New Jersey Military History

Chapter 1

The Colonial Era

The military history of New Jersey, from New Netherland's early struggles with the Lenape Native Americans through colonial wars of empire to twenty-first century conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, is far more extensive and significant than most of the state's modern residents realize.

While there was combat between Lenape Native Americans prior to the arrival of Europeans, it was minimal. We have no archaeological, written or even traditional anecdotal record of just what these conflicts were about, but squabbles over hunting and fishing territories, or personal enmity based on some sort of grudge, can be assumed.

Henry Hudson, an Englishman seeking the "Northwest Passage" to the orient, rounded Sandy Hook in 1609 and was the first European to make documented contact with the Lenape of present-day New Jersey. The cultural insensitivity, bullying and outright theft that Hudson's men resulted in several deadly incidents, including one in which a sailor, John Coleman, was killed when hit in the throat by a flint-tipped arrow and reportedly buried on Sandy Hook, the first recorded European combat casualty in today's New Jersey.

"New Netherland," the Dutch Colony eventually formed from today's Manhattan Island and parts of New Jersey, ruled first by the Netherlands government and then the Dutch West India Company, required no specific military training on the part of its colonists, but settlers were required to bring personally owned firearms with them, although the colony seems not to have had a formal militia. Given the attitude of the Dutch toward Native Americans -- that they were "savage and wild" and must give way to a superior European civilization -- war was perhaps inevitable, and a series of conflicts erupted.

The Dutch "army" that opposed local natives was a rather rag-tag organization. The colony's "regular" troops, known as "sea soldiers," were contract employees of the West India Company.

Around fifty of them arrived in New Amsterdam in 1633 to garrison a blockhouse surrounded by a wooden palisade. Most of them were apparently homeless Germans who had drifted into the Netherlands seeking work, although some were English, French or Scandinavian. New Netherland's soldiers were described as "men picked up with no special regard for character, experience or ability," and commanded by "commercial and military adventurers."

Eventually the need for a more disciplined backup force to the "sea soldiers" became apparent. The "Burgher Guard," established in 1640, was drawn from the ranks of merchants and tradesmen in New Amsterdam, who were to provide their own arms and serve under the command of trade guild leaders acting as officers. A lesser force, the *shutterji,* or citizens' militia, was composed of men further down the social scale and was considered, at least on paper, as a backup for the Burgher Guard.

Following the English conquest of New Netherland in 1664 and the creation of the colonies of New York and East and West New Jersey, military matters became more formalized. In their land grant, Lords Berkeley and Carteret gave the New Jersey General Assembly the power and responsibility to "constitute trained bands and companies to defend the colonies and "make war" if necessary. In 1668 the Assembly passed a law "providing for the Peace and Safety of the Inhabitants of the Province." The legislation obligated men between the ages of sixteen and sixty to perform militia duty "at least four days a year." This entailed two days of drill in the spring and two days in the autumn. While not exactly a recipe for establishing a crack fighting force, it provided a basis for a militia in the colony.

Militiamen were to equip themselves with "a good and sufficient firelock gun, a pound of powder, 24 bullets fitted to the gun, or four pounds of pistol bullets, six flints, a worm and priming wire fit for the said gun, a good sword, bandeliers, [sic] cartridge box or powder horn to carry the aforesaid powder." Subsequent laws exempted pacifist Quakers from duty and established "strict rules of sobriety" to be observed on militia training days.

No New Jersey militiaman could be ordered out of his colony or even neighborhood for military service without authorization from the Colonial Assembly, but volunteers could be solicited from the militia for units intended to serve beyond the colony's borders – and, in a declared emergency, militiamen could be drafted for such service. As colonial wars for empire occurred, volunteer units to assist British regular troops were called for with regularity. Despite its faults,

the very existence of the English militia, better organized and armed than its Dutch predecessor, established the concept that citizens owed their society military duty and provided a somewhat trained recruiting base for longer service units. Although most records of the period are lost, there is evidence that New Jersey volunteer troops were stationed in Albany as early as 1693, during what was known as King William's War (1688-1698).

In 1746 the British proposed invading Canada, and men were recruited in New Jersey to fill the ranks of a provincial regiment to support that effort. These soldiers included "freemen and well affected Indians," who were given "relief from small debts and pardon from minor crimes." Indentured servants could enlist in the unit without their masters' permission and each volunteer received a £6 bounty and was promised, in addition, "all bounties, plunder and advantages" accorded to regular British soldiers. The regiment sailed from Perth Amboy to Albany under the command of Colonel Peter Schuyler, a wealthy and prominent New Jerseyan. The Jerseymen spent thirteen months at Albany and Saratoga. Disputes about pay involving the Assembly led to Schuyler paying his men out of his own pocket.

There would be one more climactic colonial contest, and New Jerseyans would finally see action, gaining, in the process, an iconic nickname that would last the state's soldiers down to modern times. The conflict, known as the Seven Years War in Europe and the French and Indian War in the colonies, began with a frontier encounter between George Washington's Virginia provincial regiment and French forces in 1754.

The Assembly appropriated £15,000 in bills of credit to help cover the military expenses of the newly named British commander-in-chief in America, General Edward Braddock. Included in the amount was funding to provide "Pay, Cloathing [sic], and Subsistence of 500 men," again including Lenape Indian residents of the colony, to be organized into a provincial volunteer regiment. Command was awarded to the aging Colonel Schuyler. Despite the dismal Albany experience in the recent past, recruits, in search of adventure or perhaps the £1 bounty offered, quickly filled the ranks. A Trenton correspondent wrote that "the Country Fellows list like mad."

Each recruit was authorized issue of "one good sheepswool blanket, a good lapel coat of coarse cloth, a felt hat, two check shirts, two pair of Osnaberg [muslin] trousers, a pair of shoes and a pair of stockings…a good firelock, a good cutlass sword or bayonet, a cartouche box and a

hatchet." A tent was issued to every five men and the regiment was supplied with "fifteen barrels of pork, forty-five hundred weight of lead [for casting bullets] and other necessaries." Once its ranks were filled, the New Jersey regiment left for Albany.

By summer, in the aftermath of General Braddock's disastrous defeat on the Monongahela in Pennsylvania, refugees from French and Indian raiders began to cross the Delaware into New Jersey, unsettling the residents of the northwestern part of the colony, sparking calls for assistance that forced the Assembly to issue £10,000 in bills of credit to construct blockhouses and fund military operations. In November, Governor Jonathan Belcher ordered the militia to muster and called some militiamen to active duty on the Sussex county frontier. Several hundred Sussex citizen-soldiers crossed the river to campaign alongside their Pennsylvania counterparts, but the brief expedition failed to intercept the raiders. By December, the Assembly was vainly calling for the return of the provincial regiment to defend the northwest border.

By June the colony was recruiting a full time "Frontier Guard" unit to be paid two shillings a day to man blockhouses and patrol along the Delaware River. The Frontier Guards were to supply their own clothing and equipment, including a "good and sufficient musket." Governor Belcher claimed that the Lenape who had left the colony had "violated their treaties," and were "Enemies, Rebels and Traitors to his most sacred Majesty," and then proposed bounties for Indians, dead or alive. Belcher's proclamation would not have applied to the colony's remaining resident Native-American population, some of whom were serving in the ranks of the New Jersey provincial regiment, however. The New Jersey resident Indians agreed with the governor's proposals that they relinquish any land claims. Some resettled at the Brotherton reservation in Burlington County (today's Indian Mills), established in 1758, while others continued to live in small out of the way communities.

In 1757, Lord Loudon, then overall commander in America, called for more assistance from the colonies, including 1,000 more men from New Jersey but the reluctant Assembly called instead for 500 volunteers from the militia. Recruits, were used to replace losses sustained by the New Jersey regiment already in the field. The rebuilt regiment camped at Fort William Henry on Lake George. The fort itself only had room for 500 men, so most of the provincial troops were housed in an adjacent entrenched camp.

On July 21, 1757, some of the Jerseymen were ordered to join a 350-man force on a reconnaissance up Lake George to determine the location of a French army advancing south from Fort Carillon. The expedition rowed to Sabbath Day Point, where it was ambushed by a force of French and Indians who opened fire from shore. The provincials panicked, losing 160 men killed or drowned and many of the remainder captured, while the French lost one man wounded. Fort William Henry and its adjacent camp, with 301 Jerseyans, was besieged by the French on August 3 and fell five days later. An Indian attack on the surrendered and paroled British and provincial soldiers marching to Fort Edward afterwards resulted in additional New Jersey casualties.

The colony raised a new regiment to replace the unit destroyed at Fort William Henry. Recruits, at least some of whom were survivors of the initial regiment, were provided with "a cloth pair of breeches, a white shirt, a check shirt, two pair of shoes, two pair of stockings, one pair of ticken breeches, a hat, blanket, canteen and hatchet for each recruit, under a bounty of £12." The significant bounty, compared with the £1 previously offered, was intended to head off a draft from the militia. The new soldiers would also be paid £1.13s.6d a month and "a dollar to drink his Majesty's Health" on enlistment.

The regiment left for Albany under the command of Colonel John Johnson in May, bearing the nickname "Jersey Blues," which would stick to New Jersey soldiers ever after. They were dressed in "Uniform blue, faced with red, grey stockings and Buckskin Breeches." In addition to raising new troops, the Assembly voted to build barracks in Elizabeth, Perth Amboy, New Brunswick, Trenton and Burlington to house British regular army soldiers rather than quarter them in private homes. The Trenton barracks alone survives to this day, the only remaining French and Indian War barracks in the United States.

The "Blues" were engaged in yet another colonial military disaster in July 1758, when the British army under General James Abercrombie bungled an attempt to capture Fort Carillon on Lake Champlain. Although Abercrombie's army of 16,000 men, including the Jersey provincials, outnumbered the French, a series of frontal assaults proved disastrous. Fortunately for the Jerseymen, they did not participate in the major attack, although they still lost Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Shaw of Burlington, along with ten other men, killed and forty-four wounded. Following his defeat, Abercrombie was replaced by General Jeffrey Amherst, and,

with a new war leader in London, Prime Minister William Pitt, the British captured Louisburg and Forts Frontenac and Duquesne. A detachment of Jersey Blues was part of the force that captured Frontenac.

A new royal governor, Francis Bernard, arrived in New Jersey in June 1758, as the frontier war along the Delaware once again erupted in a series of raids that killed several local citizens. The militia was mobilized to support the full-time soldiers of the 250-man Frontier Guard. Sergeant John Van Tile and a "private Titsort" were awarded silver medals featuring "an Indian prostrate at the Feet of the said Van Tile and Lad aforesaid" for their service in repulsing raiders. Raiding along the Delaware ended following a conference at Easton, Pennsylvania, in October 1758, when the governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania concluded a treaty with representatives of most Native American nations engaged in war with the British. The beyond the Delaware Lenape were granted a thousand Spanish dollars to relinquish any claims they might have to land within the colony of New Jersey.

As the tide of the war turned, the New Jersey Assembly called for 1,000 militiamen to volunteer for active duty under Colonel Schuyler, with recruiting offices opened in Salem, Gloucester, Burlington, Bordentown and Newton. In succeeding years New Jersey raised more volunteers to serve in New York and Canada, and the Assembly voted money to equip and pay them. New Jersey volunteers were part of the British force that attacked Havana in 1762. In all, one scholar estimates that as many as 3,000 men served in provincial forces of one kind or another or in the British regular army (which regularly enlisted colonists in its ranks) between 1755 and 1763, "a level of participation requiring the enlistment of every fourth free male between the ages of sixteen and forty-five who was not a Quaker."

When the war ended in 1763, with British dominance in North America assured, it would seem that the future of the Royal Colony of New Jersey, securely tucked within an empire, with a military potential greatly enhanced by the war, which had provided experience and training for officers and enlisted men from what had been a sort of ramshackle militia, would be secure. Perhaps -- but not for long.

Chapter 2

The Revolution Begins

New Jersey earned its title "Crossroads of the Revolution" by serving as a major combat theater in the War for Independence. Following the April, 1775 fighting at Lexington and Concord, New Jersey Loyalists sought a low profile as Patriot forces seized political control through local Committees of Safety and established a Provincial Congress. Governor William Franklin, Benjamin's Loyalist son, tried to convince his old Colonial Assembly to establish a committee for reconciliation with the king, but the internal struggle ended with Franklin's arrest in January 1776. Initially held in Perth Amboy, and then his Burlington estate, Franklin was transported to Connecticut, arriving, ironically, on July 4, 1776, and was held as a prisoner of war until exchanged in October 1778

In June 1775, the New Jersey Provincial Congress published a "plan for regulating the militia of the Colony." The law revived the old militia ordinances that had fallen into disuse in the aftermath of the French wars and required townships to form companies of men between the ages of 16 and 50 capable of bearing arms, select officers and noncommissioned officers, and establish a training schedule. Those who missed drill or refused to bear arms, including Quakers, were subject to fines. The law also provided for companies of "Minute Men" who were expected to drill every evening, be ready to march at a minute's notice and serve four-month tours of active duty. Captain Frederick Frelinghuysen's Minute Man company from Somerset County's Millstone Township "wore long smock frocks, broad-brimmed black hats and leggings; their own firelocks were on their shoulders, 22 cartridges in their cartouch [sic] boxes; the worm, priming wire and 12 flints in their pockets and a pound of powder and three pounds of bullets at their homes." By November, Philip Vickers Fithian of Cohansey, a young minister who enlisted as a militia chaplain, reported "Drums & Fifes rattling – Military Language in every Mouth" in southwestern New Jersey.

Minute Man companies were alerted by fires lit on "signal stations" atop prominent hills. In Morris County there were stations on "Pigeon Hill," in today's Denville, and Beacon Hill in Summit. The stations were the site of log towers "built in the form of a pyramid with loose brush filling in the spaces between the logs and topped with 'a stout sapling.'"

In October 1775 the New Jersey Congress, acting on the request of the Continental Congress, authorized the raising of two eight-company battalions of Continental or regular army soldiers for one year of service. The companies were to be composed of sixty-eight privates, four corporals, four sergeants, one ensign and one lieutenant, with a captain commanding each. Recruits were paid five dollars a month and, in lieu of a bounty, issued "a felt hat, a pair of yarn stockings, and a pair of shoes: the men to find their own arms." The Continental Congress promised each recruit "a hunting shirt, not exceeding the value of one dollar and one-third of a dollar, and a blanket, provided these can be procured."

The First, or East Jersey, battalion was recruited at Elizabethtown and Perth Amboy with men from Middlesex, Morris, Somerset, Monmouth, Essex and Bergen counties in the ranks. The men of the Second, or West Jersey, battalion were from Gloucester, Hunterdon, Burlington, Salem and Sussex counties and mustered into service at Trenton and Burlington. Recruiting was brisk, and officers found no trouble filling the ranks.

On November 10 the six companies of both battalions recruited to that date were sent to garrison a fort in the Hudson River highlands. Subsequent recruits were transferred to barracks in New York City on November 27 and formed into companies there. Both battalions were reunited in New York City in December, where they were mustered into Continental service for one year.

In the waning months of 1775, General Thomas Gage, the British commander in America, remained bottled up in Boston under siege by the New England militia and a growing force under General George Washington. General William Howe replaced Gage in November and evacuated Boston by ship to Canada. By June the British commander, his original force bolstered by reinforcements, including German mercenaries and a fleet under the command of his brother Admiral Richard Howe, resumed the offensive. Howe's target was New York City, a choke point between the middle and southern colonies and New England.

In January 1776 three companies of New Jersey Continentals were ordered to join some of the colony's Minute Men "for duty in arresting tories and disaffected persons in Queens County, New York." The remaining men of the First and Second Battalions were stationed in Perth Amboy and Elizabethtown. A Third New Jersey battalion was authorized in January 1776 and recruited at Elizabethtown between February and May. In the latter month all the New Jersey Continentals were ordered north to join an expedition headed for an invasion of Canada, which

proved unsuccessful. The First and Second Battalions engaged in combat at Three Rivers, Canada on June 8, and then withdrew south to Fort Ticonderoga. The Third Battalion was diverted to pursue Loyalists and guard against Indian attacks near Johnstown and German Flats.

With the state's regular units far away, New Jersey had to rely on militiamen for its local defense needs, which became critical in the summer and fall of 1776. Since Continentals, the American equivalent of a regular army, could be ordered wherever Congress wished, New Jersey lawmakers raised another class of soldiers, known as "state troops" enlisted for three to twelve months of service. The first authorized "state troops," volunteers from the militia, were the members of the Eastern and Western Companies of Artillery. In December 1776 the Eastern Company joined the Continental Army. Infantry and artillery units of state troops formed a significant segment of the state's military for the remainder of the war.

George Washington, aware that New York was a probable British target, ordered General Charles Lee to the city to supervise its defense. Although Lee, a former British officer, would gain lasting fame through failure on the Monmouth battlefield in 1778, he was undeniably an experienced soldier, and his analysis of New York City as essentially indefensible was not encouraging. With British command of the sea, Manhattan Island, surrounded by navigable water, was extremely vulnerable. Lee ordered the Americans in New York to begin digging defensive trenches at likely landing spots around Manhattan. Washington assumed command in New York in April 1776, and when Howe arrived off Sandy Hook on June 25, the American general had mustered more than 20,000 soldiers for the defense of the city, although most were inexperienced militiamen, including New Jerseyans. In June the Continental Congress asked New Jersey for 3,300 men in five eight-company militia battalions for the defense of New York, and men from every county were mustered for five months of active service and sent to the city.

After landing on Staten Island in July, a move that caused more than a bit of panic in New Jersey, where militiamen could plainly see the enemy across a short span of water, Howe consolidated his command as reinforcements arrived, until he had a total of 25,000 men fit for action, supported by thirty ships of the line and frigates mounting 1,200 cannons. Fearful of a Loyalist insurrection, New Jersey's Patriot leaders ordered their militia to return from New York and establish a "Flying Camp," intended to respond quickly, near Perth Amboy. Unfortunately, many men, their service period up, were discharged and went home.

By mid-July most of the state's citizen soldiers had been "temporarily excused from service to gather their harvest," and replaced by Pennsylvanians. Subsequent attempts to call the Jerseymen back to duty were fruitless; none of 2,000 called up on July 18 had responded by August 1. Of the 3,300 militiamen initially called to duty in June, only 1,458 were still serving by mid-August, and desertion and insubordination ran rife among those remaining. Militia Brigadier General William Livingston made do with what he had, and, although lacking in military experience, managed, though organizational skill and energy, to keep the state's military from disintegrating entirely. Livingston became New Jersey's first state governor in July, and turned over the militia to Philemon Dickinson, an equally capable commander. New Jersey Loyalists observing the chaotic summer of 1776 were heartened by both the arrival of royal forces and an apparent decline in enthusiasm in Patriot ranks and began, here and there, to plan a counter-rebellion.

On June 26, 1776, the Provincial Congress, meeting in Trenton, ordered militiamen to suppress Tory demonstrators in Hunterdon County and directed the arrest of others in Monmouth County's Upper Freehold and Shrewsbury Townships. Sixty volunteers from Upper Freehold and forty-eight from Perth Amboy made their way through American lines to offer their services to General Howe. In July, British forces on Staten Island were advised that "there are thousands in the Jerseys will Join us, as soon as we get footing in that province." Governor Livingston ordered Perth Amboy Loyalists detained and moved inland, and militia guards were assigned to patrol the Monmouth County coast. Powles Hook, in old Dutch Pavonia across the river from Manhattan, was fortified and garrisoned with New Jersey militiamen and Connecticut Continentals.

In early August, the New Jersey legislature reorganized the state's military. All men between the ages of 16 and 50 were divided into two militia classes and assigned to serve full time duty in alternate months – or provide substitutes to serve in their places. The Flying Camp was reinforced by a new infusion of militiamen, and others were ordered to garrison critical points. By mid-August, there were nine militia regiments on active duty, but many were detailed to construct fortifications along the Palisades. By then the Pennsylvanians began to leave for home, with or without authorization. Many New Jerseyans wanted the Pennsylvanians to leave, as tensions rose when they foraged off the countryside due to an erratic supply chain.

In late August General Howe began a series of successful operations by crossing from Staten Island to Long Island and decisively defeating the Patriot force there. After putting up some stiff resistance, the Jersey levies were outflanked and rapidly retreated. Some drowned trying to cross a pond. Despite the American tactical disaster on Long Island, also known as the Battle of Brooklyn, however, the British offensive enabled George Washington to begin building a reputation as an extraordinary and resourceful commander, as he successfully extricated his beaten army through a cover of fog and darkness from Brooklyn to Manhattan under the noses of the enemy.

Discouraged by defeat and concerned about their families at home, many militiamen began to drift away. The British landing at Kip's Bay on the East River began another series of American tactical setbacks. Although continually bested in a series of battles lasting into November that drove his men north and out of Manhattan to White Plains, Washington, aided by Howe's hesitation, managed to preserve a battered but steady core force, and eventually crossed over into New Jersey.

In early September, Washington ordered General Mercer to erect a fortification across the Hudson River from Fort Washington, the last American toehold in Manhattan. The result was Fort Lee, located atop the Palisades. The forts, in conjunction with several armed galleys, were intended to block the advance of British ships up the river. As work began, Powles Hook was fired on by a British ship, and the New Jersey militia regiment garrisoned there panicked and fell back to Bergen, leaving behind 300 Connecticut Continentals, who in turn abandoned the exposed post on September 23. Shortly afterward the king's soldiers landed taking possession of New Jersey soil for the first time in the war. Now lodged in a secure beachhead, the British halted their offensive for almost two months.

Washington moved his headquarters to Hackensack. Major General Nathanael Greene, now in command of Forts Lee and Washington, reinforced the latter, On November 16, however, a British and Hessian force stormed Fort Washington and captured 2,600 Americans. Morale on the Jersey side of the Hudson plummeted, and the Americans started to evacuate supplies inland as British raiders began to cross the river, isolating Fort Lee.

Situated between the Hudson and Hackensack Rivers with limited roads and bridges to its rear, the Fort Lee garrison feared being trapped, and that, no doubt, was what Howe intended when he

ordered General Charles Cornwallis to lead a force of 4,000 men, guided by local Loyalists, up the Palisades north of the fort. Washington had already ordered the garrison of less than 3,000 "irregular and undisciplined" Americans to abandon the position, and they moved as much of the supplies at the fort to safety as possible, although a lack of transport led to considerable losses, including artillery, both in the fort and on the road.

The dispirited Americans regrouped at Hackensack. Washington retreated to Newark with about 4,400 men and ordered the remainder of his force, about 7,000 strong, to concentrate near White Plains, New York under General Lee to defend against any British thrust up the Hudson. He also assigned the Connecticut militia to defend the back door to New England. The American commander called on the New Jersey militia to reinforce his immediate command, but to no avail. The New Jersey and Maryland militia brigades stationed at the Flying Camp, their tour of duty ended, returned home. No one came forward to replace them.

Howe sent a force to seize Newport, Rhode Island, while Cornwallis continued to chase the Americans across New Jersey. Washington fell back through New Brunswick and Princeton to Trenton, On December 7 the Americans crossed the Delaware River to Pennsylvania. On arrival at the river, the British found all available boats on the Pennsylvania side. British artillery traded fire with American guns across the Delaware while British light infantry and Hessian *Jaegers* vainly searched for a fordable crossing point. Washington had escaped, but many on the British side, including Pennsylvania Tory Joseph Galloway, felt that Howe had not pursued aggressively enough. Howe believed the American army was truly a broken force, and a more vigorous pursuit unnecessary, as the Rebels would soon come to a reasonable peace agreement. It was a decision he would come to rue.

Governor Livingston had ordered his militia to rally in support of Washington's retreat and control potential Loyalist uprisings. The response was less than stellar. Many Bergen County militiamen, defected to the British after the fall of Fort Lee. Brigadier General Matthias Williamson established headquarters at Morristown, a secure location west of the Watchung mountains, and awaited the appearance of the state's citizen army. As of December 8, less than fifty men from Essex County had reported, and a few more showed up from Sussex shortly afterward. Eventually enough militiamen appeared, however, to provide an "appearance of defence," which would not be tested.

Washington and his generals were disgusted with the New Jersey militia; Nathaniel Greene characterized the behavior of the state's citizen soldiers as being "scurvily." Desperate for manpower, in November New Jersey enlisted four battalions of state troops, promising them Continental Army pay, six dollars bounty and a pair of shoes and stockings on enlistment.

In mid- December, 1776, New Jersey's militia appeared, "…almost as completely cowed by the deliberate and nearly bloodless advance of the royal army as it would have been had Washington's force been crushed in fierce battle." Loyalists come out into the open across the state and declared for the king. Loyalist Cortland Skinner advised his comrades to "let the people know now is the time to evince their Loyalty by actions, not words." Citizens were ordered to report to towns like Freehold in Monmouth County to sign loyalty oaths, and recruiting for Loyalist military units was brisk in Bergen, a county Governor Livingston declared "almost totally disaffected." The war seemed to be coming to a close.

Just as all appeared lost, the New Jersey militia, responding to indiscriminate British pillaging, began to revive and harass the enemy in small actions across the state. Thomas Paine's pamphlet *The Crisis,* inspired by his experience as a militiaman, fired up men in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Enough militiamen made it to Morristown by mid-December to blunt the advance of an 800-man British probing force at Hobart's Gap. The British retreat secured for a potential American comeback.

While General Howe lived in comfort in New York, Colonel Johann Rall, commanding a three-regiment force of around 1,400 Hessians in Trenton, complained that his men were being shot at by local civilians. Pennsylvania militiamen rolled cannons down to the Delaware and fired on the Trenton garrison. British General James Grant, parroting the official line that the Rebels were done for, however, refused to honor Rall's request for reinforcements. One Hessian officer wrote "It is now very unsafe for us to travel in New Jersey. The rascal peasants meet our men alone or in small unarmed groups."

As the year came to an end Washington, reinforced by troops from Charles Lee's command and another detachment from Fort Ticonderoga, as well as 1,000 Pennsylvania militiamen, saw an opportunity to strike at the British. In the days that followed, Washington conducted the most brilliant series of tactical moves of his career. On Christmas night he led 2,400 men across the Delaware in rain, sleet and snow at McConkey's Ferry, north of Trenton. At 4:00 AM the

following morning the force marched south in two columns, one on an inland route, and the other along the river road. Pennsylvania militiamen were ordered to cross the Delaware and block any escapees crossing Assunpink Creek just south of Trenton. Once Trenton was taken, Washington planned to move on Princeton.

Following a hard march in horrible weather, the Americans overran a Hessian outpost on the Pennington road and then poured into Trenton, battering Rall's attempt at a counterattack with musketry and artillery, mortally wounding the German commander and driving the routed enemy through the town. Some Hessians tried to rally in an orchard, where they were forced to surrender. Meanwhile the second column entered Trenton, pushed the Hessians from the area around the French and Indian War barracks and seized the bridge over Assunpink Creek, capturing much of the fleeing garrison. Before the trap was completely closed, however, several hundred Hessians escaped across the creek and made their way south. In all, the Hessians lost 100 men killed or wounded and almost 1,000 as prisoners at Trenton. American losses were a mere four men wounded, although two soldiers apparently froze to death on the march. Despite legend, perhaps initiated by British sources trying to cover up their incompetence, there is no evidence that the Hessians at Trenton were drunk. They were, however, surprised, outgeneraled and outfought.

Washington, his little army exhausted, returned to McConkey's Ferry and re-crossed the Delaware that afternoon. General Howe recalled General Cornwallis from his intended return to England and dispatched him across New Jersey with reinforcements. Washington returned to Trenton on December 30. Although much of the Continental army was due to dissolve as enlistments expired the following day, he had cajoled a majority of the men to stick by the colors a bit longer by appealing to their patriotism and offering each a $10 bounty for a six-week extension of service.

Aware that Cornwallis was approaching with over 5,000 troops, Washington ordered all available men, militia and Continental, to Trenton, then dispatched a small force of riflemen to fight a delaying action against Cornwallis' advance beyond Princeton. When the British arrived near nightfall, they were stymied at Assunpink Creek in a sharp but limited firefight. Both sides disengaged, presumably to reopen the contest again in the morning.

Washington had created a defense in depth along Assunpink Creek, but Cornwallis remained confident he could outflank and destroy the American army. At around 1:00 AM on January 3, however, the American commander, leaving a rear guard to tend abandoned campfires and dispatching much of his artillery and baggage south to Burlington, headed to Princeton, where Cornwallis' rear guard of 1,200 men was stationed. The Americans crossed Stony Brook near Princeton at morning, then divided, with a brigade under General Hugh Mercer ordered to tear down a bridge to block enemy reinforcements moving from Trenton. The rest of the force advanced oon Princeton.

The British Seventeenth and Fifty-fifth Regiments were on the road, leaving the Fortieth Regiment to secure Princeton. British cavalry scouts discovered Mercer's column. and Mercer adjusted his advance to meet them and protect the flank of the main American column. The Americans drove the British horsemen back on the Seventeenth Regiment, which responded with a bayonet attack which routed the Americans and killed and wounded a number of them, including Mercer, who was unhorsed, beaten with a musket butt and bayoneted seven times. The British ran amuck, killing a number of injured men who fell into their hands, including a lieutenant who suffered thirteen bayonet wounds. American artillery and riflemen arrived, drove back enemy skirmishers and advanced in an attack that failed when militiamen broke and fled under heavy enemy fire.

A well-served American artillery battery held off the British until Washington arrived with a force of Continentals and riflemen. The American commander rallied the militia and personally led the better disciplined Continentals forward. He emerged unharmed through a hail of bullets and the British line broke and ran under the attack. Meanwhile the main column routed the British at Frog Hollow, driving them into Princeton, where some took refuge in Nassau Hall. A few well-placed cannon balls and an infantry assault on the main door led to the surrender of 194 British soldiers in the building. Total casualties in killed, wounded and missing that day are, as is often the case, in dispute. The British admitted to 276, although it is likely there were more, considering the haul of prisoners from Nassau Hall. Washington, who had totally wrecked a British brigade, claimed enemy casualties were between 500 and 600, while the Americans lost forty-four men killed, including General Mercer, who died of his bayonet wounds over a week after the battle.

Washington marched his battered little force north into winter quarters at Morristown, where many of his men would shortly be discharged. Protected by the hills, surrounded by a loyal population, and supplemented by New Jersey militiamen who remained on duty through the middle of February, he began to rebuild his army. The troops encamped in the Loantaka Brook valley between Morristown and Madison, while Washington headquartered in the Arnold Tavern in town. Recruits for new Continental regiments came in slowly, but they mustered in for three years or the duration of the war, as opposed to the one-year enlistments of the first Continentals. New Jersey's militia had rebounded, and there was hope for the new nation's future -- and New Jersey's.

Chapter 3

The Revolution Saved

Rebel resistance across New Jersey continued to stiffen in 1777, as the militia restored political control across the state. Loyalists were routed and their leadership fled to the Pinelands or New York. Dispirited Jerseyans had flocked to the triumphant British in the autumn of 1776, with at least 2,500 of them signing loyalty oaths. The British army, however, clearly violated what would today be considered the basics of good counterinsurgency policy. Despite orders from General Howe, who genuinely believed a rapprochement between King and colonists possible, his soldiers abused and robbed them.

While foraging in Bergen County in November 1776, Hessian Colonel von Donop observed that "…infamous plundering" was engaged in by the English "in spite of orders to the contrary…" Martin Hunter, a British junior officer then serving in New Jersey, recalled years later that "there was never a more expert set than the Light Infantry at either grab, lob or gutting a house." One perceptive recent historian noted that "…damage claims reached the modern equivalent of millions of dollars."

By early 1777 British and Hessian troops venturing out of their diminished chain of New Jersey posts found their paths barred by angry militiamen. British stragglers were, as one Jerseyman described it, "caught in their rambles." On January 4, a New Jersey militia force captured a British supply wagon train in Somerset County. Sporadic fighting sputtered around Elizabethtown, which was held by Scottish Highlanders and German mercenaries. A combined British-Hessian foraging force was crushed at Springfield, with between fifty and sixty men killed or captured.

On January 6, Howe ordered Elizabethtown abandoned. The garrison retreated to Perth Amboy, losing 100 prisoners to pursuing militiamen along the way. The British soon withdrew all garrisons from the state save those at New Brunswick and Perth Amboy and the Loyalist haven at the Sandy Hook lighthouse. Although New Jersey would continue to supply a substantial number of recruits to the Loyalist cause, the state would never again be in serious political play. In the wake of Washington's winter miracle and the revival of the militia even many Loyalists

had second thoughts. Of thirty-five Tories sentenced to hang by a Morristown court, thirty-three opted to join the Continental Army's New Jersey Brigade when that option was offered.

Loyalists who fled to British held areas claimed "refugee" status and joined regular and irregular units of the British army, leading to a vicious civil war in parts of New Jersey. By early 1777 New Jersey Loyalist property was being confiscated in retribution. That July, militia light horsemen carried off all of the "cattle, Sheep, Hogs and Horses" belonging to Thomas Crowell of Shrewsbury and told his wife they were coming back for her furniture and that the Crowell house and farm would be confiscated and put up for sale.

Governor Livingston ordered General Philemon Dickinson to enforce the militia service laws. Dickinson organized and maintained rotating duty stints through the winter. Another key was Continental Brigadier General William "Scotch Willie" Maxwell. In December 1776 Washington had ordered Maxwell to Morristown to begin organizing New Jersey Continental units. As he did so, Maxwell operated alongside the militia in a harassment campaign against remaining British troops in the state. A New York Loyalist observed that "not a stick of wood, a spear of grass or a kernel of corn could the [British] troops in New Jersey procure without fighting for it."

British expeditions into the local countryside from New Brunswick were primarily to acquire forage for their animals, a logistical need equivalent to gasoline for a modern mechanized force. On February 23, a strong British force sortied from Perth Amboy to Rahway. Maxwell was happy to accommodate the enemy's apparent desire for a fight. The British tried to outflank a line of militiamen with grenadiers from the Forty-second Highland Regiment, but Scotch Willie had deployed Jerseymen, who remained unseen, in a position outflanking the Scottish advance; at the appropriate moment, they rose and shot the regulars to ribbons. Historian David Hackett Fischer calculated that over the winter following the battles of Trenton and Princeton, General Howe's army lost "more than nine hundred men…killed, wounded, captured or missing," in its "forage war" operations in New Jersey. That damage was inflicted by the aggressiveness and military skill of the New Jersey militia and Continentals led by Dickinson and Maxwell.

The forage war battered the British, and provided military experience to the Americans. A British major wrote that the "rebel soldiers from being accustomed to peril in their skirmishes, begin to have more confidence." He added that "although they do not always succeed, following

our people as they return…wounding and killing many of our rearguards gives them the notion of victory." A colonel declared that the constant skirmishing was "a plan which we ought to avoid most earnestly, since it will certainly make soldiers of the Americans." By spring even New Jersey's ladies had joined the fight. According to one account, a Woodbridge woman, spying a "drunken Hessian" pillaging a house, "went home, dressed in man's apparel and, armed with an old firelock" took him prisoner and delivered him to one of Maxwell's patrols.

As the spring campaign season approached, General Howe had a number of options. Washington was in a necessarily reactive position. Howe intended to decisively crush the rebellion in the forthcoming year. He initially intended to move an army up the Hudson to link up with General John Burgoyne, coming from Canada, while dispatching General Sir Henry Clinton to land a force in Rhode Island, and send 8,000 men into New Jersey as a diversion. The New Jersey invasion force would also be able to take advantage of opportunities that might arise, including making a dash at Philadelphia.

The 15,000 reinforcements Howe needed to fulfill his plans were not forthcoming. Within weeks he radically downsized his strategy to conducting limited operations in Rhode Island and up the Hudson and launching his major attack on Philadelphia, in the belief that capturing Philadelphia would end the war.

Howe's preparations suggested to Washington that the British commander might either launch an attack on the main American army or renew his push across the state to capture Philadelphia. From Morristown, Washington made plans to counter British moves, but was far from confident that his army, the process of rebuilding, was in any condition to meet the enemy in the open field.

Washington's army at Morristown reported 7,363 officers and men "fit for duty and on duty." Arms and ammunition were arriving in large quantities from France, with 19,000 muskets and 1,000 barrels of gunpowder imported during the month of March alone. These facts may have influenced the American commander's decision to push on the enemy's New Jersey lines in hopes of striking a lucky blow and driving the British completely from the state, and he ordered a forward deployment by New Jersey militia and Continentals to Middle Brook, ten miles from British occupied New Brunswick.

In order to confuse the Americans, on June 11 Howe advanced 18,000 troops into New Jersey in two columns, concentrating them at Somerset and Middlebush. On June 21, Howe abandoned his advanced posts and New Brunswick and withdrew to Perth Amboy, while American observation forces deployed at Quibbletown (New Market in today's Piscataway) and Metuchen.

On June 26 Howe marched two columns out of Perth Amboy intending to cut off and defeat the Metuchen force commanded by General William Alexander, usually referred to as "Lord Stirling" after the Scottish title he laid claim to on rather tenuous grounds. After driving the Americans back Howe withdrew to Staten Island.

On July 23, Howe's 15,000-man force weighed anchor off Staten Island and sailed south in a 250-ship armada. When the British landed at Head of Elk, Maryland, in the upper Chesapeake, Washington concluded that Howe's objective was Philadelphia, and marched his 11,000 men south, parading directly through the capital city to boost Patriot morale. Congressman John Adams for one, was somewhat impressed, and wrote his wife that the Continentals appeared "an army well appointed" despite the fact that "they don't step exactly in time."

On arrival at Wilmington, Delaware, Washington halted his army and pushed a small elite force of "picked men" forward to observe and report on enemy activities and movements and engage in limited combat. Choosing a qualified officer to command the force proved a simple task. Jerseyman William Maxwell was assigned to the position on August 30. Washington cautioned Maxwell to "be watchful and guarded on all the roads," and to "annoy the enemy whenever possible," but be careful when and where he fought, only engaging when he had a good chance of success.

On September 2, Scotch Willie established a base near Cooch's Bridge, over Christiania Creek, deployed a defensive line along the front of Iron Hill and then sent most of his men forward down the Aiken's Tavern Road, the main axis of the British advance, ordering them to fire on the enemy and fall back The Americans made contact with a detachment of *Jaegers* and light infantrymen under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ludwig von Wurmb early the following morning.

Maxwell's men conducted a two-mile fighting withdrawal to Cooch's Bridge, made a short stand and then retreated again, through woods and fields and up the slope of Iron Hill. At that point

General Howe personally appeared on the field, reinforced Wurmb with the Loyalist Queen's Rangers as well as artillery, and ordered a rapid bayonet charge on the American position. Maxwell's outgunned and outnumbered light infantry, which had held the British advance up for seven hours, rapidly fled the field, some men tossing away their blankets and muskets. , Maxwell's conduct of the operation drew mixed reviews. The young Marquis de Lafayette caustically and presumptuously characterized him as "the most inept brigadier general in the army." General Washington, however, who along with Lafayette witnessed the last stages of what had been a long fight, concluded that Maxwell had done a good job until he had to retreat.

On September 11, the American commander placed his best units in a position to contest a British passage of the Brandywine Creek in the vicinity of Chadds Ford, then strung out militia to protect his left flank and covered his right flank with a light cavalry screen, a few infantry detachments and some more militiamen. Howe divided his force to outflank the Rebel righy.

The Americans engaged the flanking force and soon there was heavy fighting around Birmingham Meeting House. As the tide of battle began to turn against his men, Washington left Chadds Ford with reinforcements to take personal command of the growing fight. British and Hessians then splashed across the Brandywine and pushed up the hill on the other side, against the depleted force and capturing an American battery. By 7:00 PM the Americans were driven from the entire field, leaving the way to Philadelphia open. Washington's army once again escaped destruction, and fell back to Chester to reorganize. The Americans reportedly suffered around 1,200 casualties, the British about half as many.

Washington's defeat at Brandywine guaranteed that Philadelphia would fall to the enemy. Congressmen took to their heels and military supplies, government paperwork and money were rapidly evacuated before the British marched in on September 26, 1777. The British army had not gained any local sympathy after Brandywine, when pillaging the local farms, as had been the case in New Jersey the previous year, became the order of the day. According to a local doctor, "the officers sent their servants round among the farmers of the vicinity to collect poultry and other provender for their own tables. These marauders regarded as lawful plunder everything they could lay their hands upon and deemed worth carrying away." Personal property was plundered as well, including "clocks, spice boxes, and looking glasses." Birmingham, Kennet, Pennsbury, Thornbury, and Westtown Townships subsequently filed claims totaling £8,602 or

$333,227 in 2001 dollars; and Birmingham Township alone filed claims worth £5,844 or $226,117 in 2001 dollars in stolen property.

