

EARLY CAREER OF GOVERNOR WILLIAM PATERSON

By

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FOREWORD

The present biographical sketch of William Paterson is a reprinting of Honeyman's article which appeared in the Somerset County Historical Quarterly over sixty years ago.* This biography, although limited by the time covered, approximately 1745 through 1785, the first forty years of Paterson's life, does actually encompass in a real sense two-thirds of his terrestrial stay. In it may be traced Paterson's ancestry, his early life in America, the location of the family in Princeton, William Paterson as a student in the College of New Jersey (now Princeton), and his graduation in 1763. Here also is to be found Paterson as a law student, his pre-Revolutionary activities, and the offices he filled during the critical years 1775 till 1787. For the later years, when he became a United States Senator, the second governor of the state, and finally an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court, the reader must consult another chronicle of William Paterson's life.

This booklet is intended as a souvenir of the William Paterson College Library and, by this token, to commemorate the early life of the man and to identify the institution which has assumed his name. Further, if the keepsake is useful and also faithful to its purpose, readers may welcome it as a bit of New Jerseyana hitherto available only at select libraries and repositories, and even then as an article in two parts within a periodical.

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One hundred and six years ago there died at Albany, New York, a lawyer, statesman and jurist, whose earlier years were so connected with Somerset history that he was always considered to the manor born, although of foreign nativity; and if in his later years he was rather a possession of our whole country than of New Jersey, yet his abode was always in or near to us of Somerset, and his fame may be justly termed a part of the heritage of his County. Here in Somerset he builded his fortune and fame upon a rock; here he became known as a prominent lawyer and as the Attorney-General of the state; here he passed through the Revolutionary War and was the right-hand man of Governor Livingston, of the Provincial Congress and of the Committee of Safety; here he proved his statesmanly right to become United States Senator and Governor in later days; here he married; here he instilled lessons of integrity, diligence and thoroughness in the minds of notable students of the law. His fame in history has long ago justified a full biography of his eventful and useful life, but none has been written. Some one, some day, may arise to do full justice to his name and fame.

It is not the writer's aim now to sketch his whole career, but merely to endeavor to present certain facts concerning his earlier years which, in part, have never been published, or, when published, have always been accompanied with errors. Even his name has often been misspelled "Patterson."

It is singular how many misstatements have been made concerning Governor and Justice William Paterson. Beginning with a want of knowledge of his place of birth, or of its exact date, local histories and encyclopaedias, as well as newspaper articles, have stated as facts a variety of matters both incorrect and inconsistent. His memory deserves a better fate than mere guesswork. Suppose we now try to ascertain what the truth was, if only for the sake of history.

In this connection it may be remarked that the esteemed late Judge Paterson, of Perth Amboy, grandson, probably had in possession, by inheritance, all the necessary documents and papers for a full record of Governor Paterson's life. In Mills' work on Paterson (p. 13) to be referred to again later, we learn that--

"Until a few years ago most of his correspondence was carefully preserved, and in his great oaken letter-chest one could find almost a complete record of his life from youth to old age: essays prepared at the College of New Jersey in 1760; poems written on portions of old law-briefs, bearing dates when he served as a law-apprentice to Richard Stockton; his earliest and last love-epistles to Cornelia Bell, the fair Jersey girl who became his wife; packets of letters from a host of faithful friends, together with a tear-stained copy of the order for his tombstone."

Most unfortunately many of these papers were scattered upon the Judge's death. They were sold to book and manuscript dealers and private parties, and their whereabouts, with few exceptions, cannot be traced.

