

McCLINTOCK, EMORY

Topography of Washington's Camp of
1780 and its Neighborhood.

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TOPOGRAPHY
—OF—
WASHINGTON'S CAMP OF 1780

AND ITS NEIGHBORHOOD.

A PAPER READ BY
EMORY McCLINTOCK, LL.D.

BEFORE THE

WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION OF NEW JERSEY

AT THEIR MEETING

FEBRUARY 22, 1894.

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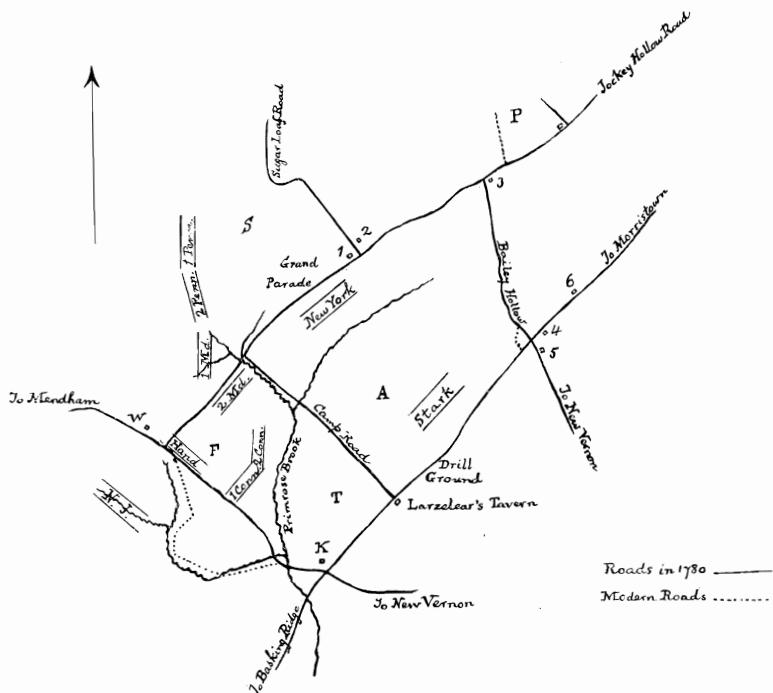
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Summits of Hills.

- A. Kemble's Mountain, "Alarm Station".
 - F. Fort Hill.
 - P. Piccatiny.
 - S. Sugar Loaf.
 - T. Tea Hill.

Houses in 1780.

- K. Kamble.
W. Wick.
1. Guerin.
2. Ferver.
3. Bayles.
4. Goble, Robert ?
5. Goble, Jonas Jr.
6. Primrose.

Relative Positions of the Ten Brigades.

TOPOGRAPHY OF WASHINGTON'S CAMP OF 1780, AND OF ITS NEIGHBORHOOD.

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Towards the end of 1779 the County of Morris was entered by a great multitude of men, who built what was for those days a large city and dwelt in it more than half a year. No such aggregation of humanity has ever been seen before or since within the county. Not merely by numbers was this great gathering remarkable. Whatever there was in America of manly vigor, of patriotic ardor, of military genius, of exalted ambition, was more than merely represented in this memorable colony; it was most of it there in person. Washington, the noblest figure of history, was at the head of it, was the life and soul of it; and he was aided by generals like Greene and DeKalb, by subordinate officers like Hamilton and Scammel, by civilians like Schuyler and Livingston. Visitors came almost without number; among them, officers stationed elsewhere, such as Wayne and Monroe, governors of states, members of congress and foreign ambassadors. Not to go below the rank of generals, there were present on duty, besides those already mentioned, St. Clair and Howe, Stirling and Stark, Clinton and Maxwell, Hand and Irvine, Huntington and Knox, Gist and Smallwood, Steuben and Lafayette. And Benedict Arnold came also. During seven months this bustling, seething, populous city, with its little suburb called Morristown, was the centre of energy in the cause of the united American colonies and the object of many hostile designs on the part of their enemies.

So wholly have the traces of this busy scene become buried from view that only with the greatest difficulty, by study of books and manuscripts, by searches in libraries, by correspondence, and by close inquiry into local traditions,* has the writer succeeded in locating the

* Acknowledgements are due to many antiquarian friends in and near Morristown, chief among whom are Mr. Edmund D. Halsey, who has aided me most freely from his accumulated stores of local knowledge, Messrs. W. L. King, A. W. Cutler, W. F. Mills, and A. W. Tuttle; also to Prof. H. P. Johnston of New York, and to the Librarians of the Historical Societies of New York and Pennsylvania, as well as of New Jersey, who have spared no pains to further the search.

several portions of Washington's great camp. The historical sketch of it given by Mr. E. D. Halsey in his paper read on February 22nd, 1889, and published in the Proceedings of the Washington Association of that date, while not professing to say much of a merely topographical nature, contained all the extant knowledge relating to the localities embraced within the encampment. In a recent conversation with that gentleman, on his hearing in detail of the localities assigned by the writer to the eleven brigades composing the army after the departure of the Virginia troops, he suggested at once, unofficially, the preparation of a paper on the subject for the present occasion. It happened most fortunately, shortly afterwards, that the writer was led to ask for and examine a number of unique maps in possession of the New York Historical Society, prepared at the time for the personal use of Washington and his staff by Robert Erskine, F. R. S., Geographer General to the army, and hitherto apparently unnoticed by the historians of the revolutionary army's operations in New Jersey at least, if not by all historians of the Revolution. It has not been unexpected, but is yet gratifying, that the only brigade concerning which doubt was expressed in the statement made to Mr. Halsey is the only one concerning whose location the writer's conclusions have been corrected by the maps. The doubt expressed was in the form of an opinion that the ground assigned by tradition to the Maryland troops was too small for both brigades of the Maryland division, and that one of them might perhaps have been stationed on the other side of a brook close by. The maps show that the second brigade was placed close by the first, but to the southeast instead of the northeast, and on the other side of a road instead of the other side of a brook.

As regards the number of men present, after the Virginia and North Carolina troops marched to the southward, Washington himself estimated them at 10,000, not to speak of numerous auxiliaries and camp-followers, and it is difficult to make any lower estimate from the facts thus far ascertained. Many were discharged as their terms of enlistment expired; various parties were detached from time to time, the two Connecticut brigades, for example, being away on outpost duty from February till late in May; and the two Maryland brigades were sent southward about the middle of April. For a time in the spring, therefore, after the Maryland troops went away and before those of Connecticut returned, the numbers present were much reduced. But early in December there must have been more than 12,000 Continental troops in the township, besides a smaller army of wagoners, commissary men, hospital aids, servants, sutlers, and camp followers in gen-

eral, not to speak of visiting relatives and friends, of whom there were not a few. The records of the old Morristown church show a number of marriages between soldiers and women described as belonging to the camp.

The post nearest to Morristown was the Park of Artillery. It lay on the slope of the hill along the present Mendham road just beyond the city limits, where the road turns sharply to the left. After this turn it extends in a straight course for a third of a mile, and this course was part of the old Mendham road, the Park extending along it on the hill-side for nearly the whole distance. The present Washington street forms the beginning of the present road as far as the turn, but it was not then in existence. The old road entered the village from the turn by keeping on across land now enclosed to the present Early street, the line of which it followed pretty closely, after which it took the line of the present Spring street down the hill. Speedwell avenue was not then cut through. Washington street is composed of three parts successively brought into use. The first part, from the Green to the present Western avenue or Jockey Hollow road, was then part of the latter road. Beyond it was a sort of track, unofficial, by which one could pass just beyond the first brook, after which the path turned squarely to the right and ended at some point in Early street. Before the turn this track corresponded substantially with the second part of Washington street. The land now occupied by the rest of this street was then a part of a farm. We may surmise that the soldiers made a way for themselves across it from the Park of Artillery, for direct communication with the Green, because only a few years later the new short road was adopted by the authorities, and that part of the old Mendham road connecting with Early street was cut off. If that was the origin of Washington street, we must agree that the name is not inappropriate. The street subsequently gave its name to the turnpike to Mendham, unless indeed the street got its name from the corporate title of the turnpike company. Then the "Washington Valley," really the Whippanny Valley, received the same name as the turnpike, with perhaps some impulse from the patriotic zeal of its most noted land-owner, Jacob Arnold.

In the Park were encamped the four regiments of artillery and Baldwin's regiment of artificers. Here were stored heavy guns as well as field pieces, and here also were forges and machine shops. To the south of the road, in front of the Park, were two fields then in meadow, in which as the spring advanced the artillery horses were turned to

graze. Some of the officers occupied huts in the Park, while others secured quarters at houses in the neighborhood.

Between the site of the Park and the village now called Washington Valley there is a notable hill, carefully avoided by the planners of the present Washington Valley road. In 1780 the "road from Jacob Arnold's," as it was called, crossed directly over the hill towards the Park, and about midway of the nearer slope, north of the road, was the quarters of Gen. Knox, who commanded the artillery. Part of the house is still in existence as the oldest portion of a farm house readily seen on the hillside from the Mendham road.

The artillery under Knox composed one brigade. The location of the Virginia and North Carolina troops, during the short interval early in December before they were marched to the southward, is not known. No body of cavalry was present; Moylan's horse were near the Hudson, and Lee's Legion at Burlington. Ten brigades of infantry were encamped in a sort of cluster, each with its own camp and parade ground, between the Basking Ridge and the Mendham roads, not less than two and a half miles nor more than four from the Headquarters in a direct line. We need not discuss the location of the Headquarters.