Howe pushed 9,000 men forward to Germantown and used remaining troops to secure his supply line back to Delaware. After rallying his army and supplementing it with several thousand militiamen, Washington decided to strike at the British in Germantown in early October, dividing his force, with one column fixing the enemy's attention while other troops worked their way around the British flanks

As the Americans approached the British positions on the early morning of October 4, a dense fog set in. It initially provided cover for the advance, and first contact resulted in a confused British retreat, but things fell apart as the main column was held up by a small British force holed up in the Chew House. The Americans, including Maxwell's New Jersey Brigade, bounced thousands of musket balls off the building, but the British held on. The attack stalled, and one of the American flanking divisions fired on the main column in the haze, causing a panicky retreat.

Although the British pursuit was not aggressive, the battle was lost and Washington ordered a withdrawal. American casualties, including around 400 men captured, mostly from one Virginia regiment, totaled around 1,000, with British losses around half as many. Although Washington was defeated once more, his ambitious Germantown offensive almost succeeded, and the fact that the American army survived potential disaster and was able to withdraw to fight another day was a significant morale booster.

Chapter 4

The Army Becomes Professional

Washington's Germantown failure left a final act in the Philadelphia drama, as the British contested control of the lower Delaware River. The Americans had deployed ships, strung underwater obstructions and garrisoned Fort Mifflin on Mud Island and Fort Mercer at Red Bank on the New Jersey side of the Delaware south of Philadelphia to block a British advance up the river. Although Howe now controlled Philadelphia, his river supply line remained blocked. Although it appeared impossible for the Americans to hold the forts indefinitely with Philadelphia lost, Washington reinforced Mifflin and Mercer.

When a British bombardment of Mifflin failed to force its surrender, Howe decided to capture Mercer, which would enable his men to fire into the rear of Mifflin. Colonel von Donop volunteered to attack the fort with 2,000 Hessians. In the October 21 battle, the American defenders inflicted 400 casualties, including von Donop, who was mortally wounded and captured. A simultaneous naval attack on Mifflin was defeated as well. The British in Philadelphia continued to suffer from a severe lack of supplies and warm clothing until both forts were evacuated in November and the American river defense fleet was abandoned and burned. Washington kept his increasingly ragged army in the field near Philadelphia at Whitemarsh until mid-December. Reinforcements from General Horatio Gates, who, with assistance from Benedict Arnold, had bagged Burgoyne's invading army at Saratoga on October 17, were slow in coming, although Colonel Daniel Morgan's riflemen, followed by three infantry brigades, arrived in November.

As the weather worsened, Washington fended off one more British probe of his lines as the British, no doubt recalling Bunker Hill, declined to attack his fortified position in force. Howe withdrew to Philadelphia on December 8, leaving the next move to Washington, who went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, eighteen miles from Philadelphia. At Valley Forge the American army was well positioned to cover Philadelphia and also provide a protective roadblock against any British expedition launched to capture the Continental Congress, then meeting at York. Unfortunately, many men were still living in canvas tents as late as February, and the poorly

constructed and unsanitary huts many of Washington's 10,000 soldiers eventually erected for their housing were not much better.

During the winter of 1777-1778, some 12,000 troops were quartered at Valley Forge at one time or another, and as many as 3,000 of them died there. The deaths were not the result of severe weather, but of malnutrition and disease. The army's supply system, crippled by corruption, incompetence and poor roads, simply collapsed. As early as October 1777, General Maxwell petitioned Governor Livingston for a supply of clothing for his Jerseymen, as the Continental Congress had not provided any. Maxwell advised the governor that "we are in great need at present of shoes, stockings, breeches, shirts, good jackets and some caps, for the want of which many valuable men are rendered useless." To make matters worse, while American soldiers suffered, Salem County, New Jersey farmers, some of them professed Patriots, supplied the British in exchange for "specie coin, as well as sugar, tea, syrup and strong liquors, which are much used here."

Despite its tribulations, Washington's army emerged from Valley Forge a more capable force than it had been the previous year. The belated appointment in March of Nathaniel Greene as Quartermaster General improved the supply system, while the arrival of "Baron" Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben dramatically improved the army's discipline and drill. Steuben had joined the Prussian army at the age of seventeen, eventually rising to the rank of captain and serving as a staff officer. Discharged as the army down-sized in 1763, he began to style himself as "Baron Von Steuben." The ersatz baron was down and out in Paris when the Revolution broke out, but impressed Benjamin Franklin by exaggerating his former level of command, and was accepted as a volunteer by Congress. Steuben traveled to America in December 1777, and arrived at Valley Forge in February 1778.

Steuben could not speak English, and Washington neither German nor French. Colonel John Laurens of Washington's staff served as an interpreter, and Steuben impressed the American commander in his initial interview. Although he respected Washington's abilities as a commander and thought the Americans fine "raw material," the German was not impressed with the Continental Army. He perceived that the chief problem, aside from a lack of food and clothing, was poor marching and maneuvering ability. Ability to move in a rapid and

disciplined manner was essential to an eighteenth-century army, and the lack of these skills had hindered American performance from Long Island to Germantown.

Steuben wrote an new and simplified drill manual combining British, Prussian and American ideas and then established a cadre system of training to instill its lessons throughout the army. The Prussian personally instructed selected officers and enlisted men in the new drill and sent them back to their units to train their comrades. Swearing in various languages, with an interpreter close at hand, Steuben shouldered a musket himself and drilled his Continental charges into the spring. His system proved so effective that it endured long after the Revolution as the standard drill text of the American army.

There were supply problems in Philadelphia as well. While General Howe tried to assist impoverished civilians in the city, many of his troops looted the citizenry. Howe often used Loyalist units for foraging expeditions into the countryside, even though his attempts to recruit soldiers from among loyal Pennsylvanians failed to live up to expectations. Some of these organizations were little more than gangs of bandits, who "live[d] from pillage." While Steuben trained the Continentals, American militiamen skirmished with Howe's foragers in Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey as both armies scoured the surrounding countryside for food and fodder.

In February 1778 American General Anthony Wayne led a foraging force through the Swedish settlements along the Jersey shore of the Delaware. Reverend Nicholas Collin, pastor of the Lutheran Church at Penn's Neck, recalled that some of Wayne's men marching past his parsonage were "without boots, others without socks." The Americans were pursued by a British force that scattered the local militia. Although neutral with a tendency to sympathize with established authority, Collin reported that "many people here were plundered," as "the English soldiers are undisciplined and cannot always be controlled." He added thatt "often both friend and foe were robbed in the most despicable manner, and sometimes with the permission of the officers." Throughout winter and into spring southwestern New Jersey was subjected to theft, raids, kidnappings and random violence.

The most egregious New Jersey raid was conducted by a party of Loyalists, including Simcoe's Rangers and the New Jersey Volunteers. On March 17, 1778, that force landed on the Jersey shore in Salem County and pushed inland, ambushing a New Jersey militia unit at Quinton's

Bridge. Major Simcoe was detailed to attack a militia detachment guarding Hancock's Bridge on Alloways Creek. On the night of March 20-21, Simcoe's Loyalists attackedn the Hancock's Bridge garrison, killing everyone they could find in the vicinity, including men they encountered along the road, twenty to thirty militiamen sleeping in the Hancock house and Judge William Hancock and his brother, who happened to be local Loyalists. Following the massacre, the British threatened to use local Loyalists to "attack all such of the Militia who remain in Arms, burn and destroy their Houses and other Property, and reduce them, their unfortunate Wives and Children, to Beggary and Distress." In response to such incursions Washington dispatched Colonel Israel Shreve's Second New Jersey Regiment from Valley Forge to New Jersey, and when the British returned to Philadelphia after the raid, the Second remained in New Jersey.

Newspapers in British occupied Philadelphia argued that the Loyalist expedition won over a populace that "lamented much that the army was to depart and leave them again to the tyranny of the rebel faction," it seems more likely that it merely elevated the general climate of chaos in the area. The violence created a situation that Reverend Collin described as a climate of "distrust, fear, hatred and abominable selfishness" and spawned a local civil war within the general war.

Reverend Collin recalled that that "militia and some regular troops on one side and refugees with the Englishmen on the other were constantly roving about in smaller or greater numbers, plundering and destroying everything in a barbarous manner." On the other side of the state there was constant skirmishing between Loyalist and British troops and American militia, from Bergen County to Monmouth. On November 27, 1777, General Dickinson led a force of 1,400 militiamen on a massive raid on Staten Island and captured 200 Loyalists of the New Jersey Volunteers, most of them recruited in Bergen County.

By the spring of 1778, the course of the war had taken a dramatically different turn. The American victory at Saratoga in October 1777 led to French intervention in the conflict. New military realities in the American war demanded a change in British strategy. Troops and ships were detailed to defend against potential French moves against Britain's West Indian possessions, and initiate offensive operations against French islands in the West Indies. These new priorities led to a scaling down of operations in the Middle Atlantic region. The consolidation needed to provide troops for other missions required that the main British army in Philadelphia move back to New York -- and initiate that change of base as soon as possible.

On April 20, Washington convened a council of his generals to consider the army's initial moves for the 1778 campaign season. Although some generals wanted to pursue a more aggressive policy elsewhere, the final conclusion was that recovery of Philadelphia was the most important item on the American agenda, and that the army should closely monitor British activity in and around the city. On May 6, following a rollicking May Day celebration in which the men of Maxwell's Jersey Brigade, some dressed as Indians and well-fortified with whiskey, their hats adorned with cherry blossoms, marched with "mirth and Jollity" in honor of "King Tammany," the whole army gathered for a formal announcement of the French alliance, followed by salutes of cannon fire and a musketry *feu de joie."*

On May 8 Washington launched a 2,200-man expeditionary force of Continentals and militiamen supported by five artillery pieces under the Marquis de Lafayette across the Schuykill River to disrupt British foraging parties and gather intelligence on enemy intentions. Lafayette camped at Barren Hill and deployed in a defensive position, and Howe ordered General Clinton to bag the entire force. Clinton moved out of Philadelphia with 12,000 men in three columns intended to converge in a complicated tactical scenario on the Americans, but Lafayette eluded him.

Clinton who assumed army command shortly afterward, would have preferred to withdraw by sea, down the Delaware River, around Cape May and north to New York. The threat of intervention by a French fleet made such a course dangerous, however. A lack of available transport ships would have made it necessary to move the British army and its entourage, including some 3,000 panicked Loyalists eager to leave town, in relays. Clinton decided to load his heavy gear and baggage aboard ships, along with all of his sick and disabled soldiers and the Tories, then march across "the Jerseys" with his able bodied troops and the remainder of his supplies and equipment, the latter hauled in some 1,500 wagons.

By mid-May it was apparent to Washington that the enemy was up to something. Maxwell's brigade, reinforced by nine-month service "levy" militia draftees and substitutes and militiamen under General Dickinson, took up a position at Mount Holly and awaited developments. The Jersey general had had a few rough spots over the winter; he was found innocent at a court martial accusing him of being drunk during the Brandywine fight and survived lobbying by some of his officers to have him removed from command. With the arrival of the campaign season, however, "Scotch Willie" was ready for action.

By early June, terrified Tories were “packing up and fleeing [Philadelphia] before the wrath of Congress” as British troops in small numbers began to cross the Delaware into New Jersey at Cooper’s Ferry. In the early morning hours of June 16, Clinton removed his artillery from the redoubts around Philadelphia and began to march his army down to the river. Within two days the entire British force had crossed into New Jersey and the supply train was well on its way to Haddonfield. Once aware that Clinton had evacuated the city, Washington began to move his army from Valley Forge, sending troops to Philadelphia and heading northeast with his main force to Coryell’s Ferry, (modern New Hope) to cross the Delaware to New Jersey. The Americans marched swiftly and efficiently, by divisions, revealing the professionalism that had permeated their ranks over the winter at Valley Forge.

Chapter 5

The Turning Point

As General Clinton's army began its march resistance, in contrast to 1776, was quick and stiff. The New Jersey militia and Maxwell's Continentals harassed the column continually, wrecking bridges, filling in wells and delivering sporadic bursts of musketry into the line of march. Captain Ewald of the *Jaegers* recalled that "skirmishing continued without letup. Many men fell and lost their lives miserably because of the intense heat, and due to the sandy ground which we crossed through a pathless brushwood where no water was to be found on the entire march." One militiaman who carried a rifle, rare for the usually musket-armed Jerseymen, dropped a British soldier, one of a group plundering a house, at 100 yards distance.

Clinton issued strong orders against "marauding," and threatened soldiers caught pillaging with "execution on the spot." Even John Simcoe advised his men that "an abhorrence of plunder…distinguishes the truly brave from the cowardly ruffian," and ordered his officers to march in the rear of their companies to make sure that "no soldier quitted his rank on any pretence…"

Despite Clinton's proclamation, his men "plundered the [local] inhabitants of their household goods, their grain, horses and cattle…at every opportunity." Major Richard Howell of the Third New Jersey reported that local people were "villainously plundered." Many farmers drove their stock into hiding places like Deer Park Swamp near Moorestown to hide them from the British.

At Mount Holly, British soldiers burned an iron works and several houses of local leaders. Clinton offered a reward of twenty-five Guineas for information as to the perpetrators, No one collected. On June 21 Lieutenant Colonel Clarke of the British Seventh Regiment condemned the "irregularity and excesses that have been committed these few days," adding that officers should "prevent its happening again," and threatened punishment "with the utmost Severity." One officer recorded that even with "all the precautions taken, a good deal of plundering [was] going on." A Hessian major wrote that "… there was much plundering, which disturbed General Clinton… It has made the country people all the more embittered rebels."

Clinton later felt "obliged to say that the irregularity of the Army during the March reflected much disgrace on that discipline which ought to be the first object of an Officer's Attention." British Grenadier Lieutenant William J. Hale was offended by the reprimand "for disorder and plundering," which he inaccurately attributed solely to "the followers of the Army" -- its women. While chasing deserters near Recklesstown, a Hessian lieutenant came upon "English soldiers with stolen goods." American private Joseph Plumb Martin recalled the "devastation" the British caused, including "cattle killed and lying about the fields and pastures, some just in the position they were in when shot down, others with a small spot of skin taken off their hind quarters and a mess of steak taken out; household furniture hacked and broken to pieces; wells filled up and mechanic's and farmer's tools destroyed."

The British marched on through appalling heat, and at Allentown, Clinton decided to push on to Sandy Hook rather than through New Brunswick to Perth Amboy and Staten Island. The shorter route would save time and remove the risk of crossing the Raritan River with his vulnerable baggage train, and, at the same time, pull away from the following American army.

When the British reached Monmouth Court House Clinton decided to halt and rest his exhausted men. On the morning of June 24, Washington called a council of war at Hopewell. General Charles Lee, who had returned following a comfortable British captivity in New York, maintained that the American army was absolutely unable to stand up to Clinton's and that Washington should limit himself to harassing the British, a concept known as providing a "bridge of gold" passage out of one's territory. Most officers, however, wanted to fight. Lafayette believed it would be "disgraceful and humiliating" for the Americans to allow the British to withdraw without a battle, and Steuben, confident of the combat readiness of the troops he had trained, agreed.

Washington took a middle course, ordering a force of 1,400 "picked men" from different regiments, with four artillery pieces, under the command of Brigadier General Charles Scott, to harass the British left flank and rear guard. The order moved more American forces to the front and increased the likelihood of a battle.

On June 25, Washington added 1,000 more "picked men" and two artillery pieces under General Wayne to the advance, and ordered Lafayette to assume overall command and harass the enemy with "every degree of annoyance." British march discipline was largely effective, however, and

the enemy were “in so compact a body” that the Americans could not inflict any significant damage.

General Lee complained that he should have Lafayette’s job due ro seniority, and Washington ordered him forward with a 600-man detachment to take command from Lafayette. On June 26, Lee arrived at Englishtown, five miles from the British, and began concentrating all the advance troops.

At 4:00 AM on June 28, Clinton’s army, led by Knyphausen’s division, began to pull out of Monmouth Court House towards Middletown. Lee had ordered Colonel William Grayson to probe the enemy. Grayson and his soldiers marched out in relative morning cool towards Monmouth Court House.

Grayson was followed by other detachments, as well as two additional artillery pieces. Anthony Wayne’s 1,000-man detachment with four artillery pieces and then Scott’s men with four more guns followed as well. “Scotch Willie” brought up the rear with his Jerseymen, supplemented by two artillery pieces. Lee’s total strength was around 4,000 men.

The terrain between Englishtown and Monmouth Court House was a mix of farmland and woodlots, with creek beds bordered by marshy wetlands or “morasses” wending through it. New Jersey militiamen, supplemented by some Continental Light Dragoons, launched limited attacks on the British baggage train and had some success in disrupting the column.

General Cornwallis’s division was just north of town and his strong rear guard of over 2,000 men was deployed near the Court House. Washington wished to engage the enemy “as soon as possible,” since this would be was his last best chance to initiate a limited fight for limited ends on ground favorable to the Americans. As Nathanael Greene told his chief, “people expect something from us.”

The Continental army was prepared, allowing Washington to fight with reasonable expectations of successs. The Continentals could stand up to the British and, with some luck, inflict damage on them with minimal risk, although it was unlikely that Clinton could be defeated, The longer Clinton was delayed, however, the worse his overall outcome would be in terms of casualties, desertions and a potentially embarrassing, albeit limited, combat action.

As Grayson advanced, Hunterdon County mounted militiamen escorting General Steuben and several staff officers were attacked by Simcoe's Queen's Rangers Steuben and his party successfully escaped and Simcoe broke off the action when militia reinforcements arrived and he saw Grayson's Continentals in the distance. The British lost five men wounded, one mortally, but Simcoe carried off Steuben's hat as a war trophy.

Lee caught up with Grayson, and, with the rest of his command strung out behind them, held an impromptu conference with the colonel and New Jersey militia General Dickinson. Lee had no idea where the enemy was and soon got into a squabble with Dickinson, who reported that if Lee's men crossed the bridge over Spotswood Middle Brook, they would be vulnerable to a British attack with no easy way to withdraw. Lee decided to continue the advance.

Lee's progress was slow, and the Americans stuck to the woods as closely as they could, for concealment and as relief from the debilitating heat. Convinced the British were moving out, Lee ordered Wayne to attack and Lafayette, now leading Wayne's former command, to march northeast in hopes of cutting off the enemy rear guard. Unfortunately, the terrain blocked Lee from seeing that the rest of Cornwallis' division only a short distance beyond and he apparently thought he was only confronting about 600 British troops.

Things rapidly deteriorated as Clinton ordered a counterattack by his rear guard. Lee began to lose control of the overall situation, even confusing his own men with the enemy. Wayne could now see large numbers of the enemy moving in the distance and sensed he was in danger. He repulsed a few British probes and launched limited attacks of his own, but soon began to suffer casualties from enemy artillery fire and considered falling back.

Apprehensive about the security of his force, Lee issued a flurry of orders, which one officer later recalled as erupting "with a rapidity and indecision calculated to ruin us." It was too little too late, for General Cornwallis' men, who had returned to the field, were rapidly advancing.

With Cornwallis' grenadiers threatening their flank, one American unit after another fell back. Around 12:30, Lee formally ordered a general retreat, although the order was hardly necessary. With 6,000 British soldiers now bearing down on his fragmented command, Lee was no longer the hunter, but the hunted.

Many of the Continentals were puzzled by the retreat, which was the result of Lee's haphazard battle preparation and lack of terrain knowledge, combined with Clinton's aggressive desire to bring on an action to protect what he perceived was a serious attempt to seize his valuable baggage.

The American retreat never became a rout. There was confusion on the British side as well. Lieutenant William J. Hale of the Second Grenadier Battalion thought Lee had baited a clever trap to suck the British in. Turning his spyglass on some troops that seemed to be heading for his rear, Hale "saw from their variegated cloths they did not belong to our army" and feared encirclement. However, a slow but steady swarm of American soldiers was moving towards their own rear as rapidly as the increasingly hot day allowed.

The British paused briefly to consolidate when the Americans temporarily halted, Lee, desperate to find a place to make a stand, ordered another pullback, seeking the advice of militia officer Captain Peter Wikoff, who said either Combs' Hill or a ridge east of the Tennent Meeting House were the best defensive positions in the area. Lee perceived that Combs' Hill, while it dominated the battlefield (and still does) could not be easily occupied since his men and guns would have to navigate a thick wet hay meadow and marshy terrain, and ordered Wikoff to begin guiding troops to a position near the Tennent Meeting House.

As Lee fell back, units of the 8,000-man main American army, personally led by Washington, were marching to reinforce him. Washington was advised that Lee had made contact with the British, but was retreating, and dispatched aides to discover the situation. One staff officer encountered Colonel Matthias Ogden of the First New Jersey Regiment, who said he had no idea what caused the retreat.

Clinton had his best men, Grenadiers and Light Infantry, as well as half of his Dragoons, on the field, which made it seem possible to score a victory. The British infantry deployed into two battle lines and came on hard and fast. Lieutenant Hale recalled that the pursuit of Lee was "a march may I never again experience," along "sand [roads] which scorched through our shoes with intolerable heat; the sun beating on our heads with a force scarcely to be conceived in Europe." Men dropped with exhaustion, and "two [soldiers] became raving mad, and the whole road, strewed with miserable wretches wishing for death, exhibited the most shocking scene I

ever saw." It was equally bad on the other side; Private Martin recalled that by 11:00 AM the air was like that in a "heated oven" and "almost impossible to breathe."

Washington encountered Captain Wikoff leading the Second New Jersey to the rear, ordered him to take the Jerseymen to a woodlot to rest and then rode on to meet Lee. Most accounts of this encounter have been considerably elaborated, including stories that Washington called Lee a "damned poltroon" among other things. Private James Jordan in the Second New Jersey Regiment gave a more nuanced account, recalling that Washington merely asked Lee "What is this you have been about today?" Lieutenant-colonel Tench Tilghman, Washington's military secretary, remembered that Lee appeared confused, and claimed that the situation had prevented him from following orders and that a major attack on the enemy was not in the interest of the army or the country. Unsatisfied, Washington assumed direct command of the fight, but did not, contrary to popular myth, formally relieve Lee but ordered him to organize the rear guard.

The American commander ordered a delaying action east of the bridge over Spotswood Middle Brook until he could establish a defensive line to the rear. In the event, two forward lines were established, one on a hill slightly south of an American position in a woodlot, extending it southward and another, the "hedgerow" line, composed of rails and cut brush, still further to the rear and closer to Spotswood Middle Brook.

The British encountered stiff resistance near today's Wemrock Road, where Anthony Wayne's men opened fire and dropped forty British killed and wounded, including Lieutenant-colonel Henry Trelawney of the Foot Guards. The British rallied and pushed Wayne back. Heat exhaustion slowed the pursuit, however, as they "had several Men Dye on the spot with Thirst & Extreme Fatigue,"

Dragoons and Grenadiers pursued the Americans towards the hedgerow, and ran into a blizzard of American bullets and artillery canister shot, which one British officer described as "the heaviest fire I have yet felt," After five minutes the Americans disengaged and conducted a disciplined withdrawal across the brook and bridge, followed quickly by British Grenadiers. American artillery had deployed in force on Perrine Ridge, however, and blasted the pursuing enemy, killing Lieutenant-colonel Henry Monckton of the Grenadiers, whose men were unable to retrieve his body as they hastily retreated back across the brook.

The Continentals maintained unit cohesion and managed to cross Spotswood Middle Brook and its narrow bridge without losing a single color or gun and suffering relatively light casualties. Steuben's instruction allowed the Americans to perform a retrograde movement in the face of the enemy that might have produced panic in the same army the year before. The delaying actions proved critical, allowing Washington to improve his tactical position so that it was impregnable.

With the fight stalled, Clinton brought up artillery to engage the American batteries in a two-hour duel. Results were inconclusive, as the range was extreme. No guns were dismounted and casualties were limited, but the cannonade supplied a future American heroine, "Molly Pitcher." "Molly," whose real name was Mary Hays, was described by Private Martin as "a woman whose husband belonged to the artillery" and helped serve a gun alongside her spouse on the Perrine Ridge line.

Clinton, realizing victory was not likely and that he was running short of artillery ammunition, but with his baggage safely on the road to Middletown, ordered a withdrawal to consolidate closer to Monmouth Court House. As the British began to fall back, leaving a number of dead, dehydrated and seriously wounded men behind, Washington launched several limited attacks. The skirmishes provide concrete evidence of the cohesiveness, discipline and tactical ability of the Continental army in June 1778.

Washington advanced all along the line, but heat exhaustion and difficult terrain slowed the Americans to a crawl and the pursuit ended at 6:00 PM. The Americans slept on the battlefield to be prepared to renew the fight in the morning. Washington himself dozed under the stars, Lafayette alongside him, near the Sutphin farmhouse.

While the Americans slept, Clinton moved out of Monmouth Court House, and on to Sandy Hook, where he rendezvoused with Admiral Richard Howe's fleet. Today Sandy Hook is a peninsula, but in 1778 it was an island, separated from the mainland by a narrow tidal-cut channel. The British constructed a pontoon-style bridge of barges to march over to the island, and boarded ships in an efficient four-day evacuation operation.

The exact human toll of the fighting at Monmouth Court House is difficult to determine. Casualty reports were inconsistent and often framed to meet the propaganda goals of either side. Estimates range as high as 1,134 British and 500 Americans killed, wounded and missing in the

battle itself. None of these accounts include casualties incurred on the march before and after the battle.

On July 1 the American army began to march away from Monmouth Court House. The Continentals moved on in stages to White Plains, New York, with Maxwell's Jerseymen detached to Elizabethtown to keep watch on British activity on Staten Island and provide a trained force to reinforce the militia in case of any British or Loyalist incursions into eastern New Jersey. While the army marched, it court-martialed General Lee, who had demanded a trial for perceived insults he was subjected to by his commander on the field at Monmouth. He was convicted and his military career came to an end.

Monmouth Court House, the largest and most intense battle ever fought within the boundaries of the state of New Jersey, was the last major battle of the conflict fought in the north. The Monmouth campaign established that the Continental army had achieved tactical competence, and provided an opportunity to perfect cooperative tactics with the local militia that had originated in the New Jersey Forage War. A tough professional standing force, working with an aggressive militia and effective local political organization, spelled doom to British hopes for returning New Jersey, a state that had seemed a significant source of sympathizers less than two years before, to the loyal fold.

Chapter 6

The War Goes South

Following the battle of Monmouth Court House, Washington marched his army north and into New York and two years of intense military activity in New Jersey, in the words of one chronicler, “relapsed into quiet.” This was true as far as major battles were concerned, but British raids, coupled with sporadic violence by vengeance-seeking Loyalists, primarily in Bergen and Monmouth Counties, continued to be features of life in the state for the next five years.

Like Monmouth to the south, Bergen County was divided from the outset of hostilities, and many of the county’s citizens had signed loyalty oaths proffered by the British in 1776. Monmouth County’s Quakers had been reluctant to rebel and there was a religious element to the loyalty of many of Bergen County’s predominantly Dutch citizens as well, with a pre-war schism in the Dutch Reformed Church into conservative and liberal factions mirrored in politics. The conservative pastors and their flocks tended to remain loyal to the Crown, while the more liberal congregations tended to the Rebel side.

On September 22, 1778, General Clinton ordered General Cornwallis to organize a large foraging raid into Bergen County. Cornwallis occupied the village of English Neighbourhood, and a diversion on Staten Island kept the New Jersey Continentals under General Maxwell in place further south. Washington kept a wary eye on the expedition, as he was not sure if this was a major operation or temporary foraging mission.

Colonel George Baylor’s Dragoons, a mounted unit mustering 116 officers and men, were detailed as an observation force at a Hackensack River crossing and moved to Overkill (today’s River Vale) where they were quartered in various local homes. When the British learned of the dragoons’ location, they conducted a night bayonet attack. On September 28, in an action forever after known locally as the “Baylor Massacre,” the British overran the dragoons, who had unaccountably neglected to post sentries. The Americans lost 15 men killed and 54 wounded and captured. Colonel Baylor, who was wounded and among the prisoners, died several years later as a result of his injuries. Six of the dead Americans were hastily buried in abandoned

leather tanning vats by local militia the day after the massacre. In November 1778, Washington detailed two North Carolina Continental infantry regiments to reinforce local Bergen County militiamen in resisting further incursions.

The British failed to recognize that ravaging Bergen County did not make for an effective counterinsurgency program. In the words of Adrian Leiby, whose history of the war in Bergen was a pioneering work on the subject, Loyalists "…carried into New York a source of misinformation about American patriots which was as great a handicap to the British command as any false intelligence it received about Washington's army; men who could only deceive Britons, as they had deceived themselves, with the comforting assurance that American leaders were knaves and their followers fools."

Entrepreneurial war in the form of privateering flourished in the waters around New Jersey. New Jerseyans captured numerous British merchant ships on the way to New York, sold their goods and split the profits with state government. With New Jersey free from British occupation in the final years of the war, business was good for coastal privateers, from Raritan Bay to Cape May. General Clinton intended to curb this activity and chose breech loading rifle inventor Patrick Ferguson as his implement. Badly wounded in his right elbow joint at Brandywine, Ferguson had refused amputation and convalesced in British occupied Philadelphia, undergoing several operations to remove bone fragments from his now permanently disabled arm, and teaching himself to write left-handed.

Although disabled, Captain Ferguson remained with the main British army, and probably participated in the 1778 march across New Jersey. After the army reached New York, he was promoted to major and assigned to command of a composite force of Loyalists and regulars. In October 1778, Ferguson led this unit in a raid on the 'nest of rebel pirates" at Little Egg Harbor, burning privateer ships, salt works and the village of Chestnut Neck on the Mullica River.

General Casimir Pulaski's Legion and other troops were dispatched to the Mullica to reinforce local militia and prevent Ferguson from capturing Batsto, a bog iron forge town that served as an auction site for privateers. Ferguson, acting on information from an American deserter from Pulaski's unit, staged a surprise night bayonet attack, killing as many as fifty soldiers as they slept, and then returned to New York. He and his command came to a bad end at King's

Mountain, North Carolina, on October 7, 1780, where Ferguson, along with many of his men, was killed, and the remainder captured or scattered.

As the conflict in New Jersey simmered, there were periodic calls to reinforce the New Jersey Continental Brigade. Recruiting was not brisk, but drafts from the militia usually resulted in soldiers, many of them substitutes for actual draftees, coming to the colors for brief periods of service. As with the "Jersey Blues" of the French and Indian War, the enlisted ranks of the brigade were drawn primarily from small farmers and farm laborers.

Surprising to some today, the New Jersey brigade was, unlike future American military units, racially integrated. It is estimated that two percent of the men who served in New Jersey's "Second Establishment" brigade were non-white. Although some of these soldiers were Native Americans, most, like John Evans, who enlisted from Reading Township, were black.

The most well-known New Jersey African American Revolutionary War soldier was Oliver Cromwell, a Burlington County man who served from 1777 through 1783. Cromwell fought in numerous engagements, including Monmouth Court House, and lived until 1853. Jacob Francis, a twenty-one-year-old freed New Jersey slave, served over a year in a Massachusetts Continental unit, fighting at Long Island and Trenton. When discharged, he returned to his home in Amwell, New Jersey and served in the militia.

The New Jersey legislature was inconsistent in its enlistment policies. In 1779 it banned slaves from serving in militia units but on three occasions specifically freed slaves, including Peter Williams and Cato, owned by Loyalists, so that they could join state or Continental ranks. New Jersey law, like that of other states, allowed draftees to provide substitutes to serve in their place in the military when a conscription for Continental service occurred, and some men sent their slaves. Samuel Sutphen, a Somerset County slave soldier, substituted for his master, Caspar Berger, in both the militia and the New Jersey Continental Line between 1776 and 1780. He fought in numerous engagements including the battle of Long Island and was wounded in a New York State skirmish with British troops.

General Dickinson personally presented Sutphen with a musket for capturing a prisoner during an action at Van Nest's Mill during the Forage War, and he kept the gun for the rest of his life. Sadly, Sutphen's expectation of personal liberty at war's end was denied, although he eventually

purchased his freedom and then that of his wife. In old age Sutphen was denied a pension by the Federal government, because he served as a slave and substitute, rather than a free man. The New Jersey General Assembly awarded the old veteran a special stipend in 1836. Samuel Sutphen, a good man and a good soldier, died at the age of ninety-four, on May 8, 1841.

While the New Jersey Continentals struggled to maintain their unit strength, former governor William Franklin established himself in New York as a Loyalist leader. By 1779 he, along with other exiles, was advocating a scorched earth raiding policy against all nearby Patriot-held territory that could be reached. Franklin and his associates convinced themselves that New Jersey was a hotbed of Loyalist sympathy and that all they needed to do, paradoxically, was to launch brutal raids into the state to convince fence sitters to turn against the Patriot cause.

The winter of 1779-1780 was the most severe of the 18th century, and the Continental army, wintering once again near Morristown, suffered severely when snow covered roads hampered an already shaky supply system. Rumors persisted that the army was about to disintegrate, and that, coupled with the idea that a loyal population was in waiting, led the New York Tory clique to push for one more invasion of New Jersey.

The main British effort had turned south. Following the December 1778 capture of Savannah, Clinton himself led a force to attack Charleston, which fell to the British on May 12, 1780. The campaign had an impact on the New Jersey theater of the war because Washington had to respond to the enemy effort by sending Continental units south from Morristown.

While Clinton was away the command in New York fell to Hessian General Knyphausen. who decided to move on Morristown through Hobart's Gap in the Watchung Mountains at Springfield. Once through it was a relatively easy eleven-mile march over level ground to the town, where, presumably, after brushing aside New Jersey militiamen, he would scatter an already demoralized and understrength American army.

On June 6, 1780, Knyphausen moved 6,000 British and Hessian troops from Manhattan to Staten Island, and then over to Elizabethtown. Although initial resistance from elements of the New Jersey Brigade, caught by surprise, was light and sporadic, a lucky shot severely wounded the commander of the British advance, confusing and delaying the operation. By the time a combined force of New Jersey Continentals and militia under Colonel Elias Dayton was pushed

back to Connecticut Farms (today's Union) Scotch Willie Maxwell had arrived on the scene with more militiamen and the remainder of his brigade.

Maxwell held off the British advance guard for three hours until it was reinforced to over 3,000 men, then conducted a fighting withdrawal from house to house, fencerow to fencerow and woodlot to woodlot, gradually falling back beyond Connecticut Farms and across the Rahway River towards Springfield. As the running fight continued, militia reinforcements continued to arrive on the scene, and Washington dispatched his crack bodyguard detachment to stiffen the defense. By nightfall on June 7, Knyphausen had not yet reached Springfield, and all hope he might have had of a surprise dash through Hobart's Gap was gone. The following day he withdrew his main force to Staten Island, but retained his Elizabethtown beachhead.

As they withdrew, British troops looted homes in Connecticut Farms and burned several. One British soldier, perhaps mistaking movement inside a house for an American militiaman, shot through a window and killed Hannah Caldwell, wife of prominent local Patriot leader Reverend James Caldwell. The killing was likely an accident, but the fact that British soldiers knocked down the door of the house shortly afterward and searched Mrs. Caldwell's body for jewelry was not.

Following Clinton's return to New York from Charleston, the British decided to try again to push through Hobart's gap. On June 23 a force under Knyphausen landed once more at Elizabethtown, but the German general, more cautious this time, deployed a significant number of men to guard his rear area and lines of communication against militia raids. He then divided the remainder of his force into two columns, to advance via separate routes on Connecticut Farms and then Springfield. One column, under Knyphausen himself, moved on Galloping Hill Road and another further north along Vauxhall Road. A third British force crossed the Hudson from New York City and marched towards the north end of the Watchungs, to act as a diversion but be in position to attack Washington should he try to move on Knyphausen. Clinton, who was receiving intelligence from Benedict Arnold, knew a French fleet was approaching Rhode Island to land troops to assist the Americans, and his move north was also intended to block a juncture of American and French forces.

Knyphausen had built a pontoon bridge to Elizabethtown, so the initial stages of his new offensive were quicker and less problematic than before. Washington, apprehensive of Clinton's

moves, assigned General Nathanael Greene to take over operations beyond Elizabethtown. Greene had Philemon Dickinson's militiamen on call to back up his regular force of around 1,000 Continental soldiers, which included Maxwell's Jerseymen. In the early morning hours of June 23, the British advanced. Greene had deployed the Second New Jersey and Second Rhode Island regiments to defend the first two bridges on the Galloping Hill Road and posted the First New Jersey and Lee's Legion at the Vauxhall Road bridge, holding the remainder of his men in reserve.

Many local militiamen had drifted home following the failure of Knyphausen's first offensive. Some who remained sniped at the advancing British, while about 500 responded to a call from Dickinson to return and were ordered to back up the Second New Jersey. At Connecticut Farms, men from the Loyalist New Jersey Volunteers encountered fellow Jerseymen from the Jersey Continentals and militia and were initially unsuccessful in forcing a passage. Simcoe's Rangers eventually penetrated the American line and routed the militia, but the Jersey Continentals conducted a fighting retreat. On the Vauxhall front, German *Jaegers* were stalled by the Rhode Islanders and an artillery piece, but British artillery counter-battery fire disabled the American gun. Two British regiments forded the stream, which was only a few feet deep, and the outflanked Americans slowly retreated towards Springfield. The battle seesawed back and forth, but the British, with the advantage of superior numbers, steadily pushed the Americans west.

Outflanked on the Vauxhall road by militia on a nearby hillside, the British abandoned that path and traversed a side road to join Knyphausen, who had, by this time, fought his way into Springfield. Greene had pulled his men back, reorganizing his defense so that he was blocking Hobart's Gap, with Maxwell holding the mountainside behind in a reserve position. Checked once more, Knyphausen made a command decision that clearing the gap and moving on to Morristown, with a force of determined Continentals in front of him and increasing numbers of militiamen joining the fight, was not possible. He ordered his men to burn the town of Springfield and prepare to retreat.

The tale of Reverend Caldwell coming out of his church with an armload of Watt's hymnals and handing them out to militiamen for "wadding" for their muskets while crying "Let them Eat Watts boys," has long been part of the folklore of the battle of Springfield. The story is best taken with the proverbial grain of salt. While Caldwell may well have been present and, as a firebrand

Patriot whose wife was killed by a British soldier, vigorously supporting the Continentals and militiamen, it is unlikely they used his hymnal pages for "wadding." Continental soldiers, and militiamen as well, came to a fight with prepared musket cartridges of powder and ball wrapped in paper, and would have had no need for "wadding," as the cartridge paper, rammed down the barrel along with the musket ball, provided it. In March, 1780, the New Jersey Assembly authorized the purchase of, among other war materials, a large amount of gun powder and cartridge paper for the militia and hired people to make up cartridges and pack them into storage boxes, so there was certainly no lack of available prepared ammunition at Springfield. It is possible that the minister ran out of the church with armfuls of books to save them from impending fire, and that somehow was responsible for the legend. It has also been suggested that the "wadding" was offered for use by artillery, which is equally unlikely. The story seems to have its origins in a nineteenth century poem by Bret Harte

The British retreat from Springfield, as with the advance, followed both Vauxhall and Galloping Hill Roads, with Simcoe's Legion and German *Jaegers* providing a rear guard in the face of swarms of angry militiamen. And so, the last serious British attempt to regain New Jersey for the crown ended ignominiously, failing in the face of effective militia response in cooperation with Continentals. With the end of the battle of Springfield, major British operations in New Jersey concluded.

Chapter 7

Victory

Loyalist guerilla raids fostered by former governor Franklin did not abate following Knyphausen's failures, but took on a more desperate tone. The violence became especially vicious in Monmouth County. Monmouth, like Bergen County, had a large Loyalist population at the outbreak of the Revolution, many of whom fled during the Patriot ascendency, leaving valuable property behind, and were eager to extract revenge. The county's extensive coastline was impossible to effectively control although mounted Militia "Light Horse" units patrolled the beaches in rotational duty stints.

In 1778, following the Battle of Monmouth, an escaped Shrewsbury slave named Titus began a brief but notorious career as "Colonel Tye" after being hired as a raider by Franklin's Associated Loyalists. Throughout 1779, Tye and his multiracial band descended on households of known Patriots, killed or captured military age men who happened to be present, and gathered up valuables, livestock, and other property. Following a raid, the Loyalists would retreat to "Refugeetown," a fortified community on Sandy Hook, which had been held by the British since Howe's arrival in 1776. By 1779, Refugeetown was a busy base of operations for those who sought to deal a blow to the Patriots and pocket a profit in a fusion of ideology and entrepreneurism.

