty links to a large chestnut stump standing in the forge pond in the aforesaid Pasaic river,

Thence down the said river the several courses where the original stream has formerly run adjoining Wood land of Peter Sharpenstine to the place of beginning, Containing three hundred forty seven acres. . ."}

A drawing of these courses and distances placed over a current aerial map locates the chestnut stump in Ayers Forge pond. That stump and the other monument on the Passaic River fall on the current Passaic in a position where the eighth course of the farm boundary coincides with the road from Basking Ridge to Bernardsville (Vealtown), and the tenth course with Childs Road (the road from Bernardsville to Morristown). See drawing on the next page.

The stump stood below the spot where Indian Graves Brook joins the Passaic River, on land now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Buckley of Hardscrabble Road. The remains of the old dam itself are clearly evident several hundred feet south of there.
...A LARGE CHESTNUT STUMP STANDING IN THE FORCE POND IN THE AFORESAID PASSAIC RIVER...

REMAINS OF FORCE POND DAM AND FORGE

BEGINNING AT A STONE PLANTED ON THE BANK OF THE RIVER PASSAIC...

AYERS' FARM SURVEY LINES FROM DEED BOOK E, 169, 1808, SOMERSET COUNTY HALL OF RECORDS TRACING FROM AERIAL MAPS X472.5-482.5, X4750-482.5, MORRIS COUNTY PLANNING BOARD
Tons of slag are still embedded in the marsh below the dam remains. Charcoal abounds. There is an island in the Passaic below the dam, as there was when Platt Bayles and Elisha Ayers owned the land. Despite the mass of water that has run through the dam breaks and over the forge remains, the old stone lines of the building can still be found beneath the briars and mud. 47

It is easy to visualize the total facility - the dam from bank to bank, placed at a natural spot for dams in the Passaic River, the stone forge building below, and the narrow pond that stretched back up the valley becoming shallow where the chestnut stump stood, coming to an end near where Indian Graves Brook now joins the Passaic River.

The New Jersey troops, Grant's journal said, "camped at Eyre's Forge and began to build huts." This event can also be visualized. Ayers Forge pond was covered with several feet of ice and snow in December 1779. Two roads went by the forge and pond. One was from Basking Ridge to Mendham, now Hardscrabble Road. The other was an old by-road, so-called, from Kembles. It is the northern segment in an earlier day of what is now Old Army Road running into Bernardsville. Either road the troops took from Kembles, they would have marched to Ayers Forge.

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47. This dam had been thought the one for McMurtry's sawmill in local tradition. This was a facility built in the early 1800's, and a millrace ran to it a full one third of a mile from the forge pond above it. The deeds that followed those from John Ayers tell the story: the sheriff sold from Ayers to Bayles and Simpson; the land went to Freeman and Ogden; then to Benjamin Bostwick; to Roper Pegg; and from Pegg to Bailey Brees in 1821. Brees was sold out in 1827 to Samuel McMurtry. Brees had built the sawmill. The McMurtries owned and ran it for nearly a century.
And camped. Four regiments, hundreds of men carrying tents, in the snow in mid-December, with permanent huts to build in a small cleared field. They needed room for hauling stone and cutting wood. Most likely, General Maxwell ordered the troops to pitch their tents in the nearest open field, and go from there to build the huts each day. That field—looking at the ground now—would have been the one above Ayers Forge pond. The distance from there to the hut-building project would have been about half a mile.

Grant's entries were terse. Each place he named had been a stopping place on the way to the final destination. Ayers Forge was a landmark he most likely used to designate where the soldiers used their tents while building huts, and from which they moved into the huts on Christmas Day.
In the Name of God Amen. The first day of April in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred forty-six.

I, Elisha Ayers, of Shamrock Town in the County of Somerset and State of New Jersey, being of sound mind and memory and calling to mind the mortality of my body and that it is appointed for all men once to die, do therefore make and declare this my last will and testament.