The parentage of William Paterson has always been well-enough known, but the particulars of his birth have not been correctly stated by any of his earlier biographers. Judge Elmer, in his interesting "Reminiscences of the Bench and Bar of New Jersey," published as late as 1872, simply says he "was a native of the north of Ireland, from whence he came with his father in the year 1747, when he was about two years old." In that charming panegyric paid to Paterson in August, 1880, before the American Bar Association, the late Hon. Cortland Parker states that he was born "either upon the sea, or, more probably, near Londonderry, in Ireland." In the biographical pamphlet containing an address by his estimable grandson, the late Judge William Paterson, of Perth Amboy, read before the Newark Genealogical and Biographical Society in 1892, which gave more facts about his origin and family than had theretofore been put in print, we read: "Whether the oldest child, or where or when his birth occurred, cannot

be told with absolute precision." In the admirably edited "New Jersey Archives" (Vol. XXIV, p. 255), neither place nor date of birth is stated. The "Century Cyclopaedia of Names" says he was born "about 1744," and various other encyclopaedias and works say he was "born at sea." Even the "Congressional Directory" at Washington still gives his birthplace as "at sea."

We now know, however--I have the statement from the late Judge Paterson, who discovered the fact in a record in 1895--that his grandfather was born in Antrim, Ireland, December 24, 1745, and that he was the eldest son of Richard Paterson, and these dates are now upon his memorial stone at New Brunswick. The mother's name is nowhere stated, but it was Mary -----, as appears from a Somerset County mortgage of 1766 (as will be noted later).

Richard Paterson, the father, was a Protestant from the north of Ireland, as were so many of the splendid makers of the destiny of this New World prior to the Revolution. He was of Scotch ancestry, either his father or grandfather having been born in Scotland, as we know from his son's statement in a letter to his friend John Macpherson, Jr., under date of November 12, 1771, in the course of which he wrote:

"I have the happiness, or unhappiness, as you may please, of being part of a Scotsman myself, for, I don't care who knows it, my grandfather or great-grandfather was born and rocked in that part of the Isles which is sufficient in all conscience to entitle me to the name, though perhaps I should say that vanity never swells so high as when I think myself of Scotch origin." (Mill's "Glimpses of Colonial Society," p. 88).

Richard Paterson sought a new home in America, in part because he had, as is believed, brothers or cousins who had preceded him, and were living in what is now known as New Britain, Connecticut. There resided William and Edward Paterson, who came over about 1741, and were manufacturers of tinplate, and that vicinity Richard Paterson is known to have visited before he settled down at Princeton, first as "a tin-

plate worker," and later (from 1750 onward) as a "merchant." Mr. William Nelson, the accomplished secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, in an unpublished local address upon Paterson (January, 1911) conjectures that he really began life in America in the humble vocation of a traveling seller of wares before he settled in Princeton. Whether this was so or not, it is true, as Mr. Nelson adds, that "he wrote a good hand and had a fair education." At Princeton he gradually acquired property, and had the good sense to put his eldest son in college, and give him the best education then possible.

October, 1747, is the date quite clearly proved when Richard Paterson and his family landed at New Castle on the Delaware and proceeded to Trenton; then went to New London, Norwich and "other places" in Connecticut; and finally, about May, 1750, settled at Princeton, for just what reason has never been stated. That he was successful at Princeton in getting ahead, though later with a growing family (of at least three sons, William, Thomas and Edward, and two daughters, Frances who was "born at sea," and another), seems certain, for on July 19, 1754, he was able to purchase of Samuel and Joseph Hornor, who were prominent Princeton landowners, twenty-four and a fraction acres of land, "on the north side of the street in Princeton." He added 69 perches to this land on March 20, 1759, by purchase from Thomas Norris, and, on April 25 of the same year, he purchased another tract of the same Hornor (or Horner) grantors, also containing twenty-four and a fraction acres and also on the "north side of the street." These purchases, in the total about forty-eight acres¹ were mostly in Somerset County, and are clearly noted in a mortgage of July 2, 1766, made by Richard Paterson and Mary, his wife, to Jeremiah Harder, of Philadelphia, "merchant," for £700. (Somerset Mortgages, Book D, p. 11; Middlesex Mort-