Continental army troops were sent to Monmouth to stiffen the militia. On April 25, 1779, however, the Continentals fell back in the face of a 700-man expeditionary force of Loyalists and Regulars advancing on Tinton Falls, a town with an iron forge that was a militia supply point. The enemy force looted the town after scattering ineffectual militia opposition. Following the attack, Washington withdrew the Continentals, whose presence he felt had motivated the raiders, rather than deterred them. A subsequent raid on Tinton Falls by around 100 Refugee irregulars succeeded in capturing the Patriot leadership of the town and then destroyed it. The raiders carried off all the livestock they could find, burned houses and public buildings and "behaved like wild or mad men" according to one witness. Militiamen caught up with them as at Jumping Point and fourteen militiamen and two raiders were killed in a vicious hand to hand battle.

There was marauding in the other direction as well, most notably General Dickinson's assault on British occupied Staten Island. On March 30, 1780, raiders looted the home of John Russell, a Patriot reviled for his attacks on Staten Island, killing him and wounding his son. In June 1780 Loyalists killed Monmouth County militiaman Joseph Murray in retaliation for his alleged summary executions of several captured Tories. A few days later, Refugees captured Captain Barnes Smock and twelve other Patriot militia leaders and hauled them off to New York.

As Loyalists from continued to wreak havoc in Monmouth County, panicked residents frantically petitioned Governor Livingston for assistance. The governor established martial law in Monmouth but had few men available to enforce it, as many farmers with Patriot leanings were more interested in tending to the planting season than policing far and wide. Others simply wanted to stay out of the growing civil war. The governor did authorize bounties to enlist some state troops to garrison various points in the county.

In August of 1780, Tye, whose reputation had soared with the capture of two members of the New Jersey legislature and several militia officers, embarked on a raid that would prove his undoing. The African American guerilla and his band, accompanied by a detachment of regular Loyalist troops, attempted to capture prominent Patriot Captain Joshua Huddy in his Colts Neck home. Huddy held the raiders off for hours by running from one window to another firing off shots as his mistress, Lucretia Emmons, reloaded muskets for him. He eventually surrendered but later escaped. Tye was wounded in the wrist during the fight, and the injury became led to his death, apparently from tetanus, within days, although his fame resonated across Monmouth County for years after his death. The *New Jersey Gazette* referred to "the famous negro Tye" in an April 1782 article, judging him "justly much more to be feared and respected, as an enemy, than any of his brethren of the fairer complexion."

The actions of Tye and other Loyalist guerillas and their militia opponents reveal the nature of the Revolution in New Jersey in the closing years of the war. The conflict had transitioned from large scale foraging expeditions by regular troops and the formal battles of Trenton, Princeton and Monmouth into bushwhacking and banditry. Although the tendency of eighteenth-century armies, particularly the British in New Jersey, to engage in pillage and other bad behavior, it was geographically limited. With the advent of partisan raiding parties, however, homesteads across widespread areas were transformed into potential targets.

In September 1779, a proposal to compensate victims of Tory raids in Monmouth from the sale of the confiscated estates of Loyalist refugees was defeated in the New Jersey Assembly by a margin of thirty to six. Unsurprisingly, all three Monmouth County representatives supported the bill. Monmouth residents were feeling considerable pressure from the frequent raids that struck along the shore, horse thieves active in the northern part of the county, and "Pine Robbers" hiding in the Pinelands to the south.

In early 1780, a group of Monmouth Patriot leaders convened to form the Association for Retaliation. This extra-legal organization was created for the sole purpose of harassing suspected local Loyalists and their sympathizers still residing in the county by using some of the same tactics employed by Tory refugee groups; violence, theft, and murder. The participants drafted a constitution entitled "The Articles of Association for Purposes of Retaliation," a document that exemplifies the principle of an "eye for an eye."

By the time the "Retaliators" were organized, the war in Monmouth had degenerated into a bitter civil conflict with political agendas, personal revenge and economic opportunities all in the mix. The Retaliators were at the center of this maelstrom, and despite the questionable nature of their actions they continued to seek official recognition from the state, petitioning the legislature in June 1780 to recognize them as a legal militia entity. Livingston and the legislature declined, however.

The Retaliators did not wait for a response from the state before holding their first public gathering on July 1, 1780. During this meeting they elected former Continental colonel and militia Brigadier General David Forman, an active Patriot from a prominent Freehold Township family, to serve as chairman of their nine-man board.

Although opposed by moderates within the Patriot community, including militia and state troop leader Colonel Asher Homes, the Retaliators and the enmity that motivated them and their Refugee foes would carry the violence in Monmouth past the general cessation of hostilities that followed the Yorktown surrender in 1781, including the murder of Loyalist prisoner Philip White by Retaliators and the revenge lynching of Joshua Huddy, captured in a blockhouse fight in Toms River and a prisoner in New York, in 1782. The subsequent international incident caused by the proposed hanging of a British regular officer in response to the Huddy lynching led William Franklin, who exercised direct control of the Loyalists, to leave New York for London.

In July 1783 at Sandy Hook, even though the war was effectively over, a band of Retaliators fell upon, captured and severely beat three sailors from the British ship *HMS Vixen* as they completed a mission to collect fresh water from a well. It was not until the British evacuation of New York in the fall of 1783 that the Retaliators quietly faded away. They were replaced by the Association to Oppose the Return of Tories, which exploited local animosities towards Loyalists but vowed to conduct itself moderately, utilizing legal channels, and apparently provided a political home for many former Retaliators in the post-war era.

Following the battle of Springfield, Scotch Willie Maxwell, worn out from fighting the British and victimized by the political backbiting of the Ogden familyofficers in his brigade, who several times plotted to have him court-martialed or relieved from duty, resigned his commission and retired to his family farm in Warren County.. Maxwell served in the New Jersey Assembly in 1783. Although maligned over the years by some, accused of being a drunkard by others, and forgotten by most everyone, Scotch Willie was one of the most talented generals New Jersey ever produced. He died on his farm in 1796 and was buried in the First Presbyterian Church burial ground in Greenwich.

Despite their good conduct at Springfield, the New Jersey Continental regiments continued a long decline in strength into 1780. Recruits were not forthcoming and what had once been a four-regiment brigade gradually diminished. The Fourth Regiment was disbanded and the Brigade was reinforced by Spencer's Additional Continental Regiment, which had been raised in New Jersey. In September 1780 the brigade mustered around 900 men. A temporary reinforcement levy of six-months militia conscripts were mustered out in June 1781, and the Third Regiment and Spencer's Regiment were disbanded by January 1781.

Over the winter of 1780-81, the sadly diminished New Jersey Brigade wintered at Pompton, northeast of Morristown. Their pay came late, and when it arrived it was worth less than the last time they were paid, due to the depreciation in value of Continental money. Food and clothing were in short supply as well, and men complained that they had enlisted for three years of service and that their enlistments were being arbitrarily extended to the end of the war. Although the New Jersey legislature promised to redress the pay issue in January 1781, the Jerseymen, following the example of Pennsylvania regiments that had mutinied over similar grievances, then largely had those grievances redressed, mutinied as well. About 200 mutineers marched

from Pompton to Chatham, where Colonel Elias Dayton was quartered, presented their demands and argued with their officers for several days before laying down their arms. Although Dayton promised pardons for all, a detachment of New England troops arrived from West Point and surrounded the mutineers, who surrendered. Subsequent court martial of the leaders resulted in two men being executed by firing squad.

Although their new brigade commander, Lieutenant-colonel Francis Barber, characterized his Jerseymen as "a set of drunken, unworthy fellows," he leding a picked light infantry detachment from the brigade to Yorktown, where they became part of the unit that successfully assaulted Redoubt Number 10 and were present for the British surrender. The New Jersey Brigade spent the following winter in Morristown, and then, in August 1782, moved on to New Windsor, New York, the last encampment of the Continental Army. While at New Windsor, Lieutenant-colonel Barber was killed when a tree a soldier was cutting down fell on him, presumably accidentally.

The end of the Revolutionary War ended combat within the boundaries of the state of New Jersey to the present day. New Jerseyans would, however, travel far and wide as soldiers of the United States, engaging in battle over succeeding centuries in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Canada, Mexico, from Virginia to the banks of the Mississippi, and then on to the far corners of the wide world.

Chapter 8

The Decline of the Militia

In the wake of the Revolution, it seemed to many that amateurs had defeated the best professional army in the world. No one remembered the caveats of the situation; support for the war against Britain had been, especially in New Jersey, less than unanimous, the British army that fought the war had largely been raised in haste itself, long supply lines had hampered the British war effort, the regulars of the Continental Line, trained by Von Steuben in European-style tactics, had provided an anchor for the part time soldiers of the militia to rally round, and the intervention of France had proved decisive.

The militia had indeed made a significant contribution to ultimate victory, but as part of a more complex scenario. The mythology that arose surrounding the Revolution did not permit thoughtful analysis of military affairs, however. Defeat usually results in more introspection and innovation than victory. Like soldiers of many future wars, the Continentals of the New Jersey line, given short shrift by their political masters, were sent packing at the end of the conflict with, to paraphrase a modern cliché, a perfunctory "thank you for your service."

The idea that a standing army was composed of ne'er do well enlisted men and untrustworthy officers and thus a danger to the republic, rather than an instrument of security, became the dominant philosophy among most of the new nation's leaders. Although the militia still existed on paper, it quickly became moribund in the coastal states, and even the frontier citizen-soldier force during the period of the Articles of Confederation, approved as a national governing document in 1781, seems to have been little more than an armed mob for the most part. The regular army was almost non-existent. As one scholar points out, "the term 'army' appeared only once in the Articles." The document required each state to maintain "a well-regulated and disciplined militia," locally based and equipped with small arms and accoutrements, with artillery and logistical support available at the state level. All officers up to and including the rank of lieutenant-colonel were appointed by the states, with colonels and generals to be named by Congress. In order to fight a war, the federal government had to ask for men and money from the states, which could refuse the request

In 1784 the entire United States regular army consisted of a regiment of 720 volunteers recruited from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania for one year's service. In 1785 the unit was reorganized and reenlisted for three years' service. The First United States Regiment was responsible for guarding military stores as well as defending the frontiers but was woefully insufficient for the latter task.

Under the terms of the treaty of 1783 ending the Revolution, the "Northwest Territories" came under the nominal authority of the United States. British traders based in Detroit still operated in the area, however, and local Native-American tribes resisted American expansion. Sporadic frontier warfare between whites and Indians, with origins in settler encroachment even before the Revolution, became a regular feature of the 1780s frontier, and local militia forces proved inadequate to defend settlers who, in at least some cases, began to rethink their relationship with the United States and flirted with Spanish authorities to the south. Revolutionary War hero George Rogers Clark was given command of a state force to secure the Virginia frontier. Drafted militiamen reluctant to serve rioted in protest, getting Clark's campaign off to a shaky start, and once the unit arrived at the frontier, continued insubordination destroyed its effectiveness, and the operation was abandoned.

Meanwhile, in western Massachusetts, rebellion was in the air. In 1786, former Continental Army officer Daniel Shays led 1,100 men, many of them veterans in an armed protest against bankers who held mortgages on their farms and refused to grant debt relief. Governor John Hancock called out the local militia to suppress the rebellious little army, but the militiamen simply stood by and watched as Shays and his men marched on the state capitol. Fearful that money, status, and even personal safety, were on the line, well to do Boston merchants hired an essentially mercenary force from the eastern Massachusetts militia to put down the rebellion. Shays fled the state. That incident, coupled with frontier troubles, interstate rivalries and monetary problems, scared the American political and economic elite into gathering in Philadelphia at a constitutional convention intended to establish a stronger government more able to control both its borders and internal security.

The Constitution adopted in 1789 was, like the Articles, created by men who mostly regarded a standing army as an inherent danger to civilian government. Provisions made for the militia in the new governing document were vague, and legislation framing the organization yet to be

determined, but it seemed clear that control of the militia was assigned to the states. The tiny one-regiment regular army of the Confederation continued to exist as a federal force, primarily to police the frontier, which continued to sputter with violence as settlers pushed further into Native American territory.

A 1790 assessment claimed that 1,500 settlers had been killed or captured and 20,000 horses stolen in Indian raids along the Kentucky frontier since 1783. Although the United States initially sought a negotiated solution to these hostilities, in 1790, following the recommendation of Secretary of War Henry Knox, President George Washington ordered General Josiah Harmar to pacify the Indians of the Ohio country with military force.

After a struggle to accumulate supplies and ammunition, Harmar assembled his force, a small regular army detachment supplemented by 1,500 Kentucky and Pennsylvania militiamen, at Cincinnati. The Kentucky militiamen were mostly draftees and substitutes for draftees who had little to no knowledge of military discipline or conduct or even familiarity with firearms. One officer characterized the Kentuckians as "…unused to the gun or woods." Many of their weapons were broken and useless. The Pennsylvanians, also a mix of draftees and substitutes, were, if anything, even worse. Only 300 of the promised 500 showed up, and they were mostly "old, infirm men and young boys." Despite the militia requirement to bring one's own firearm to active service, many had no weapons, and their commander confessed that most of them "probably had never fired a gun." Few knew how to disassemble what weapons they had, or even how to fix a flint in the jaws of a musket's hammer.

Harmar's little army marched north from Cincinnati at the end of September 1790 againstwhat turned out to be 1,100 seasoned warriors defending their homes under the leadership of capable Native American commanders. Before Harmar left he received a letter from Knox alleging that he was known to be a drunk and that if the expedition failed Knox would know why. The portly Secretary of War knew as well as any modern politician how to hedge his bets when a policy he advocated appeared to be on the edge of failure. And fail it did.

Harmar's goal was to destroy Kekionga, the major settlement of the Ohio tribes. As Harmar closed in the Indians abandoned Kekionga, Discipline among the Kentuckians, never very strong, broke down completely in a festival of plundering as they spread out to other abandoned villages. On October 19, Miami chief Little Turtle launched a counteroffensive, ambushing a

force of Kentuckians and some regular army soldiers. The Kentuckians fled the scene, some not stopping until they reached home, leaving the outnumbered regulars to cover their hasty retreat. Harmar dispatched another force a few days later and it too was ambushed. Following these multiple defeats, Harmar declared victory and withdrew to Fort Washington, his casualties totaling 183 men killed or missing. True to his word, Knox initiated court martial proceedings against Harmar, who was eventually acquitted, but left the army.

The Harmar expedition exacerbated the frontier problem and led to another effort. President Washington appointed Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territories, who had served as a general in the Revolution, to the rank of major general, with orders to resolve the issuel. Washington called the general to Philadelphia and advised him, based on the president's own French and Indian War experiences, to be wary of ambushes and secure his camp with rudimentary fortifications every night.

St. Clair would have, on paper at least, a better army than his predecessor. Congress authorized the raising of a second regiment of regulars and, in addition, in an experiment attempting to bridge the gap between regulars and worthless militiamen, authorized the enlistment of 2,000 "levies" from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia for six months of service. These troops would serve as a semi-regular force under officers appointed by the federal government rather than militia commanders and be uniformed and equipped and paid a bounty and the same salary as regulars. In addition, St. Clair had the authority to call up militiamen if necessary.

Had all the troops authorized been enlisted, St. Clair would have led a formidable 4,000-man army to Kekionga. In the event, however, things were far more muddled. Many men of the First United States Regiment refused to reenlist because their pay was reduced by Congress. Of 420 men whose enlistments expired, only sixty reenlisted. The new Second United States Regiment had difficulty securing recruits for the same reason. The entire strength of the First Regiment in the summer of 1791 was 299 men, mostly new recruits. The Second Regiment mustered less than 500 recruits, many of them "urban riffraff…former prisoners [and] inveterate drunkards… all totally unfamiliar with army methods and frontier life." The levy battalions did a bit better with a total of 1,674 officers and men enrolled out of an expected 2,000, although the quality of recruits was likened to that of the Second Regiment.

The levies were assembled into state-identified battalions and assigned to the First and Second Levy Regiments. The New Jersey levy battalion, four companies totaling 328 officers and men, traveled to Carlisle, then Pittsburgh and then down the Ohio River to Cincinnati's Fort Washington to join the army, hamstrung by erratic and poor logistical support.

Newark, New Jersey's William Duer, a shady character who had conned President Washington into giving the bride away at his Basking Ridge, New Jersey, wedding to Kitty Alexander, daughter of William Alexander, who styled himself as "Lord Stirling," was appointed as provision contractor to the army. Duer, a former member of the Continental Congress, was a good friend of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton and Secretary of War Knox, and Knox's business partner as well. He spent part of the money he was allotted to acquire supplies on land he hoped to sell to refugees from Revolutionary France and loaned $10,000 of it to Knox.

Another disastrous public official grafted on to the campaign was Samuel Hodgdon, a Revolutionary War veteran and friend of Knox appointed as army quartermaster. Hodgdon, whose friendships trumped his incompetence, shipped inadequate and inferior materials to the army in the west. He ordered condemned stores of gunpowder reprocessed for use in ammunition destined for an army sure to see combat. Hodgdon forgot to order footgear but Duer had a warehouse full of shoes on hand that were shipped to the troops – and wore out in an average of four days.

The force that gout-disabled General St. Clair led north on October 4, 1791 deteriorated as it marched. Many Virginia levies, claiming their six-month enlistments were up, went home. The force was further diminished by shedding soldiers needed to garrison posts established to guard the supply route hacked out of the wilderness, and men were also lost to illness and desertion. Frosts destroyed forage for the horses and mules, and the expiration of the six-month enlistments of the Jerseymen and other remaining levies was impending. After establishing Fort Jefferson, St. Clair pushed on, intent on forcing a battle before his army, now mustering around 1,700 men, disintegrated.

St. Clair ignored Washington's advice to fortify his camp every night and took his Indian fighting clues from Knox, who believed a display of "disciplined valor" would send the enemy flying. His little army struggled along into the increasingly cold weather and camped near the Wabash River in sporadic snow on the evening of November 3, 1791. Although St. Clair laid out his

camp in a tactical manner, with artillery guarding the main approaches, he made no attempt to fortify the position and his force, composed of the Second United States Regiment and levies, including the New Jersey battalion, now reduced to 180 men, along with some Kentucky mounted militiamen, was not prepared to repel a determined attack. St. Clair posted the Kentucky horsemen a short distance to his front to provide early warning.

St. Clair believed the campaign would end with one big battle. His thoughts were confirmed, but not as he had anticipated. The Native American leader Little Turtle massed over 1,000 well-armed warriors from different tribes at Kekionga, and on the morning of November 4, at around 6:00 AM, he launched them at the Kentucky militia. The Kentuckians ran for their lives, and as they raced through the camp in terror, the levies and the Second Regiment formed up to fight.

A volley of musketry halted the Indian advance, but Little Turtle's men hit the ground and began a steady drumbeat of fire into St. Clair's camp, while maneuvering left and right to envelop his little army. Successive bayonet charges by the Americans pushed the enemy back from the perimeter, but the soldiers then found themselves isolated from flank support and forced to retreat, and the Indians pursued them back to their original line. Little Turtle's marksmen shot down so many artillerymen that the remaining gunners had to spike their cannons and abandon them. St. Clair's second in command was mortally wounded and the general had several horses shot out from under him attempting to supervise the defense. By 8:00 AM the situation had so deteriorated that he ordered a retreat. Fortunately, the uninjured and walking wounded were able to break out and make their way to safety and most of Little Turtle's men abandoned the pursuit to plunder the camp.

Several days later, as the decimated force fell back towards Cincinnati, officers totaled up the butcher's bill. The number of dead and missing, the latter presumed dead, came to 630; 230 wounded men managed to escape, a number to die afterwards. Scarcely 500 men of the original force engaged in the November 4 fight escaped uninjured. Indian casualties were negligible, most estimates being less than 100 killed and wounded. The four New Jersey companies under the command of Major Thomas Paterson, a former captain in the Revolutionary War Third New Jersey Regiment, were badly shot up. Over the course of its service, from May through November 1791, 328 officers and men served in the New Jersey battalion. Of these, 34 deserted,

5 died of undisclosed causes, 51 were killed or went missing on November 4, and 8 were wounded but escaped. Captain William Piatt, who had served with the First New Jersey Regiment in the Continental Army, was killed in action. Another company commander, Captain Zebulon Pike, descendent of the founder of Woodbridge, New Jersey, who also had Continental army service, survived the expedition. His son, Zebulon Pike Jr., would be heard from in the future, as both a Jerseyman and a national figure. With their term of service up, the Jersey levies were discharged; a few enlisted in the regular army, but most seem to have had enough of soldiering.

Chapter 9

The "Watermelon Army"

The regular army was upgraded significantly after the Wabash disaster and placed under the leadership of General Anthony Wayne, who created the combined arms 'Legion of the United States." Wayne avenged St. Clair's defeat at the battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, but national defense continued to be entrusted to a militia establishment, formalized to a degree by the Uniform Militia Act of 1792, which became law in May of that year. The law specified that militia duty was an obligation of free, able bodied white men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, who were to provide themselves with weapons and accouterments at their own expense. Certain exemptions, primarily created by the individual states, applied to citizens otherwise obligated.

There was no detailed instruction as to how the militia should be organized and commanded, although, in an attempt to provide some sort of basic uniformity should militias from different states be called up for federal duty together, states were encouraged, albeit not mandated, to organize their forces into battalions, regiments, brigades and divisions. Each line battalion was supposed to contain elite companies of grenadiers, riflemen or light infantry, and a small force of cavalry and artillery.

Every state was required to appoint an adjutant general to supervise its militia, and report to both the state's governor and the president on an annual basis. If implemented, the law would create a standby force of a half million men, but in the event, the lack of penalties for states that simply ignored the requirements made the legislation more of an advisory. When President Washington presented a plan devised by Secretary of War Knox that would further organize the militia as a national reserve for the tiny regular army, Congress rejected it, leaving militia command and control to the states. Another law, which gave the president the authority to call up the militia to suppress an insurgency, was balanced by the need for the chief executive to allow a federal judge to make the final decision in the matter, although once that approval was gained, states were, unlike under the Militia Act, compelled to obey or suffer penalties.

In the end, militia obligations broke down to a simple to understand structure. The people of the then fifteen states subject to militia duty were required to keep and bear arms on a personal basis, and the militia was declared the official state military force, with each state's governor as its commander. Conscientious objectors like Quakers were exempt from militia service. Militiamen could be conscripted for service but could procure substitutes to serve in their places. State laws varied in numerous ways as to specific local militia organization, as the Act of 1792 allowed. A second act passed in 1792 gave the president the power to call the militia into active service to "execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions."

New Jersey passed its own Militia Act in 1792 to comply with the federal legislation. Although the entire able-bodied white male population was "the militia," and subject to service, the legislation authorized the counties to create companies of light infantry, grenadiers, cavalry and artillery that would "dress themselves in uniform regimentals," as a more active force.

The New Jersey militia got its first federal call to duty in the "Whiskey Rebellion" of 1794. Farmers in western Pennsylvania made whiskey out of most of their grain crop, not unusual in an era of poor transportation and lack of refrigeration. In 1791, when Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton decided to raise money to consolidate state and national debts from the Revolutionary War and Articles of Confederation eras and establish the United States as a worthwhile credit risk, he backed a law imposing an excise tax on whiskey, which was passed in March, 1791. Frontier farmers resisted the tax, initially through their legislators and by petition, but eventually an armed mob besieged the house of a federal tax collector in western Pennsylvania. President Washington dispatched mediators to solve the problem, and the tax was reduced, but the frontier continued to simmer. Mob violence escalated and in 1794 local militiamen rallied in support of those who refused to pay the tax. Shots were fired and a militia leader and Revolutionary War veteran officer was killed by United States soldiers.

It seemed as if full scale rebellion was about to break out in western Pennsylvania, and Washington called up militiamen from Virginia, Maryland, Eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey to enforce the law. A force of almost 13,000 men was mustered, including 4,318 from New Jersey. The Jerseyans were commanded in the field by Governor Richard Howell, a former major in the state's Continental Line who was later elevated to command of the impromptu army's right wing by Washington, who met the force in the field. The state's Adjutant General, Anton White,

a Revolutionary War cavalryman, was assigned to lead New Jersey's horsemen, and was subsequently assigned to command the entire force's cavalry. Brigade command was vested in Brigadier General Joseph Bloomfield, another New Jersey Continental Line veteran, while Major General Frederick Frelinghuysen, a militia commander in the Revolution, took charge of a mixed force of troops from other states.

The Jerseymen and their militia associates, derisively described in a Pennsylvania newspaper by a "Captain Whiskey" as "watermelon armies from the Jersey Shores," who would "cut a much better figure in warring with the crabs and oysters about the Capes of Delaware," were not in a mood to be trifled with. "A Jersey Blue" responded that "the water-melon army of New Jersey" was going to use "ten-inch howitzers for throwing a species of melon very useful for curing a gravel [sic] occasioned by whiskey!" One writer noted that the Jersey boys were ready to "exercise lynch law" on the tax evaders.

The New Jersey militia assembled at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, marched to Shippensburg, then Strasburg and then crossed the Blue Mountains, passing through Bedford, Parkinson's Ferry and Brown's Ferry and halting at Pittsburgh, where they joined militiamen from other states. The New Jersey militia did not engage in combat, but made a number of arrests, until , overawed by the approach of such a large force, the "'whiskey boys' succumbed, "asked the clemency of the government authorities and pledged their future submission to the law." The Jerseymen began their return to the state on November 21, 1794, and arrived back in Trenton on December 20, where they were discharged.

The years following the Whiskey Rebellion witnessed the steady decline of the New Jersey militia. "Training Days" became public entertainment events, with those who chose not to attend paying a minimal fine used to finance militia expenses. Sylvia Du Bois, a freed slave, characterized a Training Day she attended in Flemington in 1805 as "filled with dancing, laughter, music, and, most of all, rum." The experience convinced her to open her own tavern during future Training Days.

Although there was plenty of political infighting between Jeffersonian Republicans and Federalists, as well as the leadership of the old East and West Jersey sections of the state, New Jersey's military, as with the militia nationwide, became moribund. Following the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798, Republican militia officers refused to join Federalist officers in

signing a petition of support for President John Adams. Governor Howell, a Federalist, condemned the officers and they, in turn, maintained Adams had violated the Constitution. The feud went on in the partisan newspapers of the day, with Howell attacking the Republican officers as a "French faction" bent on political assassination, and the officers responding that the governor was the "Prince of Blackguards." When civil strife broke out again in Pennsylvania in 1799, Howell volunteered New Jersey militiamen to restore order, but regular army troops were assigned the task instead. Howell was embroiled in a constant series of political fights before leaving office in 1801 and dying the following year, amidst charges that he had embezzled state money.

Although Governor Howell proposed to raise a regiment when tensions with France spilled over into naval conflict in 1798, that did not come to pass. New Jerseyans did, however, serve in the regular army, navy and Marine Corps of the United States during the "quasi-war" naval conflict with France from 1798 to 1801 and the conflict against the Barbary pirates from 1801 to 1805. Joseph and William Bainbridge of Princeton, and Burlington-born James Lawrence, officers in both wars and heroes of the latter one, were Jerseymen and, ironically, the sons of Revolutionary War Loyalist fathers.

Within a few years the moribund militia would awaken, as war with Great Britain loomed once more. New Jersey, a coastal state, was particularly vulnerable to the massive British fleet, and the state took that seriously. New Jerseyans would join the regular army and navy as well, and the state's soldiers and sailors would do their duty in what many of their fellow citizens considered an unnecessary conflict.

Chapter 10

The War of 1812

The War of 1812 grew out of several issues. The British navy, in need of sailors due to a war with France, stopped American ships and impressed crewmen identified as deserters from the royal navy or naturalized American citizens born in Britain, and at least some native-born Americans as well, into British Naval service. On June 22, 1807, the British ship *HMS Leopard* attacked the *USS Chesapeake*, killing and wounding several American sailors, impressed several alleged British citizens and brought the countries to the brink of war.

Another cause of friction was the British supply of arms and encouragement to the Native American tribes of the northwest, a policy intended to limit American westward expansion. In response, many Americans were eager to expel Britain entirely from the North American continent and annex part or all of Canada.

Ongoing tensions led to political feuding between the Jeffersonian-Republican and Federalist parties, the latter more sympathetic to the British. On April 12, 1812, Congress authorized "a Detachment from the Militia of the United States" of 100,000 men to prepare themselves for six months of possible active service. The men were to be drawn from the able-bodied male population between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. If federalized, militiamen were authorized regular army pay and supplies but were exempted from the regular army's flogging as punishment for disciplinary infractions.

Thomas Jefferson believed that militiamen could adequately defend the country and had cut the small regular army and navy budgets during his two terms. Despite Jefferson's belief in the militia, between 1800 and 1812 that force's military capability, never strong after the Revolution, steadily deteriorated. Militia musters in the iron forge towns of the southern New Jersey Pinelands, for example, often turned into drunken brawls, or, as one historian euphemistically characterized them, "fights and frolics." On one occasion, an officer at Bodine's Tavern near Martha Furnace was court-martialed because he was "so intoxicated that he did not know the duty of a captain." Militia laws that allowed people to escape duty by paying a fine led to a military organization in which "men who served owned less than 1 percent of the property they helped to protect."

Many citizen soldiers could not afford the rifle or musket they were supposed to provide at their own expense – one study concludes that only 10 percent of militiamen owned their own guns. In 1808, Congress appropriated $200,000 to provide weapons to the states, an amount far less than needed. When New Jersey militiamen were called to service in 1812, a Cumberland County company commander whose men were “farmers, mechanics and shallop men” reported that they owned muskets “unfit for actual service, the most of them…old and various sizes” with few bayonets. Another Cumberland captain complained that “the expense of arms and accoutrements, exceeding fifteen dollars” was the reason his company was under strength.

The state purchased and issued firearms wherever possible. An 1804 inventory revealed that New Jersey claimed ownership of “12,915 muskets, 3,302 bayonets and three rifles” all of them reportedly in the hands of militiamen. In 1808 the state treasurer provided the adjutant general with $9,205.14 to purchase militia firearms, the money provided by fines levied on men who failed to show up for militia training days. Some of the muskets acquired by New Jersey were manufactured in the state by John Miles of Bordentown. Three surviving brass mounted muskets by Miles are marked as the property of the Burlington Brigade .Federal militia legislation of 1812 authorized President James Madison to call all or part of the ready force into action as he deemed necessary. On June 1, 1812, Madison sent a list of complaints against Britain to Congress, which responded with a declaration of war on June 18. New Jersey's congressional delegation was divided, with some voting for the declaration and others against it, including Senator John Lambert, of Madison's own Republican party.

The declaration was supported by the majority of the state’s Jeffersonian Republicans, and their sympathetic news outlets, including Elizabeth’s *New Jersey Journal*, hailed the new conflict with “our ancient and inveterate foe.” In contrast, many New Jersey Federalist legislators decried the war as “inexpedient, ill-timed, and most dangerously impolitick,” and called for a negotiated settlement as soon as possible, demanding “a speedy and honourable peace and no alliance with France.” The Federalists, hoping to gain Quaker votes, re-christened themselves the “Friends of Peace,” much to the disgust of the *Journal.* A disgruntled Republican threatened a Federalist newspaper, Elizabeth’s *Essex Patriot*, in a message warning “Your damd tory paper will be serve a Baltimore trick if don’t quit printing federal lies. If your shop burn down…tis not any more than what you deserve.” The paper’s office was indeed torched on October 20, 1813.

Governor Joseph Bloomfield, a fifty-nine-year old Revolutionary War veteran and Jeffersonian-Republican who had been governor of New Jersey every year but one since 1801 (Under the state constitution of 1776 governors were elected annually by the legislature – in 1802 they decided they didn't need one), authorized the organization of the state's assessed 5,000-man contribution to Madison's contingency force. Although ambivalent about the wisdom of the war, Bloomfield ordered local commanders to select men for the state's allotment of "detailed militia" and called on New Jersey citizen soldiers to defend their country's honor and independence.

Theoretically "detailed militia" would defend the state while "detached" militia could campaign outside its borders, but the distinction was hazy from the start. The men in these units would, preferably, be recruited from the organized volunteer "uniform companies," rather than Jefferson's idea of all men of military age, although men could be (and were) drafted to fill vacancies, and the hiring of substitutes for drafted men was widely practiced and not considered as evading duty. One officer encouraging substitution proclaimed that substitutes were "widely available from New Jersey and Connecticut" and could be "paid weekly by the principal."

New Jersey Adjutant General James J. Wilson, more a master politician than a military officer, set about implementing the governor's orders. In August, New Jersey Quartermaster General Jonathan Rhea had 1,000 "stands of arms" transferred from New York City to Jersey City to equip militiamen who had no weapons. Bloomfield resigned as governor when he was appointed as a brigadier general in the regular army and assigned to command the Third Military District, headquartered at New York City. The governor's friends gave him a grand send-off, toasting Bloomfield as a "genuine…Jersey Blue."

With Bloomfield gone, Charles Clark, vice president of the New Jersey Council (forerunner of today's state senate), acted as chief executive until the election of a new governor. Although militiamen of states to the north and west of New Jersey engaged in active campaigning under federal commanders with less than stellar results, the state's citizen soldiers were assigned a static coastal defense role. In all, a total of 808 New Jersey militiamen served the federal government as "detached" troops in 1812, apparently all on Staten Island, in comparison with 4,494 Pennsylvanians and 14,866 New Yorkers.

A New Jersey militia detachment under Major Isaac Andruss of Caldwell established a camp by Paulus Hook, a location in today's Jersey City and scene of a Revolutionary War battle. The land, located on high ground overlooking the Hudson River at the current site of Dickinson High School, was occupied by the New Jersey militia for the rest of the war and used to train militiamen in "military instruction and discipline" prior to deployment. It was also a logistical nexus to supply troops on active service in the Third Military District, as well as soldiers passing through, since Jersey City was on the main route to New York City.

On July 24, 1812, Paulus Hook was the scene of a historic first, the transport of troops across water by steam powered craft, as "Fulton's steam ferry boat" ferried a battery of "flying artillery," across the Hudson to Manhattan. In 1813, the federal government erected an arsenal building on the camp property to store arms and equipment. A mill was built on the site to "furnish flour and meal" to troops in the New York area. Andruss' detachment, composed of companies from Hunterdon, Middlesex, Sussex, Monmouth and Essex Counties, moved on to Fort Richmond on Staten Island on August 17, where they served through September 25.

While the militia was organizing, the ocean off the New Jersey coast witnessed a peculiar slow-motion chase. On July 5, 1812 *USS Constitution*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, encountered a five-ship British squadron off New Jersey. The British gave chase and then the wind failed. Hull advanced his ship by any means he could, including using oar-powered long boats to pull it. Hindered by the lack of wind themselves, the British failed to get close enough to engage, and when the wind returned, Hull pulled away, eventually making it to Boston.

In November 1812 the New Jersey legislature, under the control of Federalists that year, unsurprisingly selected a Federalist, Aaron Ogden, as governor. Ogden's cooperation with the national government's war aims led to conflicts with his essentially antiwar legislators, although he stressed that war obliged such cooperation. The governor, a Revolutionary War veteran, ordered the state's entire active "uniformed" militia, a force of around 2,500 men, placed on twenty-four-hour alert, each man was required to have "one good blanket, and four days provisions ready cooked."   Adjutant General John Beatty advised Ogden that the New Jersey militia suffered from serious deficiencies in arms and ammunition, and that the Somerset Brigade was in "an extreme defenceless [sic] and unwarlike attitude." Nonetheless, the governor

encouraged men to “display their zeal in joining themselves to some one or other of these Uniform Companies, as circumstances of inclination may lead, thus proving themselves a race of Jersey Men, not unworthy of their Fathers.”

Ogden held a dinner in Trenton for officers of the militia and others to encourage support for the war. Many toasts were offered, and the governor gave toast number fourteen: “Let the horse and flying artillery of New Jersey be dashing and let them be covered by riflemen – and supported by brave musket men in uniform.” A newspaper indicated that things got a bit hazy, and “a number of other toasts were given, which was not recollected.”

In contrast with the Revolution, proper uniforms were not a problem for the New Jersey militia of 1812. One source describes the militia as dressed in “dark blue clothes with light blue facings, collars and cuffs,” the state’s Militia Law of 1804 was specific as to how soldiers of different units, grenadiers, light infantry, artillery or cavalrymen, should be dressed. The legislation detailed uniform colors, cut, trim, buttons, etc. Infantrymen were to be issued “a short blue jacket with red collar and cuffs…” Due to transportation problems resulting from lack of infrastructure, uniform issue was a problem for American troops on the frontiers, but New Jersey, close to the manufacturers in Philadelphia, never wanted for clothing for its citizen soldiers.

The New Jersey militia’s initial mission was the defense of New York harbor. In early 1813, Federalist lawmakers in Trenton called for peace with Britain and tried to prohibit New Jersey’s citizen soldiers from leaving the state, leading to insubordination problems in the ranks. While the militia deployed, General Bloomfield led a regular army and New York militia force north to Plattsburgh, New York, for an invasion of Canada. Bloomfield did not take the field, however and was assigned to command the Plattsburgh garrison. Later in the year he was reassigned to command of the Fourth Military District, headquartered in Philadelphia and responsible for eastern Pennsylvania, southwestern New Jersey and Delaware.

Most Jersey militiamen on active duty were assigned to Paulus Hook or Sandy Hook, although some were stationed at other posts, including Fort Richmond on Staten Island, Cape May, and Billingsport, on the Delaware River, usually in three-month periods of rotating service. In Southern Monmouth County, potential draftees joined seven man “clubs” to pool funds to pay $50 to a substitute if one of them was conscripted. Daniel Drew, an underage farm boy from

New York, made his way to Paulus Hook in 1814, where he reportedly became a New Jersey soldier and pocketed a $100 substitute fee for his trouble.

The desertion rate was high in some organizations. A south Jersey unit commanded by Major William Potter lost thirty-seven men to desertion in a single week. When service time was occasionally extended beyond the three months proposed, morale became a serious problem, and in September 1813 Jersey militiamen who believed their term of service had ended became "restless, and some of them are said to be in irons for the crime of desertion."

Sandy Hook peninsula was the furthest outpost of the New York Harbor defenses, and the "Highlands of Navesink" to its immediate rear provided an excellent position to observe the ocean for enemy vessels, while shoals around the Hook itself provided security against an enemy landing. In 1812 two blockhouses, one on the Highlands and another near the Sandy Hook lighthouse, were erected to house small garrisons. In early 1813,workmen-built barracks and a fort, which was equipped with heavy "32 pounder" artillery pieces, near the lighthouse, and another blockhouse at Spermaceti Cove on the bay side of the Hook. An elaborate signaling system involving cannon fire and the lowering or hoisting of large black and white balls on masts sited atop the Highlands was established to convey coded "information of the movements of the enemy…to Signal Hill on Staten Island and thence to Governor's Island or Brooklyn Navy Yard in fifteen minutes."

Several units, akin to the state troops of the Revolutionary War, were recruited in 1814 for longer periods of service along the coast. These units included Gloucester County artillery and infantry companies stationed at Somers Point, Great Egg Harbor, and Leeds Point. An infantry company from Monmouth County organized at the bog iron forge known as "Butcher's Works" (later Burrsville in Ocean County) was responsible for coastal defense at "Long Branch, Deal and Barnegat Inlet." The company fielded a six-pounder cannon in addition to muskets. Another Monmouth infantry company covered Eatontown, Long Branch and Highlands, and a Cape May artillery company served along a stretch of the south coast. Many of the records of these units were lost in a late nineteenth century fire, so that their exact periods of service are estimated, but most served from the summer of 1814 through to the end of the conflict.

Throughout 1813 the number of New Jersey uniformed militia units available for detached or detailed service increased gradually, until it consisted of sixteen troops of cavalry, eleven

companies of artillery, thirty companies of light infantry and seven companies of riflemen. Although uniforms and rations were supplied by the state, with federal fiscal assistance, individuals were still theoretically expected to provide themselves with weapons, powder and ball, blankets and knapsacks; although most arms were now supplied by the federal government.

Governor William S. Pennington, a Jeffersonian Republican who succeeded Ogden at the end of 1813, was not a member of the pre-Revolutionary War New Jersey aristocracy like his predecessors, but a self-made man commissioned from the ranks during the Revolution. In his annual message in January 1814, Pennington called for more attention to the coast below Sandy Hook, down to Cape May and along Delaware Bay. The governor, an old artilleryman, toured the coast, suggesting sites for gun emplacements and promising as much support as he could scrounge.