First of all I recommend my soul unto the hands of God who gave it. I desire my body to be buried in a decent Christian manner at the discretion of my son who shall be here in after time.

Andouching such worldly estate as God hath been pleased to bestow in my hands, I give and bequeath in manner following, viz:—

I will that after my death my just debts and funeral expenses be paid out of such obligations as are due me and if that should prove insufficient then the remainder to be paid out of my live stock.

Then I give and bequeath to my beloved wife Hannah Ayers all my house hold furniture except what is hereafter mentioned, as also seven bed sheets, sateen, and my stock to be kept at my son John Ayers.

I give unto my second son John Ayers, upon the condition herein following viz: If the said John Ayers, or his heirs, should die without issue, then all that he shall have or receive from me or my estate shall be equally divided amongst my three daughters, Elizabeth Redmon, Mary Lawrence, and Sarah Allward, or their heirs, and I give and devise to my son John Ayers all my lands, tenements, and hereditaments of goods both in and out of my estate.

Also, the forges, the forge which I worked upon the island of land below the forge which I purchased of John Avery, together with all the fuel and smoke houses in the forge, and all the tools in the forge, and a sufficient quantity of meat drink bound for the wood and brought, and a sufficient allowance for the above.

I give unto my said son John Ayers all my personal estate of books, clothes, and all other estate as also an island of land below the forge which I purchased of John Avery, together with all the fuel and smoke houses in the forge, and all the tools in the forge, and a sufficient quantity of meat drink bound for the wood and brought, and a sufficient allowance for the above.

First page of Elisha Ayers' will, dated April 1, 1795, showing references to "forge," and "island of land below the forge." From the original manuscript in Liber 39, 380, New Jersey Archives of Colonial Documents, State Library, Trenton, New Jersey.
CHAPTER V
EXTENSIONS OF THE EVIDENCE

Elisha Ayers and his wife, Hannah, bought a 168 acre farm in Somerset County, Province of New Jersey in 1748. He was 27 years old, vigorous and obviously enterprising.

The Passaic River ran along the northern boundary of the farm. At one spot the river passed through a narrow gorge with steep banks on either side. It was an ideal site for a forge pond dam, and Elisha probably planned his forge before he bought the land. Iron forges were being built in the New Jersey hills those days. There was a good market for crude and finished iron, and some hope the British Parliament would give better treatment to the domestic mines and furnaces. Ore was available in Morris County, and plenty of wood for burning.

The dam was built and the waters collected behind it without taking up too much of the adjoining land. Some of the property of Peter Sharpenstine across the river in Morris County was flooded, but Sharpenstine must have consented to it. He had forest, and forges consumed excess wood that came from clearing land.

Elisha Ayers must have prospered with his farm and forge. He bought more land - the little island that lay below the dam from Platt Bayles, and

48. Before 1778, Platt Bayles was commissioned Captain of Col. Stephen Hunt's Battalion on June 14, 1776, and Major of Col. Philip Johnston's Battalion on August 1, 1776. He died at Valley Forge in 1778. Memo written by Lott Southard Bayless, Yankton, South Dakota, 1876. From a genealogy of the Bayles family, Morristown Public Library, Morristown, N. J.
added parcels as the years went by, until his farm extended all the way to Veal Town, now Bernardsville, across the road and a short way toward the Basking Ridge Presbyterian Church.

The Revolutionary War came, and then one winter, the New Jersey troops struggling up the narrow, frozen, snow-bound road. Four regiments of them. They pitched their tents in the field above the forge pond, and each morning went off to the upper clearing to cut logs and haul stones for the winter huts. It was a miserable task in the deep snow. On Christmas Day, a week later, they were finished and moved into the huts.