To visit the sites of the ten camps, excepting that of Stark's brigade, the Jockey Hollow road now forms the best route from Morristown, being at present in excellent condition. It was called in 1780 and later, by those who had to draw maps and deeds and desired to be formally correct, "the road from Morristown through Jockey Hollow," the latter being the name of the southerly ravine beginning northwest of Western avenue. A very old inhabitant states that the hollow got its name from some persons who brought horses to sell and were carried there suddenly and against their will by their rebellious merchandise. A different and apparently improbable explanation is given by Gov. Axtell in his historical sketch of Passaic township.

The first road leaving the Jockey Hollow road on the right (northwest) is that over the hill always known as Piccatinny to the Mendham road; the next is a little further on the left, down the Bailey hollow to the Basking Ridge road; and the third and last is on the right, northeast of the mountain called Sugar Loaf. We may call the latter the Sugar Loaf road. These roads diverged from the Jockey Hollow road as at present, except that the Piccatinny road began a quarter of a mile nearer to Morristown. There were two houses at its entrance; also one nearer Morristown, and one on the east corner of the Bailey hollow road, owned by Capt. Augustine Bailey or Bayles, and used as quarters

at the beginning of the encampment by Gen. Irvine. The only other houses on the Jockey Hollow road were two at the beginning of the Sugar Loaf road, including that of Joshua Guerin still standing on the west corner. The inference is strong that settlers avoided the Jockey Hollow road, except where there was ready means of escape to the Mendham road.

Proceeding to the beginning of the Sugar Loaf road, let us look about us. To the west-northwest is Sugar Loaf, and opposite, to the south-southeast, is another high hill, now surmounted by a wooden look-out tower. This hill is known, in old deeds and to old inhabitants, as Kemble's mountain. Between us and it is the valley of the east branch of Primrose brook, named from an early settler, where are now reservoirs of the Morris Aqueduct. The brow of the high ground on this side, from the line between us and Kemble's mountain as a northeastern limit, and extending thence to the southwest for some distance, was the site of the camp of Clinton's brigade of the New York line. In one way or another they made use of pretty much all the ground between the road and the hillside which slopes down to the brook, but their huts were arranged in lines in view of and parallel to the road, not far from the edge of the hill, as is clearly noted in a contemporaneous map of the Wick farm now in the hands of Mr. Halsey. The New York huts and those used a year later by a body of troops from Pennsylvania happened to form part of a legal description and so came to be indicated on the farm map. Washington's own map, drawn by Erskine—no doubt less accurate—places the New York camp as a whole near the road. The southwestern end of it was on ground somewhat lower than the northeastern, and between that point and the road is a level field which may well have served as the brigade parade, a word then used for what we would now call parade-ground.

The New York camp was one of four composing the "second line :" namely, from left to right, that is, from southeast to northwest, Stark's, Clinton's, 2d Pennsylvania, 1st Pennsylvania. Stark's brigade was encamped on the southeast slope of Kemble's mountain, about half way down to the Basking Ridge road, from which the huts were conspicuously visible. Tradition places the brigade parade in front of, that is, below, the camp, some little distance above the road. A hogshead was sunk by the soldiers to enlarge a still excellent spring east of the camp. Perhaps a hundred yards north of the spring was a house belonging to the Kembles, since rebuilt, available for officers' quarters. Tradition assigns 500 as the number of men present, but at first there were nearly or quite 800.

The summit of Kemble's mountain was visible from the Headquarters, from the alarm station above Springfield, and from most points of the various camps. It was therefore selected as the camp alarm station, which was described as part of the "second line," between the camps of Stark's and Clinton's brigades. Two guns were placed there, with orders for firing on the first signal of the enemy's approach. They were manned by a detachment from the artillery, commanded by a captain and relieved every fortnight. Accounts are preserved which refer to several alarms thus given.

Let us advance along the Jockey Hollow road, beyond the level space on the left which no doubt served as the New York parade. To our right, between us and Sugar Loaf, and extending a little towards the southwest, is a low broad space fairly level, which tradition says was cleared for the "grand parade" of the whole army. No other location for the grand parade is reasonably possible. Washington's order placed it in "the field between the New York and Pennsylvania encampments;" the New York camp is behind us, and the Pennsylvania camps were on the high ground beyond the space in question. The grand parade was in daily, I might say hourly, use for every purpose which required a meeting upon common ground, and was the scene of all the manœuvres attending the daily guard-mountings, and was also the rendezvous for the detachments constantly ordered off to relieve the outposts, pickets, hospital guards, &c., not to speak of those more solemn and not wholly infrequent occasions upon which the entire army was gathered to witness military executions. The graves of the men condemned to death were dug beforehand at the foot of the gallows.

The camps of the two brigades comprising the Pennsylvania division occupied high ground west and northwest of the grand parade. The first brigade had the ground between Sugar Loaf and the smaller hill west of it, and got its water from a spring northwest of Sugar Loaf, the water from which goes to join a brook which crosses the Mendham road on its way to the Whippany river. A by-road may still be traced upwards from the Mendham road near the brook which would give access to the camp; and the Sugar Loaf road was no doubt also used. Either the by-road in question or the Sugar Loaf road must have been ascended from the Mendham road when Luzerne, the French minister, and a committee of Congress were escorted by Washington with a brilliant cavalcade to view the camps on April 25, 1780. The route announced from the Headquarters, by way of the Park of Artillery to the first of the camps to be visited, those of Pennsylvania, would naturally lead that way. The party came back to Morristown by way of Mr.

Kemble's house and the Basking Ridge road. Washington's map indicates that the Pennsylvania lines of huts ran nearly north and south, inclining a little to the southeast. The camp of the second brigade lay south, a little southeast, of that of the first, the huts all having the same general alignment. If the map is correct, this brigade did not occupy the highest part of the ridge south of Sugar Loaf, but the sloping ground just west of the ridge. A slaughter house, which may have belonged only to one of the brigades, but which on the other hand may have served for the division, occupied a site just below the line of trees on the south slope of Sugar Loaf. Some little distance to the northeast from this point, that is to say, on the southeast slope, and still on the Wick farm, but close to the line between it and the Guerin farm, was a large log house used by the Pennsylvania division for holding courts martial, and perhaps also as a guard house. Mr. Samuel Guerin used to call the adjoining field his court house field.

In the low ground west of the camp of the second brigade, close to a run of water, was the army hospital, and on slightly rising ground near by was the burial ground, now marked by a grove of locust trees, planted in the early part of this century by Mr. John B. Wick to preserve the graves from obliteration. No trace remains of the form of the graves, but the outline of the ground is well marked by the locust grove. The number of those interred here must exceed one hundred. There is no record as regards this encampment of any trouble from small pox, which had been a terrible scourge during the earlier stay of Washington's troops in Morris County, in the spring of 1777. It is not intended in this paper to speak of that encampment in the Lowantica valley. An old by-road over the hill to the south of the hospital, still more or less in use, gave ready access from the camps in that direction.

We have now completed the examination of the "second line" of camps. The "first line," which we have next to examine, was by no means so regular. Starting from the north, which was called the right, the general order in question enumerated the first and second Maryland brigades, Han'l's brigade, Maxwell's brigade, and the first and second Connecticut brigades. The first Maryland brigade occupied ground of which a part is still known as the Maryland field. If we pass along the Jockey Hollow road from the point where we left it between the New York parade and the grand parade, we reach a deep hollow through which the west branch of Primrose brook flows towards the southeast. On the other side of the brook, to the west, rises a hill covered with trees, with the exception of a cleared field

which has not lately been tilled. This is the Maryland field, and this hill was occupied by the camp of the first Maryland brigade. The second brigade occupied high ground close by on the other side of the Jockey Hollow road, the lines of huts lying parallel to the road. Each of these brigades must have had its own parade, the sites of which can now only be conjectured. On the southwest side of Primrose brook, southeast of the road, an interesting ruin is to be seen. It lies in a corner of wooded ground elevated above the meadow through which the brook flows, close to and on the southeast of a small run of water which enters the meadow from the southwest to join the brook. It consists of a circular mass of fallen stones which once formed a large oven for baking bread. Marks of fire can still be seen on some of these stones. This certainly served for the second Maryland brigade, and perhaps for the whole division. Ruins of a similar oven are said to be still visible near the old road, now disused, on the slope of Fort Hill.

Passing beyond the Maryland camps, still along the Jockey Hollow road, we reach the site of the camp of Hand's brigade, which was composed, like Stark's, of four regiments not belonging to any single state, the difference being that Stark's brigade was composed of men from New England, while Hand's comprised regiments recruited from the middle states and Canada. Here, however, we reach the end of the Jockey Hollow road, and it is time to look about us and take our bearings. The Jockey Hollow road is peculiar among the old Morristown roads, in that it leads to no village. It was laid out before the Revolution as ending at "Henry Wick's orchard," where it met the older road leading from Mendham to Chatham by way of Mr. Kemble's and Green Village. Let us designate the latter, for present purposes, as the Fort Hill road. The Jockey Hollow road meets the other at right angles and ends there. Southeast of the road we have followed, and east of the spot we have reached, is a rising ground covered with trees and known as Fort Hill. Southwest of us, and distant about three-quarters of a mile, is a prominent hill which we may designate as Blachly's hill. Northwest of us, and nearer, is the hill known then and now as Leddel's hill. There are on its summit some remains of revolutionary huts, possibly used by pickets. There is no documentary trace of any body of men having been quartered there, and the location is an unusually exposed one. The direction of the Fort Hill road at this point is from west-northwest to east-southeast. It formerly continued in the latter direction down the side of Fort Hill, but now curves to the south by a gentler grade, subsequently turning to the

east and rejoining the line of the old road just before crossing Primrose brook. The old road is still easy to trace.