In July 1814 Pennington called for 5,000 militiamen from around the state to "hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice." (The state's total potential military strength was estimated at 36,000 men.) The call fell short once more, as only 3,600 officers and men were mobilized in August. One brigade under General Ebenezer Elmer was assigned to the defenses of Philadelphia at Bloomfield's request, and the remaining troops were deployed at Sandy Hook and Paulus Hook. Most of Elmer's men established a camp and defensive positions at Billingsport, while some went to Cape May. The brigades served through January 1815. Many militiamen in the 1814 call up were draftees and substitutes; only seventy-two men volunteered in all of Salem County. In October 1814, a court-martial board was established at the Sandy Hook lighthouse to try deserters.

Fears of possible invasion in late 1814, in the wake of the burning of Washington, led to militia warning posts at "Elizabeth-town, Newark, Springfield, Bloomfield, Caldwell and Patterson [sic]" with artillery positioned to fire signal shots as "an alarm in case of a threatened attack." Repelling such an attack was problematic, as militia infantrymen were still showing up without small arms. Essex Brigade Major Peter Kean reminded his troops of their legal obligation in a brigade order of September 2, 1814 that stated "Every militia man is required by the act of congress May 8, 1792, to provide himself with a good musket, or fire-lock, with a bayonet and belt…" Despite this injunction, an order of September 26 noted that "arms and accoutrements for Infantry that are unable to provide for themselves" would be forthcoming."

One soldier who reported to Paulus Hook in 1814 was Horace Holden, a Jerseyman studying law in New York City. Earlier Holden had, along with "all the bar and law students of the city" dug trenches in Brooklyn. His father, a Revolutionary War veteran of service in George Washington's Life Guard, advised his son that his old war buddy General William Colfax could give Horace an officer's commission. On September 1, 1814, Holden was commissioned a 3rd lieutenant in Captain Daniel Kilburn's artillery company in the Second Regiment of Detailed Militia. Before the day was done, he was promoted to major and aide de camp on General Colfax's staff, where he served through December 8.

Years later Holden recalled that his unit traveled to the Navesink Highlands, "one of the most delightful spots ever presented to the human eye," While some militiamen remained on the Highlands, others camped south of the Sandy Hook lighthouse at "Camp Liberty," which Holden described as "the most inhospitable sand heap ever trod upon by the foot of man." A fort near the blockhouse on Sandy Hook was manned by "a motley crew called 'Sea Fencibles,'" part of a federal force recruited from unemployed sailors and watermen to man harbor defenses and gunboats. One account maintains that the Sandy Hook militia garrisons spent most of their service time "uttering maledictions on commissaries for furnishing them with horse beef and other objectionable grub."

Fortunately, actual combat was not in the cards, although there were a few scares. The enemy, including the *Bellephorus* and two other ships, floated offshore, ready to pounce on American vessels approaching or leaving the port of New York and fired on coastal craft slipping around the Hook when the opportunity arose. The Sea Fencibles sometimes returned fire with "hot shot," cannon balls heated red hot before loading and firing at ships in hopes of setting them afire. In October 1814 Captain John Logan of Peapack witnessed an American privateer "hugging close to the shore as possible," as the Sea Fencibles as militia riflemen fired at its pursuers. A few nights later "twenty or thirty muskets" were fired at militiamen near the lighthouse, in a probable "friendly fire" incident. Neither side caused any damage or inflicted any casualties during Holden's and Logan's tour of duty, although Logan found a drowned militiaman in the surf and Holden remembered some enemy rounds coming "near enough," before his service ended in December 1814.

New Jersey was never invaded by British forces, but there are stories of small ships chased and captured and landings by enemy raiding parties. Much of this information is sketchy. An official roster of one company notes that: "It appears they were engaged in one fight, called the battle at 'Brant Hill,' in which a British man-of-war, understood to be the "*Effervire*," carrying thirty-two guns, attempted to land at the mouth of the Squan River." The British launched several small boats which attempted to capture and burn some ships in the river but were repelled by "volleys of musketry." Local lore has British sailors and marines landing near Barnegat Inlet to capture or destroy civilian vessels on several occasions, while civilians watched the action from rooftops in Forked River. In one incident the enemy reportedly set two coastal trading ships afire and took fifteen head of cattle.

Cape May, located at the tip of a peninsula, was in an exposed position and subject to seaborne depredation from ocean and bay. In July 1812, the county Freeholders brought two Revolutionary War cannons out of retirement, although Robert Holmes, the antiwar Federalist county treasurer, initially refused to pay for new gun carriages. In March 1813, the Freeholders appropriated $300 for the purchase of "amputating instruments, gunpowder, and '100 weight of large buckshot'" for issue to the militia. Shortly afterward, money intended to fund the Dennis Creek Causeway was diverted to buy 600 pounds of cannon balls, two kegs of powder and material to make artillery cartridges. As the British blockade began, Cape May men-built fortifications with log-barreled fake "cannons" at Goshen Creek.

A British blockading squadron reached Delaware Bay in March 1813 and conducted a loud if largely ineffectual bombardment of Lewes, Delaware, spreading panic on the Jersey side of the bay. People in towns like Bridgeton feared incursions up the Cohansey or Maurice Rivers, which, fortunately, did not occur, although the British threatened to shell Cape May. In May 1813 the British navy captured three sloops off the mouth of the Maurice River, and on May 30 a landing party skirmished with militiamen near Leesburg in Cumberland County. Such incidents, as well as numerous false alarms, continued into late 1814, and nervous citizens drove their stock inland, buried valuables in backyards or dropped them down wells when alarms were sounded. Nothing, however, came remotely close to the size of British and Loyalist incursions of the Revolutionary War.

In late 1813 the *New Jersey*, a small three-man crew coastal trading ship from May's Landing, was captured by a British schooner off Cape May. The British put a small "prize crew" aboard but the Americans recaptured their ship and brought it to Somers Point, where two Englishmen in the prize crew "hired out in the vicinity" and the third, an Irishman, joined the American navy as a gunboat sailor. On July 4, 1813, an American subterfuge of hiding an armed party of sailors below decks on a local fishing boat, the *Yankee*, succeeded in capturing the British schooner *Eagle* off Sandy Hook.

A less successful foray by members of Elmer's brigade, garrisoned at Billingsport in 1814, occurred when an officer manned a local schooner with militiamen and pursued a small British ship that had ventured up the Delaware. The enemy craft escaped when most of the Jerseymen became seasick and abandoned the chase. In another incident a gunboat squadron from Philadelphia conducted a daring assault on a grounded sloop of the blockading squadron in Delaware Bay, but the fight ended when gunboat *121* was captured by the British and towed out to sea. It was later abandoned and washed ashore with the tide at Absecon, where the locals scrapped it for the iron and brass.

The regular army of the United States, composed of two regiments of dragoons and seven of infantry as of January 1812, was considerably expanded during the war. Enlistments in the regulars varied, and a recruit could sign up for periods of "one year, eighteen months, for the war, and for five years." As many as 1,000 New Jerseyans served in the regular army. The unit with the most Jerseymen was the Fifteenth U. S. Infantry, raised in Trenton, and known as "the New Jersey regiment." The Fifteenth participated in the invasion of Canada and fought at La Cole Mill in October 1812, the capture of York in April 1813, at Fort George in May 1813, and at French's Creek and Plattsburgh, New York in September 1814. The regiment was back in Canada in September and fought at Fort Erie that month and Cook's Mills in October.

The Fifteenth was originally commanded by noted western explorer Colonel Zebulon Pike of Pike's Peak fame, a native of Lamberton, New Jersey whose father had served in the Revolution and with the "Jersey Levies" in the Indian War of 1791. Pike's combat career did not have an auspicious beginning, as the fight at La Cole pitted American regulars against American militiamen in a deadly case of mistaken identity, but his regiment was soon considered one of the best in the army. Promoted to brigadier general, Pike lost his life on April 14, 1813, following

the capture of York, when a powder magazine exploded as he sat atop it. Among the other Jerseymen killed at York was Captain John Lambert Hoppock of Amwell, grandson of Senator John Lambert, who had voted against the war in 1812.

The best known New Jerseyans in naval service were two veterans of the Barbary Pirate war, Burlington-born James Lawrence and Princeton native William Bainbridge. Captain Lawrence, in command of the sloop-of-war *USS Hornet*, sank the brig *HMS Peacock* off the coast of South America in February 1813. His victory gained him the command of the frigate *USS Chesapeake*, which was outfitting in Boston Harbor, and he impetuously sailed it out of the harbor with an untrained crew to engage the British frigate *HMS Shannon*. Lawrence lost the fight, his ship and his life but contributed the phrase "don't give up the ship" to the American naval lexicon. Lawrence's friend Oliver Hazard Perry immortalized him by flying a flag emblazoned with the motto during his Lake Erie victory in 1814.

Bainbridge learned of the outbreak of war while in Saint Petersburg, Russia. He returned to America and took command of the *USS Constellation* at Charlestown, Massachusetts. On December 29, 1812, while in command of the *Constitution*, Bainbridge, leading, in contrast to Lawrence, a superbly trained crew, decisively defeated *HMS Java* off Brazil. Although Bainbridge was wounded twice himself, the fight demonstrated his men's superior marksmanship with artillery and small arms.

Unlike in the Revolution, New Jersey's African Americans did not serve in integrated regular units in the War of 1812. New Jersey's gradual abolition law, sponsored by Governor Bloomfield, only freed children born to enslaved parents after July 4, 1804, once they reached the age of twenty-one for women and twenty-five for men. The majority of black New Jerseyans were still enslaved in 1812 and theoretically ineligible to serve in a military capacity. Denied the vote as well, New Jersey African American men, even those legally free, were not fully citizens.

British commanders employed black West Indian soldiers and encouraged slaves to flee their masters in the southern United States, but there is no mention of such a policy being initiated in New Jersey. In 1812 American General James Wilkinson proposed enlisting "colored volunteers" in Louisiana but was barred from doing so by the newly elected state legislature. In November 1814, however, Andrew Jackson welcomed black and mixed-race volunteers into his ranks as he prepared to defend New Orleans.

Although militia membership was officially limited to white males, African Americans did serve in New Jersey detailed militia units, albeit not as formal soldiers. A penciled note pasted into an Adjutant General's "office copy" of the official roster of New Jersey War of 1812 soldiers compiled in 1900 noted that "all cooks, waiters and servants are not published." The reference is to black men who served in those capacities in militia units on active duty. Curiously, and without explanation, that same published roster lists, as an "addenda," a single black soldier, Thomas Lee. Lee, described as "colored," is recorded as a Jerseyman enlisting as a private in the Twenty-sixth U. S. Infantry at Philadelphia in January of 1815 and being discharged in March 1815.

The treaty of Ghent, ending the War of 1812, was signed on December 24, 1814 and ratified by the US Senate on February 17, 1815. Although the war had caused economic stress in New Jersey with the interruption of the coastal trade, privately owned turnpike companies chartered by the legislature had proved extremely profitable to their owners. The turnpikes, New Jersey's first toll roads, were the land transportation infrastructure of the state and were used to transport massive amounts of supplies north to the armies operating in northern New York and Canada. Philadelphia, as previously noted, was a major uniform manufacturing center, and, due to the British blockade, Philadelphia goods had to cross New Jersey by road to get to New York. Unfortunately, the heavy traffic "demolished the roads," inspiring postwar solutions that further advanced New Jersey's economy while at the same time empowering a new industrial oligarchy and complicating its politics.

Following the end of the conflict, the New Jersey militia resumed its downward spiral. While the federal government did its best to maintain an effective navy in the postwar era, the regular army's strength was cut in half by 1821 and the state of readiness of the militia was left to the individual states. There was a great deal of bloviating political rhetoric celebrating the importance of the militia as the primary defense of American "homesteads and honor," but the institution itself was a veritable shamble. One motivation for making the militia, rather than a professional force, the bulwark of the republic, despite its ineptitude, was readily apparent – it was cheaper.

New Jersey's War of 1812 soldiers and sailors were largely forgotten in the ensuing years, but in 1850 all surviving War of 1812 veterans in the United States were granted a bonus of 120 acres

of federal government land, on application, with proof of service, at a U.S. Land Office. Henry Raymond, the last known New Jersey veteran of the conflict, passed away in Jersey City on September 20, 1878, although the state was still paying four War of 1812 pensions to surviving family members as late as 1893. In May 1916 the New Jersey State Society of Daughters of the War of 1812, along with a distinguished assembly of politicians including Governor James F. Fielder, and serenaded by the school band, installed a bronze plaque commemorating the old Paulus Hook camp and the men who served there and beyond at Dickinson High School. It endures.

Chapter 11

The Struggles of the Militia

In 1826, a board of officers empaneled by President John Quincy Adams' Secretary of War studied the militia and came up with proposals to correct its most egregious problems, including reducing the overall size of the force, appointing an official in the War Department to oversee its development, issuing a standardized drill manual and requiring an annual ten-day training period. The board's suggestions were, however, ignored, as were subsequent efforts at reform.

As the small regular army became a more professional force, with West Point trained officers joining the ranks, the militia became a nationwide laughingstock. Fines for non-attendance at drill went uncollected, inept commanders were deliberately elected as jokes, and the shortage of firearms became scandalous – one Iowa regiment mustered 950 men but could only count sixty-three muskets. In 1845 Missouri refused to buy arms for its militia and then refused to build a state armory to store federal muskets issued to the state. The concept of the militia as a military force consisting of the entire male population able to bear arms and subject to annual muster and training was largely abandoned by the 1840s, replaced by companies of volunteer militiamen who enjoyed the fraternal and social aspect of donning an often gaudy uniform and dabbling in quasi-military life a few days a year.

Although militia units on the frontier were sometimes engaged in military operations against Native Americans, New Jersey militiamen had no potential enemies in the post-War of 1812 era. Federally mobilized militia included an "untrained horde" of 10,000 men from the frontier militia pool for the Black Hawk War of 1832. The poor performance of this force against the Indians was described by regular army Colonel Zachary Taylor as "unutterably shameful." The conduct of militia soldiers at the outset of the Florida Seminole wars was less than stellar as well, and Congress' response was to call for three and six-month service volunteers, paid at the same rate as regulars, in organizations similar to the "levies" of 1791 and the "detached militia" of 1812. Volunteers overall were considered more effective than mobilized random militiamen, and the volunteer concept would grow and become an integral aspect of national military planning through the end of the nineteenth century.

Daniel Haines, a Sussex County attorney, was elected to the New Jersey Council in 1839 and governor in 1843 and gained a reputation as a polished political operative. Haines took a personal interest in resurrecting the state militia, which he noted "seems to have fallen in great disrepute," but without much success. A short-lived military academy founded in Orange in 1828 failed to interest a significant number of local youths in a part time career as militia officers.

There were small volunteer militia companies around New Jersey that mustered on a somewhat regular basis but reports from the county-based brigades were seldom sent to Trenton, making compliance with federal requests for militia statistics impossible to accurately render. In January 1847, Adjutant General Thomas Cadwallader advised then Governor Charles C. Stratton that "no regular returns have been made to this office for sometime past." Hence, Cadwallader had no idea how many men there were in the state militia, how many weapons they had or what their state of training was.

Governor Haines, who returned to office succeeding Stratton, remained as frustrated as he had been before. He complained that "the ordinary militia musters…are generally admitted to retard rather than to promote improvement; and to be a tax on the time and service of the citizen without any corresponding benefit." In the middle of this New Jersey militia muddle, there was a war.

In 1845 the United States annexed Texas, a self-proclaimed independent country run by Americans following its successful rebellion against the Mexican government in 1836, as a state, despite protests and threats of war by Mexico. In January 1846, President James K. Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to move American forces to the Mexican border in what many saw as a deliberate provocation. Failed negotiations and a subsequent border incident led to a declaration of war on Mexico by the United States Congress on May 13. The conflict, an unqualified success by American standards resulted in a huge geographic expansion of the country.

The war was opposed by many, particularly people from non-slaveholding states, including both New Jersey senators and most of the state's congressmen. New Jersey Senator Jacob W. Miller characterized the war as a land grabbing "outrage," and the state's other senator, William L. Dayton, expressed serious concern that it would lead to a struggle over the expansion of slavery. A prescient editorialist for the Trenton *State Gazette* agreed with Dayton, opining that "the territories to be annexed… will destroy the balance of the Union.

In 1846 the New Jersey militia was as moribund as it would ever be. With the outbreak of hostilities, Polk, totally ignoring the militia, requested volunteer regiments, including one from New Jersey, to supplement the regular army. On May 22, 1846, Governor Stratton responded with a proclamation calling on "organized uniform companies and other citizens of the state to enroll themselves" in the proposed regiment. The enthusiasm of Jerseymen for fighting in the Mexican War was, as in much of the northeast, minimal. Although some existing volunteer uniformed companies allegedly offered to serve in the proposed regiment, all were well under minimum strength and none could enlist the additional men required by the federal government to meet that strength level. No regiment was produced.

An embarrassed Governor Stratton blamed the failure on the "defective and prostrate condition of the militia system of the state," and asked the legislature to provide "encouragement in some way to the volunteer companies." Stratton also called for "some simple mode of ascertaining the number of the militia in the state," so that New Jersey could claim its fair share of federal militia aid in weapons and equipment.

In April 1847, the War Department again approached New Jersey for volunteers. Each company was mustered in when it attained minimum strength, and a rendezvous point for recruits was established at Trenton. Only four of the proposed five companies were raised and organized into a battalion. They were placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Dickinson Woodruff and mustered into United States service in August and September. On September 29, 1847, two weeks after Mexico City fell to the American army, the battalion sailed from New York to Vera Cruz, Mexico. A review of the unit's roster reveals no combat casualties, although a fair number died of disease, deserted or were discharged by court martial or for other reasons. The battalion arrived back in New York on July 22, 1848, and the Jerseymen were discharged at Fort Hamilton in early August.

The War Department also authorized the enlistment of regular army soldiers in New Jersey. That effort, also headquartered at Trenton, resulted in three companies of the Tenth United States infantry, Once recruited, the New Jersey companies reported to Fort Hamilton. Two companies shipped out on April 11 and arrived at Matamoros, Mexico on May 6, 1847. The other company left New York on May 4 and arrived at Matamoros on June 14. The New Jersey regulars were never engaged in a battle, although they suffered a rate of loss from disease, discharge, court

martial and desertion similar to that of their volunteer counterparts. The only known deaths from violent action were those of Private John McLaughlin, murdered in Matamoros, and Captain Joshua W. Collet, killed in a duel with Captain Alexander Wilkin, another American officer, on January 21, 1848 at Camargo, Mexico.

As with previous conflicts, other Jerseymen served in units of the regular army, navy and Marine Corps in the war with Mexico, although no comprehensive list is available. Two of the most notable New Jersey veterans of the conflict were Robert Field Stockton and Steven Watts Kearny, who cooperated, then clashed, in California. Stockton was, at one time or another, a wealthy aristocrat, heroic naval officer, monopoly capitalist, self-interested political operative, social progressive and apologist for slavery. In the course of all these twists and turns, he became one of the most influential and controversial men in New Jersey and, indeed, America, in the first half of the nineteenth century. After a stint at the helm of the "Joint Companies," a New Jersey canal and railroad transportation monopoly, Stockton returned to active naval service as a captain in 1838,

The outbreak of the Mexican War found Stockton, an acting commodore, sailing north along the California coast aboard the *U.S.S. Congress* on a mission to reinforce the American Pacific Squadron under Commodore John D. Sloat. On Stockton's arrival, the ailing Sloat, who had been nudging the Mexican authorities in California to accept an American takeover by diplomacy rather than military action, turned over command to the New Jersey officer. In a series of actions that earned him a reputation with one historian as "a competent seaman and an energetic officer," but also "vain, tactless, xenophobic [sic], and glory-thirsty," Stockton's aggressiveness undid Sloat's careful work, inciting a *Californio* rebellion. Aided by brevet army Captain John C. Fremont, Stockton put together a rag-tag force to fight the insurrection in a swift campaign that displayed his usual personal courage and revealed a surprising display of land-based tactical skills for a naval officer.

Stephen Watts Kearny never achieved the notoriety of his naval counterpart and is far less well known than his storied nephew, Philip, who would become a hero in the fight for Mexico, where he lost an arm, and again in the Civil War. Born in Newark in 1794, Stephen W. Kearny lived in the city and nearby New York for much of his life when not on active duty with the army in the

west. In 1812 he left Columbia College for a commission as a first lieutenant in the Thirteenth United States Infantry. Promoted to captain in 1813, Kearny remained in the army at the close of the war. He accompanied several exploratory expeditions west into what was then a little-known wilderness. Kearny commanded some of the first army posts beyond the Mississippi, was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the First United States Dragoons on the unit's formation in 1833 and rose to command the regiment three years later.

With the outbreak of the Mexican War, Kearny was assigned command of the "Army of the West," a less than impressive collection of Missouri mounted volunteer units, the Mormon Battalion, and some artillery, stiffened by his own dragoon regiment, with orders to capture Santa Fe and move on to California. Following an arduous overland march, Santa Fe fell to Kearny on August 18, 1846 without a shot being fired. After establishing a provisional government in New Mexico Kearny led 300 dragoons to California. He encountered Kit Carson heading east and learned that California had fallen to Stockton and Fremont, sent 200 of his men back to Santa Fe and continued west with the remainder.

By the time Kearny arrived, the *Californios* were in revolt. His exhausted and bedraggled American force of 100 mule-mounted dragoons encountered a superior enemy force at San Pasqual and lost eighteen men killed in a brief fight. Stockton's ad hoc army of American adventurers, sailors and marines came to the rescue and joined forces with the dragoons to crush the mini rebellion. With the fighting over, Kearny considered his orders to claim California for the United States to supersede the opportunistic actions of Fremont and Stockton and advised them of this. Stockton left for the east in a huff, more army troops arrived by ship and Kearny dismissed Fremont and assumed the title of governor. Kearny was later appointed military governor of Vera Cruz until the peace treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo was signed, was awarded the brevet rank of major general and then returned to his previous headquarters in Saint Louis, where he died on October 31, 1848 from yellow fever he had contracted in Mexico.

One long forgotten Jerseyman who fought and died in Mexico and who was widely mourned at the time was Jacob W. Zabriskie. Zabriskie was born in Hackensack on April 11, 1817 and moved to Illinois in 1839, where he worked as a merchant. At the outbreak of the war he became a captain in the First Illinois Volunteer Infantry and was mortally wounded at the battle of Buena Vista on February 23, 1847. Temporarily buried on the field, his remains were subsequently

disinterred, returned to Illinois and then disinterred once more for transportation back to New Jersey. The arrival of Zabriskie's coffin at Philadelphia on July 20, 1847, and the ensuing steamboat cortege, New York and New Jersey militia parades, artillery salutes, chiming church bells and patriotic speeches, as his body wended its way through New Brunswick to Manhattan, then Fort Lee and on to Hackensack for final interment, was a major news story. Zabriskie's obelisk shaped monument still stands at the edge of the old cemetery across from the Bergen County courthouse in Hackensack.

General Winfield Scott, a hero of the war of 1812, principal commander in the Mexican War, 1852 Whig party presidential candidate and commander of the United States army at the outbreak of the Civil War, is counted as a Jerseyman by many, due to the residence he maintained in Elizabeth. Scott was a native Virginian, but appears to have purchased "Hampton Place" on East Jersey and Madison Avenues in Elizabeth in 1848 on his return from Mexico and lived there "during intervals, sometimes short and sometimes lengthy" from then until his death in 1866. As commanding general of the United States army in the 1850s, Scott maintained a headquarters in New York City, but apparently spent a lot of time in Elizabeth. The house was razed in 1928, but a replica was built on Westminster Avenue in 1931 and later occupied by the New Jersey branch of the American Cancer Society.

Perhaps even more than the veterans of 1812, New Jersey's Mexican War soldiers, far fewer in numbers, are largely forgotten. There was but one small spark of recognition for some of these men a decade after the close of the conflict. In March 1858, the state legislature extended a belated recognition of the volunteer battalion's service by extending official thanks to the unit's officers and enlisted men, and Governor William A. Newell presented one grade brevet or honorary promotions to the battalion's officers.

Chapter 12

Cadwallader and Price

In the immediate post-Mexican War years, the annual message from Adjutant General Cadwallader to Governor Haines remained the same as it had before the war. In 1850 Cadwallader advised that "no improvement has been made in the condition of the militia," and recommended "different measures…to give life and energy to the system." In 1851 he suggested that "a small tax could be laid upon all persons subject to the performance of military duty…as a special fund for the encouragement of volunteers," in place of fines for nonattendance, which went largely uncollected.

The following year the adjutant general reported to Democratic Governor George F. Fort that twenty-two new volunteer companies had been formed and that Fort should consider his funding suggestion, which Haines had failed to act on. Fort was best known for solidifying the corporate role in politics, his support of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and his characterization of escaped slaves as "fugitives from labor," and had little interest in military affairs.

In his 1852 report, Cadwallader noted that the overall strength of the "reserve militia," males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five residing in the New Jersey, totaled 81,985 potential soldiers. The report broke down the number of men nominally assigned to each county brigade. How the counties produced those figures for the report went unsaid, but the census of 1850 is a likely source. The following year's reports were fragmentary and useless. Cadwallader complained militia laws ended up producing "no beneficial result" and that "the delinquency of the civil officers must be corrected; otherwise, the state may be deprived of her quota of [federal] arms, and military supplies." The adjutant general concluded with yet another plea for the state to subsidize volunteer companies with "some pecuniary allowance."

Cadwallader must have felt redeemed when Rodman M. Price was inaugurated as governor in January 1854. Price, a former naval officer, had served under Robert Stockton in the conquest of California, and as *alcalde* of Monterey. From 1848 to 1850 Price was a financial agent for the navy in California, apparently engaging in a number of grandiose and rather dubious side business deals including land and commodity speculations, apparently often using government

money, and participating in local politics. On leaving the navy and returning east, Price bought a mansion in Hoboken, became a Wall Street banker and continued making long distance California deals. Encouraged by Stockton, he ran for Congress and won, and spent most of his time introducing private bills for constituents, although he once declared on the floor of the House that flogging in the navy led to "a well ordered, well-disciplined ship." Losing reelection, he gained the Democratic nomination for governor in 1853. As a candidate he spouted a great deal of anti-monopoly rhetoric, but as governor quickly caved to his friend Stockton's argument to extend the state's greatest monopoly, Stockton's Joint Companies.

Despite his considerable baggage, which caught up with him in the 1890s, when he spent most of his final days in jail in Hackensack, Rodman Price, unlike his immediate predecessors, was a man with a thorough knowledge of military affairs, Adjutant General Cadwallader's report for 1854 reflects that new-found enthusiasm. Cadwallader advised his "commander in chief" that New Jersey now fielded "regularly commissioned, armed and equipped, one hundred and fifty-two uniformed companies which, by averaging their strength, will be found nearly equal in numbers to the actual force of the regular army of the United States, reported as fit for duty," although he provided no actual figures. The militiamen in these new companies, multiplying in other states as well, and characterized as 'belligerent amateurs" by one historian, were a diverse lot, from elite and exclusive units to urban companies "chiefly composed of clerks, artisans and – in the big cities – sometimes hoodlums."

Many new companies were composed of German and Irish immigrants, concentrated in the state's industrial northeast. The tide of immigration in the two decades before the Civil War gave rise to the anti-immigrant nativist "Know Nothing" movement of the 1850s which, in turn, spawned the "American Party." Immigrant companies were often formed to counter nativist companies, which accounts for much of the increase in militia units in the 1850s. A riot in Newark in September 1854 involving armed nativists and Irish immigrants resulted in at least one death and the desecration of a German Catholic church. Despite the fact that immigrant units were eyed warily by anxious American militiamen, Price, a Democrat who owed the newcomers something for their votes, readily signed commissions for their officers.

Cadwallader attributed at least part of the militia renaissance to "special legislation" passed in 1853 that provided "funds and facilities to the uniform companies in one brigade," which he wanted to see extended to the whole state. The adjutant general wanted to activate and fund "Brigade Boards" in every county to assume responsibility for reporting on militia strength and affairs, and pay militiamen for muster and service time. In his longest report ever, Cadwallader proved himself aware of evolving technology as well, and advocated adopting "the Minnie [Minie] rifle" for the militia. The federal government was then in the process of converting older arms and developing a new "rifle-musket" to fire the conical, hollow based projectile developed by French Captain Claude Minie. The more accurate rifle-musket would extend the potential effective accurate range of infantry weapons considerably. Unlike older rifled arms that required a tight-fitting patched ball to load, slowing the rate of fire, the new gun could be loaded and fired as rapidly as the smoothbore, an optimum three times a minute.

Cadwallader's excitement dimmed a bit the following year, when a general order for the companies he had been so proud of the year before "to parade at certain convenient times and places" revealed that "in at least one half of the divisions it betrayed neglect and an entire want of efficient system." Although disappointed, the adjutant general continued to encourage Governor Price to set aside a sum to pay militiamen for drilling as well as upgrade their weapons. The governor, in turn, asked the legislature to approve a fifteen-cent tax on military age males to fund the uniform companies, but the lawmakers declined his request.

Governor Price apparently decided to capitalize on his adjutant general's interest in evolving weapons technology. In 1856 he dispatched Cadwallader on a tour of Europe, with instructions to study, take notes and comment on the status of European armies and their weaponry in order to "obtain correct information as to the most improved arms, tactics and drill, applicable to the efficiency and improvement of our militia system." The federal government assigned a credentialed arms expert and ordnance officer of vast experience, Major Alfred Mordecai, who had previously traveled abroad on inspection tours, to conduct the same mission. Price and Cadwallader were evidently unaware they were duplicating the federal effort or didn't care. To his credit, for the first leg of his trip, the adjutant general picked Samuel Colt, the famed firearms inventor who began his small arms manufacturing career in Paterson, New Jersey, but was then located in Hartford, Connecticut, as a traveling companion.

Cadwallader and Colt toured the British Royal Small Arms Factory at Enfield Lock together, and the adjutant general reported that the British government had adopted the “American System” of firearms manufacturing, with precise machinery creating interchangeable parts. When firearms needed maintenance in the field in the past, replacement parts had to be hand fitted, so the “American System” was a decided improvement. Cadwallader described the manufacturing process in detail, including the use of American Blanchard lathes to produce gun stocks of identical dimensions. At the time of the adjutant general’s visit, Enfield was producing the Model P53 rifle-musket, the AK-47 of its day, which would become one of the nineteenth century’s iconic military small arms and, supplied by private contractors, the second most common arm used by both sides during the American Civil War.

Cadwallader subsequently visited the British supply depot and production site for artillery pieces and artillery and small arms ammunition at Woolwich before crossing the channel to France, where he was impressed with the quality of the soldiers in the French army (over the British) but lamented the dictatorship of Napoleon III. He submitted a series of questions to French ordnance officers regarding firearms cost, cartridge making, bullet diameter and lubrication, gun finishes, arms making machinery and trends in artillery.

The adjutant general’s conclusion was that the political situation in Europe was dicey, as most governments tended toward the despotic, and that America should not get involved in any “entangling alliances.” Following this bit of foreign policy advice to the governor, the adjutant general returned to his usual annual report recommendations, including, once again, increasing the number of uniform companies and requesting they be paid for drilling.

New Jersey Quartermaster General Lewis Perrine inventoried the arms and equipment in storage at the state arsenal in Trenton in 1856. He reported 8,970 weapons in various states of repair -- 4,740 were obsolete flintlock muskets still in their original packing crates. His attempt to get an accurate count on state-owned gear, from muskets and cannons to cartridge boxes and tents, in the hands of the uniform companies, which averaged between twenty-five and fifty men each, proved less successful. Perrine complained that many weapons had simply disappeared. Many companies had disbanded, and their commanders, who had originally posted bond for the arms and equipment they received, had either died or left the state. The quartermaster general

proposed hiring investigators to find and return guns that had disappeared into the civilian population. Perrine had a long way to go to straighten out New Jersey's property books, but he had at least made a beginning.

The year 1857 brought a new governor. William A. Newell, a physician-politician from Allentown, had been a Whig congressman from 1846 to 1850. His crowning congressional achievement was introducing legislation that founded the United States Life Saving Service. As the Whig party disintegrated in the 1850s, Newell joined the anti-immigrant American Party. In 1856, the New Jersey branches of the American Party and the new Republican Party allied themselves as the "Opposition Party" to nominate a single candidate for governor. Newell, who appealed to Republicans as a former Whig, was a member of the Americans, and even respected by some Democrats, seemed a natural choice, and he eked out a victory over Democrat William C. Alexander. In order to maintain the coalition, Newell apportioned patronage positions equally among Republican and American Party members, as patronage was the glue that held the parties together.

Unsurprisingly, Newell stressed the need to limit the political influence of immigrants, a difficult task in an urbanizing state. His opposition as head of the Board of Pardons to pardoning James P. Donnelly, an Irish Catholic accused of murdering a Protestant over a gambling debt, and Donnelly's subsequent singling him out from the gallows, gained Newell the lasting enmity of the state's growing Irish population. Governor Newell was not friendly to the ethnic militia units that had prospered under Governor Price, including Irish units like the "Emmet Light Guard" and "Montgomery Riflemen" of Paterson. Trenton's "Sarsfield Guards" and the "Newark Volunteers," replete with green uniforms and "white facings and cross belts," who marched in the New York City Saint Patrick's Day parade in 1858.

It should be noted that volunteer militia companies in the 1850s, most of them organized in cities, were as much political bases, social clubs and insurance societies than they were military organizations. A review of the notes of the "Continental Guards" of Jersey City, outfitted with an approximation of a Revolutionary War uniform, revealed that the company elected slates of military and civilian officers, the latter including a president, secretary and treasurer. On one occasion the company raised a "subscription" to assist the widow of a deceased former captain.

Following their annual inspection and drill in 1854, the Guards went on "an excursion to Ft. Lee" aboard a steamship, a fundraising trip that netted the company $150.25. The company, affiliated with the American Party, was selective, and members had to be voted in. "Delinquents" who didn't show up for drill were "expelled" and "honorary members" were installed by vote of the membership. As the decade waned, the company changed its name to the "Independence Guard" and voted to adopt the standard militia uniform the state was advocating. The onset of the Civil War proved to be the end of the Guards, as its men joined different active units and it was never reconstituted.

Adjutant General Cadwallader's first report to the new governor, for 1857, repeated the strength figure of 1852 for the militia. Cadwallader complained that "the sum total of efficient arms and other munitions of war in the State will be found to fall very short of a half supply for that number of men." Echoing General Perrine's complaints of the previous year, he conceded that he didn't even know where many of the state-owned weapons were, reporting that "we have a considerable number of arms in irresponsible hands, scattered all over the state." Cadwallader went on to enumerate some of his favorite concerns, including New Jersey as the strategic key to America, that the militia needed rifled small arms, that the day of the six-pounder field artillery piece was done and that any in service should be replaced by newer twelve pounder guns. In conclusion, he tended the governor his resignation, ending a fifteen-year stint as adjutant general.

Cadwallader's replacement, named on January 30, 1858, was twenty-six-year-old Robert Field Stockton, the son of the conqueror of California. A Princeton graduate and attorney, young Stockton unsurprisingly held a number of influential positions on the boards of New Jersey corporations, and had succeeded his father as president of the "Joint Companies."

At the end of his first year in the job, Stockton reported some progress, with twelve new volunteer uniform companies formed, as well as some reorganization on the brigade level. He recommended more frequent drills and reiterated the need for adopting a standard uniform, at least for parade and training in larger formations, as each company having its own distinctive dress, like the ersatz eighteenth-century garb of the Continental Guards, created a patchwork look in regimental and brigade training exercises. Stockton also advocated the adoption of a standard drill manual, enforcement of militia laws and minor structural changes, all to be

reviewed by a board of officers. The new adjutant general submitted an abstract of brigade reports to Governor Newell, which reflected that an inspection of the Newark Brigade revealed a total of 598 officers and men, while the Hunterdon Brigade mustered less than 200-part time soldiers. Inspection of the Bergen Brigade was haphazard at best, with only three companies, totaling less than 100 officers and men, accounted for.

In September, 1859, New Jersey militiamen were called up for active service for the first time since 1815, when Mayor (and Democratic gubernatorial candidate) Edwin R. V. Wright of Hudson City (today a part of Jersey City) proved unable to control a wage dispute between a largely Irish group of laborers and the New York and Erie Railroad. The workers blocked the railroad's tracks, and the Hudson Brigade, which Wright had once commanded as a militia general, was called on to assist the outmanned city police. The brigade assembled at the courthouse and confronted the disgruntled workers with fixed bayonets and artillery mounted on a railroad flatcar. Several thousand spectators assembled to witness what they thought would be a battle, but in the end the workers, although they brandished weapons, tossed debris and verbally abused the militiamen, avoided actual combat. Under the protection of the militia, the mayor and his police force made a number of arrests, and the crowd dispersed without any casualties to either side. The incident didn't seem to hurt Wright's high standing in the Irish community, which supported his unsuccessful run for governor in 1859, helped elect him to Congress and mourned his death in 1871.

On December 31, 1860, eleven days after South Carolina declared its secession from the Union, Stockton reported a total of 4,400 men allegedly on the rolls of active companies statewide (the actual total was closer to half that), and equipped with "serviceable" arms. He was particularly impressed with the Camden and Newark brigades, which had adopted standard uniforms and "abandoned fancy names' for its companies. Unfortunately, the guns of the Hudson Brigade, older smoothbore flintlock muskets converted to percussion ignition and rifled to fire the Minie projectile, were found to be "in a bad condition…easily put out of order, uncertain in aim, and liable to burst." Quartermaster General Perrine listed a total of 8,100 muskets in the state arsenal as of January 1, 1861, together with other equipment.

War was in the air, and despite the efforts of Stockton and Perrine, New Jersey was not prepared for it. The first historian of the state's role in the Civil War characterized the condition of the militia in 1861 as "a system of shreds and patches, without organic unity, and almost entirely worthless." The heir to this system, inaugurated on January 17, 1861, was Charles Smith Olden of Princeton, the second and final governor from the makeshift Opposition Party. A former Whig state senator, Olden viewed himself as a moderate, opposing the extension of slavery but supporting the Fugitive Slave Act. A Lincoln supporter in the election of 1860, Olden participated, along with former governor Rodman Price and the ubiquitous Robert Stockton, in a peace conference held in Washington that February. which attempted to find a solution to the growing secession crisis. Despite Olden's desire for compromise, reflecting the views of a large number of New Jerseyans, once the Confederates fired on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, the state rallied to the Union cause.

Chapter 13

Civil War

In the 1860 presidential election, New Jersey voters split their electoral vote between Republican Abraham Lincoln and Democrat Stephen A. Douglas. In the tense months that followed the secession of South Carolina, as more states left the Union, New Jersey politicians, factory owners and workers, already dealing with the aftermath of the economically disastrous Panic of 1857, sought to avoid war, which would result in the loss of Southern markets for cheap shoes and clothing for slaves made in New Jersey, leading to further economic decline. Former Governor Rodman Price even suggested that New Jersey secede from the Union and join the Confederacy which, he predicted, would assure "our prosperity, progress and happiness uninterrupted…without any sacrifice of principle or honor, and without difficulty or danger."

Aside from Price's ill-timed and ignored suggestion, which effectively ended his political career, the state was indeed home to a genuine anti-war element and that opposition would surface again as the conflict dragged on. Following the Rebel attack on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, however, such sentiment was submerged in a flood of patriotism.

Most New Jerseyans responded enthusiastically to President Lincoln's first call for troops, although raising and equipping an effective force from a moribund prewar militia proved challenging. At the end of 1860, Adjutant General Stockton reported a total of 1,863 men in the state's active uniformed militia volunteer companies, far less than full brigade of four regiments for three-months service Lincoln had requested without a large infusion of recruits, which were, fortunately, forthcoming. The state scrambled to outfit these new soldiers with clothing, and most of the militiamen were armed with obsolete .69 caliber smoothbore flintlock muskets converted to percussion ignition.

Within two weeks the four regiments mustered 3,075 men. Although on the eve of the war most of the uniformed militia companies were in the process of adopting the recently prescribed "brigade uniform," and acquired clothing for new recruits fit that pattern, some units retained

their unique garb, most notably the “Communipaw Zouaves” of Jersey City, a company with uniforms loosely patterned on the famed French North African soldiers.

The militia brigade was organized at Trenton under militia Brigadier General Theodore Runyon, a Democratic politician from Newark, and left the state by boat on May 3, 1861, arriving in Washington on May 6 as the first full brigade to reach the capital. Lincoln’s subsequent call for three-year service volunteers also met with a warm reception in New Jersey, and volunteers filled out the, the First, Second and Third New Jersey Volunteer Infantry.

The three-year volunteers left for Washington by train on June 28, arriving the following day. It was a wild ride. The Jersey boys smuggled three women aboard and “got drunk as the devil” on the way. They remained briefly in the capital before crossing the Potomac into Virginia. Shortly afterward, the Third New Jersey Infantry suffered its first fatality as Private John Ellis of Company H was killed by Private Samuel Middleton in a friendly fire incident while both were on guard duty.