There were some fearful moments during the winter, for the troops as well as their nearest neighbors. The men were badly clothed and fed. On more than one occasion they had to forage for their food. Many claims were filed by citizens for

49. Letter of January 22, 1780, from a writer in "the American camp at Basken Ridge" [a term often used for the entire winter encampment]: "We have had a fast lately in camp, by general constraint of the whole army, in which we fasted more sincerely and truly for three days than we ever did from all the resolutions of Congress put together. This was occasioned by the severity of the weather and drifting of the snow whereby the roads were rendered impassable and all supplies of provisions cut off, until the officers were obliged to release the soldiers from command, and permit them to go in great numbers together into the country to get provision where they could find it. . ." Moore, Frank (Comp.) Diary of the American Revolution from Newspapers and Original Documents, Vol. II (New York) 1860. This volume is contained in the Library of the Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, New Jersey.
depredations charged to the patriot army. As far as the records tell, the New Jersey troops had none placed against them that winter in Somerset County.

General Washington relented as the weather worsened and excused the New Jersey soldiers from the Grand Parade on those days when the roads were "very wet and bad." But General Maxwell probably made them make up for it, and if he did, six young Ayers children would have watched them then, drilling in the field above the pond.

The men left the huts in April and went up to Jockey Hollow. A short while later news came in of their fights with the British at Connecticut Farms. The forge was operating all this time and was of interest to British spies. The chances are that neither Elisha Ayers nor Dr. Leddell ever knew their forges were charted on a British map.

Twenty years passed and Elisha Ayers died, leaving the forge and farm to John. According to the deeds that describe his land transactions, John Ayers was a Captain - evidently in the State Militia. By 1807 he had become a Major, but in that year he ran into financial difficulty, and the property was sold to pay his debts. The land passed quickly through many hands. A sawmill was built. Its owner failed. Then a new family took it on, and the sawmill settled down and operated steadily for a century. The

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51. Samuel McMurtry bought the sawmill in 1827. His son, Adnah, was killed operating it in 1871. Adnah's son, Fred McMurtry, ran the sawmill until about 1920. It had become one of the last water-powered "up-and-down" sawmills in New Jersey. Historical Booklet of Bernards Township, N. J. (May 1960).
forge gave way to the spring and summer floods and sank beneath the weeds.\textsuperscript{52}

When Elisha Ayers first bought his farm in 1748 the chestnut tree that stood below the junction of Indian Graves Brook and the Passaic River was named a monument along the boundary line. The documents record its history too. The dammed waters reached its base a few years later. It died, broke off, and became a stump that stuck up from the waters of the pond. The stump appeared in a deed of 1827, having survived the water and ice that gripped it. But sometime before the Civil War it must have disappeared below the surface of the pond. It was not mentioned where it should have been in a deed of 1867.

The New Jersey soldiers never returned as regiments to the huts they lived in above the forge. They came back to Jockey Hollow twice after that, and camped alone, serving as a security guard. After the war, many of the soldiers went to the Finger Lakes where they had been during the Western Campaign, and settled there. Stories of the winter camp at Ayers Forge may still be in the attics of that region.\textsuperscript{53}

General Erskine died within a year of the time he charted the New Jersey camping site, never guessing a later historian would think he mapped for Washington on the basis of what a sleepy news reporter said. Erskine took with him, unexplained, the full

\textsuperscript{52} The last found reference to the pond as a "forge" pond was in an application for the present Old Army Road in November 1886, which describes its northern terminus as "a point on the west side of the road leading from Mendham to Van Doren's Mill which point is nearly opposite the old 'Forge Pond' and near the tenant house of Mrs. Sarah McMurtry..." Road Book D, 6, Somerset County Hall of Records, Somerville, N. J.

\textsuperscript{53} See Vail's \textit{The Western Campaign of 1779}, cited above, 10-11.
meaning of the two straight parallel lines he drew on Map 104B running from Kembles to the right wing of the New Jersey camp.

The by-road the troops may have used from Log Town across the hill to Kembles came to be called in later years "Old Army Road." It was abandoned the early part of this century, but its extension across Hardscrabble Road carries the name today, and the original upper course can still be traced.\footnote{54}

Using the Erskine maps as a guide, Clayton Smith and Harvey Bennett have found marks on the ground that may be the remnants of the huts themselves. They need to be finally authenticated. But the imagination needs little prompting at this spot. It is a lonely place in a lonely field where two hundred years ago hungry men with little hope or cheer lived like animals, in frozen ground and snow, exerting tremendous effort of spirit and will.