¹The statement in "Glimpses of Colonial Society" by Mills, that when Richard Paterson reached Princeton he "became so enamoured with the place" that he "purchased one hundred acres of land in the centre of the settlement for a permanent home" is not shown by the records at Trenton, New Brunswick, or Somerville.

gages, Book I, p. 6). Mr. Paterson in this mortgage is stated to be a "shop keeper," and "of Middlesex," but the lands are stated in another mortgage (of 1775, on the same tracts, to his son William), to lie in both Middlesex and Somerset Counties; quite certainly almost wholly in Somerset. The line between the two counties, then, was the main street of Princeton--Nassau. North of the street was Somerset, while south of the street was Middlesex. From what I have been able to gather from the above records the house in which Richard Paterson lived must have been in Middlesex, but he had a tenant (in 1775, Thomas Fleming) upon the forty-eight acres. This acreage, in 1779, was stated to adjoin Dr. Witherspoon, Richard Stockton, David Hamilton, William Tennant and Joseph Morrow. This tract Richard Paterson held until 1779, when he was still "of Middlesex," and when he sold it to James Moor for £1476.2.9, and then it was described as "along the road from Princeton to Kingston," and situated "in Somerset County near Princeton." (Somerset Deeds, Book A, p. 184).

The later mortgage above referred to was dated June 7, 1775, from Richard Paterson (wife not joining) to his son, William, for £420, upon (1) the house and lot in Princeton purchased of Thomas Norris (recorded Nevin, but being for 69 perches, I suppose it the same before referred to); and (2) a "brick house and lot in Princeton now in possession of Thomas Carman and Robert Wild," containing one acre; and (3) the 48 acre tract. (Middlesex Mortgages, Book 2, p. 53; Somerset Mortgages, Book D, p. 11).

From other references to Richard Paterson, it is clear that he became known as a "merchant," and bills of from 1750 onward show that he dealt in general merchandise; some of these bills are in Mr. Nelson's possession. In 1762 he subscribed £10 toward the erection of the Presbyterian Church in Princeton, proving he was then successful in his business.

William Paterson, the son, was, accordingly, but five years of age when his parents took up their residence at Princeton. Nine years later (in 1759, but possible not until 1760), when between fourteen and fifteen years of age, he entered the College of New Jersey, which had been removed only about three years before from Newark to Princeton, and whose President was

then the Rev. Samuel Davies. Its former Presidents had been the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, who died in 1747; the Rev. Aaron Burr, who died in 1757, and whose son was Col. Aaron Burr; and the renowned Rev. Jonathan Edwards, who was there but a few months (in 1757-58), and both these two later heads of the college, William Paterson, as a boy, must have seen. Two Presidents served in Paterson's college days: first the Rev. Samuel Davies and then the Rev. Samuel Finley. Davies was a great pulpit orator--few surpassing him--but he died in 1761, aged only thirty-seven. Finley was more scholarly and was an Irishman; he could teach Latin, Greek and Hebrew as well as English. He lived until 1766.

Paterson graduated under Finley in the class of 1763, when not quite eighteen years of age. There is evidence to show that he was so assiduous in his studies that, when he graduated, he was one of the best equipped, intellectually, of his class, though not one who took away the honors.

He now remained in Princeton, and perhaps for a year assisted his father in business. Certainly not later than 1764 he entered the office of Richard Stockton, the elder of the two great lawyers of that name, to study law. It was a fortunate venture. Stockton was educated, eloquent, honored, and nowhere else could young Paterson have had such unrivalled opportunities for learning the principles of the common law as well as the actual practice of a lawyer's office. His preceptor was necessarily absent a large part of the time, and Paterson was obliged to struggle with black-letter lore and pleadings, and the result was his mastery of them.