Let us go back fifty yards or more on the Jockey Hollow road, to an old black oak tree standing near the road on the southeast side. As long as the tree stands this description will enable any one to find it. Beneath it is buried Captain Adam Bettin of the 10th Pennsylvania regiment, killed on the spot by mutineers on the night of January 1st, 1781. His name, usually given incorrectly as Billings, is to be found, with some record of his services, and mention of his widow and children, in the publication of archives made by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The grave is not now visible, but is distinctly recollected by the older inhabitants whose statements are corroborated by a drawing made many years ago by Mr. Halsey. As described, the head of the grave is near the trunk of the tree, to the west of it, and the grave itself slopes in a west-southwest direction towards the road. If the line were extended, it would make perhaps an angle of thirty degrees with the road.

Hand's brigade was, with the possible exception of Stark's, the smallest in the army. He referred to the matter with feeling in an order preparing his men for the visit of the French minister's party, and begged every man capable of carrying a musket to turn out when they passed by, obviously wishing to give the best possible impression of his famous brigade. The main body of the huts composing his camp lay close to the Fort Hill road, in two or more lines parallel to it, on its northeast side, beginning at the Jockey Hollow road and extending a good distance to the southeast along the side of Fort Hill. As to this there is no question, these being indicated by Washington's map, but doubts arise concerning the limits of Hand's camp in other directions. In front, to the southwest, immediately across the road, are springs supplying a brook which must certainly have been included within his territory. Close beyond the brook are remains of huts which are unlikely, if existing when he was there, to have belonged to any forces not in Hand's brigade. Other huts are shown on the farm map before mentioned, made in January, 1781, extending the main body to the northwest of the Jockey Hollow road, half way or more towards the old Wick house, which still stands on the northeast side of the Fort Hill road an eighth of a mile northwest of the Jockey Hollow road. Again, Dr. Tuttle found in 1855 considerable remains of huts between Fort Hill and the Jockey Hollow road, in lines parallel to that road. It is an open question which, if any, of these various groups of huts were in existence during the time of the great encampment, and there-

fore occupied by men of Hand's brigade. They were all certainly occupied the following winter by a force of Pennsylvania troops under Wayne, and some of them were probably built by his orders, for his papers show much labor expended in repairing and rebuilding old huts and building new ones. The subsequent occupation by the Pennsylvania line produced confusion in more ways than one, Hand's huts being spoken of afterwards as the Pennsylvania huts, and the two Pennsylvania camps hereinbefore described drifting into oblivion. Dr. Tuttle speaks of several large huts on the nearer side of the brook as having been used "by the commissariat," and also of a slaughter house as having stood near the road northwest of that spring, feeding the same brook, which rises nearest the Wick house. His informant appears to have supposed these establishments to have supplied a good part of the army. Hand's brigade may have had two slaughter houses successively, as I find an order of his which mentions "the old slaughter yard on the right of the brigade."

There is no reason to suppose that the summit of Fort hill played any part whatever before December, 1780, when Hand's old huts and others near by were occupied by the Pennsylvania line under Gen. Wayne. Feeling insecure in case of a sudden dash of the enemy upon his position, Wayne caused to be thrown up on the summit of Fort hill two or three lines of fortification, one of which being partly of stone may still be traced. The others appear to have been composed of logs and brush-wood in the nature of abatis. It was this subsequent slight effort at fortification by Gen. Wayne which gave to the hill its name of Fort hill. There could not have been more than a fortnight's work done on it before the mutiny.

West and southwest of Hand's brigade lay the Jersey brigade, which contained nearly or quite 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 bri-

gades are definitely located elsewhere by positive evidence. Dr. 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 of the brook 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 Blachly'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 to the westward into the Passaic. As no one named Cook has ever owned this land, it seems a reasonable conjecture that the commissary department of the Jersey brigade was located near this spring. In April, 1780, when the Maryland troops were marched to the southward, the Jersey brigade changed their quarters to the vacant huts of the Maryland division. Washington's map puts the Jersey camp in Somerset county, half a mile beyond the county line, on the northeast side of a brook 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." 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 southern fork of a stream flowing southeasterly, and to that extent the map is correct. The map, by its title, relates to the Jockey Hollow road, which was no doubt carefully traversed. That it gives the Jersey camp correctly seems most improbable.

There is reason to believe that in December, 1780, Wayne's powder magazine was located close to the Wick house, on the east.

Proceeding down the hill to the southeast from the site of Hand's camp, the old Fort hill road may still be traced with the utmost distinctness, though in places much overgrown. Following this old road perhaps half way down the hill, we come to the beginning of the Connecticut camps. The first Connecticut brigade, commanded by Gen. Parsons, occupied the south slope of Fort hill, beginning at the old road and extending in an easterly direction. Many remains of hut chimneys may still be seen in lines, sometimes in parallel lines. Still further around the hill, on what we may call the east slope, was the camp of the second Connecticut brigade, under Gen. Huntington. This camp extended within available distance of a good spring which still exists on the side of the hill. The huts of Parsons' brigade, adjacent to the road, were used in the following winter by the Pennsylvania line in addition to those of Hand's brigade higher up, being occupied by the 5th and 9th Pennsylvania regiments. Existing documents state that all the other regiments, and the artillery detachment accompanying them, were assigned to the huts vacated the previous summer by Hand's brigade, notoriously one of the smallest in the army. The discrepancy may be accounted for if we suppose that Gen. Hand had supervision, perhaps made some use, of the Jersey huts close by, after they were vacated in April, 1780, as above stated. As his were the only troops near those huts towards the close of the spring, his name may have embraced them all, particularly as the Jersey brigade then occupied other quarters.

We have now completed the list of the ten brigades composing the two "lines" of the encampment. Each camp was like all the others except for variations compelled by inequalities of ground. The brigade parade was if possible in front of the lines of huts. The huts of the officers, each accommodating three or four, were in a line by themselves. Before reaching the grounds selected by Gen. Greene for the camps, the whole army had received from Washington this emphatic warning, "any hut not exactly conformable to the plan or the least out of the line shall be pulled down and built again." The result is

shown in the description given on December 22 by the writer from Basking Ridge already quoted. "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." The "plan" prescribed for the huts does not appear to have been preserved. They seem to have been at least sixteen feet long, and not more than high enough inside for a tall man to stand erect, with a chimney at one end and bunks for ten or twelve men at the other. This at least was the arrangement in earlier years. A year later the huts were made double, each hut having two rooms, and each room accommodating eight persons when crowded, the actual average being five or six. It remains to be determined which of these systems was prescribed for this encampment. The fire places were of stone, surmounted by chimneys of plastered wood. That windows were not always provided is shown by an order in the spring commanding that an opening for ventilation should be made in each hut not already supplied with a window or other such opening. Passable roads were, if lacking, constructed to secure direct communication between each brigade and those adjacent; that between Clinton's and Stark's brigades, for example, across a low part of Kemble's mountain, is still in use.

Heavy wagons bearing supplies from Morristown to the Pennsylvania camps may probably have taken the Mendham road, though perhaps, especially when there were heavy snow drifts, they may have come from the other side, by way of the grand parade. The Jersey camp had a road down the brook which joined the Fort hill road at the bottom of the declivity southeast of Fort hill. The Connecticut camps were served by the Fort hill road itself, which, after passing Primrose brook, came to the Basking Ridge road close to the Kemble house. This house, built by Peter Kemble about 1750, stood in the north corner of the two roads, where is now the middle of a lawn. It served as headquarters the next winter for Gen. Wayne, and may still be seen, removed and modernized, on the upper side of the Basking Ridge road about a third of a mile northeast of the cross road. Hand's camp was reached either by the same road, or from the direction of the grand parade. The Maryland camps were, like that of New York, close to the grand parade and were served by the same line of communication with Morristown, whatever that may have been. Stark's brigade communicated with Morristown by a road still to be traced, which joined the Basking Ridge road at the present entrance of the Bailey Hollow road.

All of the ten brigades had their official communication with Headquarters by means of delegated officers, who met the officers of the day at guard-mounting on the grand parade and subsequently repaired to the orderly office, where they handed in the daily reports from their brigades and received the general orders. It becomes a matter of interest to inquire the customary line of travel between Morristown and the grand parade.

The Jockey Hollow road led directly from the grand parade to Morristown, but we may doubt its attractiveness at that time for wheeled vehicles, and indeed, before spring, for horsemen or pedestreians. It is hard for us now to conceive the badness of the roads in the last century, particularly of those roads which were seldom used. A lady born about that time told her son, now living, that in her childhood, a few years after the revolution, the Bailey Hollow road—a regular public road maintained by the township—was not used for anything on wheels, though now and then attempted by riders of sure-footed horses. The Jockey Hollow road descended at the crossing of the west branch of Primrose brook, between the grand parade and the Maryland camps near by, to a level of less than 500 feet above the sea. From that spot towards Morristown the height of 640 feet was reached at two points, with a similar deep depression between them. More than two miles of that sort of road, nowhere level, and serving only half a dozen widely scattered hill farmers, must have been found by the army in unusually bad condition, rough, stony, and seamed by ruts water-worn into great gullies. Certainly Henry Wick, and probably all the others who could, must have preferred to make the best of their way to the Basking Ridge or Mendham road in preference. If this were likely to be the case in summer, it was even worse during that winter, the hardest of the century. The line of the Jockey Hollow road is so greatly exposed that only in the winter last past, 1892-3, the snow drifted so badly that in several places the road was impassable and sleighs were driven over fields and even over fences. Exactly this state of things is recorded of that hard winter of 1779-80. The Basking Ridge road, on the other hand, was at that time the best travelled, and therefore no doubt the best cared for, road leading out of Morristown, substantially level throughout, and in winter completely protected from drifting winds by the mountain under which it passes. During the last winter, for example, the snow lay along the road with perfect evenness, exactly as it fell.