The field was far from the parades in Morris-town and the speeches at the main encampment site that announced the opening of the National Park. Whatever marks the ground had then, and could have kept with passing time, have been well protected. All that while the field was owned by those who wanted simple open land in the quiet little forested valley.

Grant's diary was eventually destroyed. Before that occurred, fortunately, it had been published from the original in the Wilkes-Barre newspapers in 1834, and from that reprinted in more permanent form. By such a tenuous thread was the old slag mound below

\footnote{54. The last found reference to this portion of Old Army Road is a 1900 map of Bernardsville, N. J., drawn by Anthony Schumacher, published by William F. Sametz & Co., New York. The road is here designated by dotted lines.}
LOCATION OF NEW JERSEY BRIGADE CAMP
WINTER OF 1779-80

PRESENT LINES AND MARKS
BASED ON AERIAL MAP 11B-7-16, 4-20-61
FROM MORRIS COUNTY PLANNING BOARD
Elisha Ayers' forge lifted back to view. The slag is tough and plentiful there where it lies beneath the weeds. It will last for centuries more longer than all the rest.

Log Town, its grist mill and fulling mill overshadowed by a sawmill, long ago sank into oblivion as a "town." The Indians first found the protected valley and placed their camps along its streams for fishing and hunting. Then came vigorous men from the early settlement at Basking Ridge who used the latent waterpower and built their mills and houses there, but went back to Basking Ridge for church on Sunday. They made the place alive with their water wheels and wagons hauling in and out. It was doomed by larger enterprise. Log Town, after a hundred years, slowly subsided into what it remains today, a quiet little valley, still remarkably protected by its streams and hills from the bustle of a growing suburban State.
EXHIBIT III  Rochefontaine Map of Jockey Hollow, January 1780.
APPENDIX

EXHIBIT IV  PLAT OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE NEW JERSEY ENCAMPMENT 1779-80, prepared by ROBERT DITCHBURN.
APPENDIX EXHIBIT V
(Paged 1 through 15.)

THE NEW JERSEY ENCAMPMENT

1779-1780

Bernardsville, N.J.

Preliminary Report
by
Robert Ditchburn
Route #4
Gettysburg, Pa. 17325
This report is based upon preliminary archaeological work
done in April and May of 1968 sponsored by the New Jersey Audubon
Society, the primary purpose being to verify the existence of the
New Jersey Encampment on the Audubon tract. The field work was
only that necessary to unquestionably prove the occupation of the
area and to map the remaining hut sites which may be located by
visible surface indications.

The documentary evidence pointing to the New Jersey
Encampment being located on the present Audubon Society property
is very well presented in the report of Fred Bartenstein, Jr.
and Isabel A. Bartenstein, entitled "The New Jersey Brigade Encamp-
ment Near Morristown Winter of 1779-80". Their documentation is so
complete that little further discussion is necessary. The field
work so far has substantiated their report in every way.

The Erskine-DeWitt map reproduced in the Bartenstein report
places the New Jersey Encampment exactly in the area under discussion.
Perhaps the most interesting, and as yet unexplained feature shown
on this map, are the two parallel lines leading Northeast from the
encampment. It is probably that they represent a connecting road
between the New Jersey Brigade and the main encampment at Morris-
town. This has not yet been traced out, but an old road trace is
plainly visible at the Northern end of the encampment just as is
shown on the Erskine-DeWitt map.

The Bartensteins are to be complimented upon the complete-
ness of their report. Any one interested in the New Jersey Encamp-
ment would do well to study it thoroughly.
VISIBLE INDICATIONS OF THE ENCAMPMENT, 1968

The work covered by this report was of an exploratory nature in that only two hut sites were completely excavated. Several other hut sites were spot checked for the purposes of map making and verification but most of the sites remain untouched. The hut locations as shown on the map are those whose presence is clearly indicated without any excavation. Further work may reveal other huts which are not presently mapped.