Five years was then the required period of study for a student of the law. During the five years from 1764 to 1769, when he was admitted to the Bar, Paterson not only thoroughly prepared himself in the knowledge of Blackstone and Coke and similar English masters of jurisprudence, and in all "the quilllets of pleadings," but he had time to write letters to his college friends and cultivate the muses, and some of his letters and verses have been published. One has but to read the few letters of that period that have appeared in print, as partially published in Mill's "Glimpses of Colonial Society," to discern clearly his aptitude for friendships, his youthful learning, his sprightliness in written speech, and his gradual

growth in intellectual equipment. In the first published letter in the work just named, one of a series to his best friend, John Macpherson, Jr., also to be a law student, and afterward a wealthy, brave and patriotic lawyer-soldier, who, as Major in the service, was killed in the assault on Quebec under General Montgomery, Paterson indicates that the law is a jealous mistress, and cannot be absorbed at the same time that one is courting a handsome woman! The letter is dated Dec. 31, 1766, and this is an extract from it:

. . . "You inform me that in a few days you should move to Philadelphia, to study law. If so, it is highly probable you either will be so absorbed in the dullness of the law, or so enchanted with some Dulcinea that poor pilgarlic will be left in the lurch. . . . To be a complete lawyer is to be versed in the feudal system, and, to say the truth, I am not very fond of being entangled in the cobwebs of antiquity. Sic lex est is what every pettifogger can say, but to dive into the spirit requires intense application and assiduity. But of all the sages of the law preserve me from the pedantic, rambling, helter-skelter Master Coke. Such eternal egotism and dictatorial pomp breathe through his works that I lose all patience in reading them. He writes up strictly to the injunction of Horace, for he carries us 'to Thebes, to Athens and the Lord knows where.' I doubt not but you have made great proficiency and now are a profound casuist in working out distinctions without a difference, including truth with ambiguity, and in mouthing with surprising volubility a muster role of law phrases, which, like Sancho Panza's string of proverbs, you have always at command. The following couplet of Pope portrays well the character of an expert lawyer:--

'In a nice balance truth with gold he weighs,
And solid pudding against empty praise.'

This quotation is given here, not so much to show that he was at "unease," (to quote a word from the earlier part of his letter) lest Macpherson should turn more attention to a "Dulcinea" than to law, though subsequent letters pressed home

this topic more at length, but to illustrate the style of writing he had already formed before he was of age, and the acuteness with which he had gauged some lawyers whom he must have known, who could easily "work out distinctions without a difference." He was already familiar with the Greek, Roman and English poets, and certainly loved them better than Sir Edward Coke. It is something to know that at so early an age the splendid foundations on which he builded were not solely embraced in "Coke-upon-Littleton," but also that gem of legal text-books, Blackstone, and that for quiet hours there were Horace, and Pope, and Don Quixote, as otherwise a young student's life in a busy office like Stockton's with Stockton generally away, must have been, at times, extremely wearing upon his spirits.

One cannot read those letters to Macpherson without seeing in them, also, that capability for true friendship, that Pythian affection, he entertained for not only Macpherson but other college chums, and which is still rather an exception between man and man, and especially among the legal fraternity. There is something about the severities and austerities of the law which makes a lawyer, whether young or old, critical, exacting, perhaps suspicious, and its practice does not tend to as close friendships as certain of the other learned professions. But Paterson had real Irish blood in his veins--doubtless from his mother--and enough Scotch, too, to be humorous, kindly, courteous and affectionate, and this was his disposition all through his after-life. Mr. William Nelson thus sums up his judgment upon the Macpherson letters: "His letters are characterized by a most refreshing candor, revelation of emotions, a real abandon at times, and delightful discussions of themes personal, literary and political. One would gather from them that the young Irishman had a tender heart susceptible to the charms of the fair sex and was frequently in love."