To reach Morristown from the grand parade, therefore, it was necessary to put the whole length of the Jockey Hollow road in good

order under great difficulties, or else to seek another outlet by way of the Basking Ridge road. It happens that from a certain central point on the Jockey Hollow road, just northeast of the crossing of Primrose brook, a sort of natural passage leads directly across to the Basking Ridge road, passing between Kemble's mountain and a smaller conical hill south of it known as Tea hill, on the whole course of which there is not very much difference of grade. Beginning at the central point referred to, some 460 feet above the sea, this course sinks to 430, rises gradually to 525, and at last, within a mile from the beginning, reaches the Basking Ridge at a level of 440 feet above the sea. These grades may be compared with the heavy hills on the Jockey Hollow road, where there are repeated ascents and descents of 150 feet or more within short distances. A certain spot on the Jockey Hollow road has been spoken of as a central point. How central it was can be realized only when we reflect that from the Maryland camps, and therefore from Hand's camp, and also from the Pennsylvania camps, five in all of the ten brigades, the descent to this part of the Jockey Hollow road was easy and natural. Still more easy was the access from the grand parade close by, which was itself the official centre of the whole encampment, where detachments from all the brigades met daily for guard-mounting and other evolutions, and where the officers of the day had their first meeting in the morning with the brigade majors and other officers delegated by the brigade commanders. The grand parade, besides, was the usual starting point for detachments, sometimes even for working parties called fatigue parties, ordered for duty elsewhere. The central point in question was at the very heart of the camp grounds, and Gen. Greene had to choose between putting and keeping the whole length of the mountainous Jockey Hollow road in order and making use of the easy "cross-cut" which I have described, itself sheltered from the winds of winter almost as well as the Basking Ridge road itself. That he chose the "cross-cut" there is circumstantial evidence in variety and abundance. In the first place, the road was made. It is indicated on Washington's map, as well as on the farm map made a year later. It was made by the soldiers, unless indeed Kemble and Wick, who owned all the land, took the trouble beforehand to construct a mile of road of no apparent use to themselves, and which, as far as they were concerned, might be regarded as leading from nothing to nowhere. Possibly each of them, or either, may have used part of the route for lumbering purposes. In the second place, the extant documents say nothing, so far as has been learned, of any movement of troops or other event on any part of the

Jockey Hollow road between the camps and Morristown, while there are frequent references to the Basking Ridge road, and in particular, there were a number of parades and artillery exercises on the level ground just east of the end of the "cross cut," where it came out on the Basking Ridge road. Again, the arguments of convenience of grade, better sleighing, and saving of labor, already advanced, are of the highest importance. Even more convincing is an argument based on the location of the orderly room. The officers of the day reported at Headquarters at 1 o'clock, received the general orders, and repaired to the encampment, where they were met at the orderly room by the brigade officers bearing their daily reports. As to its location we may begin by quoting the language of some of Washington's general orders, and also one of Knox's orders. Dec. 4: "A couple of pieces to be placed on the left of the second line, between the troops of Pennsylvania and New York and those coming forward under Gen. Stark, to serve as alarm guns. Two rooms under one roof to be built at the same place as an orderly office, and for holding courts-martial." Dec. 17: "The firing of two pieces of cannon from the left spot pointed out in the orders of the 4th inst. will be the signal of the alarm." Dec. 18, Knox's orders: "They [alarm post detachment, two 6-pounders, etc.] will take post on the left of the 2nd line near the place allotted for the building of the orderly office." Jan. 19: "A fatigue party . . . to go to work to-morrow morning on the new orderly room, 9 o'clock, under the direction of the officer commanding the alarm artillery." A similar general order was dated Jan. 21. Now as regards the second line, "left" meant to the southeast, towards the Basking Ridge road, and the order from right to left was: New York camp; deep ravine; Kemble's mountain rising abruptly; Stark's camp on farther slope. The summit of the mountain was the highest point within the limits of the encampment, and was visible, as before mentioned, from all the mountains on the side of the enemy as well as from Headquarters. If there were no record of it, we must suppose this spot to have been chosen for the signal station, and the records just quoted are conclusive, both on that point and as to the proximity of the orderly room. The orderly room, the daily meeting place between officers from Headquarters and officers from the camps, must have been on the customary line of travel. The "cross-cut" ran close under Kemble's mountain, which was close to the orderly room. The inference is irresistible that the orderly room was on that road, and probably at its highest level where it passes the mountain.

For all these reasons we may take it as a certainty that the Bask-

ing Ridge road and the "cross-cut," which will be spoken of as the Camp road, formed together the chief line of travel between Morristown and the encampment. Direct communication between the New York and second Connecticut camps and Morristown by way of the Camp road was doubtless had by short side roads leaving the Camp road on either side, near the place where it crossed the branches of Primrose brook just above their junction. The revolutionary Camp road is represented now by a narrow wagon track, open to public use by long prescription. Its entrance from the Jockey Hollow road, as also its course for some little distance, is a rod or two further from the brook than the old track, of which the line is still visible.

The only tavern near the encampment appears to have been that of Jacob Larzelear, which we may perhaps identify with one mentioned in a parade order as the Half-moon tavern. Larzelear's tavern stood on the Basking Ridge road, some 700 yards northeast of Kemble's corner, and directly opposite the end of the Camp road. It was not on Kemble's land, and may have been established with reference to the Camp road, for the comfort of the soldiers. It appears on Washington's maps and, if the tavern preceded the camp, it may have served as a last crowning reason for the popularity of the Camp road. We may be sure that its presence there added to the briskness of travel that way. The level ground before mentioned as used for parades was just northeast of Larzelear's tavern. The route of the Camp road is now unfrequented; but if ever there should be occasion for access by an easy grade to the heart of the old camp-grounds, it would again be found to present exclusive advantages.

Regular stations of more or less importance were maintained at various places by detaching troops from the encampment. Large bodies were kept on outpost duty east and southeast of the mountains, with headquarters usually at Springfield or Westfield. A smaller detachment was for a time to be found at Paramus. Hospital guards were required at Basking Ridge and Pluckamin, and quartermaster's guards at Succasunna, Whitehouse and Vealtown (pronounced Vailtown), now Bernardsville, where also was a small forage guard, not to mention a store of surgeons' supplies. Working parties called "fatigue parties" were always in order for regimental and brigade purposes, and were also constantly formed and sent elsewhere for all sorts of specified duties, such as building or repairing this or that structure, road mending, and the like. Many daily fatigue parties worked on the orderly room, as in the case quoted per order of Jan. 19; parties were frequently sent to the quarters of Gen. Knox, or Gen. Steuben, or

some other place out of Morristown, as for instance William Beard's saw mill at the place now called Logansville; and among the houses in Morristown itself at which the soldiers worked were Headquarters; Quartermaster General Greene's; Deputy Quartermasters Abeel's and Lewis's; Commissaries Kane's, Dunham's, and Gamble's; Adjutant General Scammel's; Col. Biddle's; the "Foragemaster General's," whosoever he may have been, the Continental Horse Yard, of which Alexander Church was custodian, and the patriotic and now famous Mr. Ludwick's, the "Baker General in Morristown."

The only place where work was done in any continuous manner was the "new orderly room," which must have replaced some temporary makeshift in the same locality. Work on this was projected as early as the middle of December, began actively before the end of the month, and continued daily for nearly three months. The new building was, however, in use early in February for its official purposes, if not earlier. From the labor given to it, the plan must have become enlarged from the "two rooms under one roof" originally contemplated. Work had not been stopped a month, however, before the orderly room ceased to be used for orderly purposes. Perhaps it was destroyed by fire; perhaps the officers of the day preferred a location which gave them a choice of roads by which to ride to and from Morristown, after the progress of fine spring weather had made riding over the Jockey Hollow road more agreeable. Whatever the reason, notice was given on April 18th, the day after the Maryland troops marched southward, that the hut lately occupied by Maj. Dean, of the second Maryland brigade, would thereafter be used for the distribution of general orders for the army. It will be remembered that the camp of that brigade was just south of the junction of the Camp road with the Jockey Hollow road.

The owners of the land embraced within the ten camps were, to a small extent only, Joshua Guerin, and as regards all the rest, Henry Wick and Peter Kemble. The line between Guerin and Wick ran from the middle of the New York camp across the top of Sugar Loaf. Joshua Guerin is mentioned by tradition as one of five brothers, all active and well known farmers. The father appears to have been Thomas Guerin, who lived with his son Joseph on the south side of the old Mendham road, where it is now a by road to the west of Piccatinny.

Henry Wick owned a tract of more than 1400 acres. The line between him and Kemble ran across Fort hill, leaving Kemble as owner of the summit, and made a straight course from a point in the old

Camp road, just southeast of Primrose brook, to that point in the Passaic river where the township of Mendham meets that of Passaic. The camps of the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Hand's brigades, and parts of those of New York and New Jersey, were therefore on Wick's land, while the rest of the New Jersey brigade and also Stark's and the Connecticut brigades were encamped on land belonging to Kemble. The use of the phrase "Kimball's hill" to represent the whole encampment is quite modern and based on a misconception, like the kindred phrase sometimes used, "the soldiers encamped on the Wick farm." Henry Wick, whose family name was really Wickham, married Mary Cooper before the middle of the last century, and must have built the Wick house about the same time. He was therefore quite old in 1780. The house was sometimes spoken of by friends of the family, whether in earnest or as a goodnatured jest, as Wick Hall. Besides one son who died early, there were three daughters: Mary, who married Dr. Ebenezer Blachly; Phebe, who married Dr. William Leddel; and Temperance, who was not married till after the revolution. Mrs. Wick was left a widow, with her unmarried daughter as sole companion, just before the terrible scene of the mutiny. Dr. Blachly was the original owner of the land where Joshua Guerin built his house, but resided himself near Mendham, where Gen. Wayne's baggage was entrusted to his care after the mutiny, the General having accompanied the soldiers towards Pennsylvania. Dr. Leddel's house was near the line of the Wick farm, on the way towards Mendham, where now are "Leddel's mills." The John, William, and Moses Wick who are mentioned as serving in the light horse, were probably relatives of this family living in Hanover township.