The Northern and Eastern edges of the encampment seem to be almost intact, but just how much of the Southeastern section has been obliterated by cultivation may never be known. It is certain that the encampment extended beyond the Southern boundary of Audubon tract, as several hut sites may be seen on the adjoining property.

The remains of the encampment is nicely divided by an old road which is undoubtedly the old camp road. The Officer's huts and the Enlisted Men's huts both parallel the road and the length of the hillside. To the East of this road are the Officer's huts, at least ten of them, fairly well aligned, but not precisely spaced or oriented.

To the West of the camp road are the Enlisted Men's huts. These are in groups of four, spaced with mathematical precision, both as to distance between huts and orientation. The slope of the hillside here is quite steep and most of the huts have been well dug in on the uphill side and most are severely eroded on the downhill side. Whoever directed the erection of the enlisted men's huts must have been an extremely strict officer. The huts
are precisely spaced with no regard as to whether a hut's location fell in a suitable building area or not. This is clearly demonstrated by two huts in particular. One has a large boulder approximately three feet across and standing nearly two feet high situated in the center of the hut. If a slight shift in the hut position had been allowed, this stumbling block would not have been within the hut. In another instance, one whole corner is occupied by massive boulders too large to have been removed, which must have caused quite a construction problem.

**METHOD OF EXCAVATION**

The excavation of hut sites requires a somewhat different approach than that used in many archaeological investigations. Huts were constructed to meet a temporary need for shelter and were often built under very adverse conditions, so that foundations, footings, structures of permanent nature or extensive preparation of the ground before building are not found in the average hut site. The huts were used for a very short time, so that there is no great accumulation of debris and no stratification is evident.

It must be understood that a soldier's hut left such a slight trace that in most cases, any evidence of its existence would be destroyed by normal cultivation. Fortunately, many encampments were built on hilly, rocky terrain which has never been cultivated. We are therefore dealing almost exclusively with wooded areas. Part of the New Jersey Encampment lying on the lower, most gentle slope of the hill has been under cultivation and any trace of huts which may have been there are now destroyed.

The usual surface indications of a hut site are a small area
which has been leveled or cleared of small loose stones and a low mound of stones which represent a tumbled fire place at one edge of the leveled area. Erosion and soil creep tend to abliberate any trace which ever existed, so that sites located in the flatter areas of the encampment are sometimes difficult to see. The huts located on the steeper slopes where it was necessary to dig into the hilly side to effect the necessary leveling are quite obvious.

Experience has shown that because of the sometimes slight surface indications and the lack of any depth of deposit, suspected areas should be very cautiously investigated. The first step is to rake away all accumulated leaves to help define the area before any actual digging is begun. Many hut sites are so shallow that this raking will disclose parts of the hut floor and artifacts such as bone scrap, glass fragments, etc., which are just under the leaf mold, which was the ground surface of revolutionary times. The shallowness of the hut traces cannot be too strongly emphasized. It has been our unfortunate experience to see all traces of huts removed by inexperienced persons in the process or preparing the site for excavation. In many instances the removal of four inches of earth surface will destroy the evidence.

The term "hut Floor" as used here should not be taken to mean a wooden or stone floor in the usual sense, but rather simply the leveled ground surface which represents the interior living area of the hut. There are several ways in which this floor may be recognized. At Valley Forge some huts had floors of clay carried in to make a better living surface. In the limited excavation at the New Jersey Encampment this was not seen.
floors could be recognized by the fact that they had been cleared of the shallow deposit of loose top soil and were compacted by use and contained small artifacts, bone charcoal and ash tramped into their surface. Practically all earth was removed by trowel and then put through a one-half inch screen. Most artifacts were found by the trowel and very few were found in the screen.

EXTENT OF EXCAVATION

Only two huts were completely excavated; one Officer's hut and one Enlisted man's hut.