While in Stockton's office, in 1765, he, with his former college classmate, Tapping Reeve, and also Robert Ogden, Luther Martin and Oliver Ellsworth, formed a "Well Meaning" college club, which, five years later, became the Cliosophic Society. Reeve became the learned Chief Justice of Connecticut, and later visited Paterson in Somerset County. Ogden was two years below Paterson in his college year, and was a junior fellow-

student in Stockton's office. He later practiced law at Elizabethtown. Martin was still later in graduating (1766). He afterward became famous as an Attorney-General of Maryland, and he was one of the counsel to defend Aaron Burr on the charge of treason. Ellsworth was of the same class as Martin (as was, in fact, young Macpherson), and became United States Senator from Connecticut and Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Five such young men associating together at Princeton in club life, and rubbing intellectual elbows till there came out, not sparks, but real soul-fire, meant something for all of them, and that four out of the five became great men we know.

The next year, 1766, Paterson received the college degree of Master of Arts, and "The New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy" of Oct. 2, said of the address he then delivered:

"The Business of the Day was finished by an excellent Oration on "Patriotism," pronounced by Mr. Patterson, in which elegance of composition, and Grace and Force of Action were equally conspicuous." (N. J. Archives, Vol. XXV, p. 219).

So he was already and noticeably a graceful writer and good speaker, at twenty-one years of age. He had made the right start; he had begun life with lofty ambitions, high ideals, a good reputation among his fellows, and, withal, possessed a pure character, which he never after allowed to become sullied. Young men who build properly upon these foundations rarely fail of ultimate success.

Paterson passed his legal examinations in the fall of 1768, but, owing to the absence of the Governor (Franklin), it was not until February, 1769, that he received his parchment, which enabled him to practice law.

He now cast about to see where he might begin his practice. One would have thought he would have remained in Princeton, or gone to some place where there was considerable legal business in sight, but he did exactly the opposite. He went to what we would now call a desert place: to "New Bromley," in Hunterdon county, a location of which few persons now living, even within a mile of that spot, have ever heard by that name. In fact it never was more than a hamlet and is probably not to be found on

any map, ancient or modern. Inquiry by various historians in former years failed to locate it, but Dr. Messler first definitely stated it was at "Stillwell's Mills near White House." The Doctor was born in the vicinity and may in his youth have heard it so called. The writer was born within two miles of "New Bromley," but was in entire ignorance of the name until Dr. Messler identified it. "New Bromley" was half way between New Germantown and White House. Forty years ago it was called "Hall's Mills," and, for a time was owned by Mr. George Stillwell, the name depending upon the owner. One solitary old stone house stands there, and a one-time flour mill (long disused), and nothing else; nor has any other building been there within the memory of man.² Whether the one old house now there, which appears to be pre-Revolutionary, was the same in which Paterson opened an office, or some house then in the vicinity, now demolished, and why he chose to immerse himself in such an out-of-the-way spot, is a query to which no one has ever suggested an answer. I conjecture the answer is, in part at least, that an influential man resided there at the time, who may have desired a young lawyer to settle in the vicinity, and, knowing of Paterson's talents, had influenced him to the decision. That man was the Irish-born, well educated Col. John Mehelm, of high Revolutionary standing afterward, but even then a growing business man, being both merchant and miller, by which we must suppose he had a store as well as mills at "New Bromley." Certainly his flour mills were known far and wide, and he was a large landowner. In the War he was a member of the First Provincial Congress and of the Council of Safety, a Colonel of a Hunterdon county regiment and Quartermaster-General, and, after the War, a Judge of the Hunterdon Common Pleas, and then Surrogate of both Hunterdon and Somerset counties, becoming during his incumbency of that office a resident of Pluckemin, in Somerset.

²For a further notice of "New Bromley," see under "Historical Notes and Comments," post.

That Paterson knew he was going to a sparsely settled locality is clear from one of his letters. Under date of May 20, 1769, writing to Macpherson from Princeton, he says:

"I am in daily expectation of bidding Adieu to Princeton and removing far back in the country, where I shall live mewed up, conversing with none but the dead."

Subsequent to this, on June 2nd, he wrote to his other friend, Luther Martin, stating he was "on the eve of" removing, and designates the spot by saying:

"New Bromley, in Hunterdon County, about 30 miles from Princeton, is the place of my intended abode. In that part of the county live wealthy farmers."