The Kemble tract was purchased by Peter Kemble before the middle of the last century from its earlier owners, without change in its original boundaries, and remained in his possession until his death in 1789. Peter Kemble was so remarkable a man, and so little tradition remains of him in the neighborhood, that our topographical details may not improperly be varied by the insertion of some of the known facts concerning him and his family. He was born in Smyrna in 1704, the son of an English father and of a Greek mother whose maiden name was Mavrocordato. He was well educated in England and Holland, came to New York while a young man, married the daughter of Samuel Bayard, and thereby became eventually the brother-in-law of the heads of the well known families of VanCortlandt, Schuyler, DeLancey and VanRensselaer. He settled early as a merchant in New Brunswick, New Jersey, having a good house there, which remained

for many years in the possession of his family. On his removal to Morris county, he called his estate, in the English fashion, by the name of Mount Kemble, and settled down as a landed proprietor. There was no other inhabitant of Morris county of anything like the same prominence or social standing. In Smith's History of New Jersey, published in 1765, the only reference to Morris county consists in these words : "In this county resides Peter Kemble, Esqre., President of the Council." He was in fact a leading member of the Council of the province, and for years its President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Governor. In 1758 his daughter Margaret married Gen. Gage, subsequently Governor of Montreal, Massachusetts, &c., and commander of the British troops in New York and Boston. Her oldest son became a peer of Great Britain. Peter Kemble's oldest son, Samuel, continued his father's business at New Brunswick, occupying the old house, but during the Revolution was appointed by the British collector of the port of New York. At the close of the war, he found it expedient to retire to London, where he ended his days as a merchant. The second son, Richard, remained with his father and inherited the homestead, with some 300 to 400 acres around it. In 1777, when the old Council of the province had been supplanted by the new revolutionary Council of Safety, at one of its earliest sittings in Morristown Richard Kemble presented himself as a good native American and took the oaths of allegiance to the United States. Some little time afterwards, a report was made to the Council that "the Honble. Peter Kemble, Esqre." had been engaged in circulating some of Sir William Howe's proclamations, and he was thereupon called to appear before the Council. He sent an excuse, however, on account of his age and infirm health. He and Richard, in fact, were obviously carrying out the old and well tried system of English landed proprietors in troublous times, by which the owner and the heir took different sides, so as to secure the property against any contingency. Justice Benj. Halsey was commissioned by the Council to attend upon Mr. Kemble and bind him over to appear before the next session of the county court. It is to be presumed that he made his peace in some way, for he lived quietly in possession of the land, and, though known as a tory, became popular with officers of the army when encamped in the neighborhood. Chaplain Abraham Baldwin, of the first Connecticut brigade, subsequently United States senator, wrote in a letter to Joel Barlow a graphic account of his intercourse with Mr. Kemble. In this he spoke of the great satisfaction that he derived from that intercourse, and particularly, as he expressed it, from "the fingering of his books." The third son, Stephen, joined

the British army in 1765, was a colonel during the Revolution, and subsequently a general in that service. In his old age, he obtained from his brother Samuel the ownership of the house in New Brunswick, and died there in 1822, a warden of Christ Church in that city. His memoirs have been published by the New York Historical Society. A fourth son, Peter, married into the Gouverneur family, one of his sons, Gouverneur Kemble, being subsequently well known as a member of congress and a close and intimate friend of Washington Irving. Gen. Scott spoke of him as the finest gentleman in the country. Another son of the younger Peter Kemble, Richard F. Kemble, inherited in the early part of the present century what remained of the Kemble property and eventually disposed of it in the year 1840. The last survivor of the children of Peter Kemble was his daughter Elizabeth, who died in the old house in 1836. She was one of the small list of Episcopalianians in and near Morristown who came together to form St. Peter's Church.

The Kemble estate was not only one of the largest in the county, but it was also one of the best cultivated, notwithstanding the stony character of the soil. Much more than a century ago, Mr. Kemble had four or five different farms rented to good tenants, one of whom in particular, George Bockoven, appears to have been trusted by him as a personal friend. Mr. Kemble owned many slaves, and seems to have used their labor freely in clearing away a much larger proportion of the woodland than was then customary among the hill farmers of Morris county. There is good evidence that a larger proportion of the Kemble tract was under cultivation a century ago than at the present day. The central portion of the tract was regarded as a home farm, and tilled by his own slaves, whose quarters were in the rear of his house, north and not far distant from it. The conical hill immediately northeast of the old site of the Kemble house has been known for many years as Tea hill. No part of it appears to have been occupied by the Continental soldiers, unless possibly as a post for an outlying picket. The name of Tea hill is explained by a tradition which says that Richard Kemble, who inherited the estate from Peter Kemble, used on pleasant evenings to have a table spread for tea on the summit of the hill, under a great tree which has long since disappeared. There are remains of a carriage road which formerly led to the top of the hill. It is said in Gov. Axtell's historical sketch of Passaic township that Richard Kemble introduced into Morris county, in 1773, the pleasurable custom of extracting by distillation from ordinary apples a delicious and

exhilarating beverage not yet wholly obsolete. The example proved exceedingly contagious.

The Fort hill road from Mendham to Chatham came from the Wick house, as already stated, approximately in a straight line to the south-east, till it approached Primrose brook, when it turned to the southward and joined the now existing road just west of the stone bridge which spans the brook. In this road, just southeast of its crossing with the Basking Ridge road, it is said that Gen. Wayne, leaving his quarters in the Kemble house as the mutineers came down from Fort hill, made a bold and apparently desperate stand against the mob, some of whom wished to lead the others towards New York by way of Chatham. He was personally popular, and his advice to turn towards home and Congress would naturally please the majority ; at all events, the Basking Ridge road was chosen.

The officers were by no means always to be found lodged with their regiments in the brigade camps. Not to speak of frequent furloughs, permitted and indeed encouraged for economy's sake, the higher regimental officers in many cases made arrangements with neighboring inhabitants for board and lodging. There is reason to suppose that many of the farmers were glad to have officers with them, as some sort of protection against marauding on the part of the soldiers. Frequently the officers of companies, captains and lieutenants, as well as those of higher grade, had quarters in farm houses even some distance from the camp. Possibly the name of "Washington Corners" may be due to a tradition of officers having been quartered in the houses close by.

The camp grounds and their immediate vicinity were swept clear of standing timber, of which at first there was abundance. The following winter Gen. Wayne wrote to Gen. Irvine that "the article of wood will be very scarce and at a distance."

There were four roads greatly travelled at that time, though it must be said that all the roads leading towards the camp or towards Morristown were, while the encampment lasted, far more busily frequented than they ever have been at any other period. One was the east road to Elizabeth or Newark by way of Chatham ; the second was the southwest or Basking Ridge road ; and the third and fourth were the north roads leading to the Hudson river highlands by way of Parsippany and Whippanny respectively. These roads varied in relative importance during the revolution according to the position of the enemy. In 1775 and 1776, prior to the British occupation of New York, the east road was, as in times of peace, by far the most used, the north and

south roads possessing no unaccustomed advantages. Subsequently, when the enemy either occupied the low land or might cross it suddenly at any moment, a line of travel behind the mountains from northeast to southwest, from the Hudson to the Delaware, became a necessity, and the great highway of travel and commerce, and more especially of military activity, passed through Morristown. This line of travel southward followed the Basking Ridge road to the bridge over the Passaic, where the road forked, one branch leading through Vealton and Lamington towards Easton or Flemington, the other through Basking Ridge and what is now Liberty Corner towards Pluckamin or Bound Brook, and thence by way of Princeton and Trenton to Philadelphia. The east road from Morristown passed from the fork at the Headquarters through Bottle Hill, now Madison, by a nearly straight line through Chatham across the gap in the mountains to Springfield. Chatham bridge was a sort of focus towards which travel was directed from other parts of the county, although Hanover had its own bridge to the north, and Long Hill made use of the bridge at New Providence, a village then struggling with some success to cast off its earlier name of Turkey.

The Basking Ridge road began at a spot between the present Park place and Maple avenue, northwest of the present Market street, the line of which it approximated in its course down the hill. Between the beginning of the road and the Green was an open space which will be described further on. The road was also called Mountain road and Mount Kemble road, the latter name being still retained within the city limits, with the substitution, for "road," of the presumably loftier title of "avenue." The high hill under which it passes appears to have had no other name than "the mountain." It extends without a break to Bailey hollow, beyond which what is left of the range above the road, as far as Primrose brook, was known as Kemble's mountain. Lossing speaks erroneously of the entire range as Kemble's mountain, and places the whole encampment on its southern slope; but he passed only one night in Morristown and did not visit the camp grounds. He did fortunately visit Fort Nonsense, on the highest part of "the mountain" near Morristown, and saw the remains of what he called block houses, as well as of earthworks and ditches protecting them. The houses must have been large enough to accommodate a "company," a word which then meant from fifteen to fifty men according to circumstances. A company of militia was stationed there during the month of May, 1778. The testimony of Jonathan Ruchman, preserved in the Condict papers, mentions, among other services performed by him in the militia, the fol-

lowing: "Performed one month's duty near Morristown at Fort Nonsense, Capt. Cory, in May. Was very loth to go on account of planting corn. Before Monmouth battle." Other companies than Capt. Cory's doubtless did duty there in other months, one month being the period of duty then required at one time from each company. That they had business there followed from an order of the New Jersey Council of Safety in January 1778, directing a beacon station to be placed at Morristown, including of course a gun for day alarms. It is said that an old cannon which did duty at Fort Nonsense is still in existence. The earthwork was not too large to be thrown up quickly by a company of soldiers not otherwise employed. We cannot decide without further evidence whether this work was done in 1778 by the militia or in 1780 by Washington's orders, according to the received tradition, though the latter is now open to grave doubt. The facts adduced concerning the beacon station prove, however, that the supposed useless "fort" was of genuine and constant service to the patriot cause, and furnish additional grounds for the respect paid to the spot by the monument and the annual salutes. Washington must certainly have made some use of it, if only because of the shelter afforded by the buildings. The extant records mention, as having definite locations at or near Morristown, the "provost guard" and the "main guard," the latter being the post of the detachments regularly sent from camp for picket duty in and around Morristown. Possibly one of these posts was located at Fort Nonsense.