Aside from the Officer's hut completely excavated, one additional Officer's fireplace was completely exposed. Several other fireplaces were excavated only to the extent necessary to verify their positions.

No refuse pits or latrines were excavated, as time did not permit.

OFFICER'S HUT

The hut located on the extreme Eastern edge of the line was chosen because it was located on a fairly flat surface and had a pronounced mound of fireplace stones. Also it did not appear to be greatly eroded and had no large trees growing within its apparent outline.

Actual excavation was begun at a point in the middle of the floor and about two feet in front of what was assumed to be the fireplace. The reason for choosing this particular point to begin is that this is usually the area of greatest compaction of floor and should contain bone scrap and ash which are helpful in determining
floor level.

Floor level was found about three inches below present leaf mold, but did not contain the usual scrap and was only very slightly compacted. This level was then followed to the fireplace which proved to be one of the finest of its type, complete with a very carefully laid hearth floor of flat stones. While very beautifully constructed, this fireplace was a total disappointment as to the material it contained. It was almost absolutely clean, with no accumulation of ash, no bone scrap and no artifacts, and only a few flecks of charcoal. This fireplace was large with the front opening measuring Fifty-one inches, Fifty-two inches in depth (hearth floor measurement), with a back wall length of Thirty-nine inches. The walls were intact to a remaining height of Eighteen Inches.

Having exposed the fireplace the next step was to trace the balance of the floor level. Starting at the initial point in front of the fireplace the floor was traced to the wall lines wherever possible. The North wall line at the fireplace was obvious. The Eastern Wall line could be traced by the fact that it was very slightly dug into the hillside and slight traces of log mould were found. The South wall showed very little surface indication, but excavation showed a very distinct mound of small stones representing chinking stones along its entire length. The Eastern Wall was the most difficult to trace as it had been badly eroded, but could be followed by chinking stones. There were several large stones within the hut which seem to be a rock outcrop and were not removed when the hut was built. Complete excavation showed this hut to be approximately twelve feet by fourteen feet, outside measurements.
Leveling for the floor surface was accomplished by a very slight digging in on the uphill or Eastern side and placing the removed material on the lower western side. This dig and fill operation was not extensive as the natural location was a fairly level one.

The only artifacts recovered from this hut were two large nails found beside the rock outcrop. There was absolutely no evidence upon which to base the doorway or window locations. Although the natural approach to this hut, considering the terrain and its location within the encampment, would place the doorway in the west wall away from the fireplace.

Judging from the almost total lack of artifacts and the extreme cleanliness of the fireplace, it would seem that the occupants of this hut actually spent very little time in this hut and were absent from the hut a great deal of the encampment time. The extreme cleanliness could possibly be explained by assuming that the occupants were very strict in having the orderly do a meticulous cleaning job. However, the lack of compaction of the floor surface can only lead to the conclusion that the hut was little used.

ENLISTED MEN'S HUT

From almost any aspect the enlisted Men's hut which was excavated proved to be much different than the officer's hut. The hut chosen for excavation was located near the southern extremity of the remaining enlisted men's line. This hut had been rather deeply dug into the hillside. A large tree was growing out of the fireplace mound and several logs had to be removed before work could begin. There were many huts which would have required less work in
site preparation, but no other seemed to offer as good a chance for complete floor recovery. Since one of the prime objectives was to ascertain hut size, this one was chosen despite the wrecked fireplace.

Excavation was started within the hut at a point close to the fireplace. An additional reason for using this general area as a starting point is that in this manner, it is usually possible to trace out the extent of the floor without being influenced by any preconceived idea of hut size. Accurate measurements can be taken only after complete floor is exposed. Huts are not of an absolute standard size. Archaeologists do not build huts; they can only attempt to interpret the evidence as found.