This last remark may mean more than appears on the surface, although the expression was primarily used (as the full text of the letter shows), because Martin wished to borrow money on some security not named, and Paterson thought the vicinity of "New Bromley" was one where money could be had upon loan. It was a fact that a number of well-to-do if not "wealthy" farmers lived within a circuit of a few miles of "New Bromley," for the Barnets, Ogdens, Pickels, Wyckoffs, McKinstry, McDowells, Lanes, Beekmans, Sutphens, Barclays and others were in the general vicinity (at New Germantown, Potterstown, Lebanon, Whitehouse, Lamington, etc). These all represented the solid portions of a pretty wideawake neighborhood.

Perhaps in part he went to this "retreat" to continue his studies in quiet rather than to practice. Still it must be remembered that lawyers did not then, as now, go to large places at first, expecting business from immediate surroundings: rather, they endeavored when at Court in their first cases to secure a reputation and then to have clients come long distances to them. This was the case afterward at South Branch and Raritan. Whatever his motive, by some impelling influence or other, Paterson did not only go to, but remained at "New Bromley" for a period of, approximately, two years.

During that period he must have attended the Presbyterian church at Lamington, in Somerset County, of which Rev. Jeremiah Halsey was pastor, as it was the only near Presbyterian congregation. (See his letter to Macpherson, July 30, 1770, in Mill's "Glimpses," p. 84). But there was also a special reason why he would have been drawn to this pastor, for Halsey was tutor in Princeton from 1757 to 1767, so that Paterson must have been under his instruction in his college days. Mr. Halsey went to Lamington in 1770. Paterson often returned to Princeton to attend college gatherings and visit his parents, but otherwise we know little of his life at "New Bromley." The family tradition is that his law business there was so slight that he became discouraged and thought of giving up his profession entirely.

Somewhere about this period the young law student began the cultivation of the muses, in which occupation he evinced a talent which, had he pursued it, might have ended in his becoming a poet of no mean order. Surely these verses, quoted by Mills, and stated by him to have been written upon the back of a law-brief, are not unworthy of an embryo Wordsworth:

"How sweet to listen to a purling stream
Whose falling waters lull me in a dream.
How sweet to read, and, if the fit should take
To court the muses by a sunny brake,
How soothing sad to hear yon turtle-dove
Deplore the loss of her untimely love.

"How plaintively and oft she mourns the fate
Of her too tim'rous and unhappy mate.
Hark! Now the little warblers tune their throats,
Welcoming the morning with their notes.
The mingled melody from every spray
Conspires to add new lustre to the day.
All, one and all, doth in the chorus join,
Pleasure how sweet, and concert how divine."

Mills also gives longer poems on "The Belle of Princeton, Betsey Stockton" and "A Satire on Betsey's College Suitors," the first written "at Nassau Hall, 1772." She was the daughter

of Captain John Stockton, brother of Richard (his preceptor). They are too lengthy for quotation here, and are now of no special interest except as throwing light on his admiration of that lady, said to have been very beautiful.

One more letter to Macpherson should be quoted here, this time quite fully, as without it we cannot enter into close kinship with the grave young student--for he was yet a student, as he always continued to be--on the banks of the Rockaway river, away from all those to whom his soul was knit:

"New Bromley, July 27th, 1770

"Dear Jack:

"I am fond of solitude, though I would not care to live forever in a cave. A great degree of solitude is suited only to contemplative minds, and even men of the most solitary turn cannot recline eternally in its shade. The pensive soul that feeds on grief, and seeks no sorrow but its own, may refrain from the haunts of men, may delight to listen to the fall of waters, and joy to wander through trackless plains and sequestered groves. Solemn glooms, lonesome mansions and cheerless shades, likewise, may befit those whose cheeks are furrowed with age, and in the decline of life may be called very properly, Christian Solitude. But what have young and active minds to do with retreat? To run in the bloom of youth to nunlike retirement is unnatural and unsociable: to take leave of the world, to make an exit ere yet we have made an appearance scarcely on the stage of action against mankind. Every person should spend a small part of his time in solitude, because it learns him to think, and that great lesson, to know himself. The Greek philosopher put sententiously what each one knew very well before. Self-knowledge is essential to happiness, and for that purpose solitude is the best companion. To know others is necessary in order to act well our part. Life unemployed is a useless boon. But some professions, and that of law especially, demand more than ordinary retirement, because interruption must be attended, more or less, with dissipation of thought. The study of this profession is disagreeable and dry, particularly to a beginner. Naturally, this branch of learning is unpalatable, and a certain degree of solitude, as

promoting contemplation, is of value, for regulating and modulating the work. Extremes should be avoided. A bow long bent loses its spring; so application long continued jades the fancy, weakens the judgment, and, if the expression may be used, unnerves the man. Close attention creates a sort of vis inertiae in the intellectual world, as philosophy says there is in the material, and relaxation becomes necessary. My situation here is irksome on this account and this only, that there is scarcely any amusement to which I can resort, when wearied with study or tired with work. What shall I do to recruit exhausted nature? I take up Swift, and, by his humour, hope to find relief, but reading is the cause of my complaint. It is absurd surely to think of removing the effect by continuing the cause. No relaxation, no amusement, sad indeed! Ah Jack, how often do I wish for your presence to brighten the gloomy scene. . . .

"I am, my dear Jack, ever your affectionate,

Wm. Paterson.

"Mr. John Macpherson, Junr, Phila."

In 1772 Paterson decided to remove from "New Bromley," going, it would seem, for a short time to Princeton, and then settling down at or near present South Branch, in Somerset. It has usually been supposed that from this period, his first settlement in Somerset County, until his removal to New Brunswick in 1783, Paterson was living "at Raritan;" and in the general sense that he was on the Raritan at some point within a few miles of what, later, became his "Raritan plantation" must be true. But he was not, prior to 1779, according to any evidence yet adduced, on or very near this now well-known "Raritan plantation," which is one mile southwest of the present village of Raritan. It did not belong to him until 1779, and there is no record that he was its tenant. Dr. John B. Thompson, prior to his death, discovered papers showing that, after leaving New Bromley, William Paterson went into partnership with his young brother, Thomas, "at South Branch," the firm being known as "Thomas Paterson & Co.," and continued in such partnership "until 1777, and perhaps until his marriage" (in February, 1779). (See "An Irish Presbyterian," by Dr. John B. Thompson; clipping pasted in Rev. H. P. Thompson's "History of

Readington Church," in N. J. Historical Society's Library). Probably the storehouse was at the forks of the Raritan, where there was a tavern (Whorley's), and near where, in the private house of John Baptist Dumont, Queen's (Rutgers) College was temporarily located in 1779.

While on its face the statement of Dr. Thompson would imply that William Paterson abandoned the law during the partnership period, we know this cannot be true, for he was appointed Attorney-General in 1776, and in the meantime was busy as a regular practitioner, when not engaged as an active member and officer of the Provincial Congress. It is certain that while he aided his brother by his name and advice in a mercantile business, and doubtless lived with or near him, he himself, never abandoned the law.

In this connection we may take leave of Thomas Paterson by saying that he served in the Continental troops, "Jersey Line," in the Revolutionary War with ardor and credit. He was made Captain in the Third Battalion, First Establishment, Feb. 9, 1776; then Captain of the Second Company, Third Battalion, Second Establishment, Nov. 29, 1776; and he served until Sept. 26, 1780, when he retired. He also went out as Major, Apr. 14, 1791, in the Second Infantry, U. S. Army, to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, serving six months, until Nov. 19, 1791. His brother, Edward, also served in the Continental troops, from Feb. 7, 1776, until a date not stated, but probably till near the end of the War, and became a First Lieutenant in his brother's company. So both William Paterson's brothers served their country in the army, while he served it with brain and pen. Thomas survived until about 1822, and is declared to have been "quite a genius in his way."³ ("Address on William Paterson," by the late Judge Paterson, p.25).