The Jerseymen of both brigades were united into a division commanded by General Runyan and participated in the Bull Run campaign in July. Runyan’s men were deployed to protect the army’s supply lines, did not engage in combat and withdrew towards Washington in the midst of the Union rout. In the army reorganization that followed, the militia went home and the three-year regiments became the First New Jersey Brigade. On August 7, one-armed New Jersey Mexican War hero Brigadier General Philip Kearny, nephew of Stephen Watts Kearny, assumed brigade command.

Back in New Jersey, the state was recruiting more three-year regiments. The Fourth New Jersey Infantry joined the First Brigade in Virginia after Bull Run, and the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth New Jersey Infantry regiments were organized at Trenton’s Camp Olden. Bull Run may have dampened the enthusiasm of some potential soldiers, but these regiments left the state between late August and early October. When it appeared that the Fifth regiment might be assigned to a brigade with regiments from other states, Governor Olden protested, claiming such a course “would be detrimental to the public service,” since his Jerseymen should be afforded the opportunity “not only to serve the country, but to do honor to themselves and the state.” The

Fifth then joined the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth regiments to form the Second New Jersey Brigade.

The last regiment credited to the state in 1861 was the Ninth New Jersey Infantry, the largest regiment New Jersey sent to war, with twelve rather than the usual ten companies, organized into four three-company battalions totaling 1,159 officers and men. The men of the Ninth were recruited for their shooting ability, as the unit was a "rifle regiment." Governor Olden successfully lobbied the War Department for up to date Springfield rifle-muskets which were shipped to Trenton directly from the arsenal to arm the Ninth before it left the state.

New Jersey also fielded a cavalry regiment, a "legion" and two artillery batteries in 1861. The organization of volunteer mounted regiments was initially discouraged by the authorities in Washington, but that attitude changed after Bull Run. On August 4, the War Department acceded to the request of 70-year-old William Halsted, a prominent New Jersey Republican politician, to raise a cavalry regiment. The unit, "Halstead's Horse,' ten companies strong, was troubled from the start, rife with nepotism, incompetence and internal feuding among the officers. When Halsted went on sick leave, Governor Olden appointed Joseph Karge, a dynamic Polish veteran of the Prussian army, as a lieutenant colonel to reorganize the unit. Halsted then ordered Karge arrested. Fed up with the bickering, the War Department formally handed control of the regiment to New Jersey, re-designating it as the First New Jersey Cavalry. On February 19, 1862, Governor Olden relieved Halsted and appointed English soldier of fortune and adventurer Percy Wyndham as the regiment's new colonel.

Another "private regiment," the "Olden Legion" was raised in Beverly by William Bryan in the late summer and fall of 1861. The Legion, intended to be a combined arms unit, had nine companies of infantry and one of cavalry, but horses never arrived. Plagued with poor leadership, which was often intoxicated, "defective organization and the absence of all proper discipline," the Legion was turned over to the state in January, 1862, its horseless horsemen discharged, and redesignated the Tenth New Jersey infantry. Under Colonel William Murphy, dispatched from Trenton to replace Bryan, a new infantry company replaced the departed cavalrymen. Still not ready for field service, the Tenth remained part of the Washington garrison for the remainder of the year.

New Jersey militia major William Hexamer commanded the Hudson County Artillery, a militia battery primarily composed of German immigrants and based in Hoboken. The battery was initially turned down for active service, as artillery was, like cavalry, considered difficult to train to regular army standards and expensive to maintain. After Bull Run, however, the War Department belatedly accepted the New Jersey artillerymen, although Hexamer had to take a downgrade from his militia rank to captains.

Hexamer's unit, New Jersey Battery A, was mustered in for three years of federal service on August 12, 1861, and left for Washington eight days later. The Jerseymen's six state-issued six-pounder field pieces were replaced by ten-pounder rifled Parrott guns, and the battery was assigned to the First New Jersey Brigade. New Jersey's Battery B, under Captain John Beam, composed mostly of Newark men, many of them veterans of the First New Jersey Militia, was mustered into federal service at Camp Olden, outside Trenton, on September 3, 1861 After reaching Washington, Beam's battery was issued four ten-pounder rifled Parrott guns and two smoothbore twelve-pounder howitzers.

The Ninth New Jersey Infantry not only had good marksmen, but had a number of coastal "baymen," with small boat experience useful in amphibious operations in the ranks as well. Because of that, the regiment was assigned to Major General Ambrose Burnside's coastal North Carolina expedition, which landed on Roanoke Island following a mishap that resulted in the drowning of the Ninth's Colonel Joseph W. Allen and Surgeon Frederick S. Weller, on February 7, 1862. Lieutenant Colonel Charles A. Heckman assumed command, and in the subsequent battle of Roanoke Island, his Jerseymen successfully attacked Confederate defenses through a swamp, gaining the nickname "Jersey muskrats." Captain Joseph Henry was killed in the fight, the first New Jersey officer killed in action during the Civil War.

After Roanoke, the Ninth moved on with Burnside's army to the North Carolina mainland, fighting again at New Bern on March 14, where Burnside was once more victorious and the regiment played a critical role in breaking the enemy's line. The Ninth was subsequently one of the fortunate few units to remain on duty on the North Carolina coast as part of an 8,000-man occupation force.

The First through the Eighth New Jersey Infantry and both of the state's artillery batteries were assigned to Major General George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac, and in the spring of 1862 were involved in the Peninsula Campaign. On March 17, 1862, Batteries A and B boarded ships for Fortress Monroe when the campaign began to take shape. They were followed by the infantry regiments of both New Jersey brigades, while the First Cavalry remained in northern Virginia as part of the force left behind to protect Washington.

The Second Brigade participated in the siege of Yorktown, building roads, digging trenches and standing picket duty. On May 4, 1862, after Union patrols discovered that the Confederates had abandoned Yorktown, the brigade, then part of the III Army Corps, joined the pursuit. The Jerseymen caught up with the enemy on May 5 at Williamsburg. In the ensuing battle, a brutal close-range encounter fought in a rainstorm, the Second Brigade lost 526 men killed, wounded and missing in action, The New Jerseyans later complained, with cause, that their sacrifice had been largely ignored by the national press, while New York regiments received most of the publicity and praise.

When his dream of commanding both New Jersey brigades in a division did not work out, General Kearny had accepted command of a Division in the III Army Corps. Colonel George Taylor of Hunterdon County, commander of the Third New Jersey, was promoted to Brigadier General and assumed command of the First Brigade, which then sailed to the Peninsula, landing at Cheeseman's Creek and moving to West Point, where the Jerseyans skirmished with the Rebel rear guard retreating from Yorktown. Taylor's brigade became the First Brigade of the First Division of the VI Army Corps, a designation it held until the end of the war.

While New Jersey soldiers pushed up the Peninsula, Colonel Wyndham led the First New Jersey Cavalry on a march to Fredericksburg. The Jerseymen destroyed Confederate government property wherever they found it and then were transferred to the Shenandoah Valley, where Union forces were trying to corner General Thomas J. "Stonewall' Jackson. The regiment was ambushed on June 6, 1862 and suffered forty casualties, including Colonel Wyndham, who was captured, and Captain Thomas Ryerson Haines, son of former New Jersey governor Daniel Haines, who was killed in action. The Jerseymen did not give up easily, and Confederate General Turner Ashby lost his life in the fight as well. Following that incident, the First, under Lieutenant

Colonel Karge, guarded wagon trains and engaged in an action at Cedar Mountain during the Second Bull Run Campaign.

Along with the rest of the Army of the Potomac, both New Jersey infantry brigades followed the enemy up the Peninsula towards Richmond, and the Second Brigade fought once again at Seven Pines, driving a Confederate unit from the field. Confederate commander General Joseph Johnson was wounded at that battle, and replaced by General Robert E. Lee, a command change that would have a profound effect on the subsequent conduct of the war in the east. McClellan continued his careful advance on Richmond and Lee, now reinforced by Jackson's command from the Shenandoah Valley, decided to attack the Union army, which was divided by the Chickahominy River.

The Rebel counteroffensive resulted in the battle of Gaines' Mill on June 27, during which the First New Jersey Brigade crossed the Chickahominy to reinforce a battered Union force. The brigade helped halt one Rebel assault, but was then overwhelmed. A battery of "Coffee Mill" guns, a type of primitive machine gun manned by the Jerseymen, was captured by the enemy as the First, Second and Third Regiments fell back. The men of the Fourth Regiment, detached to another area of the field, were completely overrun and most of them, including Colonel James H. Simpson, were captured. As the Union line disintegrated, Private Charles F. Hopkins of Boonton and the First New Jersey, although wounded twice himself, carried wounded Sergeant Richard Donnelly through a gauntlet of enemy fire to a place of safety, and was wounded once more in the effort. Hopkins would be awarded the Medal of Honor for his heroic actions.

Following Gaines' Mill, McClellan retreated. The New Jersey brigades were not heavily involved in the resulting "Seven Days Battles," although Battery B's Captain Beam was killed when hit by a Confederate shell at Malvern Hill. The New Jersey regiments soon returned to northern Virginia. Major General John Pope initiated an offensive over the old Bull Run battlefield, where the Second Brigade was heavily engaged on August 29, 1862. The following day the Jerseyans helped cover Pope's retreat and supported General Kearny's division in an encounter at Chantilly, in which Kearny was killed while conducting a reconnaissance.

The First Brigade landed at Alexandria, Virginia on August 24, and, as communications with Pope had been erratic, was ordered forward to find out what was going on. The brigade traveled by train to Bull Run Bridge, then moved into enemy territory beyond, where General Taylor led his men into a massive ambush. Still not recovered from Gaines' Mill, the brigade suffered 339 casualties, including 204 men captured. Taylor was mortally wounded in the engagement and Colonel Alfred T. A. Torbert of the First New Jersey assumed brigade command.

In the wake of his Second Bull Run victory, General Lee launched his first invasion of the North, capturing Harper's Ferry and pushing into Maryland. General McClellan resumed command of the reunited Army of the Potomac and cautiously pursued the Confederates. Units of the VI Corps, including the First Brigade, attacked Lee's outposts in the passes over South Mountain and the First Brigade, especially the Fourth Regiment, with its recently exchanged POWs in the ranks, revenged its prior defeat by overrunning the Confederate defenses. Eugene Forbes of the Fourth's Company A succinctly summed it up with: "Well, we licked 'em." New Jersey's two veteran brigades were not engaged in the subsequent September 17 battle of Antietam, known as "America's bloodiest day." The First Brigade was on the field, but not ordered forward, and the Second Brigade spent the campaign in the defenses of Washington.

In the late summer of 1862, Lincoln made two more calls for troops, assigning quotas to the loyal states. In the first, for 300,000 new three-year soldiers on July 7, 1862, New Jersey was assigned a quota of five ten-company infantry regiments. One regiment, which had been recruiting in a desultory manner since spring, was designated as the Eleventh New Jersey, and the other four as the Twelfth through the Fifteenth. Adjutant General Stockton established regional recruiting districts and camps in Newark, Flemington, Freehold and Beverly for the four new units "to give an impetus to recruiting," as well as afford a recruit little time to change his mind. The Twelfth was recruited in the southern portion of the state, the Thirteenth in the urban northeast, the Fourteenth in central New Jersey and the Fifteenth in the rural northwest. Many of the junior officer slots in these regiments were reserved for experienced enlisted men from New Jersey units already in the field.

The new regiments would see plenty of action and distinguish themselves before the close of the conflict, but only one would engage in major combat in 1862. The Thirteenth New Jersey,

commanded by Colonel Ezra Carman, left Camp Frelinghuysen in Newark by train on August 31, 1862, and arrived in Washington on September 2. Assigned to the XII Army Corps, on September 6 the Thirteenth marched west, arriving at Antietam Creek two days later. On September 17 the regiment advanced towards the Hagerstown Pike, encountering heavy fire. Captain Hugh Irish of Paterson climbed the roadside fence in an attempt to rally his wavering men but was quickly riddled with bullets. As the battle swayed back and forth, the disoriented Jerseymen retreated and advanced, always under heavy fire, until they were allowed to rest in reserve. The day cost the rookie regiment 101 casualties, with seven men, including Captain Irish, whose statue adorns the New Jersey monument at Antietam, killed in action.

The Eleventh, Twelfth and Fifteenth Infantry were assigned to the Army of the Potomac but did not join it until after Antietam. The Eleventh was assigned to the III Army Corps and the Twelfth to the II Army Corps, both to brigades with regiments from other states. The Fifteenth joined the First New Jersey Brigade in the VI Corps and the Fourteenth was stationed in Maryland, to guard the railroad bridge crossing the Monocacy River at the town of Frederick.

Although the First Brigade was held in reserve at Antietam, its attached Battery A was engaged. The battery deployed around 700 yards east of the Dunker Church, and the Jersey gunners wrecked two enemy batteries in succession before running out of ammunition. Their work gained them praise from higher commanders and cheers from the First Brigade infantrymen,

Back in New Jersey, the pace of recruiting picked up once more as the state attempted to fill the government's second request for troops that summer. On the authority of the Militia Act of July 17, 1862, in August New Jersey was assessed 10,478 men to be drafted from the militia for nine-months service as part of another nationwide quota of 300,000 soldiers. The draft was scheduled for early September, but state officials were advised that it could be avoided if enough volunteers were raised prior to that date.

Adjutant General Stockton established a quota for each town in the state and appointed county draft commissioners who hired enrollment officers to list potential draftees as towns moved quickly to raise bounty money to entice volunteers before the September draft date. In Bergen County, bounties ran to $200 and higher, more than those offered to three-year volunteers.

Regimental commanders for these regiments, classified as militia units, were often appointed through political influence, with company grade officers elected by their men, providing leadership of varying ability.

It was later claimed that tall the men in the nine-months regiments were volunteers and that there had been no draft. This was not, however, true. Warren Township in Somerset County failed to offer a bounty and did not enlist anyone. Stockton ordered a draft in the township and forty-eight men were conscripted. Of these, twenty-five provided substitutes, seven reported for duty and sixteen did not report at all. One substitute was rejected as "totally unfit being deaf and imbecile and another as a 'habitual drunkard."

The state formed eleven nine-month regiments, the Twenty-first through the Thirty-first New Jersey Infantry. Potential volunteers were assured they would spend their term of service engaged in safe duty in comfortable forts well behind the lines, and that it would be "an agreeable episode in their lives," but the Jersey regiments ended up in the field. The first major engagement of their service was the battle of Fredericksburg.

Major General Burnside had replaced McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac, and tried to steal a march on General Lee in late November, 1862, by rapidly moving his army to the Rappahannock River, across from the town of Fredericksburg, in hopes of advancing towards Richmond before the Army of Northern Virginia could arrive to block his passage. Although Burnside did beat Lee to the crossing, a delay in the arrival of pontoon bridges negated his initial advantage, and the Confederates assumed a strong position on Marye's Heights, the high ground beyond the town.

Burnside began his river crossing on December 11, and, with the town secured, attacked the virtually impregnable Rebel lines beyond in a frontal assault the following day. New Jersey units were in action all along the line, and many of the nine-months soldiers ended up in the thick of the fighting. The Twenty-fourth New Jersey, assigned to the First Division of the II Corps, charged over fences and across a canal into a maelstrom of enemy fire. Some Jerseymen got within twenty-five yards of the Confederate lines before the regiment, which shot away all its

ammunition, fell back down the hill. The Twenty-fourth lost sixteen men killed, 115 wounded and twenty-nine missing.

The Twenty-eighth New Jersey also charged the enemy line and its officers and men went down in heaps -- one sergeant was decapitated by a cannon ball. Captain Joseph Crowell of Company I was hit in the face by a shell fragment that took off part of his nose, and Colonel Moses Wisewell was hit in the neck by a bullet that exited through his mouth. Despite these losses, the regiment pushed on, getting as close to the Rebels as any Union unit that day, until stopped cold by the volume of fire. The Jerseymen hit the ground and returned fire, laying there all night amidst the dead from successive assault waves, until withdrawn the following morning. The Twenty-eighth lost fourteen men killed, 147 wounded and twenty-nine missing in action, thirty percent of the force the regiment brought to the field.

Four nine-months regiments, the Twenty-second, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth and Thirty-first New Jersey, were formed into a single brigade and were fortunate enough to escape the disastrous battle at Fredericksburg. They were assigned to rear area guard duty and unloading supplies at the army's Aquia Creek Landing base. Following the battle, they assisted in loading the wounded onto ships that would take them back to Washington. Although closer to the front, the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh New Jersey were held in reserve. The Twenty-first, assigned to the VI Corps, was also spared the worst of the fighting. The regiment was deployed in support of a Maryland artillery battery, and lost seven men wounded.

The state's longer service soldiers were, for the most part, not engaged at Fredericksburg. The Eleventh New Jersey was held in reserve with the rest of the III Corps, which included the regiments of the Second New Jersey Brigade. The Twelfth did not arrive at its assigned II Corps brigade until after the battle, and the already battered Thirteenth and did not rejoin the army until after Fredericksburg. The Fourteenth continued on duty guarding the railroad bridge at Frederick.

The units of the First Brigade, including the newly enlisted Fifteenth and Twenty-third regiments, crossed the river on December 12 with the VI Corps and deployed in a position on the Union left. The Fifteenth manned the brigade picket line and skirmished with the enemy all

morning. Later, elements of the Fourth and Fifteenth moved forward, supported by the Twenty-third. Colonel Henry Ryerson of the Second New Jersey, who assumed command of the Twenty-third after its initial commander, Colonel John S. Cox, was dismissed for attacking several officers with his sword in a drunken rage, ordered his regiment to attack the Rebel picket line on its flank, but the inexperienced nine-months soldiers, some of whom did not hear the command, faltered. As they fell back, Ryerson rallied his men and restored order. The Fifteenth, in its first battle, suffered three men killed and six wounded. Among that regiment's dead was Sergeant-major John P. Fowler, the colonel's cousin.

As the disastrous day came to a close, the Twenty-fifth New Jersey tentatively advanced with its division of the IX Corps, but halted under heavy fire, and several companies began to panic. Colonel Andrew Derrom, a Paterson architect, personally rallied his men, noting that "some few of the officers seem to be wanting in promptness," but the attack was abandoned. The regiment lost six men killed, sixty-one wounded and eighteen missing in its first engagement. As the army withdrew after the battle, the Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth New Jersey, assigned to help engineers take up the pontoon bridges, were among the last units to cross the Rappahannock.

Battery A deployed with the First Brigade and was engaged in counter-battery fire against Rebel artillery. Brigadier General William T. H. "Bully" Brooks, commanding the VI Corps' First Division, commented that the battery's fire "appeared to be very effective." Battery B, under Captain Judson Clark, was posted with the VI Corps' Vermont Brigade, which also included the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, and engaged in extensive counter-battery fire, dismounting five enemy guns. Division commander General Albion Howe praised "Capt. Clark's New Jersey Battery for continued and good effect in firing. I have never seen them equaled."

Following the battle, the Army of the Potomac occupied dismal winter quarters at Falmouth, Virginia, where First Lieutenant Oscar Westlake of the Third New Jersey complained of "devilish poor dinner" and, worse yet, the fact that he could "get no whiskey." There would be one more Burnside-inflicted trial on the army. He planned to feint to the north of Fredericksburg along the Rappahannock and then launch a crossing south of the town, coupled with a large cavalry raid. The movement began on January 20 in mild weather that quickly turned horrible, with heavy rain bringing maneuver to a virtual halt. It took 400 men from the Twenty-third New

Jersey an entire hour to drag a pontoon 100 yards. His army hopelessly bogged down in what became known as the "Mud March." Burnside gave up. On January 26 President Lincoln relieved the luckless commander, replacing him with the brash, self-assured Major General Joseph Hooker.

The Army of the Potomac's morale soared over the next few months as Hooker improved mail distribution and rations and allowed soldiers limited home leave, although his introduction of distinctive corps badges proved his most lasting contribution to the army. Each army corps was assigned an insignia, with the corps' First, Second and Third Divisions wearing, respectively, red, white and blue versions of it. As members of the VI Corps' First Division, the men of the First New Jersey Brigade were issued red Greek Cross cloth badges. The Second Brigade, assigned to the III Corps' Second Division, received white diamond shaped badges. New Jerseyans would wear their corps badges with pride for the rest of the war – and as veterans in the long twilight that followed.

Chapter 14

Chancellorsville and Gettysburg

On April 26, 1863 Governor Joel Parker visited the First Brigade camp and presented the state's First, Second and Third Regiments with new state colors similar to one issued previously to the Fourth Regiment. The flags were inscribed with a tribute to the victory at Crampton's Gap and a state crest on one side, while the other side bore "the American eagle in a halo, and the same inscription."

The flags would soon be carried into battle. General Hooker launched a cavalry raid on April 27, and marched much of his army north along the Rappahannock River, leaving General John Sedgwick's VI Corps near Fredericksburg to distract the enemy while the main force moved into the Confederate rear. Once General Lee realized his situation, he divided his own army, moving the bulk of it north to face Hooker and leaving a lesser force deployed in the old Marye's Heights line Federals at Fredericksburg.

Hooker established headquarters at Chancellorsville, where fighting began on May 1. On May 2, Stonewall Jackson launched a devastating flank attack on Hooker's XI Corps as fighting erupted all along the line. The Second New Jersey Brigade, which now included the 115th Pennsylvania Infantry, was rushed forward, along with the Eleventh New Jersey Infantry. The Jerseymen captured hundreds of prisoners and eight battle flags. Brigade commander General Gershom Mott was wounded and replaced by Colonel William Sewell of the Fifth New Jersey. Sewell continued the attack until his flanks were unsupported, and then fell back gradually.

Former brigade commander General Joseph Revere, now leading New York's Excelsior Brigade, ordered a retreat when his men ran low on ammunition. His withdrawal opened a gap that threatened the Union line, and Revere was subsequently court-martialed and dismissed from the service, a verdict later revoked due to his previous good conduct. The Second New Jersey Brigade withdrew across the Rappahannock on May 6, having suffered losses of 378 men killed and wounded.

The Twelfth New Jersey had its baptism by fire at Chancellorsville, holding a segment of the Union line until it was outflanked and then routed, but rallied behind a new line on May 3. The Thirteenth New Jersey, which led the initial federal advance, engaged in heavy skirmishing and then dug in to await developments as retreating XI Corps soldiers passed through the regiment's position. The Thirteenth, which fell back after exhausting its ammunition, gained praise from senior commanders, one of whom noted that the regiment "behaved handsomely and fought bravely."

The Jerseymen of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-eighth Regiments, already battered at Fredericksburg, were in the thick of the struggle again at Chancellorsville. The Twenty-eighth was overrun and Colonel John A. Wildrick was captured. The Twenty-fourth suffered seven casualties and the Twenty-eighth thirty.

As fighting accelerated, Hooker ordered Sedgwick to advance at Fredericksburg to relieve the pressure at Chancellorsville. The VI Corps charged up Marye's heights, and overran the Rebel defenders. The First New Jersey Brigade was held in reserve during the attack, but the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, attached to the Vermont Brigade, participated. Shouting incoherently, the regiment's erratic colonel, Andrew Jackson Morrison, led his men off in the wrong direction. The regiment fell into chaos but was reorganized by Lieutenant Colonel Edward Martindale and completed its mission. Morrison was relieved from command, placed under arrest for drunkenness and cashiered from the army.

The Heights secured, Sedgwick ordered his First Division, including the First New Jersey Brigade, commanded by Colonel Henry W. Brown, to move down the Orange Turnpike. Confederate Brigadier General Cadmus Wilcox withdrew slowly until the Union troops entered the woods around Salem Church, where Wilcox had deployed several regiments in ambush. The Twenty-third New Jersey, presented with a new flag from the people of Burlington County in April, was hit especially hard. The regiment fought valiantly, but was outflanked when the brigade to its left collapsed, and retreated until rallied by Colonel E. Burd Grubb.

The Second New Jersey's skirmishers were driven in and the First New Jersey, on the other side of Salem Church, was rolled up by the enemy as well (The Fourth New Jersey was on detached

duty). The Third New Jersey had entered a woodlot, but was driven out by two Georgia regiments and replaced by the Fifteenth, which held on until dark, finally retreating in order, the last First Division regiment to leave the field. The VI Corps established a defensive perimeter as Confederate reinforcements and General Lee arrived. At 5:00 PM on May 4 Lee attacked a section of the line partly held by the Twenty-first New Jersey. When the regiments on the Jerseymen's flanks broke, they came under fire from three directions, suffering 211 casualties, including 141 men lost as prisoners. Colonel Gilliam Van Houten was mortally wounded and died in Confederate hands. The VI Corps held on, however, and crossed the Rappahannock later that evening.

The remaining New Jersey nine-months regiments had varying experiences during the campaign, which was notable in having the largest number of New Jersey units on the field than in any other battle of the war. The Twenty-second New Jersey was brigaded with the Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth and Thirty-first and a Pennsylvania regiment and assigned to the I Corps. The brigade crossed the Rappahannock but did not engage in combat. While re-crossing under enemy artillery fire, the Twenty-second lost six men wounded and the Twenty-ninth had four men wounded, one mortally, while the Thirtieth and Thirty-first suffered no losses.

The Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh New Jersey were dispatched to the Union's coastal enclave in Southern Virginia prior to the campaign. The Twenty-fifth, stationed at Suffolk, Virginia, was engaged in a fight along the Nansemond River. The Jerseyans captured some Rebel defenses, but had to fall back, dragging one prisoner along with them. During the attack regimental chaplain Francis E. Butler was killed while attending the wounded. In addition to Butler, one enlisted man was killed in the fight.

The Twenty-seventh, commanded by Colonel George W. Mindil was, along with the rest of the IX Corps under Major General Burnside, shipped west, arriving in Cincinnati, Ohio, on March 27, 1863. The Jerseymen pursued retreating Confederates across Kentucky without engaging in combat, but an accident involving an overturned flatboat crossing the Cumberland River resulted in a loss of thirty-three men drowned, most of them from Rockaway Township. As its term of service was about to expire, the Twenty-seventh boarded a train east, halting briefly to bolster the

defenses of Harrisburg during the Gettysburg campaign, and then returned to New Jersey, arriving at Newark's Camp Frelinghuysen for muster-out on June 28.

The First New Jersey Cavalry, after dueling with Major John Singleton Mosby's guerillas for the first months of 1863, went on Major General George Stoneman's generally unproductive cavalry raid, capturing a trainload of Rebel shoes as its contribution to the Chancellorsville campaign. Battery A performed extremely well once more, halting the Confederate attack in the wake of the First Brigade's repulse at Salem Church, while Battery B served with the III Corps during the battle, moving to several critical positions and helping hold the line to facilitate Hooker's withdrawal.

Chancellorsville inspired Lee to invade the North again. The Confederate commander intended to take the war out of ravaged Virginia, supply his army off the enemy's land, encourage anti-war elements in the Union states and perhaps capitalize on unforeseen events. Hooker followed, too tentatively for President Lincoln, who replaced him with Major General George G. Meade.

Union cavalry, under Brigadier General Alfred Pleasanton, sought out its Rebel opponents, and encountered them at Brandy Station, Virginia on June 9. The ensuing fight was the largest cavalry action of the war. The First New Jersey Cavalry was involved in a saber slashing, handgun shooting melee, routing two Virginia mounted regiments. The Jersey boys were then hit by a counterattacking enemy regiment, but were successfully relieved by the First Pennsylvania Cavalry. Although the regiment suffered a number of casualties, including a major and lieutenant colonel killed, morale was high, as the Jerseymen had mostly held their own against the vaunted Confederate horsemen.

As the nine-months regiments went home, both New Jersey infantry brigades in the Army of the Potomac, along with the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth regiments, Batteries A and B and the First Cavalry, marched north in pursuit of Lee with Meade's army. With the enemy roaming Pennsylvania, Adjutant General Robert Stockton called for militiamen to bolster New Jersey's defenses and raised a token force that was sent to Harrisburg and then engaged in a squabble regarding their length of service, were deployed to defend a bridge and returned to Trenton after thirty days service.

As battle drew nigh, both armies began to concentrate near Gettysburg, where General John Buford's Union cavalry division traded fire with Confederate infantry skirmishers on July 1. The horse soldiers managed a gradual fighting withdrawal, delaying the enemy as infantry marched to the rescue. The I and XI Army Corps arrived in the nick of time, halting the Rebel advance. As the day wore on, however, more Confederates arrived and the advantage swayed back and forth until the Union line broke and Yankees streamed back through Gettysburg to the high ground on Cemetery Ridge.

Reinforcements arrived for both sides and July 2 found the Army of the Potomac deployed in a "fishhook" line, anchored on its barb end at Culp's Hill. That afternoon Major General Daniel Sickles advanced his III Army Corps from its position on the shank along Cemetery Ridge forward to the Emmitsburg Road, his left flank hanging in the air at an ancient glacial rock formation known as Devil's Den.

The units in Sickles' advance included the Second New Jersey Brigade, including, along with the four New Jersey regiments, the 2nd New Hampshire and the 115th Pennsylvania, under the command of Colonel George C. Burling. The Second Division's First Brigade included the Eleventh New Jersey. The Eleventh deployed along the Emmitsburg Road, while Burling's Brigade was positioned slightly to the rear in reserve. Captain Clark's Battery B was deployed at a Peach Orchard.

Sickles, who thought he was improving his tactical situation, was unaware that Lee had ordered General Longstreet to attack the Union left. The assault, delayed by organizational difficulties, was launched late that day, and in heavy fighting at sites that would forever after be part of the American military iconography -- Devil's Den, Little Round Top, and the Wheatfield -- the stubborn federals were driven back to Cemetery Ridge, from where an exhausted Confederate force could push them no further. An evening strike at Culp's Hill failed as well.

When Longstreet's attack began around 4:00 PM, Colonel Burling's brigade was split up to plug holes in the Union line. The Seventh New Jersey and Second New Hampshire were deployed near the Peach Orchard, the Fifth New Jersey across the Emmitsburg Road and Burling personally led the Sixth New Jersey down the valley between Devil's Den and Little Round Top. When he returned, he found that the Eighth New Jersey had been ordered to join the troops in the

Wheatfield, leaving him only the 115th Pennsylvania, a very small regiment. Burling, with no effective command remaining, went to the rear complaining that his brigade was "dismembered."

The Fifth New Jersey, fell back before an Alabama brigade's advance but managed to hold back the Rebels long enough to allow an artillery battery to escape to the rear. The regiment lost thirteen men killed, sixty-five wounded and sixteen missing, almost half the number it brought to the field.

The Sixth New Jersey, under Lieutenant-colonel Stephen R. Gilkyson, marched through some woods to Plum Run, the little valley between Houck's Ridge and Devil's Den and Little Round Top. Gilkyson had his men open fire at Rebels 400 yards away, then advanced to a position protected by boulders and continued to fire in the direction of the enemy, although gun smoke prevented aiming at specific targets. The Sixth held that position until Devil's Den fell to the Confederates around 7:00 PM and then withdrew to Cemetery Ridge. The regiment lost one man killed, thirty-two wounded and eight missing.

The Seventh New Jersey was deployed in support of Battery B along the Wheatfield Road near the Peach Orchard. The regiment, commanded by Colonel Louis R. Francine, laid down in a depression in the ground, but still suffered a number of casualties from enemy artillery fire. As the Union line at the Peach Orchard disintegrated, the artillery along the Wheatfield road began to withdraw, protected by the Seventh. The regiment, divided into two components by stampeding artillery horses, engaged advancing Confederate infantry and fell back towards Cemetery ridge. Colonel Francine was badly wounded where the regiment's monument stands today. The Seventh lost fifteen men killed, eighty-six wounded and thirteen missing. Francine died of his wound in a Philadelphia hospital on July 16, the only New Jersey regimental commander who lost his life at Gettysburg.

The Eighth New Jersey was detached from Burling's brigade at the same time the Seventh was, and marched across the Wheatfield to support Union troops holding that position. The movements of the regiment are difficult to track, since its commander, Colonel John Ramsey, was wounded and neither he nor his successor in command, Captain John Livingston, filed a report on the battle. The Eighth ended up somewhat north of where its monument now stands and made it to Cemetery Ridge by nightfall, with a loss for the day of seven men killed, thirty-eight wounded and two missing.

The last New Jersey infantry regiment engaged in fighting along the III Corps line on July 2 was the Eleventh New Jersey, commanded by Colonel Robert McAllister. Deployed along the Emmitsburg Road, the regiment came under heavy artillery fire and was then hit by General Cadmus Wilcox's Alabamans around 6:00 PM. Major Philip J. Kearny, nephew of the general, was shot in the knee almost immediately and Colonel McAllister was wounded shortly afterward. As the Yankee line crumbled, the Eleventh began a fighting withdrawal towards Cemetery Ridge. As other officers assumed command they were killed or wounded in quick succession. Three went down within ten minutes.

At the end of the day, the Eleventh was under the command of Captain Samuel Sleeper of Shrewsbury, the unit's sixth commander. The regiment lost seventeen men killed, 124 wounded and twelve missing, fifty-six percent of the men it brought to the field, and the greatest loss of any New Jersey regiment that fought at Gettysburg.

Further north, along Cemetery Ridge, The Twelfth New Jersey was engaged in severe fighting on July 2, when it attacked the Bliss barn, a large structure to its front, to clear out Confederate sharpshooters. The attack was successful, and netted the regiment 100 prisoners.

July 3 opened without major combat, but an afternoon artillery duel preceded the disastrous Confederate infantry assault known forever afterward as "Pickett's Charge" after Major General George Pickett, who commanded one of the three divisions. The attack hit the II Corps portion of the Union line, held in part by the Twelfth New Jersey Infantry. The Jerseymen, armed with obsolete .69 caliber smoothbore muskets, firing a round ball and three buckshot, known as "buck and ball," reserved their fire until the enemy was within fifty yards and then delivered a devastating volley that shattered the Twenty-sixth North Carolina regiment. The Jerseymen capturing the unit's battle flag, which was sent as a trophy to Trenton, where it remained until returned to North Carolina in the early twentieth century. It is currently at the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond. The Twelfth lost twenty-three men killed, eighty-three wounded and nine missing.

The First New Jersey Cavalry was engaged in a cavalry action that occurred some three miles behind the Union lines as Major General J. E. B. Stuart, maneuvering his cavalry division to exploit any advantages gained by Pickett's infantry attack on the Union center, engaged Brigadier General David M. Gregg's Union Cavalry division in dismounted firefights and

conventional saber charges. Although the First was, at times, in the thick of the fight, casualties were light, amounting to nine men wounded.

The Thirteenth New Jersey reached Gettysburg late in the day on July 1, and was deployed in reserve behind Culp's Hill, the barb end of the "fishhook" line. The Thirteenth's brigade was sent to reinforce the Federal center late on July 2, but returned to occupy a position by Spangler's Spring. Engaged in skirmishing and repulsing a Rebel attack, the regiment lost one man killed and twenty wounded.

The regiments of the First Brigade arrived at Gettysburg after a forced march late in the afternoon of July 2. The brigade was detailed to occupy a section of the Union line a short distance to the north of Little Round Top and did not engage in any serious combat, but had eleven men wounded by shellfire on July 3, several of whom subsequently died of their wounds.

In the months after the climactic battle at Gettysburg, the New Jersey units in the Army of the Potomac were involved in the fruitless Mine Run Campaign in November and December, 1863. The Fourteenth New Jersey joined the Army of the Potomac after Gettysburg and fought in its first engagement on November 27 at Locust Grove, Virginia, suffering sixteen men killed and fifty-eight wounded--its first losses in battle. As the year waned, the Thirteenth New Jersey, along with the rest of the XII Corps, was consolidated with the XI Corps to form the XX Corps, which was then shipped to Chattanooga, Tennessee, to reinforce a Union army that had been besieged there since the battle of Chickamauga.

Over the winter, soldiers who had enlisted for three-year terms in 1861 were given the option of being discharged in January to reenlist, with generous bounties from both federal and state levels, as "veteran volunteers." Many Jerseymen took advantage of the offer, but many did not. Even those who had declined to reenlist, though, would still have to fight well into the summer, when their three-year terms of service would officially end.

The Enrollment Act of 1863, which established a federally supervised draft, gave rise to riots in New York City and minor disturbances in Newark. Governor Parker managed to get conscription postponed in the state by promising to raise new regiments and recruits to meet New Jersey's assigned manpower quota. Spurred by large bounties offered by counties and municipalities, three new infantry regiments, the Thirty-third, Thirty-Fourth and Thirty-fifth, along with two

cavalry regiments, the Second and Third, and three artillery batteries, the Third, Fourth and Fifth, were recruited in the state in late 1863 and early 1864.

The Thirty-third and the Thirty-fifth Infantry regiments received colorful French North African style Zouave uniforms as an extra incentive to join. Unfortunately, many of the original recruits in these units were "bounty jumpers," who intended to collect their bounties and desert at the earliest opportunity. One drunken soldier from the Thirty-fifth attacked an officer in the streets of Flemington with a bayonet. The officer shot and killed him on the spot and a local newspaper charged that the Thirty-fifth's men were "scoundrels from New York and Philadelphia." Several of the Thirty-third's recruits tried to desert by jumping the fence at Newark's Camp Frelinghuysen and were shot by members of a Vermont regiment assigned to guard them.

Regiments in the field sent recruiting parties back to New Jersey in an attempt to fill their depleted ranks. Sergeant Samuel Cavileer of the Fourth New Jersey, on recruiting duty in Freehold, wasn't particularly eager to enlist new men. He preferred that the draft take the "stay at homes," many of whom he suspected of Confederate sympathies. Surgeon Levi D. Miller of the First New Jersey complained that replacements arriving at the First Brigade camp in the winter of 1863-64 were "men over 50…boys under 18, men recently discharged on account of disease or disability from wounds." These "recruits" expected to be discharged immediately, having scammed an enlistment bounty and, at the same time, filled a municipality's manpower quota. It was a win-win for everyone but the army.

The three new infantry regiments were assigned to the Western Theater of the war. The Second Cavalry Regiment was also sent west, and the Third, dressed in fancy European-style uniforms, also known as the "First US Hussars" and nicknamed the "Butterflies," was assigned to the Eastern Theater, as were the new artillery batteries. Joseph Karge, a solid officer, was promoted to colonel and assigned to command the Second Cavalry, but the Third was unfortunate enough to be led by Colonel Andrew J. Morrison, who had returned from disgrace – for a while.

The campaign season of 1864 would prove to be particularly bloody, with the First and Second Brigades heavily engaged in the Wilderness and at Spotsylvania and Cold Harbor as General. Grant accompanied Major General George Gordon Meade's Army of the Potomac, which fought its way overland toward Richmond. The First New Jersey Brigade, reinforced by the Tenth New Jersey Infantry, which had been on easy duty chasing draft dodgers and rebellious miners in the

Pennsylvania coal fields, crossed the Rapidan River with the VI Corps of the Army of the Potomac on May 4, 1864. The following day the brigade was engaged in heavy combat in the Wilderness. On May 6, Captain Ellis Hamilton of the Fifteenth New Jersey, who, as a sixteen-year-old lieutenant, had been the youngest commissioned officer in the Union army in 1862, was mortally wounded.

The battered brigade lurched on to Spotsylvania, and, after a hard march and preliminary fighting on May 8, was ordered on May 12 to support the II Army Corps, which had penetrated the enemy line but been pushed back to its breakthrough point. After a wild hundred-yard charge into a blizzard of bullets, the Jerseymen slugged it out at point blank range with a brigade of Mississippians. The Fifteenth New Jersey, which led the attack, lost over half the men it began with, but helped halt the Rebel counterattack at a point forever after known as the "Bloody Angle." In the aftermath, a brigade staff officer surveying the body-strewn scene said he hoped he "would never again witness such a sight."

The Second New Jersey Brigade, now including the Eleventh New Jersey, and commanded by the Eleventh's Colonel McAllister, who had recovered from his Gettysburg wound, was also heavily engaged in the Wilderness and at Spotsylvania. The basic load of ammunition for a soldier going into combat was sixty rounds, but the Jerseymen of the brigade fired an average of 150 rounds per man in two days of fighting in the Wilderness. The Brigade was in the first wave of the May 12 attack and was pushed back but hung on. The fast shooting Jerseyans had to be resupplied with ammunition several times during the battle.

Sergeant John W. Mitchell of the Twelfth New Jersey, which also participated in the assault, recalled that he "never saw such firing in my life. There wasn't a tree the thickness of your finger hardly, but what was all cut to pieces with balls." The regiment's commander, twenty-eight-year-old Lieutenant colonel Thomas Davis of Camden, was killed in the assault.