In uncovering the fireplace it became apparent that the damage by the tree had been very extensive, and this one was so badly heaved by root action that only a few stones remained in place. This damage was further complicated by another situation which may seem unlikely, but is fully supported by the archaeological evidence. About one third of the back wall of the fireplace had been made by standing a large flat stone on edge. This stone must have been very poorly supported, for it actually fell into the fireplace while in use, and so obstructed the use of the fireplace that subsequent fires were built at the very inner edge of the hearth and actually extended about eighteen inches over the hut floor. The total ash accumulation in this fireplace was approximately nine inches in depth, the lower three inches of which were partly underneath the fallen flat stone from the back wall. It was extremely poorly constructed and the great depth of ash certainly qualifies it for one of the dirtiest seen to date con-
taining a large quantity of burned and unburned bone fragments. Contrast this condition to the extremely clean officer's fireplace.

In tracing the floor level, it was found that because of rather steep slope of the hill, leveling had been accomplished by digging in about twelve inches on the uphill side and using the removed material plus other stones to fill about fourteen inches on the downhill side. Also, because of natural wash, the uphill half of the floor had considerable overburden ranging from four to twelve inches in depth, while the downhill section was not over four inches below the present leaf line.

The floor itself was not difficult to follow as it was well compacted and held numerous bone fragments and occasional artifacts trampled into it. Complete tracing of the floor showed a hut of twelve feet by fourteen feet, with the fireplace centered on the short southern end.

While no positive indication of a doorway was found in the wall line, the distribution of artifacts and cooking debris positively indicates that the door was on the downhill side approximately five feet from the southern end. This is almost certainly correct as the trail of spilled material led directly from this location to the fireplace.

No window glass fragments were recovered, so that the placement of windows can only be assumed and would, of course, depend largely upon the position of bunks within the hut.
ARTIFACTS

A number of artifacts were recovered. All earth was removed by trowel and was screened. Most of the artifacts found were in the enlisted men’s hut which was excavated. A few were found on the surface and in the process of spot checking hut sites. For the sake of convenience they are grouped as follows:

Ceramic: Fifteen small sherds of earthenware and soft paste pottery.

The Earthenware sherds are those of the type called "Redware" both glazed and unglazed. The few soft paste sherds had a red painted floral pattern on white background and are probably English Leeds Pottery.

Ferrous:

2 Frizzens
Jew's harp
Bayonet part
2 Bayonet Scabbard Tips
2 Barrel Band Springs
Approximately 40 Nails
Horse Shoe
2 reinforcing plates

1 Knife Blade
1 Hook or Ladle Handle
1 Rectangular Accommodation Buckle
2 Large Inner Tongue sections probably from stock buckles.

The Frizzens were found in an enlisted men's hut which was not excavated. Neither appear to be broken or worn out and probably were spare parts. It is possible that they no longer gave sufficient spark and were simply discarded after replacement by better frizzens. These may be positively identified. One is a Brown Bess type musket and the other from a Charleville type musket.

The Jew's Harp is fragmentary but typical of the period.

The Part of Bayonet found is the extreme rear ring of the socket containing the slot to accommodate the front sight. Further identification is hardly possible.

The two bayonet scabbard tips are forged from iron and were
apparently attached to the scabbard without the use of rivets. This type has not been previously recorded.

The two Barrel Band Retaining Springs are definitely from a Charleville type musket.

All of the nails were hand forged and correct for the period of the encampment. Many of them were found in the fireplace, indicating that used boards and planks had been burned as firewood.

The tanged knife blade was found outside the enlisted men's hut at the Southeastern corner in a darkly stained area containing many fragments of cooking bone. The stained area was investigated and was found to be merely a surface accumulation of refuse from the hut.

Non-Ferrous:

1 Large Brass Buckle 4 Pewter Buttons
1 Brass Hook from Bayonet Scabbard 1 Brass Ramrod Pipe
4 Musket Balls (2 Mutilated) 1 Brass Buckle Fragment
1 Buckshot
2 Perforated Lead Disks
2 Brass Buttons

The Large Brass Buckle (tongue missing) is identical to a number of such buckles found at Valley Forge. Its exact use is not known. It is probably not a waist belt buckle, but rather a buckle from some sort of strap slung over the shoulder, perhaps from a cartridge box strap.