The first Baptist church of Morristown stood before 1771 in a lot still known in 1780 as the "Baptist meeting house lot," on the upper side of the Basking Ridge road, at the entrance to Bailey hollow. The Bailey hollow road then passed through the lot, so as to connect directly with the road opposite, but it now comes down on the farther side of the old lot. The burial ground was nearer town, on the other side of the road, on the crest of the hill. The next object of interest on the Basking Ridge road was Stark's camp on the hillside, then Larzelear's tavern, and the Camp road opposite, then the Fort hill road at Kemble's, and beyond it the road to Beard's saw mill, now Logansville. Further on is the bridge over the Passaic, beyond which is the fork on the right towards Bernardsville, formerly Vealton. Just here was Woodward's mill, and the open space at the forks served now and then as a rendezvous for detachments from the army, where they received further orders, or sometimes awaited to serve as escort for visitors arriving. Approaching Basking Ridge, before climbing the hill towards the meeting house and burial ground, the traveller in 1780

passed a meadow where there was an army hospital, and then the house of the owner of the meadow, a Mr. Morton, one of whose young daughters then living there became afterwards the wife of Josiah Quincy. The chief tavern was Britton's tavern, on the west side of the main road, north of the point where the lower road starts to the eastward. At the far end of the main street, on the east side, is still to be seen the house —then Mrs. White's tavern—where Gen. Charles Lee was captured, in December 1776, by a small number of British dragoons under Colonel Harcourt. The house may be recognized by its gable end towards the road, by two large old evergreens to the north, and by a small private road running in front of the house on the south. If we take the lower road to the southeast above referred to, which led then as now across the Passaic to Long hill, we shall find, half way to the river, a road leading eastward. On this road, half a mile perhaps from its beginning, and on the north side of it, stood the house and other buildings which formed the country seat of Lord Stirling. Here there was a lawn sloping down to the river, a park stocked with deer, a stud of fine horses, and all the other appurtenances of a great English estate. The whole establishment was, before the Revolution, regarded as the finest in the country. It is unnecessary to say that when Lord Stirling and his family travelled they used a gorgeous coach with four or six horses. Most of the buildings connected with the estate have disappeared, but the main body of the house is still in use as a farm house.

The old road south from Basking Ridge forks before crossing the railroad, the easterly branch leading then through Mount Bethel to Quibbletown, now Newmarket, by way of what was called Quibbletown gap, northeast of the village. There was then no such place as Plainfield. The other branch led to "Bullion's tavern." Much discussion has arisen among local historians concerning Bullion's tavern, one of the latest, A. D. Mellick, Jr., deciding in favor of Vealtown as its site. The claim of Basking Ridge is founded upon the positive statement of a French traveller of 1780, Chastellux, whose account would almost seem conclusive. Nevertheless, Washington's maps show Bullion's tavern plainly at the place now called Liberty Corner, where the troops or couriers or other travellers had to turn a square corner on the way to and from Pluckamin. The tavern was on the south corner at the beginning of the road to Pluckamin. Dr. James Boylan, or Bullion, or O'Bullion, was a noted innkeeper as well as country doctor, whose patriotism was suspected at an earlier period, but who had long since proved it by every sort of service within his power. The placing of Bullion's tavern carries with it that of the main line of travel between

Morristown and Princeton. There was an army hospital at Pluckemin, and in the previous winter and spring the Park of Artillery was located on the slope of the hill north-northwest of the village.

There were then three houses in the village of Vealtown, besides three others near by on the east road. All six were merely a cluster on a very old road leading from Lamington towards Chatham, and the so-called Vealtown branch of the Basking Ridge road did not lead to that little village, but to another point in the same old road. This road from Lamington passed first what was called the Cross-roads, or the Greater Cross-roads, and next came to what is now Bedminster, formerly the Lesser Cross-roads, and yet earlier a part of the "Old Farm" made famous by Mr. Mellick's delightful and most instructive book. Coming still eastward up Mine brook and past Vealtown, the same road continued by Beard's saw mill to a point in the Fort hill road near Conger's tavern, now New Vernon, where it ended, not crossing the Fort hill road as at present. From this point the route to Chatham followed the Fort hill road, which was therefore still older than the road from Lamington. There was a school house on the corner, and Conger's tavern stood a little nearer Chatham, on the northeast corner of the road coming from Morristown. Some of Lord Stirling's lands were advertised to be sold at "Conger's tavern in Morristown." Half a dozen houses thereabouts constituted the beginnings of New Vernon.

A reliable tradition recorded by the Rev. S. L. Tuttle states that in 1777, after the battle of Princeton, a large part of the American army marched through New Vernon past the old grist mill to its destined camp in the Lowantica valley. In doing so they merely took the near road. Mr. Tuttle went on to assume that New Vernon and Bottle Hill were on the main route usually followed between the Hudson and the Delaware, but of this there is not only no evidence, but proof to the contrary. All recorded movements, whether of troops or travellers, so far as appears, were made by the Basking Ridge road and through Morristown, unless there were occasion to visit Chatham bridge. Everything points to the Basking Ridge road as the great highway. That is the very phrase used for it by Chastellux when referring to his route to the north : "le grand chemin," the great highway. Even the Bottle Hill militia, on their way home from Bound Brook after the locally famous "mud rounds" in 1776, followed the Basking Ridge road to Morristown, and went on past the Ford house, subsequently the Headquarters, to Bottle Hill for dismissal. The "old grist mill," by the way, was a centre of population in those days. It and the saw mill

adjoining belonged to Jeremiah Duyckinck, and there were eight or ten houses within the space of a mile along the road.

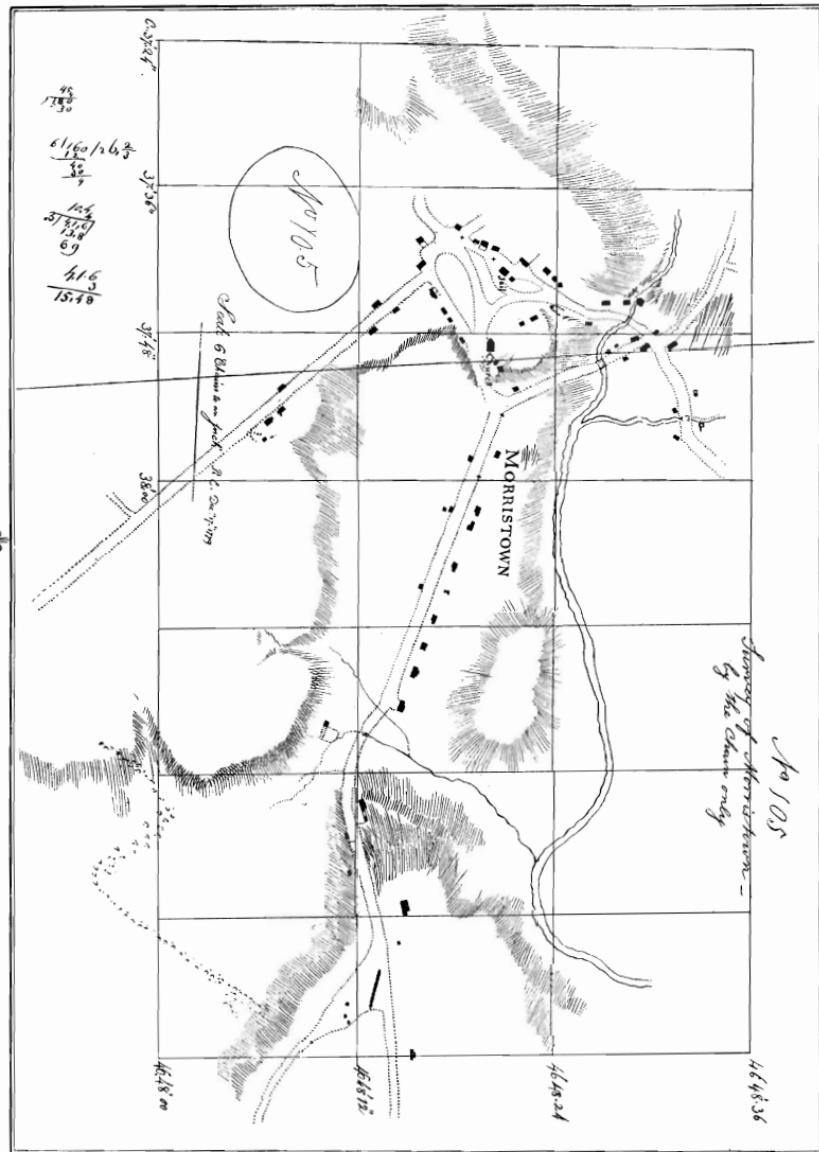
The oldest road from Chatham towards Morristown was laid out before Morristown was thought of, and passed to the north of the site of the future county seat. We may call it the Division road, for it separated Hanover from Morris townships when they were much larger than at present, and still separates what is left of those territories. It is represented at present by Railroad avenue and Convent road in Madison, and continues through Morris Plains to Succasunna, this latter part being the old Succasunna road. The corner of Convent road and Elm street in Madison, now insignificant, was once one of the most important forks in the county, for the Morristown branch of the road from Chatham began at that point. A small part of it is now cut off at the end of Elm street, and changes have been made elsewhere, but otherwise the old road from Bottle Hill to the Headquarters is well represented by the existing thoroughfares. (The branch in Morristown called Madison avenue is of course quite modern.) Not far from this chief fork, nearer Chatham, another road came up to the Division road from the eastward, then as now, and on the east corner of it was a post in front of a small tavern, and swinging from the post was a bottle, which gave its name to the village. The village of Bottle Hill comprised eight or ten houses on the roads near the bottle, and eight or ten more scattered along the road towards Chatham, besides a church, where the old burial ground is, another tavern, and two schools. There is little to be added to the minute account of Bottle Hill in the Revolution which we owe to the Rev. S. L. Tuttle, who also gives a graphic account of the Lowantica camp of 1777. He is of course wrong in placing Gen. Wayne's quarters at Bottle Hill at the time of the mutiny, as well as in describing a march of the mutineers to Morristown. John Dixon seems to have been the chief storekeeper, just opposite the beginning of the road now called the Green Village road, northwest of the railroad station. Joseph Brant's tavern had been for twenty years the chief place of entertainment in the neighborhood. It stood in a square fork of the road from what is now Green Village, about two-thirds of the way towards Bottle Hill, southwest of the latter.