After Spotsylvania, both armies tumbled south, as General Grant sought a way around General Lee's right flank, clashing intermittently and bleeding casualties all the way. The next big fight for the Jerseymen of the First Brigade was Cold Harbor, where they arrived on June 1. The men in the First through Fourth Regiments who had declined to reenlist and survived were discharged, and the reenlisted "Veteran Volunteers" of the first three regiments were reassigned to the Fifteenth New Jersey. The brigade attacked the Confederate line on June 3 with three

Regiments, the Tenth, the Fifteenth and the Fourth, the latter having reenlisted enough men to retain its regimental designation. The enemy fire was so heavy that the Jerseymen went to ground after a short distance and began digging trenches with bayonets, tin plates and cups. Trench warfare had begun. Captain Dayton Flint of the Fifteenth reflected that from then on "spades will be trump."

The Second Brigade was deployed in reserve during Cold Harbor, but the Fourteenth New Jersey, which had escaped with relatively low casualties in the Campaign to date, was not spared. The Fourteenth actually penetrated the Confederate lines, something few Union regiments were able to do that day. Captain John C. Patterson and a fourteen-man detachment succeeded in flanking a Rebel regiment and capturing over 100 Confederate soldiers. The Fourteenth paid a heavy price, however, losing twenty-nine men killed, 110 wounded and fifteen missing.

The First New Jersey Cavalry, riding with Major General Philip Sheridan's cavalry division, engaged in several fights with its Confederate counterparts, as did the Third New Jersey Cavalry, which was equipped with Spencer repeating carbines after Colonel Morrison, was, once again, dismissed due to drunkenness. Batteries A and B were held in reserve for the most part, occasionally exchanging fire with enemy artillery. The Third Battery did not arrive at the front until after Cold Harbor. The Fourth Battery, assigned to Major General Benjamin Butler's Army of the James, was slightly engaged at Drewry's Bluff on May 15 during that army's failed advance on Richmond and lost several men wounded. The Fifth Battery, also assigned to the Army of the James, was minimally involved at Drewry's Bluff.

The Ninth New Jersey Infantry, shipped up from North Carolina to reinforce Butler's army, also fought at Drewry's Bluff and was outflanked and almost surrounded in a dense fog. During a chaotic withdrawal, the Ninth's commander, Colonel Abram Zabriskie of Hackensack, was mortally wounded. The regiment lost more men at Drewry's Bluff than in any other engagement during the war -- over 200 killed, wounded and missing. The Ninth's heroic rearguard action against heavy odds, however, managed to delay the enemy advance and avoid a Union disaster. Butler's army withdrew to the Bermuda Hundred, where it entrenched.

The Army of the Potomac moved on Petersburg, a vital rail junction south of Richmond, where an attempt to seize the town by Butler's army had failed earlier, although the black Jerseymen of the Twenty-second U. S. Colored Infantry had captured two enemy forts. By June 9 the armies

were deadlocked. Siege trench lines were dug from Petersburg towards Richmond, and the stalemate would last until the spring of 1865.

In an attempt to divert troops and attention from the Union lines at Petersburg, Lee ordered General Jubal Early to launch an attack in the Shenandoah Valley and threaten Washington. Early's initial efforts were successful, and he brushed aside Union forces, moving into Maryland. Grant sent the VI Army Corps, which had more New Jersey soldiers than any other corps in his army, to block Early's advance. The corps' Third Division arrived at the Monocacy River as Early approached, and, with some other scratch Union forces in the area, deployed on the heights overlooking the river. The Fourteenth New Jersey played a significant role in the ensuing battle of Monocacy on July 9, which delayed the Confederate advance on Washington, and, although Union forces had to retreat, became known as "the battle than saved the capital."

Early advanced to the outskirts of Washington and, finding the garrison reinforced by the entire VI Corps, retreated. Shortly afterward Grant authorized the creation of the "Army of the Shenandoah," including the VI Corps and other troops in the area, put Major General Phil Sheridan in command and gave him orders to attack Early.

Sheridan's army, including the First New Jersey Brigade, the Fourteenth New Jersey Infantry and the Third New Jersey Cavalry, advanced on Early, and, from September through October, decisively defeated the Confederates at Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek. Jerseymen played a critical role in all of these battles, and suffered heavy casualties, including the Fourteenth New Jersey's Major Peter Vredenburgh, who turned to his men as they began to advance at Winchester and said "I'll do all I can for you boys" just before he was hit in the throat by an artillery shell and killed instantly. In the wake of the victory at Cedar Creek in October, the Jerseymen returned to the siege lines at Petersburg.

Meanwhile, in the west, the New Jersey regiments of Sherman's Army Group, which began its campaign on May 4, 1864, had their baptism of fire. The Thirty-third was the first to see combat, engaging the enemy at Rocky Face Ridge. The other Jersey Zouave regiment, the Thirty-fifth, engaged in combat at Resaca, Georgia, as Sherman neared Atlanta.

Near Ruff's Mills, Georgia, Captain Augustus Angel of the Thirty-fifth, considering one of the best small unit tacticians in Sherman's army, was shot through the heart and killed on the

skirmish line. As Union forces tightened their stranglehold on Atlanta, the Thirty-third was overrun by a surprise Confederate attack while digging trenches 500 yards in advance of the main Union lines. Lieutenant Colonel Enos Fouratt managed to rally his men and most escaped, but the regiment lost its battle flag. On September 2, led by Colonel Mindil, the Thirty-third marched into Atlanta. Both regiments had suffered severely over the course of the campaign, but received replacements over the next several months.

The Thirteenth New Jersey moved towards Atlanta as well. The regiment was fortunate to be held in reserve at Kennesaw Mountain, Sherman's only serious tactical mistake, losing only one man wounded. After closing in on Atlanta the Thirteenth dug trenches and spent most of the time dodging sharpshooter bullets. Following the Confederate abandonment of the city on September 2, the regiment marched in, flags flying, and spent two months on garrison duty.

The Thirty-fourth New Jersey spent the summer and fall of 1864 on guard and counter-guerilla activity in the rear, as did the Second Cavalry. The Second, armed with Spencer repeating carbines, provided the rear guard for the Union retreat following the battle of Brice's Crossroads, Mississippi on June 10, 1864. Colonel Karge gained credit for being the only Union cavalry leader to best legendary Nathan Bedford Forrest on another occasion, and even led his regiment into Arkansas, the furthest west of any New Jersey unit in the war.

General Sherman realized that holding Atlanta would not end the war, and on November 15 marched a streamlined force out of the city towards Savannah and the coast. All three New Jersey infantry regiments marched with him, living largely off the land. One soldier in the Thirteenth recalled that "on the way through Georgia we feasted on sweet potatoes, fresh pork, chickens, turkeys, geese." Sergeant William Lloyd of the Thirty-third managed to "dig up out of the ground" a "silver chalice" some fleeing Georgia clergyman had buried. None of the Jerseymen were involved in combat until early December, when the Thirty-fifth met scattered resistance and had a corporal killed and several men wounded by a buried "torpedo" or land mine. To avoid future incidents, the Jersey boys made Rebel prisoners clear the road ahead of them. On December 21, Savannah fell. And then General Sherman looked north. The end was in sight.

On the home front, the federal draft had finally come to New Jersey, with the first drawing held on May 10, 1864 in Ocean County. There were no civil disturbances, largely because counties

and municipalities had agreed to pay the $300 commutation fee to exempt a draftee from service under a particular draft – several would be held through the spring of 1865 -- with taxpayer money. *Newark Journal* editor Edward N. Fuller, himself a draftee, was delighted that the Essex County freeholders decided "to represent him with a $300 greenback." The commutation exemption later ended, leaving the only options for a draftee to either provide an expensive substitute or serve himself. Many substitutes, often supplied by "substitute brokers" were veterans of more than two years of service, but a number were Confederate deserters or, in the words of New Jersey's Acting Assistant Provost Marshal General, "pimps and vagabonds." In the end, of the 103,296 New Jersey men enrolled for the draft, only 951 ever entered the army as draftees.

Once New Jersey officials realized that African-American recruits counted as part of the state's assigned quota of soldiers, and that recruiters had been whisking them away to units like the famed Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, local recruiting agents began to actively solicit Black volunteers. Most passed through Trenton to Camp William Penn, near Philadelphia. In the end more than 3,000 New Jersey African-American soldiers served in the units of the United States Colored Troops (USCT), and in the Navy. The Twenty-second United States Colored Infantry, with seventy-five percent of its ranks composed of Jerseymen, achieved a distinguished combat record, breaking through Confederate defenses on a number of occasions. The regiment was also chosen to participate in the hunt for John Wilkes Booth and represent the entire United States Colored Troops in Abraham Lincoln's funeral procession.

In response to President Lincoln's 1864 call for volunteers for 100 days of service to temporarily replace soldiers sent to the front, New Jersey raised one regiment, the Thirty-seventh Infantry. When it left Newark, the regiment's personnel did not look too promising, and were described by one observer thusly: "There were many with only one eye; several with less fingers than the regulations allowed; a few, long since passed the age at which military service terminates; and scores of boys from fifteen years of age upwards." Despite this, the regiment did its job in the trenches of the Bermuda Hundred, and when the unit left service a general attested that the Jersey boys "had gained the esteem of the veterans of this corps."

Adjutant General Stockton reformed the militia, creating the New Jersey Rifle Corps in 1863. Although units of the old militia still existed, recruits to the new organization were issued

distinct uniforms. Initially, the Rifle Corps was less than a stunning success, with only six companies of the authorized fifty organized by the end of the year, but was deployed to control a riot that broke out between employees of two rival railroads in November. To properly arm the Rifle Corps, New Jersey purchased several thousand rifle-muskets, paid for with federal promissory notes.

Three more regiments, the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth and Fortieth New Jersey Infantry, were raised for one year's service between July, 1864 and March, 1865. Bounties for recruits were higher than ever, with Newark adding $100 on top of Essex County's $500 payment. These bounties drew a number of out of state residents to the ranks. A survey of two companies of the Fortieth revealed that more than half the enlisted men were born out of state. The Fortieth also had a 50% desertion rate. Overall, these regiments, commanded by veteran officers, did a reasonably good job in the Petersburg and Bermuda Hundred trenches in the last six months of the war. The Thirty-ninth actually distinguished itself in an attack on Fort Mahone on April 2, 1865.

The Union Army on the Petersburg front attacked on April 2, 1865, breaking through in a number of places, with the tried and true First and Second Brigades cracking the Confederate lines and pursuing the retreating enemy. In the days ahead, the First New Jersey Cavalry continually attacked the Confederate rear guard. Regimental commander Colonel Hugh Janeway was killed in a wild charge on the enemy at Sailor's Creek, during what was later referred to as "the grandest cavalry charge of the war, Four Jersey cavalrymen were awarded the Medal of Honor. General. Lee surrendered his army at Appomattox, Virginia, on April 9, 1865, ending the war for the Jerseymen of the Army of the Potomac.

In the Spring of 1865, the Thirty-fourth New Jersey ended its rear area security duties in Tennessee and moved south to New Orleans, where it joined the XVI Corps and moved on to the siege of Mobile, Alabama. On April 5, the regiment engaged in a successful attack on Fort Blakely, and Mobile surrendered shortly afterward. Colonel William H. Lawrence of the Thirty-fourth reported his regiment's losses as "2 killed, 1 wounded and 1 missing."

When Spring came north Sherman came with it, accompanied by erratic New Jersey cavalry general Judson Kilpatrick, who had to flee a Rebel raid with his girlfriend in their underwear, in command of his cavalry. Sherman's army, including the three regiments of New Jersey

infantrymen, slogged through South and North Carolina, finally cornering General Joseph E. Johnston's ragged remains of an army at Bentonville.

The Thirteenth New Jersey was the only Garden State regiment in the firing line on March 20, 1865, and ended what was probably the last Confederate charge of the war in a blaze of musketry. The Jerseymen captured a number of prisoners, including Hiram S. Williams, a Montclair, New Jersey, carriage maker who had been working in Georgia when the war broke out and was drafted into the Confederate army. Williams was delighted to surrender to his fellow New Jerseyans. Sherman continued the pursuit, and Johnston surrendered his army on April 26, 1865.

It was all over but the parading – and there were victory parades in Washington by both the Army of the Potomac and Sherman's army, although the celebrations were diminished by the assassination of President Lincoln. The war over, New Jerseyans began to be discharged and sent home, all save the men of the Thirty-fourth, who did not get home for another year, and the Jerseymen in the USCT units, who were sent to Texas on occupation duty, and did not return home until October.

Men were not the only New Jerseyans who contributed to Union victory. Many of the state's women served as nurses, both at the front and at hospitals established in Newark and Beverley. They wore no uniform, just subdued civilian dresses, usually with an apron. Most notable was Cornelia Hancock, a young Quaker woman from Hancock's Bridge, Salem County, who went to work in July 1863. Hancock closely followed the Army of the Potomac's Second Army Corps in the bloody Virginia Overland Campaign of 1864 and worked in the large depot hospital established at City Point, Virginia during the long siege of Petersburg. After the war she taught freed slaves to read and write and went on to be one of the first social workers in Philadelphia.

Clara Barton, who had once established a school in Bordentown, served as a nurse and after the war founded the "Missing Soldiers Office" in Washington. Somerville's Arabella Griffith married Francis Barlow of New York, a Union officer seriously wounded at Antietam and Gettysburg. Arabella nursed him back to health and continued working as a nurse until she died of typhus in July, 1864. Georgiana Willets of Jersey City nursed wounded soldiers and helped transfer 800 wounded men back to Washington. In the fall of 1864, Willets returned to

Washington, as a teacher and nurse at Camp Barker, providing shelter, medical services and educational opportunities for freed slaves. Women in the arts made their contributions as well, Poet Ellen Howarth of Trenton penned “My Jersey Blue,” a tribute to the state’s soldiers, and artist Lilly Martin Spencer of Newark produced several paintings, most notably “War News at Home.”

New Jersey industry boomed during the war. The state produced rifle-muskets, revolvers, swords, uniforms, cartridge boxes, harness and other leather products, railroad steam engines and ships for state and federal military needs, as well as serving a growing consumer market.

By the end of the Civil War New Jersey had raised thirty-seven regiments of infantry, three of cavalry and five batteries of artillery. The state claimed that 88,500 Jerseyans served in the state’s name during the war, although considering administrative errors and reenlistments, the actual number seems to be closer to 73,000. Included in the total were more than 3,000 black Jerseymen who served in United States Colored Troops regiments and in the United States Navy. Almost 6,000 New Jerseyans died in combat or from disease during the conflict.

Jerseymen also served in the regular US Army, Navy and Marine Corps as well as in the regiments of neighboring Pennsylvania and New York. The men who served were a diverse lot, representing a state in the process of change from a rural, parochial past into an industrial, cosmopolitan future. Their motives for going to war were varied and many -- patriotism, anger at the firing on Fort Sumter, a desire to abolish slavery, the excitement and change of going to war, or the fact that they were unemployed and soldiering was a job. No matter what brought them to the war, once there they did their job, and they did it well.

Chapter 15

The Militia Becomes the National Guard

In the aftermath of the Civil War, New Jersey Adjutant General Robert Stockton wrote that the end of the conflict had "materially reduced the labors of this office," and so he reduced his staff and no longer collected additional pay for wartime service. The tasks of office that year were largely clerical, including assuring that the last of the state's soldiers, including the men of the Thirty-fourth New Jersey Infantry, home from occupation duty in Alabama, were formally mustered out of service. The adjutant general also issued state certificates of service to discharged veterans and transferred men from the regular militia into the New Jersey Rifle Corps before leaving office early in 1867.

Governor Marcus Ward, a Republican, Newark businessman and philanthropist, owed his election to his reputation as "the soldier's friend." During the war soldiers with problems, including family support, wrote directly to Ward, who assisted them. He also sponsored a military hospital in Newark, named Ward General Hospital in his honor, for wounded and ill New Jersey soldiers. After the war the hospital was converted to a "Soldiers' Home" for disabled veterans. In the postwar years the Home moved to Kearny and then Menlo Park. The state also established a Soldiers Children's Home in Trenton to care for war orphans.

On April 12, 1867, Ward commissioned twenty-nine-year-old Civil War veteran William Scudder Stryker a brigadier general and appointed him New Jersey's adjutant general. The Trenton-born Stryker had graduated from Princeton in 1858 and, in April 1861, enlisted as a private in A Company, New Jersey National Guard Infantry, a militia organization called up to protect the state arsenal. Mustered out after three months, in the summer of 1862 he was appointed a militia major and assigned as disbursing and quartermaster officer at Freehold's Camp Vredenburgh, where he helped organize the Fourteenth New Jersey Infantry Regiment. In February 1863, Stryker was commissioned as a Volunteer major and paymaster and assigned to Hilton Head, South Carolina. As a member of General Quincy Gillmore's staff, he participated in the siege of Charleston and was later transferred to the Columbus, Ohio, Parole Camp, where he served until June 30, 1866, when he returned to civilian life.

Stryker was New Jersey Adjutant General for the rest of his life. His thirty-three years in office under both Republican and Democratic governors made Stryker the longest serving New Jersey adjutant general, but is best known for his work as a historian. Stryker's assiduous attention to detail in compiling lists of Jerseymen who served in the nation's wars resulted in publications that remain standard historical and genealogical references today, and no one can write a complete New Jersey military history without consulting his numerous books and articles, rich with primary source material, on the state's role in the American Revolution. As a member and officer of many American and European historical societies, including a term as president of the New Jersey Historical Society, Stryker's contributions to New Jersey historiography were enormous.

In March 1869, General Stryker presided over the consolidation of the Militia and the Rifle Corps into the New Jersey National Guard. The new Fourth regiment of the National Guard, for example, resulted from merging a number of companies of the Fourth Regiment, New Jersey Rifle Corps and the Second Regiment, Hudson Brigade, New Jersey militia.

The New Jersey National Guard was a significant improvement over the state's "shreds and patches" 1860 militia. There were Civil War veterans at all levels of command, organized units on the regimental and brigade level, annual reviews and inspections and even a "Competitive Trial of Skill in Musketry." The state's military was still armed with Civil War era rifle-muskets, even though the regular army and some other state militia organizations had moved on to breech-loading metallic cartridge small arms. New Jersey had decided to await official federal issue of breechloaders, rather than purchase its own.

National Guard units were occasionally called out for domestic duty, including answering the call of the Camden County sheriff to control an 1870 election riot where the Guard "restored the authority of the law" to the sheriff's satisfaction. Other assignments included playing the opposition force for Civil War veteran battle reenactments. The first large demonstration, sponsored by former general and Congressional candidate Judson Kilpatrick, was held on Kilpatrick's farm in Sussex County's Deckertown. Kilpatrick dubbed his event "The First Reunion." It featured parades, theatrical performances, food, gambling and beer tents, celebrity appearances by Kilpatrick and Congressman/General Dan Sickles and, reportedly, "loose women." The party was fueled by a trainload of beer shipped from New York City, and drew

some 40,000 spectators, 4,000 veterans and a National Guard detachment. As theater, it was a magnificent event, but Kilpatrick lost the election.

In September 1883, the New Jersey chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic veterans' organization invited the Fourth and Sixth New Jersey National Guard regiments to attend its annual encampment at Princeton Junction. The encampment involved meetings, speeches, drills, -- and drinking, capped off by a battle reenactment with the veterans versus the National Guard. The "battle" staged before 4,000 spectators, took place on the last day of the encampment. To the horror of the local press, the mock combat resulted in a number of casualties, with thirteen men considered seriously wounded.

Although better organized than the old militia, the National Guard's training schedule did not feature tactical field exercises, save the occasional mock combat with inebriated veterans. In 1875, when the force was composed of "sixty-five companies of Infantry, two companies of Cavalry and two batteries of Artillery," organized into several regiments and two brigades, the only combined training exercises were a parade and review in Newark for the First Brigade and a parade and review in Beverly for the Second Brigade.

Adjutant General Stryker was concerned that the Guardsmen had no permanent practice range to shoot the Springfield breech loading .45-70 caliber rifles the state had finally received from the federal government in 1875. He wrote that "it would be of great advantage…if some plan could be devised, whereby all the force could have some regular season and a suitable place to gain a more perfect use of the weapon." Beginning in March, 1878, National Guardsmen had occasional access to the range of the New Jersey Rifle Association at Brinton, near Elizabeth, for marksmanship training, which evidently proved effective for some shooters, as a New Jersey team won a prize at the interstate rifle match at Creedmoor rifle range on Long Island in the fall of 1878.

Marksmanship, following national trends, continued to be stressed through the next two decades, and the state arsenal created special reduced power cartridges for practice on limited distance indoor ranges in armories around the state. National Guardsmen continued to shoot full power cartridges at the Brinton range and also at the Stockton range outside Camden.

Tasks increased for the adjutant general's office as the years passed. Stryker noted that he was receiving requests for "searches of records" for veterans applying for pensions who had apparently lost their discharges. Stryker was also completing his two-volume record of the Civil War service of New Jerseyans, in state and federal units including the United States Colored Troops. The indexed result, published in 1876, is probably the best such printed record of a state's servicemen of the era.

After the war, New Jersey Black men, some no doubt veterans, became actively involved as soldiers in the peacetime military for the first time in the state's history. The Adjutant General's report for 1872 notes that the legislature authorized "companies of colored infantry" in the National Guard. The number of African-American companies was legislatively restricted to no more than ten, and they were consolidated into the Eighth Regiment. The Eighth was an all-Black unit, which, like the wartime USCT, was commanded by white officers. During its existence the Eighth was based in Camden, Elizabeth, Trenton, New Brunswick, Jersey City and Newark. The regiment was not attached to either of the two National Guard Brigades composed of white soldiers, and declining enrollments led to the unit's disbandment in 1877.

Stryker worked hard to record the service of Jerseymen in all the country's conflicts to date as well as paying out state pensions to surviving War of 1812 veterans and making preparations for the United States Centennial Commemoration, in which selected units would parade in Philadelphia in 1876. In 1881 a hand-picked New Jersey detachment attended the 100th anniversary ceremonies of the battle of Yorktown, Virginia, and won a trophy for "presenting the best military appearance during the entire encampment." At the end of 1876, the New Jersey National Guard mustered a strength of 3,862 officers and men. Throughout the post-Civil War era, yearly strength totals were similar, but varied somewhat as companies were occasionally disbanded or consolidated with other units.

In July of 1877, as the nation remained mired in the depression produced by the Panic of 1873, layoffs and wage cuts affected more and more workers, and a railroad strike that began in West Virginia spread across the country. National Guard troops in West Virginia refused to fire on strikers, while Maryland Guardsmen engaged in pitched battles with them in Baltimore. Pennsylvania's state military killed more than forty demonstrators in Pittsburgh, and federal troops had to restore order. The conflict spread to the border of New Jersey, and Governor Joseph

D. Bedle called up the National Guard in anticipation of violence, but none materialized, and he and other state political leaders did not view the Guard as being a strike breaking organization. Although there were a few minor disturbances, most New Jersey railroad workmen were apparently content with having their grievances heard. The fact that the legislature had passed laws criminalizing railroad strikes may also have had an effect.

Annual inspections of National Guard units were conducted throughout the post-Civil War era. Some companies, and even regiments, were found to be lacking basic records and failed to meet expectations in other areas. Artillery Battery A, located in Hoboken, was the sole remaining artillery unit in the New Jersey Guard after Battery B was replaced by Camden's Gatling Gun Company A in 1878. In an 1880 inspection the battery displayed, according to an inspecting officer, "a lack of proper discipline among both officers and enlisted men." The unit was subsequently disbanded and a new Gatling gun battery was created in Elizabeth.

Inspecting officers praised the record keeping and bearing of many units, but one infantry company inspected in 1880 "seemed to know but little about the manual of arms or company movements." Many units were still equipped with obsolete Civil War era cartridge boxes, with tin inserts designed for use with short rifle-musket paper cartridges, and an inspector declared they were "unfit for the present fixed ammunition in general use." To correct this problem, New Jersey acquired McKeever cartridge boxes from the federal government. The state had brass "NJ" plates made and shipped them to a federal arsenal to be affixed to the new boxes, which were specifically made for the .45-70 cartridge.

The new Gatling gun battery in Elizabeth, commanded by Civil War Medal of Honor recipient J. Madison Drake, quickly became a headache to state officials. Drake, a genuine war hero who mustered out of the Ninth New Jersey Infantry as a first lieutenant in 1865, was elected colonel of the Third Regiment, and served for five years before resigning but convinced the state legislature to make him a brevet (honorary) brigadier general. Drake, an influential newspaper man and author in civilian life, returned to the Guard as a captain commanding the Elizabeth company, but wore his brevet rank star and preferred being addressed as "general." The company, which Captain/General Drake ran without regard for regulations, served as a home for his nationally known "Veteran Zouaves" drill team and marching society, much to the dismay of senior National Guard officials. The unit was finally ejected from the National Guard in 1892 for

consisting of overage and overweight soldiers and failure to wear regulation uniforms – Drake would only allow Civil War veterans to join the company and they wore the Zouave uniform, while every other unit in the New Jersey National Guard wore the standard garb. A new Gatling gun company was created in East Orange to replace Drake's men, but after leaving the National Guard, the Veteran Zouaves continued to tour the country for years afterward.

With the artillery batteries gone, in 1885 the legislature provided funding for the formation of a "gun detachment" in each regiment of infantry. Each detachment consisted of one first lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal and twelve privates and was issued one small 3.2-inch "hand drawn" naval boat howitzer. The detachment's men were issued .45 caliber Colt revolvers and sabers.

By the time the gun detachments were created, General Stryker's long-term rifle range requirements led to coastal southern Monmouth County, centrally located and readily accessible by rail from north and south, yet still relatively undeveloped. The New Jersey National Guard first came "down the shore" in August, 1884, to hold a five-day summer encampment at Manasquan at a leased site named "Camp Abbett" in honor of then Governor Leon Abbett, a practice that set a precedent for naming future camps after sitting governors. The encampment was commanded by Irish-born Brevet Major General William J. Sewell, a Civil War hero, Pennsylvania Railroad executive, Republican Party boss of Camden and United States senator. Sewell strongly supported buying land for a permanent camp in the area, which, he believed, would "keep our National Guard up to that state of efficiency that we can point to it with pride."

The adjutant general chose a section of Sea Girt, a Monmouth County shore town slightly north of the 1884 campsite, to lease for National Guard use in the summer of 1885. The New Jersey Assembly subsequently authorized state agents to purchase 120 acres in Sea Girt. The ground was intended to serve a dual purpose – as a summer training camp for the National Guard and as an encampment site for the New Jersey posts of the Grand Army of the Republic. Governor Abbett was convinced that "the amount saved by the State in using the camp for a rifle range will in ten years be sufficient to pay for the land, improve the same and erect necessary buildings." Despite the governor's enthusiasm, the purchase bill faced rougher sledding in the state senate, where a number of Senators opposed to the purchase, postponing state acquisition of the property.

New Jersey continued to lease the land for the encampment from the Sea Girt Land Improvement Company for an annual rental fee of $3,000 until purchase legislation could be passed. Although locals complained of Guardsmen prone to "merrymaking," at nearby resorts when off duty, the state would have its way, as Abbett's successor Governor Robert S. Green pushed ahead on the sale, which was concluded for a sum of $51,000. The state subsequently added a small parcel in 1907, but there is no formal record of the original sale extant today.

The Sea Girt site also proved adaptable to practice with Gatling guns and the small artillery pieces issued to regimental gun detachments, which fired at targets anchored on rafts 400 to 800 yards offshore. In 1889, travel writer Gustav Kobbe noted that "the State camp, where the N.G.S.N.J. holds its annual field exercises during one week in August, is a beautiful tract of land whose entrance is near the [railroad] station. The glamour and bustle of military life and the ball given at the Beach House [a hotel in town] to the Governor and his staff make the encampment a welcome episode of the summer season."

Over succeeding decades, the rifle range at Sea Girt attained a national and international reputation in an era when target shooting was a popular sport. Inspector General of Rifle Practice General Bird W. Spencer contributed accounts of the state's marksmanship training to the annual adjutant general reports and was an officer in both the State and National Rifle Associations as well as a long-time mayor of Passaic. It was said that Sea Girt and its range were Spencer's "passion."

In the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, the New Jersey National Guard began to transition from a military-themed social and political club occasionally called out by the governor in civil disturbances into a more professional force. This trend, part of a national one, was fueled by National Guard officers who wanted to gain respect from their regular army counterparts as well as federal officials seeking a reliable backup force for the Regular Army in an era of growing national responsibilities. The first tentative steps in this direction began in the 1890s, with the assignment of regular army officers to advise and train state forces. In 1895, the first of these officers, Lieutenant Melvin W. Rowell of the Tenth United States Cavalry, was assigned to the New Jersey National Guard.

The presence of cavalry in the New Jersey National Guard had been erratic at best, at least partially due to the expense to the state of maintaining horses. In the last decade of the nineteenth

century this situation would change, however. The Essex Troop had its origins in a civilian riding organization created in 1890 to act as a private honor guard for local dignitaries in Essex County. Colonel James E. Fleming, a Civil War veteran who was a member of the exclusive Essex Club, which gave the unit its name, was the troop's commander. The members either owned their own steeds or rented them, bought their own saddles and were loaned revolvers and sabers by the state. On May 17, 1893 the Essex Troop joined the New Jersey National Guard as Cavalry Company A.

The troop was an elite organization, and when it attended its first training session at Sea Girt, a newspaper that described it as "the crack mounted organization from Orange and Newark known as the Essex Troop" also noted that traveling to Sea Girt, "the regular train on the Long Branch road had three special coaches attached to it, one containing the men and officers and the other the horses and servants." The National Guard of the 1890s allowed units to design and privately purchase full dress garb beyond the regulations, and the Essex Troopers purchased uniforms based on a British "Hussar" style and custom tailored by Brooks Brothers in New York City. With the addition of the Essex Troop, the cavalry was back in the New Jersey National Guard to stay. A second troop, at Red Bank, joined the Guard in 1895.

Although the Essex Troop could be viewed as a unit of locally prominent dandies, the New Jersey National Guard as a whole was a relatively socially and economically diverse organization. In 1896 four out of ten of the state's part-time soldiers were factory workers and mechanics and another three were clerks or bookkeepers.

The New Jersey Naval Militia was founded in 1894 and, organized into the Battalion of the East and the Battalion of the West, began operations the following year. The organization, activated in many but not all states, was intended as a naval reserve to be integrated into regular navy crews in time of war. An attempt to cut state spending by disbanding the Naval Militia failed in the New Jersey legislature in 1897, and a contemporary newspaper account of that year flatteringly described the unit as "composed principally of young business and professional men." The active duty navy provided advisors and training ships to the militia.

Along with supporting the National Guard, the state Quartermaster Department also loaned weapons and equipment to private paramilitary organizations like the Essex Troop before it

joined the Guard, the Atlantic City Morris Guards and the Sons of Union Veterans, as well as Grand Army of the Republic veterans' posts throughout the state. These allocations were reflected on the department's annual report.

In addition to state efforts, New Jersey was also the scene of federal military activity in the post-Civil War era. In 1874, Sandy Hook, the location of forts defending New York Harbor off and on for many years, became the site of the U.S. Ordnance Department proving grounds, charged with testing the rapidly changing weaponry of the late nineteenth century. Some areas of the proving ground were shifted when Fort Hancock, a modern coastal defense fortification with "disappearing guns," was commissioned in 1895, but the grounds remained active until 1919, when even longer-range artillery necessitated a move to Aberdeen, Maryland.

With the impending construction of Fort Hancock and other fortifications, including Fort Mott along Delaware Bay in Pennsville, intended to protect New York and Philadelphia, General Stryker requested the army to deliver coast artillery pieces to Sea Girt, not to defend the base, but so National Guardsmen could train on the weapons, because he believed that should the National Guard be called to duty in time of war, their most likely deployment would be to coastal forts. The Guard actually formed a Coast Artillery unit in Atlantic City, which had nothing to train on and was eventually disbanded. The guns finally delivered in 1896 were obsolete muzzleloaders, two Civil War era Rodman cannons and several small seacoast mortars. They remained at Sea Girt, mostly as decoration, along the beach for a number of years, until buried in the sand at some undetermined date.

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, the governor of New Jersey received a request from the federal government for three regiments of volunteer infantry for two years' service. In early May, National Guard regiments reported to Sea Girt, where they were requested to provide volunteers for war-service units. There was no trouble recruiting, for memories of the horrors of the Civil War were dimming, and Guardsmen saw the war as a great adventure.

The First Regiment was assigned to Camp Alger, Virginia, to guard supplies, and the Second Regiment was sent to Jacksonville and then Pablo Beach, Florida. One battalion of the Third Regiment was stationed at Pompton Lakes, New Jersey, to guard the gunpowder factory there,

and the other two battalions of the Third garrisoned Fort Hancock, part of the New York harbor defenses. The soldiers of the Third enjoyed the outdoor life, especially Corporal James Gladden "who, every time he goes fishing, returns with flounders, fluke and sometimes bluefish to burn, as the boys express it." In November, the entire Third Regiment moved to Athens, Georgia.

A second call for troops produced a Fourth Regiment, which was ordered to Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, and then Greenville, South Carolina. The Fourth included the paramilitary Atlantic City Morris Guards, with future governor Walter Edge as a lieutenant. No New Jersey regiment ever left the country, and all were discharged by February 1899.

The New Jersey Naval Militia was called to active duty during the Spanish American War and its men were assigned as individuals to the regular navy fleet. Some of the state's sailors served on the blockading squadron off Cuba. Two Paterson African-Americans serving in the regular army's Tenth United States Cavalry, William H. Thompkins and George Wanton, were awarded the Medal of Honor for courageous actions in rescuing members of a stranded reconnaissance party in Cuba. In 1921, Wanton served as an honorary pallbearer at the burial of the Unknown Soldier.

Although not awarded a medal, New Jerseyan Clara Louise Maas proved to be a heroine of the Spanish-American War era. Newark-born Maas, a graduate of the Newark German Hospital School of Nursing, became an army contract nurse during the war. Serving in Cuba in 1900, Maas volunteered to be bitten by a mosquito in the effort to find a cure for yellow fever. She contracted the disease and died as a result. Maas's body was returned to Newark. where she was buried with military honors. In 1952, the Newark German Hospital, which had been renamed Newark Memorial Hospital and then Lutheran Memorial Hospital, was renamed Clara Maas Hospital in her memory.

National Guard performance in the Spanish-American War varied considerably from regular army standards. In the wake of the conflict, Secretary of War Elihu Root was determined to reform and modernize the relationship between state and federal military forces, a goal National Guard officers had sought since the 1880s. Root's ideas were codified in the Militia Act of 1903, also known as the "Dick Act" after its chief sponsor, Ohio congressman and National Guard officer Charles Dick. Dick considered the National Guard to be "in the service of the United

States" as well as the state, and one commentator noted: "The organized militia is no longer considered by the government a kind of state police force. It is the secondary force of the United States Army for national defense."

The federal government had supplied firearms to state governments for militia use since the Militia Act of 1792, but the Dick act and subsequent legislation expanded funding to include other equipment, pay for expenses incurred in annual training and professional education for officers. In return, National Guard units were required to be organized to Regular Army standards and meet a federally specified schedule of training days, Guard units that did not meet minimum strength specifications were to be disbanded, a practice that had been haphazardly followed in the late 19th century. The New Jersey adjutant general complained that the new standards "have tended to greatly retard recruiting."

The War Department also extended federal control over state military organizations, now liable to be called directly into service by presidential order for periods of up to nine months of domestic service. Many Guardsmen who had initially supported the law changed their minds due to what they saw as interference in and unnecessary federal control of state military affairs and protested many War Department actions, maintaining that the increased aid was not worth the trade-off.

The new law established two official classes of militia. The Reserve Militia included all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five liable to be drafted in time of war, and the Organized Militia, or National Guard. This classification system was not uncommon in the states, and New Jersey had paid attention to it in preceding years, estimating the number of men theoretically available for military service in the annual Adjutant General's report, but the Dick Act formalized and standardized it. In 1908, the law was amended to remove the time restriction of a maximum of nine months of federal service in the United States, specifying that the president could determine the length of service for federalized National Guard troops and deploy them "either within or without the territory of the United States."

Adjutant General Stryker died in Trenton on October 29, 1900, and was buried in Riverview Cemetery. Stryker was remembered as "modest and unassuming beyond most men." His accomplishments certainly spoke for him. Stryker and his former assistant and successor Alexander C. Oliphant, an 1881 Naval Academy graduate, spent the turn of the century year

preserving and protecting records of the states' soldiers' military service back to colonial days and storing them in fireproof safes. Another task was clearing the records of Civil War veterans who, once the war ended, simply went home before being formally mustered out and were classified as deserters. In the early twentieth century many of these men were applying for pensions, and discovering that their classification as deserters disqualified them.

The early twentieth century New Jersey National Guard had missions other than maintaining order during civil disturbances and providing a military reserve in time of war. Shortly after midnight on February 8, 1902, an overheated stove in the trolley "car barns" of the Jersey City, Hoboken and Paterson Railway company, located on Broadway and Mulberry Streets in Paterson, set the building afire. Exacerbated by winds of up to sixty miles an hour, the fire swept over twenty-six city blocks in the city's business district, destroying 459 buildings, including four banks, four churches, department stores, the *Paterson Evening News* building and city hall, as well as a number of private residences, before it burned out twelve hours later. Miraculously, only two people died in the disaster, which is generally considered to be the worst fire in New Jersey history.

Paterson mayor John Hinchliffe called on the state for assistance. Adjutant General Oliphant telephoned Governor Franklin Murphy at his home in Newark to tell him he had alerted a battalion of National Guard soldiers to proceed to Paterson. The order was revoked shortly afterward when Hinchliffe advised Murphy that the three companies of the Fifth Regiment stationed in the city would be able to handle the situation. Quartermaster General Richard A. Donnelly sent a trainload of "tents, blankets, camp equipments and anything else available which might prove useful" from Trenton to Paterson the following day to provide shelter and aid for those made homeless by the disaster.

The following years also brought big changes to the Sea Girt Camp. Teddy Roosevelt's visit to Sea Girt to see his friend Governor Murphy in 1902 graphically demonstrated that facilities for entertaining and housing the governor, his entourage and distinguished guests were severely limited, and the Quartermaster General suggested that "a new headquarters house for the accommodation of the Governor and staff is urgently recommended." The rambling two story farmhouse used as a summer residence was clearly inadequate. Something grander was needed, and state officials found it in the New Jersey Exhibit Hall at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase

Exposition, popularly known as the “Saint Louis World’s Fair.” Following the Exposition, the New Jersey hall, modeled on the Ford Mansion, George Washington’s Morristown headquarters, was disassembled and brought to Sea Girt, where it was reassembled as the new governor’s summer quarters in 1906.

Described by the press as “a Colonial cottage, a century and a half old in design,” the fifteen-room house was actually quite luxurious and modern on the inside, with three bathrooms, electric lighting and fancy furniture. It immediately inherited the “Little White House” nickname of its humble predecessor, which still stood alongside it. Republican Governor Edward C. Stokes, the first summer occupant of the “cottage,” moved in on July 7, 1906, signaling the beginning of a new era for Sea Girt. In succeeding years, the state’s governors would stretch their Sea Girt season to an entire summer, full of political and personal entertaining and deal making, along with National Guard training.

Theodore Roosevelt’s appearance at the National Guard Camp proved to be the first of many Sea Girt celebrity sightings. Over the next three decades a parade of state and national leaders and presidential candidates made Sea Girt, and the governor’s “cottage” a must stop on the campaign trail, and for forty years after the Roosevelt visit, the loyal and curious among the general public would flock to the little Monmouth County town by the sea in incredible numbers to see them.

The New Jersey National Guard rifle range at Sea Girt became a nationally known target shooting venue, hosting important matches. On September 5, 1906, exhibition shooters Adolph and Elizabeth “Plinky” Topperwein, who traveled the country as “The Wonderful Topperweins” performing eye-popping marksmanship tricks, including hitting tossed targets in midair with .22 caliber rifles, visited the Sea Girt range. Plinky took to the firing line with a nine-pound .30 caliber Krag-Jorgensen army rifle and became the first woman to complete a military course of fire – dressed in her skirt. While “eyebrows were arched and cigars chewed” in initial consternation at the sight, the male shooters eventually cheered her on, and she was awarded a marksman’s medal in the first step in the long march towards military equality for women.