The two brass buttons are plain, with no identifying marks.

The four pewter buttons are not marked in any way but are
of a type which is presently unique to this area. Instead of
the usual cast loop shank, these are cast with a stud on the back
having two holes at right angles to the diameter of the stud. One
such button was recovered from the Connecticut section of the
Morristown encampment. These four buttons and the one from Morris-
town are all that have been recorded to date. These may very
possibly be of either a French origin or may represent an American
button type peculiar to the Morristown area. They do not seem to
be widely distributed and deserve further study.

The two perforated lead disks are of unknown use. They
appear to have been deliberately fashioned from pieces of bullets.

The Brass ramrod Pipe is definitely from a pistol, but not
of a military type. This may be deduced from the holes for its
attaching pins and the cut away section allowing for a passage of
the barrel wedge.

OTHER MATERIAL

One Early Spall type gunflint of European origin was found
just beneath the surface at a probable hut site just South of the
Audubon tract. It is of the spalltype with rounded heel, a type
which was almost obsolete at the time of the American Revolution.

A broken French prismatic type flint was found in the fire-
place of an Officer's hut which was spot checked. This type is the
most typical of the revolutionary period.

Numerous cooking bone fragments were found at every site
investigated with the exception of the one Officer's which was
completely excavated and produced no bone scrap. A very casual
analysis of the bone fragments indicates the use of domestic animals for food. Only one small piece of bird bone was found and this is most probably from a wild game bird. The bone fragments recovered reflect the eating habits of the period, in that the bones had been broken and splintered to obtain the marrow.

The site as a whole is remarkably free from later intrusive objects and all material recovered from below surface was unquestionably related to the encampment.

PROBABLE CONSTRUCTION METHODS--Hut Plans:

While this report covers only a token excavation, there are a few details which seem self-evident.

The huts were of log construction. This is evident by slight signs of log mould along wall lines and the presence of a large quantity of clay and small stones used in chinking.

It would also seem that the roofs were of boards and used weight stones and poles as a means of securing the boards, as these stones were found on the hut floors where they had fallen when the roof collapsed.

Nothing can be said of the probable floor plan of the Officer's hut excavated. No window glass was found so that window position cannot be deduced. No sign of a doorway was found, although the logical position would be on the western, downhill side. The number of occupants for which it was built is not known, so that the number of bunks and their position cannot be determined at this time.

The situation is somewhat different in regards to the
Enlisted men's hut which was excavated. This hut was well used and the pattern of distribution of artifacts and scrap clearly indicate the door to have been on the west (downhill) side about four feet from the southern end. If this assumption is correct and we further assume that the hut was designed to house twelve men, there is only one logical arrangement for the bunks. The floor plan would be as follows:

- Fireplace on south wall, doorway and one tier of three bunks on the west wall, one tier of bunks on the north wall, and two tiers of bunks on the east wall.

No window glass was found and no positive statement can be made concerning windows.

CONCLUSION:

The Archaeological and documentary evidence is in perfect agreement, so that there can be no doubt that this is the site of the New Jersey Encampment of 1779-80. It was hoped that marked New Jersey buttons would be found to further establish this area as a New Jersey Encampment. Such was not the case, so for the present, documentary evidence must be relied upon to identify the site as being the New Jersey Encampment. This documentary evidence seems unquestionable.

Further work will undoubtedly reveal hut sites and features not presently mapped. Also there should be an attempt made to find the refuse pits and latrines so that their contents may be studied, and their position relative to the huts recorded.

The New Jersey Encampment was rather far removed from the main encampment, but certainly was not completely isolated. It
would be interesting to see if there is not some remaining road trace as a connecting link between the two camp segments. Present evidence seems to place this road at the northern end of the New Jersey Encampment, and this may explain the two parallel lines shown on Urskine-DeWitt Map.