The route northward from Morristown via Whippanny was particularly favored when Washington was at the Headquarters, where the road started as at present. On this road there was a cluster of houses where now is the village of Monroe, including Jonathan Morris's tavern and the home of an honored citizen, Justice Benjamin Halsey. The most important house on this road, beyond Whippanny, was Beaverwick,

belonging to Mr. Beverholt, whose name was originally Beverhoudt. The house is said to be still standing, near the southeast corner of the road leading northeast from Troy and the present road (not then in existence) leading due east from Parsippany. A store opposite kept by Abraham Lott, was another well known object of interest to travellers on the road. There is among the Wayne papers, now deposited in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a draft in Wayne's handwriting of a note to Mr. Beverholt, dated at Mount Kemble, December 28, 1780, declining courteously his invitation to a dinner and hop on January 1st, and presenting his compliments to the ladies. Mr. Beverholt was one of the few who at that time, like Peter Kemble, endeavored to live in the style of English country gentlemen upon their estates in Morris county, and the extent of his acquaintance and style of his entertainments were the subject of much remark. It will be remembered that the mutiny broke out on the evening set for the hop to which Wayne did not go. He in fact apprehended it.

We have seen that the Mendham road started from the present junction of Water and Spring streets. The Parsippany road began at the Mendham road, now Early street, and is said to have followed the course of what is now Mills street northward, crossing the Whipppany above the present Speedwell bridge, at Johnson's forge. This was probably the property of Jacob Johnson, of whose impressive funeral in 1780 an account is still extant. The Johnsons were important people at Watnong Plains, now Morris Plains. Beyond the Whippanny river the line of the old Parsippany road corresponded with the present road. Lambert's tavern was on the right, a little before coming to the old Succasunna road, which we have called the Division road. A very old house stands upon or near by its site. Going west on the Division road, there was a saw mill at the first brook, before coming to which there was, as now, a road to the right, with two or three houses upon or near the corners, including a blacksmith shop on the east corner.

Two important revolutionary houses are still in existence on the road now called Sussex avenue, the first on the north, half a mile beyond Mills street, the other a third of a mile further on the south. These belonged respectively to the Hon. Silas Condict and Chief Justice Symmes, whose names rank among the highest in the revolutionary history of the state. The title of Honorable appears to have been confined in those days to members of the state Council, a very select body possessed of dictatorial powers. A silver mine was, it is said, worked to some extent on Symmes's land, and perhaps it was to metal derived from it that reference was made in an advertisement by John Dicker-



Washington's Plan of Morristown.

son, who complained of a theft of 50 ounces of silver from his shop, including "buckles just cast." Symmes lived in Sussex county at the beginning of the revolution, and the date of his removal to this locality is uncertain. We have almost made a circuit around Morristown. What was then the village of Water Street is now Brookside. The Sugar Loaf road came down to the Mendham road at the school house site, east of its present termination. The road over Piccatinny appears to have left the Mendham road on the northwest side of the hill, instead of the northeast as at present. The house of Col. Benoni Hathaway is still standing back of Flagler street.*

Morristown itself consisted of a Green having four sides, three of which were formed by roads converging there. As houses were built near by along the roads, there came to be three streets which substantially made up the village. We shall speak of these by their present names, Morris street, Water street, and South street, including also under these names their respective sides of the Green, now otherwise designated. The village was ended in one direction by the small stream crossing Morris street where it turns, half way from the railway station to the Headquarters; in another by the Whippany river, there being but two buildings in Water street just beyond the river; and in the third at a point in South street just beyond the present Boyken street. The only passage leading out of South street was the present James street. Washington's plan of Morristown includes also the Headquarters, for practical reasons, though it was obviously a suburban or country

* Other householders in the country, as to whose location the writer has memoranda more or less exact which are at the service of those interested in placing the individuals in question, were

Abeel, Col. James	Fddy, Caleb	Menthorn, George
Adams, Joseph	Ferver, Paul	Miller, James
Armstrong, Nathaniel	Freeman, Daniel	Miller, Luke
Arnold, Robert	Gardiner, (tavern)	Morgan, Joseph
Bailey or Bayles, Benjamin	Goble, Ezekiel	Morris, John
Bailey or Bayles, William	Goble, Deacon Jonas	Munson, Moses
Beadle, Timothy	Goble, Jonas (son of Robert)	Munson, —
Bonnell, Nathaniel	Goble, Robert	Osbin, Abraham
Boyle, C. L.	Goble, Timothy	Owen, Daniel
Bradford (schoolmaster)	Green, Capt. William	Parsons, Stephen
Broadwell, Samuel	Guerin, Epenetus	Pierson, David
Brookfield, Capt. James	Guerin, Vincent	Pierson, Joseph
Brown, Thomas	Halbert, William	Primrose, ——
Brown (tavern)	Hallett, Jacob	Reed, Jacob
Bruen, Jabez	Harris, Benjamin	Riggs, Preserve
Canfield, Abraham	Harporee, John	Riley, Robert
Cathaline, Amaziah	Halsey, Ananias	Ross, Stephen
Condict, Ebenezer	Halsey, Ezra	Sealey, Colonel
Cook, Ellis	Hedges, Elias	Spinnage, Dr.
Cory, Daniel	Horton, Foster	Stiles, William
Cory, ——	Hull, ——	Thompson, John
Cox, ——	Johnson, Gershom	Tingley, Nathaniel
Crane, Ezekiel	Kearney, Capt. Michael	Van Dyke, James
Crane, Joseph	Kemper, Daniel	Van Horne, Samuel
Crane, ——	Kirkpatrick, Dr.	Whitehead, Isaac
Cutler, ——	Lindsay, Ephraim	Whitehead, Onesimus
Day, Hall	Meeker, Gabriel	Wilkinson, Nathaniel
Dilley, Ichabod	Meeks, ——	Wilsey, Jacob
Duyckinck, G.	Menthorn, Abner	

seat rather than a village house. The Executive Committee of the New York Historical Society have granted permission to the writer to have this plan photographed for presentation on the present occasion to the Washington Association. It bears date Dec. 17, 1779, and is signed by Erskine's initials.

The only other street was what we now call Spring street, in which there was no building between Morris street and the bridge, except one on the hillside so near Morris street that we may count it as belonging to the latter. Four large buildings at the four corners of Water street, and three small ones near them towards the bridge, comprised all the buildings in Spring street, and these may as well be counted as belonging to Water street. The village was made up of 57 houses or other notable buildings, namely, 21 in Morris street, 24 in Water street, 9 in South street, 2 on the fourth side of the Green, and one other, close to the beginning of the Jockey Hollow road, on the side of and facing towards the Basking Ridge road. This house stood a little back of the present line of Bank street, with the side towards what is now Washington street. At least three and probably more of these buildings had already been erected for army purposes. We may infer that the normal population did not exceed 250, the traditional estimate.

The two houses on the fourth or northeast side of the Green were well over towards Water street, and stood back from the road, the larger one where the rear of the Park Hotel now is, and the smaller to the southeast of the larger. We may suppose the smaller to have been occupied by Cherry, the sexton.

Of the nine houses in South street, two seem to have been army buildings, occupying the sites of two houses now standing one on each side of the Church of the Redeemer. One stood opposite, which was, then or very soon afterwards, the home of Col. Wm. DeHart, where the southeast corner of DeHart street now is. If the present line of Boyken street were to cross South street, the two corners thus made would represent the sites of two other houses, the one nearer the Green being that of Justice Samuel Tuthill. Opposite the present rectory of St. Peter's there was a private lane leading to what may have been a primeval farm house, northwest of the lane and less than 100 feet from the street. One the other side of South street, a hundred feet or more northwest of the present Boyken street, was another house. The other two buildings in South street faced the Green. One of them, an important structure destroyed by fire only some 50 years ago, is noted on one of Washington's maps as the Continental Store. It was a large building which faced the end of

Morris street, and was built expressly for storing army supplies. A reliable tradition states that a large room in the second story was the scene of the three or four balls which enlivened the spring of 1780. After the war it was put to other uses, and was known at one time as O'Hara's tavern. It stood a little back of the old line of South street, and apparently on the present street line, which may have been altered from DeHart street up to conform to the front of the old building. The other house was occupied then or just later by Capt. Silas Howell. It faced the Green, standing back more than 100 feet from the present line of South street, midway between the line of the Continental Store and the present line of Market street. There was in fact a broad open space where the houses now are which face the Green from the southwest, all the way from the Continental Store to the present Bank street and beyond, and extending back nearly 100 feet from the South street line. This space, including that now occupied by the street, altogether more than 150 feet broad and more than 300 feet long—disfigured at one end, however, by a ravine—was used for parades. The present Green was intersected by roadways, and it is doubtful whether the parts in grass, with the roadways between them, made a ground sufficiently level for military drills.