In 1905 the New Jersey National Guard replaced its Gatling Gun batteries with two artillery batteries, which served alongside five regiments of infantry consisting of twelve companies each, two troops of cavalry, and one company sized “signal and telegraph corps.” This force was organized into a two-brigade division totaling 4,568 officers and men. Division headquarters was

in Jersey City, First Brigade headquarters in Newark and Second Brigade headquarters in Trenton. The Naval Militia, now classified by the Adjutant General as the "Naval Reserve" was divided into two battalions. The first battalion, with a strength of 150 officers and men, well below its authorized strength of 273, was stationed in Hoboken, with a headquarters ship, the *USS Portsmouth*, on the Hudson River. The second battalion, with headquarters on the *USS Huntress* on the Delaware River in Camden, mustered 162 officers and men.

The year 1905 also signaled an effort to honor surviving New Jersey Civil War veterans, with medals authorized for the "First Defenders" – the 90-day militiamen who responded to the call of 1861 – as well as others for those who served longer enlistments. In a spirit of reconciliation, the state invited the North Carolina governor to the dedication of the Ninth New Jersey Infantry's monument at the National Cemetery in New Bern, North Carolina, and to the governor's Sea Girt summer home. At the monument dedication the state returned the flag of the "Beaufort Plow Boys" captured by the "Jersey Muskrats" in 1862.

On February 27, 1905, Sixty-four-year-old Quartermaster General Richard Donnelly passed away. As a sergeant, Donnelly had been carried wounded off the battlefield of Gaines Mill in 1862 by Charles Hopkins, who subsequently received the Medal of Honor for his courage. Described by the *New York Times* as "one of the most prominent characters in New Jersey's present generation of old men," Donnelly was the last Civil War veteran on active duty with the state's National Guard, and the last vestiges of an era passed with him.

In the coming decade, prompted by the Dick Act and increased federal aid, New Jersey's citizen soldiers would continue to evolve into a legitimate backup force for the regular army. In 1912 New Jersey Guard units participated in out of state maneuvers, hindered by "inclement weather, Poor rations and a difficult schedule" which caused "considerable hardship and sickness" in Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

And then, on June 28, 1914, a Serbian nationalist shot and killed Hapsburg Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, a long way from New Jersey, but the first act in a drama that would eventually draw the state's fighting men into what would be the greatest conflict in history.

Chapter 16

World War I

In August, 1912, New Jersey Governor Woodrow Wilson, summering at the Sea Girt National Guard Camp, was notified of his selection as the Democratic candidate for president, and thousands of his supporters descended on the little town by the sea. The Essex Troop, garbed in Brooks Brothers finery, rode in his inauguration parade in March, 1913.

On September 30, 1914, a little over two months after World War I broke out in Europe, the New Jersey National Guard, infantry, cavalry, artillery and support services, including the Naval Militia, totaled 5,219 officers and enlisted men, which was about 1,000 under authorized strength. An inspecting officer criticized inadequate property and personnel records, noting that many enlisted men did not meet Federal physical standards and that some "drill halls lacked facilities for storage, lockers, gun cases, space in which to clean rifles and properly care for Federal property." Despite these shortcomings, the Guard was better equipped, trained and prepared for conflict than it had ever been. New Jersey was one of only four states that funded 75% of the expenses of its National Guard. Many, like Arkansas, provided no state funding to their Guardsmen.

Drill was more thorough than in previous years. Infantry training included target shooting on the Sea Girt range and marches and tactical exercises in the surrounding countryside on property leased from local farmers. Cavalry and Signal Corps soldiers conducted mounted marches throughout the state and the revived Artillery branch received live fire training at Tobyhanna, Pennsylvania. In 1903 the New Jersey National Guard finally received an issue of the Krag-Jorgensen bolt action repeating rifles that had been the regular army standard since 1892. These guns were replaced in 1905 by Springfield Model 1903 rifles, making the Guard infantry as well armed as the regular army.

In 1909 the Naval Militia mustered 350 officers and men and had two training vessels, the *USS Portsmouth*, at the Eastern or First Battalion headquarters in Hoboken and the *USS Vixen*, stationed with the Western or Second Battalion in Camden. The navy transferred the *USS Adams*

to New Jersey to serve as a stationary training vessel for the First Battalion's men in 1915 and the Garden State sailors were commended by the Navy for their successful effort to put the ship into seaworthy "cruising condition."

On August 12, 1914, as World War I erupted in Europe, New Jersey Irish-American submarine inventor John P. Holland died in Newark. Holland, who had launched his first prototype in the Passaic River at Paterson in 1878 and sold his perfected design to the U.S. Navy in 1900 after tests in Raritan Bay, would not live to see the havoc it wrought, which would approach the shores of his adopted state.

New Jersey's immigrant communities were largely against participation in the European war. (According to the 1920 census, an estimated 20% of the state's population was foreign born. Many more were the children of immigrants.) New Jersey German-Americans were joined by many Irish-Americans, who expressed their opposition to everything British by supporting, at least tacitly, Germany and Austria-Hungary, especially after the failed 1916 Easter rising in Dublin, and Jews who had escaped Russian pogroms were not eager to support the Tsar.

Reluctance was not limited to immigrants. In March, 1916, a commission established by the state legislature opposed a growing national trend to initiate military training for male high school students, maintaining that it "could have no beneficial effect at this stage of their lives." The commission declared that "military training and service, if they are necessary, are an obligation of citizenship, not of education." The most popular song in America in 1915 was "I Didn't Raise my Boy to be a Soldier," and President Wilson successfully ran for reelection in 1916 on the campaign slogan "He kept us out of war."

Although the United States was officially neutral, it supported Allied forces fighting the Central Powers through military goods sales. Major American firearms manufacturing companies, including Winchester and Remington, made rifles for the British, French and Russians, and other factories churned out ammunition and explosives from rifle cartridges to artillery shells and bombs. New Jersey was home to a significant number of those plants, and the Imperial Russian government established an ammunition testing facility in Lakehurst.

New Jersey had been an industrial state for many years, but "the guns of Europe" were responsible for "the most intense industrialization in its history. The Bureau of Statistics reported

expansion in manufacturing as 400 percent greater in 1916 than in any preceding year…The chemical industry in New Jersey sprang up almost overnight. By 1917 Six factories for the production of aniline, formerly imported from Germany, were set up within the state, the most important at Kearny." New Jersey became the largest ammunition producing state in the country. Unfortunately, all of this expansion also made New Jersey a target.

Ammunition manufactured in the United States was shipped to the allies in Europe through Jersey City and Hoboken. On July 30, 1916, the "Black Tom" ammunition pier on the Hudson River in Jersey City exploded. The detonation broke windows all over Jersey City and Manhattan and damaged the Statue of Liberty and buildings on the Ellis Island immigration station. Destruction in Jersey City alone was estimated at one million dollars. (Twenty-three million dollars in today's money) It was believed German saboteurs had placed bombs on the pier.

On January 11, 1917, the Kingsland ammunition plant in Lyndhurst exploded. Switchboard operator Theresa "Tessie" McNamara was a heroine that day. She stayed at her post, calling every building on the site and telling the workers to evacuate, even though exploding shells hit the building she was calling from, and all 1,700 workers escaped. An investigation into the Kingsland disaster concluded that it was, like Black Tom, the result of sabotage.

On the evening of January 12, 1917, 400,000 pounds of smokeless powder exploded at the Du Pont plant at Haskell, in Passaic County. Two employees were killed and twelve injured. The blast resonated for a 150-mile radius in New York and New Jersey, and shocks were reportedly felt as far away as Albany. Initially thought to be another case of sabotage, the Du Pont explosion was later determined to be accidental, and other accidental explosions would rock the state after American entry in the conflict.

On June 19, 1916, the federal government ordered National Guardsmen across the country, including three infantry regiments, one squadron of cavalry, two batteries of field artillery, one signal corps company, one field hospital and one ambulance company of the New Jersey Guard, a total of 4,288 men, to report for duty on the Mexican border in the wake of the crisis caused by Mexican Revolutionary leader Pancho Villa's raid into New Mexico. The selected units assembled at Sea Girt on June 21 and traveled to Douglas, Arizona, for border guard duty, where

they remained for most of the rest of the year. The Jerseymen did not engage in combat and suffered no casualties during their tour on the border, but participated in some long grueling marches.

Interestingly, the elite Essex Troop employed African-Americans in a military role on the border. The troop's enlisted personnel and officers were white, but some Black men filled slots held by white soldiers in segregated regular army units. When the New Jersey cavalry, now a four-troop strong squadron, went to the border, the Essex Troop had African-American civilian cooks on its roster, as well as Robert D. Trott. Trott, the "armorer" or chief of maintenance and security at the Roseville Avenue armory in Newark, was on the squadron's rolls as a "saddler" for Troop C, and wore a uniform while performing his duties. On the long railroad trip to Arizona, Trott took charge of organizing the troop's "kitchen car," normally a job for a non-commissioned officer.

The possibility of entering the war in Europe seems to have created a surge in National Guard enlistments in early 1917, which may have been due to the fact that many believed the Guard could only be deployed on domestic duty. The subsequent revelation of the contents of the disconcerting Zimmermann Telegram, in which Germany encouraged Mexico into an alliance against the United States, pushed the country closer to intervening in the conflict, and the German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare on the open seas in January, 1917, proved the final straw. The United States Congress, fulfilling the request of President Wilson, declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917, although the vote was not unanimous.

Following the declaration of war, Governor Walter Edge ordered some elements of the New Jersey National Guard mobilized to guard bridges, railroads and other critical sites and established a state militia to replace the Guardsmen who were going to be called to national service. Edge also established a "state militia reserve" to assist local law enforcement and guard critical infrastructure, including power plants as well as war industries, and the state began to recruit a new National Guard coast artillery unit.

New Jersey's engineer battalion was detailed, under federal orders, to lay out Camp Dix, a massive new training center in the heart of the New Jersey Pinelands that would boast 1,600 buildings within a year. While the engineers worked at Dix, most of the remaining New Jersey Guardsmen were mobilized at Sea Girt on July 25 and formally inducted into United States

service on August 5. The mobilization did not include the coast artillery unit, as it had not passed federal inspection and been formally admitted to the Guard. In order to avoid potential authorization problems for overseas duty in what was interpreted as a vaguely written section of a 1908 law, the federal government decided to classify the National Guardsmen as draftees.

A total of 9,285 New Jersey Guardsmen left the state for Anniston, Alabama, where they were assigned to the Twenty-ninth Division, organized at Camp McClellan from New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia National Guard units in late August. The Twenty-ninth became known as the "Blue and Gray Division" because it included National Guardsmen from states that had opposed each other during the Civil War. The name inspired the division's distinctive insignia patch, featuring blue and gray elements.

Camp Little Silver was established by the army's Signal Corps on the site of a former race track in Monmouth County. The 468-acre tract was leased with an option to buy by the government in May, 1917, and the first soldiers arrived the following month. The post, formed on a more permanent basis in September, was renamed Camp Alfred Vail, after an early New Jersey associate of Samuel F. B. Morse. It was used as a site for training Signal Corps army reservists for deployment overseas and as an officer candidate school location.

Another major New Jersey World War I site was located in Bergen County. Selected in 1915 as a potential location for an embarkation camp in case of war, in 1917, Camp Merritt spanned several municipalities. The majority of the soldiers who left America for Europe in World War I, well over a million men, spent several weeks at Camp Merritt before moving by train or down the Hudson River by boat from Alpine to Hoboken, where they boarded ships for France. The camp also served as a demobilization site in 1919, processing more than a million returning soldiers. It closed in 1920 and General John J. Pershing subsequently dedicated a still-standing, now lonely, monument in Cresskill dedicated to the memory of the 578 soldiers who died there -- mostly from influenza.

Hoboken, the point of departure and return for soldiers, is directly across the Hudson River from New York City (and thus considered part of the port of New York for army purposes), and was a major transoceanic cargo and passenger transportation hub. Following the declaration of war, the federal government seized existing German shipping company piers, warehouses and vessels

in the port city, including the Hamburg-American line luxury liner *Vaterland*, which was renamed *Leviathan* and turned into a troop transport.

Hoboken's culture was transformed by the advent of war. Long known as "Little Bremen" due to the large number of German immigrants who had settled there, the city was distinguished by its German specialty shops, social clubs and beer halls, reflecting an enduring Teutonic heritage. With the outbreak of war, many recently arrived Germans living in the city were classified as enemies and were transported to Ellis Island.

Hoboken became a military town, with soldiers patrolling the streets on the lookout for enemy sympathizers. In addition, the army, setting the stage for postwar Prohibition, banned the sale of alcohol to soldiers and demanded that local saloons surrounding the embarkation piers be closed so that soldiers were not tempted to have a parting glass before boarding ships for the war. Federal authorities then upped the ante by insisting that taverns within a half-mile radius of the docks be shut down and that those beyond that distance close by 10:00 p.m. every night.

A nationwide climate of mistrust toward German-Americans was deliberately created by George Creel's United States Committee on Public Information, a government agency founded to foment anti-German sentiment among the American people. Creel's propaganda work led to sauerkraut being relabeled as "liberty cabbage," dachshunds becoming "liberty pups" and German Valley, New Jersey, being renamed Long Valley, among other absurdities. The Paterson *Evening News* echoed the mass media of the day when it editorialized that anyone with doubts about the war should "obey the law, keep your mouth shut." Agents of the Bureau of Investigation patrolled Hoboken, seeking imbibing soldiers as well as German sympathizers and draft evaders. The agents and their vigilante assistants also kept a watch on other military installations and their surrounding towns across the state, including Camps Dix, Merritt and Alfred Vail.

Although most New Jersey National Guard units ended up in the Twenty-ninth Division, the ambulance company from Red Bank was assigned to the Forty-second "Rainbow" Division as the 165th Ambulance Company. Another Jerseyman in the Forty-second was Joyce Kilmer, the New Brunswick poet, who crossed the Hudson to enlist in the famed Irish-American Sixty-ninth New York National Guard regiment, which was later federally re-designated the 165th U. S.

Infantry. The divisional insignia patch was a rainbow, symbolizing that its table of organization included National Guard units from across the country. The Naval Militia Brigade, now some 401 men from Newark, Jersey City and Camden, was ordered to the U. S. Navy Yard in Philadelphia and its men were absorbed by the navy.

At Camp McClellan, National Guard units gained new federal designations. For example, the former First, Second and Fourth New Jersey Infantry Regiments were merged with Delaware Guardsmen to form the new 114th U.S. Infantry Regiment, while other state units were combined to create the 113th U. S. Infantry Regiment. Both regiments and other New Jersey outfits were assigned to the Twenty-ninth Division's Fifty-seventh Infantry Brigade. Jerseymen were also transferred to the brigade's Machine gun companies and the state's cavalry troops were reassigned to military police and artillery duties.

The consolidation of units was not appreciated by many Guardsmen, and it rankled them even more than two decades afterward, when one commented that: "Apparently pride in organization or esprit was not greatly valued or appreciated, or else was destroyed ruthlessly. In no division were there more famous old commands than in the 29th. These were merged and redesignated; personnel were transferred until no semblance of the old units remained."

In June and July 1918, the Twenty-ninth Division sailed for France out of Newport News, Virginia. After training in relatively quiet areas of the Western Front, the division moved to a "Defensive Sector" in Alsace for training under enemy fire and then, in September, fought alongside the French Eighteenth Division in the Meuse-Argonne offensive. Beginning on October 8, the division engaged in twenty-one straight days of combat, advanced over four miles, captured 2,500 prisoners and lost one-third of its strength. It was relieved by the Seventy-ninth Division on October 30.

The story of Captain William J. Reddan, B Company, 114th Infantry, typifies the war time experience of the New Jersey National Guardsmen in the Twenty-ninth Division. Reddan was born in England in 1883 of Irish parents who emigrated to the United States in 1894 and settled in New Jersey. In 1904 he joined the New Jersey National Guard as a private and became a naturalized American citizen in 1906. Reddan rose through the ranks to become a captain by 1914.

In June, 1916, Reddan's Company H of the Fifth New Jersey Infantry Regiment, based in Orange, was mobilized, along with other New Jersey National Guard units, for duty in Arizona along the Mexican border. The men of the Fifth returned home in November, but were activated again on March, 25, 1917, as war with Germany became imminent, and deployed to guard bridges, railroads and other critical sites in the state until transferred to Camp McClellan in early September, where Company H was consolidated with Montclair's Company K of the Fifth to create Company B of the 114th Infantry Regiment in the Twenty-ninth Division.

Reddan was in command of Company B on October 12, 1918, when the unit was ordered to make a suicidal assault on a German position at Bois D'Ormont, France, where he was wounded but survived. Only thirteen men out of Reddan's company came out of the fight unscathed in the most savage battle New Jersey soldiers had been involved in since the First New Jersey Brigade stormed the Confederate line at Spotsylvania in 1864. The experience scarred Reddan, mentally and physically, and in 1936 he wrote and self-published a book titled *Other Men's Lives,* in which he described his service in the war and the battle. Reddan assigned blame for his company's horrendous casualties on the higher American command, which he believed was oblivious to the strength of the German position, something the French unit on his flank had realized and halted. After the battle a French officer, while praising the Jerseymen's courage, pointed to his head and commented that they also must be "*beaucoup de malade ici*"

Reddan rejoined the National Guard after the war, and was awarded the New Jersey Distinguished Service Medal in 1927 and the Silver Star in 1933 to accompany his Purple Heart, retiring as a major. His sons served in World War II. William J. Reddan died of a heart attack on the beach at Manasquan while surf fishing on July 7, 1944, and was buried in Immaculate Conception Cemetery in Montclair.

Following the end of hostilities on November 11, the Twenty-ninth Division remained in France until receiving orders to return home on April 6, 1919. The division sailed for the United States between May 6 and 12. Separate units arrived in Newport News, Virginia, and Hoboken between May 14 and 25 and assembled at Fort Dix to be mustered out of service.

Many New Jerseyans, draftees and volunteers from civilian life, served in other units during the war, particularly the Seventy-eighth division, organized at Camp Dix with draftees primarily

from New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the summer of 1917. Two of the division's infantry regiments and one of its artillery regiments were primarily composed of Jerseymen.

The First Battalion of the Seventy-eighth's 311th Infantry Regiment had men from Union and Monmouth Counties, Elizabeth and Perth Amboy. The regiment's Second Battalion soldiers came from Hunterdon, Middlesex, Mercer and Somerset Counties and Trenton and the Third Battalion came from Burlington, Gloucester, Camden, Atlantic, Cumberland, and Cape May Counties and Camden and Atlantic cities.

The 312th Infantry Regiment's First Battalion drew its men from Newark, the Second Battalion, from Jersey City and Bayonne and the Third Battalion from Essex and Hudson Counties, Orange, East Orange, Hoboken and West Hoboken.

The 308th Field Artillery's First Battalion was drafted from Bergen County, Passaic and Paterson and its Second Battalion from Warren, Sussex, Passaic and Morris Counties.

The Seventy-eighth Division left for France in May and June, 1918 and was heavily engaged, as the "point of the wedge" in the Meuse-Argonne and St. Mihiel offensives later that year, losing 1,169 men killed and 5,975 wounded in action. Today the Seventy-eighth Division is an Army Reserve training unit headquartered in New Jersey.

An estimated 130,000 to 150,000 New Jerseyans served in all branches of the armed forces in World War I, and 3,836 died in combat or from accidents and disease, particularly influenza. The total included soldiers who were drafted into or voluntarily joined units other than the Twenty-ninth or Seventy-eighth Divisions, including the New York National Guard's 165th Infantry Regiment and African-American 369th Infantry Regiment, the latter known as the "men of bronze."

One African-American Jerseyman in the 369th, Trenton-born Needham Roberts, was manning an outpost with Sergeant Henry Johnson in the early hours of May 14, 1918, when a German patrol assaulted the position. Roberts told Johnson to run to the rear and sound the alarm. He began to run, but decided to not abandon his comrade and returned, only to be wounded. Although both men were wounded, they continued to fight, and Johnson, shot twenty-one times, fought off the Germans with his rifle, knife and fists, killing a number of them. They both survived and, since

the 369th, like most African-American units, had been assigned to the French army, received the *Croix de Guerre*.

Although the Armistice was signed on November 11, ending formal fighting, most Jerseymen remained in France until returning to the state in the spring and summer of 1919. On their return the New Jersey based units were welcomed home by the governor or his representative, and ceremonies and parades were also held in the units' hometowns, where possible. The state subsequently allocated funding to pay a bonus of $10 a month for each month served to the state's veterans, and ordered bronze Victory Medals for every soldier or sailor as well.

With the notable exception of the Confederate commerce raider *CSS Tallahassee*, which captured and burned four merchant ships, the *A. Richards, Carrie Estelle, William Bell* and *Sarah A. Boyce* off Sandy Hook on August 11, 1864, World War I brought serious hostilities to the New Jersey home front for the first time since the War of 1812, when British ships had hovered offshore and occasionally landed foraging parties.

By early 1918, Americans were well aware of the dangers of crossing the Atlantic, as submarine warfare had become a significant aspect of the German war effort. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt had been responsible for the development and manufacture of wooden hulled sub chaser boats. As with most things in the industrial age, there is a New Jersey connection. Elco Manufacturing, located at Avenue A and North Street in Bayonne, made 722 of these small craft during World War I.

In February, 1918, the United States government, in conjunction with Henry Ford, announced the planned production of "submarine killer" vessels. These ships, larger than those of the "mosquito fleet" sub chasers intended solely to protect the coast, were designed to escort convoys and provide coastal defense. Ford proposed producing these ships by adding a new plant to be built "on an eighty-acre tract of land on the Lincoln Highway between Newark, N. J. and New York City." The New Jersey factory, proposed as a "duplicate of the River Rouge shipbuilding plant now in course of erection," was apparently never completed. Unfortunately, none of Ford's "Eagle Boats" ever saw combat in World War I.

The German submarine U-151, a special long- range vessel, reached American waters in early May, 1918. The sub's skipper laid mines off the North Carolina coast near Currituck Sound and

then moved north to lay more off the Chesapeake Bay inlets at Cape Henry and Cape Charles and then Delaware Bay and Cape Henlopen. The German captain used American lighthouses and lightships to assist in determining his position, and was surprised at the lack of war preparation he witnessed.

On June 2, 1918, a day later recalled as "Black Sunday," U-151 sank six ships, the *Isabel B. Wiley*, the *Winneconne*, the *Jacob M. Haskell*, the *Edward H. Cole*, the *Texel* and the *Carolina,* off the New Jersey coast. The Germans did not use torpedoes, but would surface, tell the passengers and crew to get in lifeboats and row for the beach and then use their deck gun or planted explosives to finish the job. While there were other submarine incidents in New Jersey waters in World War I, none ever surpassed the cruise of U-151.

The raid of U-151 brought to light one of the more front-line contributions of women to the war efforts. Following the sinking of the passenger liner *Carolina*, the passengers and crew headed for the New Jersey shore in lifeboats. The heroine of one of these boats was a young woman named Lillian Dickinson, who had served as an ambulance driver in France. She did her turn with the men on the oars. Dickinson's lifeboat landed on the Atlantic City beach, much to the surprise of thousands of tourists.

In November, 1928, a statue dedicated to the female ambulance drivers of World War I was erected at the New Jersey College for Women (Douglass College) in New Brunswick. During World War II the statue was donated to a wartime scrap drive. According to one account: "The students did not care much for it and were happy to support the war effort with their donation. There was also some confusion about the statue's name and why she was there. Since the statue was on Antilles Field, they thought the statue was named 'Aunt Tilly.'" Ambulance drivers were not the only women who participated in the war effort. Newark artist Josenia Elizabeth Larter worked for the Navy painting camouflage and women increased their role in the industrial workplace across the state.

Following the end of actual hostilities on November 11, 1918, and the peace treaty negotiations at Versailles the following year, the United States Senate, adamantly opposed to participation in the League of Nations, refused to approve the Treaty of Versailles, extending America's official involvement in World War I for years after the fighting had ceased. The war actually officially

ended for the United States in New Jersey, when President Warren Harding, returning from a golf outing at the Somerset Hills Country Club on July 2, 1921, signed the Knox-Porter Joint Congressional Resolution declaring hostilities at an end at the home of New Jersey US Senator Joseph S. Frelinghuysen in Raritan Borough. The house is long gone, but a small monument marks the spot near the entrance to the Somerville Circle Shopping Center.

With the end of actual combat and a feeling among many that the results had not benefitted the United States, Americans yearned for a “return to normalcy” and the nation turned inward. In the postwar years, however, a curious footnote to the state’s war story emerged. In 1929, Nicholas Casale, a Newark veteran, laid claim to being the smallest man to serve in the American army during the conflict. When he registered for the draft in June of 1917, Casale was described as “short” and “slender.” Drafted in April, 1918, he served a year with the 148th Infantry Regiment, fighting in the Meuse-Argonne and Ypres-Lys offenses and suffered heavy casualties crossing the Scheldt River in Belgium on November 2, 1918.

Casale was apparently never meant to be there. After the war, the VA certified that he was 4’10” tall and weighed 106 pounds and the army minimum draft standard was 5’ tall and 110 pounds in weight. Casale hired an attorney and initiated a more than ten- year campaign to be officially recognized as the smallest man who had served in the AEF. Representative Fred Hartley of Kearny, New Jersey provided the veteran with “an affidavit from the U.S. Veterans Bureau” which certified his actual height and weight when drafted. Casale never got the gold medal he was seeking, but was eventually awarded an official U.S. Senate certificate of acknowledgement attesting to his claim.

Since the federal government had considered National Guard soldiers as draftees for legal purposes, they discharged all returning Guardsmen, creating some confusion for the state, which had to discharge the state-maintained militia in January, 1920 and reorganize militiamen and willing war veterans into a viable new National Guard organization. The first such unit created was the Sixth Regiment, which received federal recognition on November 13, 1919.

Yearbook Chapter 17

Between the Wars

Under the 1920 Army Reorganization Bill, the federally authorized strength of the post-World War I New Jersey National Guard, based on the criteria of "800 enlisted men for each member of Congress," was 11,200 men. The state made an active effort to recruit veterans and young men reaching military age for the new units, initially assigned prewar state designation numbers, which were later replaced by new federal numerical designations reflecting Twenty-ninth Division service, but would carry the lineage of the older units. Following World War I, the National Guard would be subjected to federal authority and organizational standards more stringent than ever before.

The reorganization got a rocky start. Authorized pay for sixty drills and fifteen days of training a year was $75 for a private, $200 for a master sergeant and $770 for a captain, but payroll records were incomplete for many units, with others not meeting attendance standards. As the decade advanced, however, these problems were largely resolved.

The summer encampment held at Sea Girt in 1920 was the first training period for the revived New Jersey National Guard, with the new Sixth Regiment in its first training cycle. The regiment was commanded by former state militia regimental commander Colonel Howard S. Borden, a socialite and polo player from Rumson. As in the prewar era, the encampment not only served as a training venue but also provided entertainment for visiting politicians and summer shore tourists. Borden's subsequent elevation to the rank of general, to the disgust of combat veteran officers who considered him a feckless political appointee, initiated a feud that eventually had to be resolved by Governor Edward I. Edwards, who eased Bordon into an early retirement. Recruiting for lower ranks continued apace, however, with the Sea Girt location serving as a big plus for attracting potential Guardsmen.

Recruits were told, "Uncle Sam offers you two weeks at the Seashore. All expenses paid. All equipment free." They were also advised that, "Sea Girt offers ample opportunity for recreation and sport while the Guardsman is not on duty. There is swimming, boating and fishing, the site

being in close proximity to many shore resorts." Despite the attractions, it was reported that "very few [WWI veterans] had any desire for further service in the National Guard at that time." Many of the new soldiers were men too young to have served in the war, including at least one fifteen-year-old whose father came to the camp to retrieve him.

Despite early problems, by the mid-1920s the New Jersey National Guard had evolved into an organization that was an integral part of the nation's defense system. The Jersey Guard's infantry and artillery units were now the dominant components of the new Forty-Fourth Division, which also included some New York organizations. As the decade progressed, the division added quartermaster, military police and other support units. The New Jersey cavalry was reorganized and expanded as the 102nd Cavalry Regiment, but was a non-divisional unit. The Forty-fourth's divisional insignia was colored orange and blue, in commemoration of the colors of the Dutch colony of New Netherland, in which both New York and New Jersey had their origins.

In September, 1928, the United States War Department assigned two regular army soldiers to help organize the state's first aviation support unit. At the time the air arm was part of the army, and known as the "Army Air Corps." The regulars worked with New Jersey National Guard officers and enlisted men interested in flying, and had completed their training and organizational mission by the end of 1929, with the formal establishment of the 119th Observation Squadron.

New Jersey airfields were scarce in the 1920s, but the new unit had a home waiting for it at Newark Airport. Under the direction of the city's Mayor Thomas Raymond, airport construction began on 68 acres of a 240-acre tract of marshland east of the city near U.S. Route 1 in late 1927. The airport site was also adjacent to Port Newark and major railroad lines, an ideal location for a military air unit as well as a commercial airline headquarters.

Newark Airport opened for business on October 1, 1928, and by 1932 it was the busiest airport in the world, handling more than a quarter of the country's air traffic. The 119th Observation Squadron became operational at the airport on January 30, 1930 when it received its first O-2H aircraft. The unit was assigned the numerical designation of the World War I era 119th Aero Squadron, and the War Department considered it the "reconstitution and consolidation" of that

unit for lineage purposes, although the original organization had no connection with the state of New Jersey.

Two hangers and an administrative office were built at the airport to accommodate the National Guard personnel and aircraft. As an observation unit, the 119th was equipped with two seat biplanes, to accommodate a pilot and observer. The observer's job was to photograph and record information and intelligence of tactical use to the ground forces in combat or to patrol offshore waters looking for submarines. The Guard's maneuvers and training in the decade ahead would be far more complex than the old days of target shooting and marching at Sea Girt – and they would need to be.

The 1930s were hard times in New Jersey and America, as the aftermath of the great stock market crash of 1929 plunged the nation into economic depression and domestic turmoil. Tensions were on the rise in Europe and Asia, and, coupled with the growing aggressiveness of the Axis Powers, seemed to indicate another war on the horizon, although many Americans, still unhappy with the results of World War I, became ever more isolationist.

Because weaponry was becoming more sophisticated and longer range, and military organizational structures more complex, summer training locations for the New Jersey National Guard continued to expand beyond the old Sea Girt camp. In the summer of 1928, soldiers from the 113th and 114th Infantry traveled from Sea Girt to Camp Dix to fire their machine guns and antitank guns, camping overnight at the larger base. In 1929, Forty-fourth Division Headquarters and supporting troops, along with other divisions from the northeast, spent their entire annual training period at Fort Dix planning division-sized operations. The soldiers of the 112th Artillery regiment, from Camden, East Orange, Trenton and Atlantic City, traveled to Pine Camp in upstate New York that year because the "artillery camp in northern New York permits firing of the 75-mm. field guns with which the 112th is equipped."

Although Sea Girt declined somewhat as a training facility, the camp still served as the primary base of the New Jersey National Guard, as well as the center of the state's summer political universe. In 1932, Hudson County political boss and Jersey City mayor Frank Hague and his associate, Governor A. Harry Moore, staged the largest political event in American history at the

camp. It was estimated that over 100,000 people attended Democratic presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt's first stop after the nominating convention. Roosevelt, as had his predecessor guests of the New Jersey political hierarchy, including Al Smith, reviewed National Guard soldiers at the camp at the conclusion of his well-received speech, which called for the end of Prohibition.

The New Jersey National Guard continued to expand through the decade of the 1930s, adding two new artillery regiments, a quartermaster regiment, a motorcycle company and a tank company. The 102nd Cavalry was attached to the Fifty-ninth Cavalry Brigade, along with Connecticut and Massachusetts mounted units, and in 1937 the brigade was made part of the Twenty-first Cavalry Division. A detachment from the 102nd, the old Essex Troop, decked out in their Brooks Brothers full dress uniforms, represented the state at the Battle of Yorktown Sesquicentennial Commemoration in October, 1931.

As the Guard expanded, new armories were built, largely with Works Progress Administration funding, in Jersey City, Teaneck, Morristown and West Orange, while Armories at Atlantic City, Bridgeton, Burlington, Camden, Elizabeth, Newark, Paterson and Trenton were upgraded. Unsurprisingly, considering Mayor Frank Hague's reputation of getting out the Democratic party vote in New Jersey, the armory in Jersey City was the biggest of the new buildings. As in the past, the Guard provided color guards and ceremonial units for public civic events, including the opening of the Lincoln Tunnel in 1937.

In 1930 there were no African–Americans in the New Jersey National Guard, and the segregated U. S. Army did not have plans to authorize a black unit in the state. Prominent New Jersey African-American citizens, most notably William D. Nabors of Orange, petitioned their state legislators to create a state funded organization. In response, Assemblyman Frank S. Hargraves introduced a bill, and on April 16, 1930, both houses of the New Jersey legislature passed Chapter 149, Laws of 1930, authorizing the "organization and equipment of a battalion of Negro infantry" at state expense. On July 14, 1931, committees were established to organize the first companies of what came to be called the First Separate Battalion, New Jersey State Militia. Companies were raised in Newark, Atlantic City and Camden.

Companies A and B were at Sea Girt for annual field training on September 8, 1934, when the *Morro Castle*, a cruise ship returning to New York from Havana, caught fire offshore. As its control systems burned, the ship anchored two miles off Sea Girt in turbulent seas and desperate passengers and crew members tried to launch lifeboats and jumped overboard in efforts to save themselves from the flames. The disaster would prove to be the finest hour for many New Jersey shore residents, including Governor A. Harry Moore, who was ending the season at his official summer residence in the National Guard camp. The governor boarded a Guard plane in the observer seat and flew out over the burning ship, dropping flares and smoke bombs and waving flags to guide rescue boats to survivors.

Moore ordered the militia to the beach to bolster local rescue efforts. The men of Companies A and B braved almost hurricane conditions, rescuing survivors and recovering bodies drifting to shore. Some of the officers, morticians in civilian life, established an improvised morgue in the National Guard camp, which soon held seventy-eight bodies. The men of Companies A and B were subsequently cited by Governor Moore and the State Legislature for their "courage, courtesy, and sympathetic handling of a very gruesome duty" and the city commissioners of Atlantic City presented Company B with a bronze plaque "in recognition of its heroic and devoted services to the community, state and nation."

The battalion also distinguished itself in other venues, winning numerous athletic and marksmanship trophies. Company A boasted the largest percentage of men to qualify in rifle marksmanship in the state, won the Enoch L. ("Nucky") Johnson Trophy for shooting expertise six years out of nine, and took the battalion's Combat Trophy in 1932 and 1933. In the National Guard 1940 "small bore" (.22 rim fire caliber) rifle match of 1940, six out of the highest ten scores were posted by men from Company C.

In 1936 The Adjutant General persuaded the New Jersey state senate to re-designate the battalion as an adjunct unit of the New Jersey National Guard, and in May 1937 the "First Separate Battalion, New Jersey State Militia," was renamed the "First Battalion, New Jersey Guard." Although the battalion's "acting commander and instructor" was always a white officer, Major Samuel Brown in 1940, all company officers were African-Americans, including former Essex Troop saddler Robert D. Trott, now a captain commanding Company A.

Although the 119th Observation Squadron was officially headquartered at Newark Airport, the unit's planes flew around the state, frequently landing on the parade ground at Sea Girt. Three-time governor Moore had his own private pilot from the squadron, Major Robert Copsey, assigned to fly him to official ceremonies at Fort Dix and other locations.

On November 6, 1933, a New Jersey National Guard airplane from the 119th, taking off from Red Bank Airport on a return flight to Newark Airport, crashed into a house on Peach Street in Shrewsbury and exploded. The pilot, Lieutenant George R. Johnson, his observer, and all five residents of the house, including two children, were killed in the accident. Johnson was a noted explorer of the era and considered "one of the best-known aerial photographers in the world."

The Squadron had another aerial accident in 1940. Arthur F. Foran, New Jersey State Senate president, former mayor of Flemington, World War I veteran and a National Guard colonel, was severely injured when the Guard plane in which he was a passenger crashed near New Orleans, Louisiana. Foran broke his leg in the crash and needed crutches or a cane to walk for the rest of his life.

As the New Jersey National Guard expanded, federal military development continued apace in New Jersey as well. Camp Vail transitioned into Fort Monmouth, a permanent Signal Corps installation, in 1925. Fort Monmouth, named to honor those who had fought in the Revolutionary War battle in the county, had the best equipped radio laboratory of any post in the country and became an important site for research and development of communications equipment and techniques. It also served as a training camp for soldiers and Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) cadets who were going to be commissioned in the Signal Corps. Along with Camp Dix, Monmouth was a major site for training cadets in the Citizens' Military Training Corps (CMTC), a program authorized in 1920 to provide an exposure to military life and training to young men.

In the 1930s, Signal Corpsmen and civilian workers at Fort Monmouth worked on a "mystery ray" similar to one being developed in Great Britain. In July, 1935, they tested the ray "for the first time…under actual working conditions." The "ray" was "said to be able to detect ships more than 50 miles off the coast, even though they are drifting without their motors running." The experiment, carried out at the Navesink lighthouse, was considered "a valuable adjunct to coastal

protection." Additional experiments were carried out through 1941 on the site of the old Sandy Hook Proving Ground. Radar, the ultimate development of these experiments, would be needed in the near future.

World War II erupted in Europe with the German invasion of Poland in September, 1939, and during the following year, despite the reluctance of most Americans to go to war again, the government began to build up its military, including the National Guard. The New Jersey Guard participated in the massive maneuvers held around Plattsburgh, New York, which included 14,000 Regular Army troops and 38,000 Guardsmen. A 1940 report proudly claimed that "New Jersey's National Guard, numbering 7,187 officers and men, is trained and ready to take the field with the traditions of the 'Jersey Blues.'"

On August 31, 1940, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8530, "ordering certain units and members of the National Guard of the United States into the active military service of the United States" for twelve months of service "for training." The Forty-fourth Division, which also included New York's Seventy-first Infantry Regiment, was activated on September 16 and assigned to the former Camp Dix, renamed Fort Dix in 1939. The 104th Engineers, as did their predecessor unit in World War I, helped design and construct an expanded base for the entire division as well as a reception center for draftees. The peacetime draft was enacted at the same time, and draftees and volunteer recruits from New Jersey and New York were soon assigned to bring the division up to full strength. Governor Moore had the adjutant general organize a "state guard," similar to Governor Edge's World War I militia, to replace the Guardsmen.

In September, 1940, the African-American soldiers of the First Battalion, New Jersey State Guard, Companies A of Newark, B of Atlantic City, C, of Camden and D, of Trenton, were welcomed by the War Department into the National Guard, where they were re-designated as the 'First Battalion, 372nd Infantry Regiment (Colored)," The 372nd was also composed of African-American Guardsmen from the District of Columbia, Maryland, Massachusetts and Ohio.

The 372nd was ordered into United States federal service on March 10, 1941, and initially stationed at Fort Dix, assigned to the Eastern Defense Command's First Army as part of an internal defense force for the greater New York City area.

The 102nd Cavalry, which, as a non-divisional unit, had not been activated with the Forty-fourth Division, was called to active duty on January 6, 1941 and assigned to Fort Jackson, South Carolina. The 102nd entered service as a mixed horseback and mechanized unit, and one squadron remained mounted through April 1942.

Most of the Guardsmen mobilized in 1940 and 1941 eagerly anticipated the end of their one year of federal service for training, and there was much grumbling when their tour of duty was extended for another eighteen months by Congress in August 1941. In September, after spending nearly a year at Fort Dix, the Forty-fourth Division traveled to South Carolina to participate in the massive "Carolina Maneuvers," which lasted through early December. The men of the division were on their way back to Fort Dix when they heard the news of Pearl Harbor and realized that their active duty would last until the end of the war.

Chapter 18
World War II

Immediately after Pearl Harbor, New Jersey Governor Charles Edison, son of the famed inventor, activated the State Guard. As in World War I, State Guard soldiers were assigned to guard bridges, government offices, war industry factories and other critical sites. Civilian volunteers were quick to respond as well, and the Red Cross's South Amboy Women's Motor Corps brought hot coffee and doughnuts to the part time soldiers guarding bridges over the Raritan River.

The 102nd Cavalry was the first New Jersey National Guard unit to go overseas. By September 1942, when the regiment shipped out for England, it was completely mechanized, with its several squadrons equipped with "jeeps" produced by the Bantam Motor Car Company, armored cars, light tanks and self-propelled 75 millimeter "assault guns." In December, the regiment's second squadron was transferred from England to North Africa, where it served as a guard force for dignitaries and the Allied high command and subsequently campaigned in Italy and France as the 117th Cavalry Squadron. The second squadron was replaced by the 38th Cavalry Squadron, composed primarily of Iowa and Texas draftees, and the regiment was re-designated the 102nd Cavalry Group, now composed of the 38th and 102nd Squadrons.

The 102nd's commander, Colonel Donald McGowan, reassigned a number of his New Jersey officers and enlisted men to the 38th, essentially "Jerseyfying" the new squadron. With this organization, McGowan, who had served as sergeant major of the 114th Infantry at the age of nineteen in World War I, led the 102nd ashore at Omaha Beach on June 8, 1944, D-Day plus two, and immediately pushed inland. The 102nd was the only New Jersey National Guard unit to land at Normandy during the invasion.

One of the most significant displays of American ingenuity can be traced to a Guardsman from the 102nd. As the Allies drove inland following D-Day, they became stalled in the *bocage*, a series of four- to six-foot-high earth berms topped with dense vegetation used to mark French farm boundaries in peacetime but now occupied as defensive positions by German troops.

Attempting to cross the hedgerows, American tanks were pushed upward at a forty-five-degree angle, exposing them to enemy infantrymen armed with antitank weapons firing from cover.

Sergeant Curtis Culin of the 102nd suggested that "something like a snowplow" mounted on the front of a tank could carve a path through the hedgerows and that steel German beach obstructions would be the perfect material for crafting such an apparatus. Sergeant Culin, Lieutenant Steve Litton of his squadron maintenance shop and Captain James DePew devised a device to attach to the front of their tanks, and Chief Warrant Officer Frank Reilly put his maintenance men to work on the job. The result, the "Rhino Plow," cut through vegetation and dirt. General Omar Bradley pronounced the device "what we've been looking for," and by July 24, every tank in the army was fitted with a Rhino Plow, and the Americans broke out of the *bocage*.

As the Allies closed in on Paris, the spearhead of the effort was the 102nd Cavalry Group. Captain William Buenzle of Roselle recalled that his men charged though rain, mist and German gunfire toward the city on August 24, fighting through the suburbs until they saw the Eiffel Tower in the distance, then halted for the night. The following morning, French civilians rushed into the streets to disassemble German barricades. The Americans returned sniper fire with machine guns, to the cheers of civilians who, mindless of danger, poured out of their houses.

Buenzle was ordered to "put the show on the road and get the hell into Paris." He urged his driver to speed up, and ran the cavalry column down the main road at 40 miles an hour towards the city center, reporting his position at 7:30 a.m. with the words, "I am at Notre Dame," the response from headquarters was, "How do you know?" Buenzle responded, "Damn it, I am looking right up at Notre Dame!"

Captain Charles H. Peterson of Cliffside Park had actually arrived in the city the night before with his Troop B of the 102nd Squadron, but Buenzle's dramatic entry gained the Roselle captain and his men the credit and glory of being the first Americans into Paris. In the end, it was of no matter, for New Jersey's 102nd could claim the honor either way. Meanwhile, in a double win for New Jersey, the 117th Squadron was entering Rome at about the same time. Following the fall of

Paris, the 102nd continued its advance across Europe, accompanied by *Newark Evening News* war correspondent Warren Kennet, who had landed with the unit in Normandy.

Warren Kennet was perhaps the most significant individual in New Jersey's World War II military history who was not a soldier. Although he had served in previous years in the 102nd Cavalry, Kennet was beyond military age at the time of the war. A *Newark Evening News* reporter who covered both military affairs and "equestrian" news, including polo matches, he made his way to England as a war correspondent for the paper. Kennet, who would eventually gain the nickname "Newark's Ernie Pyle," not only told the story of his old regiment, but tracked down New Jerseyans in a variety of units. His articles included accounts of the state's soldiers playing in an impromptu swing band, as members of bomber crews and as military cameramen – they all fit into Warren Kennet's personalized account of the war, as long as they were Jerseymen – or women.

The Forty-fourth Division would not see action until later in the conflict. In February 1942, the 113th Infantry was detached from the division and assigned to the Eastern Defense Command. The regiment was strung out from Long Island to Delaware in company-sized posts intended to defend the coastline from saboteurs landed from submarines and never rejoined the Forty-fourth. The 113th subsequently moved around the country, serving as a local defense and training command until inactivated at Fort Rucker, Alabama, on September 25, 1945.

The 104th Engineer Regiment was detached from the Division, with the first battalion sent to Camp Claiborne, Louisiana, as the 104th Engineer Battalion and the second battalion transferred to Camp Pickett, Virginia, where it became the first battalion of the 175th Engineer Regiment. The 104th Battalion went on to Fort Lewis, Washington, and then the Pacific Theater of War, from the Aleutian Islands to the Philippines, while the 175th participated in campaigns in North Africa and Italy.

Part of the Forty-fourth's artillery arm was separated from the division in 1939, and called up separately in January 1941. A battalion of the 112th Artillery was re-designated at the 695th Armored Artillery Battalion and after being transferred to several bases around the country,

including Fort Sill, shipped out to England in February, 1944 and landed on Utah Beach, Normandy, in July 1944. The battery fought its way across Europe with the Fifth Armored Division.

The Forty-fourth Division, less the detached units, was transferred from Fort Dix to Camp Claiborne, Louisiana, and then moved on to Fort Lewis, Washington, where it served as part of the United States' West Coast defenses throughout 1942. In early 1943, a number of men from the Seventy-first and 114th Infantry, supplemented by draftees, were transferred to the 324th Infantry, a new regiment created within the division to replace the departed 113th. In early 1944, the Forty-fourth was shipped back to Louisiana for field maneuvers and then on to Camp Phillips, Kansas, for final training before deployment overseas. The division traveled by train to Camp Miles Standish in Massachusetts in August, its final stop before shipping out to Europe.

The Forty-fourth Division landed in Cherbourg, France, in mid-September 1944, trained intensively for a month and was assigned to the Seventh Army. The division relieved the Seventieth Division in the front lines and was first engaged in combat on October 18, near Luneville, France, as part of an offensive to secure passes through the Vosges Mountains. Less than a week after the offensive began, the division was struck by an intense German counterattack, which it defeated, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy.

In November, the Forty-fourth fought alongside the French Second Armored Division in a drive to liberate Strasbourg, broke through the Maginot Line on December 19 and then assumed a defensive position near Sarreguemines, where it defeated several German attacks. In late March 1945, the division relieved the Third Division and crossed the Rhine River at Worms. The advance was rapid, as the German army collapsed. One soldier from the 114th Infantry Regiment recalled that: "The woods all around us swarmed with German soldiers, but the fight was gone out of them, and they would flee in confusion or surrender meekly." The Forty-fourth crossed into Austria in early May, took the surrender of the German Nineteenth Army and reached Imst and Landeck as the war in Europe ended.

The Forty-fourth Division spent a short period of time on occupation duty in Austria and then returned to the United States in July 1945 for retraining prior to redeploying to the Pacific Theater for the invasion of Japan. Fortunately, the Japanese surrendered before the Forty-fourth left the country again, and the division was deactivated that November. The Forty-fourth Division was in combat for 190 days and earned three Distinguished Unit Citations. After returning from Europe to New Jersey on leave for Christmas in 1944, journalist Warren Kennet had returned to the war in Europe to chronicle the story of the Forty-fourth. He came home with the division.

The 119th Observation Squadron was detailed to coastal defense duty. Some members of the squadron transferred to other units and served overseas. Perhaps the best known of these men was Donald Strait of Verona. Strait served as an enlisted man with the 119th but in early 1942 qualified as an aviation cadet and attended flight school at Maxwell Field, Alabama. Rising to the rank of captain, he became an ace, credited with 13.5 aerial victories over German aircraft as a fighter pilot in the 356th Fighter Group. After the war, Strait served in the New Jersey Air National Guard, from which he retired as a major general in 1978.

The former First Separate Battalion officers and men, serving with the 372nd Infantry, were initially assigned to the Eastern Defense Command's First Army and stationed at Fort Dix as part of an internal defense force for the greater New York City area. Like the 113th, the 372nd later became a training regiment, and many of the original members were transferred to different units. In April 1944, the 372nd became a "rotational regiment," moving about the country to posts in Kentucky, Arizona and Washington, until arriving in Hawaii in April 1945 to prepare for the invasion of Japan. With the end of the war, the regiment returned to New Jersey and was inactivated at Fort Dix on January 31, 1946.

As in World War I, war came home to the Jersey Shore. In 1940, as the National Guard was called up and the peacetime draft initiated. Congress passed legislation funding the modernizing of coastal defenses. The result of this legislation in New Jersey was the establishment of a battery of two sixteen-inch guns in the Navesink Highlands overlooking the Atlantic Ocean as

part of the harbor defenses of the Port of New York. The battery was completed in 1943 and supplemented by a six-inch gun battery.

Unfortunately, the sixteen-inch battery, although useful against an unlikely attack by battleships, had no effect on the real threat to the New Jersey coast – German submarines. U-Boat attacks along the coast in World War II were more deadly than they had been in 1918, due to the greater use of torpedoes and, initially, the navy's refusal to conduct coastal convoys. The first sinking in New Jersey waters, the torpedoing of the oil tanker *Varanger* off Atlantic City in January, 1942, heralded what the Germans would refer to as "the happy time" when they sank ships up and down the Atlantic Coast, in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico with no losses on their part.

On the night of February 27, 1942, the Standard Oil Tanker *R.P. Resor* was torpedoed off Manasquan. There were only two survivors, crewman John K. Forsdal and Navy Coxswain Daniel Hey, a member of the eight-man Navy "Armed Guard" detailed to man a deck gun on the ship. Both men were brought into the Manasquan Coast Guard Station, where the oil was washed off them and they posed for a photo. Forty-one merchant seamen and eight Navy personnel on board failed to survive the attack. The following day reporters took a boat out of Manasquan Inlet and photographed the still burning tanker. The carnage would last into the late summer, when the navy finally got a handle on proper antisubmarine warfare techniques, including coastal convoys, which Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander of the United States fleet, had originally disdained.

New Jersey again became a major supplier of war materiel as its industrial base shifted into high gear once more, producing everything from battleships and aircraft carriers to the B-25 bomber engines that powered Lieutenant Colonel James "Jimmy" Doolittle's raiders over Tokyo in 1942. State businesses received more than $12 billion worth of defense contracts and New Jersey's industrial workforce doubled to more than a million workers. Enormous contributions to the war effort flowed from factories throughout the state.

During World War II New Jersey women faced opportunities and challenges as they were absorbed into the massive workforce needed to fuel America's war machine. Women joined the

ranks of employees on assembly lines and in manufacturing and even management jobs, filling the void left by departing husbands, brothers, sons and boyfriends. By the end of 1942, seventy-six percent of Bell Telephone employees were women. "Rosie the Riveter" Jersey girls filled factories, and by 1943, most of the production workers on the Avenger torpedo bomber assembly line at the General Motors Eastern Aircraft Division in Ewing Township were women.

Existing military posts around the state were expanded and new ones established during the war. After the departure of the Forty-fourth Division, Fort Dix continued as a major training base, and the Navy and Coast Guard maintained installations at Cape May and other sites, as well as instituting beach patrols. In 1943, in an attempt to move resupply efforts from New York after the explosion of an ammunition ship in Bayonne, the Navy established Naval Ammunition Depot Earle in Monmouth County, with a pier jutting into Sandy Hook Bay. Camp Kilmer, near New Brunswick, became a major transit camp, as Camp Merritt had been in World War I. Newark Airport became a military base, and, in 1944, members of the US Army Air Forces' WAAC force had communications training in the city. in January, 1943, Navy WAVES were assigned to Lakehurst while an aerographer's school intended to train seventy-five WAVES a month was established in nearby Lakewood.

Atlantic City was virtually taken over by the Army Air Forces, and became known as "Camp Boardwalk." Beginning in 1942, when Convention Hall became the Army Air Forces Technical Training Command Center, the resort city flooded with thousands of soldiers who stayed in forty-seven hotels and hostels. The Navy trained pilots at nearby Wildwood and the Air Forces conducted pilot training at a base established in Millville. Lakehurst Naval Air Station served as a major antisubmarine airship base.

Asbury Park was also transformed by the invasion of military personnel. Before the war, the city had been regarded as "one of the best-known resorts in northern New Jersey," with a boardwalk lined with "eating places, a fishing pier, recreational attractions, solariums, and shops where everything from imported Oriental rugs to souvenirs of the *Morro Castle* disaster are sold." As with Atlantic City, the city's festive ambiance took on a martial tone once war was declared. Two of the city's signature hotels – the Berkeley Carteret and the Monterey – were set aside for rest and relaxation for Allied forces, including British sailors.

With the National Guard off to war, the state's Sea Girt camp was leased from the state by the Army Signal Corps as a substation of Fort Monmouth. The Sea Girt base – with mess hall space for 1,700 men, a post exchange and other buildings as well as its g rifle range – provided a ready-made training site. Recruits drilled on the parade ground, fired on the ranges and conducted route marches up and down nearby highways and out into what is now Allaire State Park. The routine of daily military exercises was enlivened by on-base USO dances, where a GI band belted out hit tunes while soldiers jitterbugged with local girls.

Scattered throughout the state were closely guarded POW camps that housed captured German and Italian soldiers. From 1942 through 1945, more than 400,000 Axis prisoners were shipped to the United States and detained in camps across the country. In New Jersey, POW camps included sites at Belle Mead, Fort Dix, Jersey City Quartermaster Supply Depot, Camp Kilmer, Fort Monmouth, Raritan Arsenal, Metuchen and the Somerville Quartermaster Supply Depot.

Given that the prisoners were well fed and treated humanely, few attempted to escape; the army recorded a little more than two thousand attempts, less than 1 percent of the total number of POWs, nationwide. Germans held at Fort Dix were comfortable enough to create costumes and put on a play for their fellow prisoners.

New Jersey was also the scene of enemy espionage. German saboteurs landed on Long Island from a submarine in 1942 were captured shortly afterward on their way to Newark. Their contact man, who was to provide them with money and shelter, was Carl Emil Ludwig Krepper, a German immigrant and former Lutheran minister who lived in the city. The agents were captured before they got in touch with Krepper, but the FBI arrested him in a sting operation in 1944.

Around 560,500 New Jerseyans, 360,000 draftees among them, served in all branches of the armed forces in all theaters of the conflict during World War II. The total included 10,000 women, most notably Marine Corps Women Reserves commander Ruth Cheney Streeter of Morristown and Navy WAVE commander Joy Bright Hancock of Wildwood.

New Jersey soldiers, National Guardsmen, volunteers and draftees, officers and enlisted men, served all over the world. An estimated total of 10,372 New Jerseyans, including ten of the

state's seventeen Medal of Honor recipients, made the ultimate sacrifice and were killed in action or died of wounds.

In 1949 former National Guardsman and journalist Warren Kennet returned to Normandy and stood on the beach where he had landed in 1944. He wrote of the experience: "The beaches and fields of Normandy are quiet today. Only the gentle ripple of the waves lapping the shore, the chatter of the birds and the humming of the bees can be heard. But the battered landing ships which lie rusting in the surf…and the bombed-out buildings in nearby towns, brought back memories today to some 40 D-Day correspondents who landed with the American forces just five years ago in the greatest mass invasion in all history."

The end of World War II in Europe found one squadron of the 102nd Cavalry, the first New Jersey-based unit in combat, in Czechoslovakia and the other on the Elbe River. In a 2001 oral history interview, Sergeant James Kane, who had joined the 102nd in 1936 because it was "a poor man's riding club" that he believed would "provide an opportunity to ride horses and impress girls," reflected on the long-ago war. He expressed a still lingering sorrow about the men who did not make it home, but remarked that "the old 102nd Cavalry, New Jersey National Guard, was a good outfit to go to war with -- if one had to go."

And so, with the surrender of Germany in May and Japan in September, 1945, World War II came to an end. But soon another long struggle began – the "Cold War," which sporadically heated up. After that fearsome era ended, new struggles and conflicts emerged. As in the past, New Jersey would play its part, and the sons and daughters and grandchildren of the state's World War II veterans would answer the call.

Chapter 19

"truly a global force"

Following World War II, the Forty-fourth Division was assigned to Illinois, and the New Jersey National Guard was reorganized into the new Fiftieth Armored Division, which was officially activated in the state in July 1946. The component organizations of the new division inherited the old Forty-fourth and Twenty-ninth Division lineages of their predecessor units.

The New Jersey National Guard made the newspapers in 1947 when the seven Weeks brothers—Robert, Edward, Albert, John, LeRoy, James and Joseph of Jersey City—showed up to enlist in the Fiftieth Armored Division's 309th Anti-Aircraft Artillery Battery. All but Joseph, an underage fifteen years old, were sworn into the organization, in the largest recorded group family military enlistment in New Jersey history.

Although many New Jersey World War II veterans had had enough of the military life, a number joined the National Guard in the postwar era. Colonel Donald McGowan of the 102nd Cavalry was one of those who returned to the colors, serving as the state's assistant adjutant general. Promoted to brigadier general in 1947 and major general in 1948, McGowan commanded the Fiftieth Armored Division from 1948 to 1955, when he was appointed chief of the Army National Guard Bureau and then chief of the entire National Guard Bureau in Washington, a position from which he retired in 1963.

The Sea Girt camp was returned to the state at the end of the war and again became a National Guard training site, particularly for the Guard's Officer Candidate School, marksmanship, and as a headquarters for several combat support units. Following a trend begun in the prewar years, field training for the Fiftieth Armored Division, with its long-range artillery and armored units, was conducted at larger military reservations, principally at Pine Camp, renamed Camp Drum in 1951, located in upstate New York.

As in the past, the New Jersey National Guard was called on to assist in local crises by the state's governors. At 7:26 PM On May 19, 1950, an explosion occurred at a pier in South Amboy where

ammunition was being loaded on a barge for shipment to Pakistan. Fifty drums of phosphorus at the nearby American Agricultural Company were ignited by flying land mines. Thirty-six workers were killed and another 350 injured, as windows were shattered all over South Amboy. Four barges were destroyed and fourteen others damaged, as were a number of buildings. Units of the National Guard were called out to assist in securing the area, and Fiftieth Armored Division Military Policemen were soon in control of the situation.

The post-World War II era brought a new realization that the promises of the Civil War could no longer be denied, and the Civil Rights movement gained new strength based on the wartime sacrifices made by African-American men and women in defense of the country. In 1947 New Jersey voters approved a new constitution, which went into effect in January, 1948, replacing the previous Constitution of 1844 and specifically forbidding racial discrimination. With this in mind, and considering that the state's National Guard, then rebuilding, was actively recruiting men, Governor Alfred E. Driscoll advised Secretary of Defense James Forrestal that the New Jersey National Guard would be desegregated in compliance with the state's constitution and that men would be recruited regardless of race.

Driscoll issued an order to his National Guard officers to disregard an army regulation stating that "mixed units are not authorized and Negroes cannot be enlisted in white units." Forrestal passed the buck down to Army Secretary Kenneth C. Royall. Royall responded that although he considered regular army segregation to be "in the interest of national defense," he would make an exception for the New Jersey Guard because the people of the state had indicated that "no person shall…be segregated in the militia because of race, color…" On February 12, 1948, the New Jersey adjutant general's office published General Order No. 4, stating that "no qualified person shall be denied any military rights, nor be discriminated against in exercise of any military rights, nor be segregated in the militia because of religious principles, race, color, ancestry or national origin."

New Jersey's actions put the state decisively ahead of the federal government in eliminating discrimination within the military. In 1945, then Secretary of War Robert B. Patterson had appointed a board of general officers to review the U. S. military's racial policies. The Board concluded that it was necessary to "eliminate…any special consideration based on race" within

the armed forces. President Harry Truman's advisors, African-American organizations and civil rights leaders pressed him to desegregate the military, and he essentially agreed to do so around the same time the New Jersey integration program was ordered. Truman did not, however, issue his military desegregation Executive Order until July 26, 1948.

Foot dragging by military officers, some of whom leaked to the press that the order did "not specifically forbid segregation in the army" delayed full implementation of Truman's order below the regimental level until mandated by necessity during the Korean War, when General Matthew Ridgeway requested that he be allowed to fully integrate all units in his command in April, 1951. There would be a hard road ahead to full civil rights, but for once New Jersey, thanks to its voters and Governor Driscoll, was in the forefront; the dream of equality New Jersey's African-American soldiers fought so hard for in 1865 finally began to be realized in 1948. It was a shame that New Jersey's last surviving Civil War veteran, First Sergeant George Ashby, Company H, Forty-fifth United States Colored Infantry, who died two years earlier, did not live to see it.

On June 25, 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea, beginning the Korean War.
New Jersey National Guardsmen and Reservists, many of them World War II veterans, had every reason to believe that they would, as in the previous conflict, be called to active duty. On June 30, 1950, President Truman signed the Selective Service Extension Act, extending the draft, which had been discontinued at the close of World War II and reinstituted in 1948 in order to counter what was seen as a growing Soviet threat. During the Korean War, National Guard and Reserve units were called to active duty and several, including two full divisions, served in combat in Korea. New Jersey Army National Guard units called up during the Korean War included the 112th Artillery Group Headquarters, 695th Armored Field Artillery Battalion, Thirtieth Ordnance Battalion, 122nd Ordnance Company, Sixty-third Army Band and the 150th Engineer Pontoon Bridge Company. Only a detachment of about forty Soldiers from the Thirtieth Ordnance Battalion Headquarters deployed in Korea. The detachment was relieved from active service in 1954. The naval militia, which was activated for the war, reached its peak strength of 3,950 officers and enlisted personnel at the time. Starting in the late 1950s, the naval militia was gradually absorbed by the federal naval reserve, and it was officially disbanded in 1963.

In 1947 the US Air Force became a separate armed force, and the New Jersey Air National Guard became a separate entity as well. The Air National Guard's 108th Fighter Wing, 108th Fighter Group, 141st Fighter Squadron, 108th Air Base Group, 108th Maintenance and Supply Group, 108th Medical Group, 141st Weather Station and 105th Aircraft Control and Warning Squadron were activated for the Korean War. As with the majority of the army organizations, none of these state units were deployed in Korea.

More than 190,000 New Jerseyans in all, including Guardsmen, Reservists, draftees and volunteers in the regular armed forces, served in the U.S. military at various locations during the Korean conflict between 1950 and 1953, and 836 lost their lives. New Jerseyans Nelson V. Brittin of Audubon, Hector A. Cafferata of Montville and Samuel F. Coursen of Madison were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for their heroism during the war.

During the Cold War, the ominous threat of nuclear annihilation hung heavy over the nation and New Jersey in particular, which was, considering its proximity to New York City, presumably a major target, and air raid drills became a part of everyday life. NAD Earle continued as a major Atlantic fleet ammunition depot and Forts Dix and Monmouth remained major military installations, the former as a basic training base for draftees and volunteers. Major New Jersey colleges and universities, including Rutgers, Seton Hall, Newark College of Engineering (today's NJIT) Princeton and Saint Peter's, had robust ROTC programs.

Fort Monmouth became a Signal Corps scientific post for research in communications and radar, and included Camp Evans, a former substation in Gugliemo Marconi's old wireless communications center in Wall Township. In November, 1948, the Air Force formally opened McGuire Air Force Base, an expansion of the old Camp Dix Airfield. The base was named for Ridgewood, New Jersey, native, World War II ace and Medal of Honor recipient Major Thomas B. McGuire, who died in a plane crash in the Philippines in 1945.

In January, 1957, the first women to serve in the New Jersey National Guard, Captain Frances Roberta Comstock and First Lieutenant Lucille Valentino, both nurses, were sworn into service in East Orange. That July Comstock, Valentino and two other nurses left Paterson for annual

training with the Guard's 114th Surgical Hospital as the first women to ever deploy for training with a New Jersey National Guard unit. Comstock had served as a U. S. Navy Nurse during World War II.

In an increasingly more federalized armed forces, the old big gun forts of past defensive eras gave way to Nike antiaircraft missile bases, which were scattered throughout strategic areas of New Jersey from Franklin Lakes to Woolwich Township, part of a national defense network against the possibility of an air attack by long range Soviet bombers. New Jersey Nike locations in the northern part of the state were associated with the New York Defense Area. Sites in southern New Jersey were part of the Philadelphia Defense Area.

The Continental United States, or CONUS, Air Defense System, including the New Jersey sites, was under the overall control of the North American Air Defense Command, or NORAD, manned by a joint operations group from the U.S. and Canadian air forces and headquartered in Cheyenne Mountain at Colorado Springs, Colorado. The first successful firing of a Nike missile, the Nike Ajax, was achieved in 1951 and the weapon was deployed in 1954. Work on a more effective successor weapon was quickly underway, with the goal of producing a missile with improved speed, range and altitude capabilities, armed with a powerful nuclear warhead. The result was the Nike Hercules, able to destroy formations of attacking aircraft. Nike sites, initially manned by members of the regular army, were, following 1959, often staffed by members of the Army National Guard. By 1969, an estimated four thousand Army Guardsmen were on duty across the country to help protect the United States from a surprise enemy bomber attack.

Although the Nike sites were never called into action to meet an external threat, a devastating accident at the Middletown, New Jersey, installation in 1958 ended the lives of ten men. Known at the time as "the world's worst missile disaster," the tragedy occurred on May 22, when eight Nike missiles exploded, killing six regular army soldiers and four civilian technicians. The subsequent investigation revealed that the explosion occurred while army personnel were installing safety and arming mechanisms on the missiles, although the exact cause has never been discovered. Two of the three warheads on one of the missiles had been removed to gain access, when the third one suddenly detonated. In addition to destroying the other six

aboveground missiles in the vicinity, a flying red-hot pellet apparently ignited the booster of the nearest missile in an adjoining section, blasting it into the side of a nearby hill. Fortunately, the Ajax warhead failed to detonate.

In the wake of the disaster, newspaper and magazine editors mocked army claims that a Nike installation in a town was no more dangerous than a gas station. Today, the only evidence of the accident is a memorial to the men who died, which stands at Fort Hancock, now a part of Gateway National Recreation Area at Sandy Hook. The monument, which is in the form of two rockets symbolizing the Nike Ajax and Nike Hercules missiles, overlooks Sandy Hook Bay. Sandy Hook was the site of another Nike base, one of the few that remain intact. It is open for guided tours by appointment.

New threats posed by intercontinental ballistic missiles as opposed to long-range strategic bombers, the expense associated with the Vietnam War, a general desire to trim budgets and changing national and military priorities led to the end of the Nike program. In 1974, the last remaining sites were closed, and the New Jersey National Guard unit charged with operating some of them, the First Battalion, 254th Air Defense Artillery, was inactivated.

When the Hungarian Revolution against that country's communist government went down in flames following a Soviet invasion in November, 1956, some 200,000 Hungarians fled the country. Many of these refugees ultimately ended up in the United States, passing through New Jersey's McGuire Air Force base and on to Camp Kilmer, near New Brunswick, "a gateway to freedom," which became a staging area for their further movement throughout the country.

New Jersey Army and Air National Guard units were periodically called into federal service during Cold War crises. One situation ocurred in 1959, when Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev demanded that Britain, France and the United States leave their occupied zones in Berlin, which was located in the middle of Communist East Germany. Khrushchev vowed that he would sign a treaty with East Germany giving that government control over the surrounding countryside. This threat was, of course, largely fabricated, since the Soviets actually controlled East Germany, "treaty" or not.

In 1961, following the building of the Berlin Wall, Khrushchev issued an ultimatum date of December 31 to President John F. Kennedy, stating he would cut off all access to Berlin if the western powers did not leave the city. In August Kennedy ordered the mobilization of 150,000 Reservists and National Guardsmen, including New Jersey's 108th Tactical Fighter Wing and its support squadrons, which were deployed to Chaumont, France.

The New Jersey Army National Guard's 112th Artillery Group Headquarters, Thirtieth Ordnance Battalion, 122nd Ordnance Company, 114th Surgical Hospital, 141st and 253rd transportation companies were also mobilized for the crisis, but were assigned to posts within the United States. The situation was defused by a compromise and the New Jersey National Guard units were released from active duty between August and October, 1962. Three New Jersey airmen from the 108th interviewed in 2011 "recalled that the mood at the Chaumont base was fairly relaxed, and that no one thought too much about the potential magnitude of the situation. It was not until after they were home and reflected on their experience that they realized the significance of the crisis and the danger of war at the time."

The deadliest conflict for the post-World War II American military was the Vietnam War. American involvement began with advisers assigned to the South Vietnamese army in the mid-1950s, and combat units were introduced as the situation deteriorated in 1965. Approximately 212,000 New Jerseyans served in Vietnam during the course of the conflict. Although several National Guard units were mobilized for brief periods during the war, including the New Jersey National Guard's 141st Transportation Company and the New Jersey Air National Guard's 117th Tactical Fighter Group and the 119th Tactical Fighter Squadron, no New Jersey Guard organizations served in Southeast Asia, although some individuals did volunteer for overseas service.

In early 1967, in response to complaints that some men, using political contacts to join the Guard and avoid active service, Congressman E. Edward Hebert of Louisiana "pledged…an all-out battle to plug legal loopholes which permit draft dodgers to use the Reserves and National Guard as a safe haven from combat duty." This statement was of particular note because Hebert had a reputation of being the "staunchest defender of the Reserves and Guard in congress." A National

Guard spokesman from New York disagreed with the Congressman, stating that there was no way of knowing why someone would join the Guard. Major General James Cantwell, president of the National Guard Association and Chief of Staff of the New Jersey Guard, seemed to agree with Hebert, however, stating "I have no illusions about it," but adding that he "was in no position to test the patriotism of volunteers." At this late date, those who served in those components of the military should not be rashly judged, since, as General Cantwell correctly pointed out, we have no way of reading their minds, and so must give them the benefit of the doubt.

As in all the other twentieth century conflicts in which the United States was engaged, New Jersey proved an industrial asset to the war effort. Unfortunately, this time one assumed asset turned into a disaster. The Diamond Alkali Company, located on the Passaic River in Newark, churned out almost a million gallons of the "Agent Orange" herbicide, intended to be sprayed on Vietnamese jungles to destroy the cover used by the Vietcong. Agent Orange, however, proved to be toxic to American soldiers handling it or coming in contact with it by walking or driving through sprayed areas.

New Jersey witnessed a number of antiwar protests during the Vietnam War. Protesters periodically approached the main gate of Fort Dix and picketed other military bases, including a crowd of several thousand on Armed Forces Day, 1970, and some stopped traffic on the New Jersey Turnpike. Far more serious than any antiwar protests were the civil disturbances that broke out in Newark on July 12, 1967. The trouble started when Newark police arrested John W. Smith, an African-American cab driver. The officers claimed that Smith resisted arrest and that they had to "subdue" him. He claimed they beat him for no apparent reason. Smith was hospitalized with broken ribs and a head wound, but rumor spread throughout the city's Central Ward that he had been killed. The result, a riot outside police headquarters, led to further violence, as smoldering resentments and frustrations regarding police racism and real estate redlining that led to ghettoization that, in turn, led to limited opportunities for the city's black citizens, boiled over.

As the troubles in New Jersey's largest city grew, the National Guard reverted to its nineteenth century role. Governor Richard Hughes called General Cantwell in the afternoon of July 14, ordering him to prepare to send National Guard soldiers into Newark to assist the state police, who had already been dispatched, in controlling the disturbances. In total, three brigade headquarters and headquarters companies, four infantry battalions, one reconnaissance battalion, one artillery battalion and one military police company were mobilized at their home stations.

Chief of Staff Cantwell and other officers, as well as police and state and local political leaders, including Governor Richard Hughes and Newark mayor Hugh Addonizio, set up headquarters at the Roseville Avenue Armory. A reconnaissance determined that the "greatest volume of disorder centered along three principal east-west through streets – South Orange Avenue, Springfield Avenue and Clinton Avenue." Over 4,000 activated Guardsmen, acting with state police, blocked off the area and were ordered to conduct joint patrols with the state police. A newspaper retrospective a decade later, however, reported that "there was almost no coordination among soldiers and police." The Guardsmen had had no significant training for the situation they encountered in Newark.

Over the night of July 14 – 15, Guardsmen and state police officers reported "snipers" firing from "apartments and roof tops of high-rise public housing apartments." The fire was reportedly "brief in time length and deliberately or otherwise inaccurate." It has been suggested that most of this fire, often exaggerated in anecdotal retelling, was actually due to state police and National Guardsmen firing at suspected snipers on rooftops, with the bullets going over the roofs and randomly landing among Guardsmen and troopers on the other side, who, believing they were being shot at from the rooftops, returned fire. Twenty-four civilians, one police officer and one fireman were killed, at least some by random return fire from city and state police. By Monday, July 17, the rioting had ended, and the National Guard and state police pulled out of Newark. National Guard casualties were light – one man got a hernia from lifting ammunition boxes.

A decade later Richard Hughes, then chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, was asked if he had regrets about how the disturbances were handled. His response was: "The unfortunate thing about it was the National Guard were young people from non-urban areas. They are not

trained to handle snipers in high rises. That's how the lives were lost. I never blamed anybody for it. It was just a tragedy." Although there were other civil disturbances in New Jersey during that troubling era, the National Guard was not deployed to contain them, but held in reserve on several occasions.

In the war in Vietnam, New Jersey lost 1,562 men and one woman, Captain Eleanor Grace Alexander, a nurse. Of these, 1,046 were killed in action, and the remainder died of various causes, including accidents, disease and suicide. The remains of three percent of those who died were never recovered. The average age of the New Jersey soldier who died in Southeast Asia was twenty-three. Six in ten were volunteers, three were draftees and one a reservist. Sixty-two percent were in the army, twenty-nine percent were Marines and the remainder served with the air force and navy. Although half of all communities in New Jersey lost at least one resident to the conflict, the largest number of fatal casualties were from the state's largest cities, Newark, Jersey City and Trenton. Ninety-six percent died in South Vietnam, and the remainder in North Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. While the first New Jersey death occurred in 1960, and the last in 1975, thirty percent of those who died did so in 1968, the most intense year of the war. The New Jersey Vietnam Memorial and Museum in Holmdel stands as a monument to their sense of duty, their sacrifice and their valor.

The end of the draft and the transition to all-volunteer armed forces in the wake of the Vietnam War increased the role and responsibility of National Guard units in the national defense structure; they would be essential in the conduct of future operations and called to active duty in combat zones as well as during state and national emergencies in the years ahead. The New Jersey Army National Guard was reorganized in 1988, when the Fiftieth Armored Division was deactivated and the state's Guard became the Fiftieth Armored Brigade of the Forty-Second Division. The Guard remained, as before, a state force as well, subject to call up by the governor for various internal duties as diverse as disaster relief and providing medical support at the 1976 battle of Monmouth Court House reenactment at Monmouth Battlefield State Park in Manalapan Township.

Following the August 2, 1990 invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein's Iraqi army, President George H. W. Bush crafted a coalition of unlikely allies to assist the United States in protecting Saudi Arabia in operation *Desert Shield* on August 7 and then ejecting the Iraqis from Kuwait in operation *Desert Storm,* a task completed on February 28, 1991.

Desert Shield/Desert Storm was the first major test of the new role of the Reserves and National Guard in large scale operations. The New Jersey Army and Air Guard, as well as Reserve units stationed in the state, responded to the challenge. The Air National Guard's 170th Air Refueling Group, 177th Fighter Interceptor Group, 108th Tactical Fighter Wing, and the Army Guard's 328th Transportation Detachment, 253rd Transportation Company and 144th Supply Company, were all activated, and the state authorized family support groups to assist families of deployed Guardsmen and women. In all, more than 700 New Jersey Guard soldiers and airmen participated in support of Operation *Desert Shield/Desert Storm*.

In their role as the regular military's back-up force, National Guard units were also mobilized in the various peacekeeping efforts and interventions of the 1990s, including the war in the former Yugoslavia. In order to improve support to active duty organizations, the New Jersey Air National Guard's 170th Air Refueling Group and 108th Tactical Fighter Wing, stationed at McGuire Air Force Base, were combined to form the 108th Air Refueling Wing. The new unit was equipped with twenty KC-135E Stratotankers and has since provided worldwide refueling support for American and NATO aircraft, deploying frequently to Incirlik Air Base in Turkey. During the same reorganization, the 177th Fighter Interceptor Group, equipped with F-16 aircraft, transitioned into the 177th Fighter Wing, which was also called up during the 1999 fighting in the Balkans.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the New Jersey Army and Air National Guard immediately rose to the occasion, under the overall command of the Emergency Operations Center at Fort Dix. The 177th Fighter Wing, based at Atlantic City Airport, soon had its F-16s in the air over New York City and the surrounding area in pre-assigned "air sovereignty missions." The state's volunteer Naval Militia, reconstituted by Governor Christine Whitman in 1999, also responded to the call, contributing valuable service. Other New Jersey Army and Air Force Guard units, part of the Fifty-seventh Troop Command, established "Task Force Liberty"

headquarters at Liberty State Park in Jersey City and deployed security forces at local bridges, airports, tunnels and nuclear facilities. The New Jersey Guard subsequently created "Task Force Respect," at Staten Island's Fresh Kills landfill, where two million tons of debris from the World Trade Center was sifted and examined for the remains of victims, which were carefully collected, although few were identified.

Following 9/11, Garden State units also served in peacekeeping operations in the Sinai Peninsula and Bosnia and assisted the Albanian army following a massive explosion in that country in 2008, a mission that established a relationship between the Albanian military and New Jersey. The Army Guard, now characterized as "truly a global force," was consequently restructured and modernized once again according to the "modular conversion" program, as the Fiftieth Infantry Brigade Combat Team, to mirror regular army units and become more "flexible" and able to fulfill a variety of missions, including detainee supervision, security, logistical support and military police functions. In effect, the Guard's role as a backup force was ended and it was considered a fully deployable entity. And it was indeed deployed. More than 6,000 members of the New Jersey National Guard were activated for overseas service in the seven years following 9/11.

The New Jersey Guard served around the world in support of operations *Iraqi Freedom* and *Enduring Freedom*. In March, 2003, the 253rd Transportation Company, based in Cape May, became the first New Jersey National Guard unit to deploy to Iraq. Others followed in succeeding years. In January, 2004, Battery B, Third Battalion, 112th Artillery, was sent to Fort Dix, where the artillerymen were re-trained in military police duties. In March 2004, the Battery B soldiers arrived in Baghdad, where they were attached to the Eighty-ninth Military Police Brigade and re-designated as Company C. The Jerseyans would engage in combat in Baghdad, Fallujah and Sadr City, where the unit suffered the New Jersey Guard's first post-9/11 casualties when, on June 4 and 5, 2004, Staff Sergeants Steve Carvill and Humberto Timoteo, Sergeant Ryan Doltz and Specialist Timothy Duffy were killed in IED attacks. Company C returned to New Jersey in February, 2005. Adding to the state's casualty list, Staff sergeant Jorge Oliveira of the 113th Infantry was killed in Paktika Province, Afghanistan on October 19, 2011.

In May of 2004, more than 1,400 members of the New Jersey National Guard were mobilized in the largest deployment of the state's military assets since 1940, and deployed in Iraq to provide organizational support for regular army detachments. New Jersey National Guard soldiers from the 102nd Armor and 113th Infantry were deployed to Guantanamo Bay in 2002-2005 to provide security at the Detention Center at the base. A team from the 444th Mobile Public Affairs Detachment was assigned to Guantanamo Bay in 2011-2012 to handle media relations and escort members of Congress and other VIPs visiting the site. In 2008 the Fiftieth Brigade Combat Team was deployed to Iraq and served as a security force at Camp Cropper, Camp Bucca, Balad Air Base, Ashraf and Bagdad. The duties were diverse and required flexibility.

New Jersey's soldiers were also called on, as they had been in the past, for domestic disaster duty. In 2005, the 177th Medical Group of the Air National Guard flew to New Orleans in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, and elements of the 102nd Armor and 114th Infantry provided security for FEMA operations during the disaster. National Guard units were mobilized for duty in New Jersey during Hurricane Irene in 2011 and Superstorm Sandy in 2013, in the latter disaster rescuing people stranded by flooding in Hoboken. It is safe to say that almost 100% of the men and women of the current New Jersey National Guard have been deployed on one or more missions since 9/11.

In March, 2012, the 117th Combat Sustainment Support Battalion deployed to Fort Hood, Texas, for training, and departed for Afghanistan the following month. The unit, a battalion headquarters, was stationed at Kandahar Airfield to direct National Guard and regular army companies providing logistical support to Regional Command South and involved in organizing available transportation assets for the support of ongoing combat operations and transporting military gear out of the country back to the United States. The Battalion, which was awarded a Meritorious Unit Citation for its work, moved over twelve million tons of equipment before returning to New Jersey in January, 2013.

Although the pace of deployments has declined precipitously with the winding down of American participation in the Iraq and Afghan Wars, deployments continue. The modern mission of the New Jersey National Guard makes it certain that New Jersey's soldiers and airmen, along

with the state's citizens in the regular armed forces, will continue to serve their state and nation -- as they always have.