Of the 24 buildings counted as in Water street, four were near the river, each separated from the others by the river or the road; four were on the corners made with Spring street, with three more near by in that street, as already stated; and two were under the hill side above the street, one on each side of, and both close to the brook; one was probably a mill. There were thus 13 in all below the hill, and two others stood on the slope of the hill, one on each side of the street. The other 9 were on the high ground northwest of the Green. Of the buildings below the hill, Norris's tavern, still standing on the east corner of Water and Spring streets, was much the most important. It is noted on some of Washington's maps on which no other building in Morristown is given a name. One of them gives Norris as the occupier of the building on the north corner also. It stood at the entrance of the great road up the hill, now called Spring street, which led to all points west and north, from Mendham around to Parsippany. The northeast road across the river was of greater relative importance than now, though then already a minor highway. The cross road, now also called Spring street, gave ready access from Morris street and the east, while any traveller from the southward who once reached the Green could easily keep on down the hill to Norris's. Robert Norris was of an independent character, suspected of toryism, and certainly rebellious

against the patriotic law fixing prices for articles sold in shops or served in taverns. The court-martial on Arnold's misdeeds in Philadelphia was held at Norris's. It is said that Peter Dickerson was the owner of the tavern. Across the road, on the opposite corner of Spring street, was, in the spring of 1779 at any rate, the prominent general store of Stephenson and Canfield. Stores and partnerships were begun and discontinued in those times with amazing rapidity. Ascending the Water street hill—which, by the way, was in earlier days called the Gully, from the difficulty of keeping it in order—the first buildings seen after reaching the top were two small houses well back on the right, occupying ground now part of the street called Speedwell avenue, and next them the Baptist church. This was a small structure on the site of the rear part of the newer church not long since taken down. Next came a large house, also back from the road, with a private lane to the right of it leading back to fields. This was opposite the present north corner of the Green. Some forty yards southwest of this house, and about on the site of the present post office, was a house used as a store successively in 1779 by Ogden & Curtis and Joseph Curtis, in 1780 by J. Curtis & Co., and again in 1781 by Ogden & Canfield. That these firms occupied the same store is inferred from the succession of their advertisements, which indicate also proximity to the court house or to Arnold's tavern. The latter stood next south of the store, separated by a small space. It is too well known to need further mention. Washington's plan indicates that a small part of the street in front of it was enclosed by Arnold within a fence. The tavern, or part of it, appears by an advertisement to have been used early in 1779 as a store by Arnold & Kinney, who announced their location as next to Col. Henry Remsen's. Possibly they had the store building above spoken of, in which case Remsen had the large house further north, but much more probably Remsen occupied a house which stood close to the tavern on the south, and which was separated from the beginning of the Jockey Hollow road only by its own yard. Remsen was a man of means, apparently a patriot refugee from New York advanced in years, who owned land behind this house towards what is now High street. He sold goods, but in those days of lawful money and lawful prices was discreet enough to sell by barter only.

On the other side of the narrow road along the northwest side of the Green which we have here called Water street was a prominent two-story building used for a court house and jail. This stood partly where is now the paved street, partly the sidewalk, and near the north corner of the Green. A smaller building for similar purposes was loca-

ted northeast of the jail, and was subsequently connected with it by a shed or something more substantial.

The Presbyterian church has been counted as in Morris street. Its site included that of the present manse or parsonage, and it lay nearly east and west, its front and steeple facing towards the site of the present post office. There was more room then than now at the top of the hill, which has been graded down. The road coming up the steep hill widened before reaching and on passing the church, so that it was possible to drive up to and along the whole side of the church on one side of the widened road. Further on after passing the church the road forked, one branch keeping straight on along the southeast side of the Green, and the other crossing the Green. The latter branch forked again in two spreading curves, one leading to the head of the Water street hill, and the other to the west corner of the Green, or near to it, so as to communicate readily with both the Basking Ridge and the Jockey Hollow roads. Finally, there was a branch of what we have called Water street passing back of the court house buildings and afterwards joining the same street beyond. Both the Presbyterian and the Baptist churches had, as is well known, been used as army hospitals in 1777. The Presbyterian Church was the overshadowing organization, both religious and secular, of early Morristown. It owned the Green and the land on three sides of it, including most of the block now bounded by South, Pine, and Morris streets and the Green, besides that between the burial ground and Morris and Spring streets. It appears that the east corner of South street and the Green had been sold before 1779 to Sheriff Alexander Carmichael, and that his house faced the Green not far from the corner. The corner itself was vacant when the army came on Dec. 1, 1779, but tradition states that a small frame building was placed there and used as an office by Gen. Greene, Quartermaster General. It is known on the other hand that Gen. Greene had a small building put up somewhere for the accommodation of himself and Mrs. Greene, and that Washington was annoyed that boards could be found for that and other purposes when none were on hand for necessary additions at Headquarters. It is not unreasonable to surmise that this was the corner building. East of Carmichael's house, and opposite the Green like it, were three smaller ones on church land, possibly erected for army uses. There were two others on the hillside behind the church, on the north side of Morris street, besides the one already mentioned, in Spring street near Morris. There were thus eight buildings in Morris street west of Spring street; east of it there were nine on the north side and four on the south, making 21 in Morris street within the vil-

lage, as already stated. On the south side east of the turn, one was rather more than half-way to the present Pine street; two others, one behind the other, on what would now be the east corner of Pine street, and the fourth on the west corner of Elm street. On the north side came first the present Memorial Hospital, which was then the house of the Rev. Timothy Johnes, pastor of the Presbyterian church. The varied associations attaching to this venerable building are too familiar to need repeating. It may be mentioned that the New Jersey Council of Safety held many sittings there. Next came the house of the pastor's son-in-law, Joseph Lewis, Deputy Quartermaster General of New Jersey, the scene of many transactions connected with that busy department. It stood, and still stands, though modernized, opposite the head of the present Pine street. Another house, quite near to it, came next. It was long called the old Dickerson house, and may possibly have been the home at that time of Jonathan Dickerson. In front of the site of the present railway station was a house occupied later, and perhaps then, by Mahlon Ford, then a lieutenant. Next eastward, not counting a small narrow building, was the house of Frederick King, grandfather of the venerable W. L. King, which stood on what is now the west corner of Olyphant street. Mr. King became two years later the first postmaster of Morristown. "Mr. King's house in Morristown" was designated by Washington's order as the scene of a general court martial, which sat there for a succession of trials from Jan. 30 to March 13, 1780. It is singular that the only two houses of citizens mentioned by name in Washington's general orders, so far as known, were that of Mr. W. L. King's grandfather and that in which he himself resides, the old Lewis house. Next beyond the King house, on what is now the east corner of Olyphant street, was—and still stands—the residence of Dr. Jabez Campfield, army surgeon, where Surgeon General John Cochran's quarters were established. Mrs. Cochran was the only sister of Gen. Schuyler, whose daughter visited her at this house for several months early in 1780, a circumstance to which the gossips of the time attributed the frequent calls at the doctor's quarters made by Alexander Hamilton, one of Washington's aids at Headquarters, to whom she was afterwards married. Schuyler was at this time a member of Congress, and as chairman of a committee spent some time at Morristown from the middle of April till the camp broke up. No doubt he stayed with Mrs. Cochran in the Campfield house. In fact, Lossing's Field Book has a picture of the house with the doubly incorrect title of "Gen. Schuyler's headquarters." Schuyler was then a civilian, and no general could have headquarters except the head general,

who in this case was Washington. Two other good houses then stood about where are now the corners of Ridgedale avenue.

Beyond Headquarters were three houses on the same side in succession, in the country, belonging to the Lindsleys. The second, that of Major Joseph Lindsley, was not far from the fork, and beyond it was that of his brother Moses. About midway between this and Headquarters was the first of the Lindsley houses, that of Justice Benjamin Lindsley. In the rear of this, on low ground by the river, some three-eighths of a mile northeast of Headquarters, was a powder mill, probably the same as that known earlier as Ford's mill. It is said that there was also an oven near the powder mill for baking bread for Headquarters and for the Life Guard.

The Life Guard was increased at Morristown from 180 to 250 men. A row of huts is shown by Washington's plan of Morristown to have been built before Dec. 17, 1779, in a straight line east-southeast from a point just in front of the Headquarters building, the nearest hut being some 400 feet from Headquarters. There may have been at first about a dozen of these huts, though the plan indicates only ten, giving eighteen men to each hut, except those on furlough or in the hospital. The latter must have been few, for the whole army appears to have been unusually free from sickness. Further to the southeast were three separate huts, no doubt those of the Life Guard officers. All these buildings were on high ground, now private property, but then embraced in a wide space forming the beginning of the Bottle Hill road. The road has been repeatedly changed since that time, and under its present name of Washington avenue runs now, just at this part, south of its original location as shown by Washington's plan, that is, nearer to the edge of the hill sloping down to the southwest. Four other out-buildings on the Ford property are shown on the plan, three of them quite small.

Before the temporary additions were made by Washington of which mention is made in the local histories, the Headquarters or Ford house comprised, as at present, a main building and a kitchen wing to the east. What with the trim array of sentinels around it, the formal arrival and departure of the officers of the day, the accustomed visits of generals and other high officers, sometimes having business but usually as a mere matter of respect and for the pleasure of conversation, the coming and going of messengers and express riders, of friends near by and visitors from a distance, the scene of animation was for the time without parallel elsewhere; for this now hallowed edifice was then the focus of all activity, the central spot of America, the working place and the home of Washington.