³Of one sister of Paterson, not named in any record I have seen, there seems to be no definite trace, but as to Frances, "born at sea," September 3, 1747, we are told she married, in 1768, a Mr. Irwin, who had a son, a physician, but traces of descendents are lost. Judge William Paterson says Richard "appears to have had five children," two daughters and three sons, which implies uncertainty as to the full number. "Thomas and Edward," he states, "left no descendents." ("Address," p.25. See also Mill's "Glimpses," p.57).

Dr. Thompson, in his article, also gives entire a petition in Paterson's handwriting to the Conferentie of the Dutch church asking for English preaching as well as Dutch. It is undated, but he thought it was referable to a period prior to or about 1776. While near South Branch, Paterson, very likely, attended the Dutch church at Readington, where Rev. Dr. John Hardenberg, who was pastor of three churches at the time, Raritan, Bedminster and North Branch (Readington) preached in regular turn. There was no Presbyterian church nearer than Bound Brook. The concluding portion of this petition is characteristic of Paterson's style and courtesy in argument:

"We acknowledge that there are in these parts a number who are but little versed in the English language; for such let the Minister preach at times in the language they best understand. We look upon it as unchristian to prevent such, were it in our power, from hearing the word of God in their native tongue. He who regards his own salvation will regard also the salvation of his fellow-men; this naturally arises from that mandate of God which enjoins us to love our neighbors as we love ourselves. We hope that our Brethren of the Dutch party will manifest the same candour, humanity and Christian disposition towards us."

From a record of Governor Paterson, it seems that his mother, Mary, (maiden name unknown), "died Jan. 15, 1772, aged forty-nine, and was buried in the burying-ground of the Presbyterian church at Princeton." (So states Miss Emily King Paterson, a great-granddaughter). This might have had something to do with his leaving New Bromley, but he certainly soon settled in Somerset County.

In 1775 the Revolutionary War broke out, and the public excitement throughout the country following first the Stamp Act (1765), and then the Battle of Lexington (April 19, 1775), was intense. Somerset County, like other New Jersey counties, promptly organized its "Committee of Correspondence" (May 11, 1775), of which Hendrick Fisher, of Bound Brook, was chairman, and Frederick Frelinghuysen, of Millstone, (who then had been practicing law for one year,) was secretary. William Paterson

was no doubt present, for he was appointed one of nine deputies to the Provincial Congress, called to meet at Trenton on May 23. The Somerset resolutions were explicit upon the attitude to be taken respecting hostilities, should they be continued by the British arms:

"Resolved, That the several steps taken by the British Ministry to enslave the American Colonies and especially the late alarming hostilities commenced by the Troops under General Gage against the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, loudly call on the people of this Province to determine what part they will act in this situation of affairs," etc.

"Resolved, That the Deputies for this County be instructed, and they are hereby instructed to join with the Deputies from the other Counties in forming such plan for the Militia of this Province as to them shall seem proper; and we heartily agree to arm and support such a number of men as they shall order to be raised in this County."

Whereupon the deputies appointed were Hendrick Fisher, John Roy, Frederick Frelinghuysen, Enos Kelsey, Peter Schenck, Jonathan D. Sergeant, Nathaniel Airs [Ayres], William Paterson and Abraham Van Nest.

When the Provincial Congress assembled, it was organized wholly by Somerset County officers. Hendrick Fisher became President; Jonathan D. Sergeant, Secretary; Paterson and Frelinghuysen Assistant Secretaries. Six days later Sergeant resigned and Paterson was chosen Secretary and Frelinghuysen Deputy Secretary. Thenceforward, when this Congress met, Paterson continued as Secretary, with a slight break, following the Congress to Trenton, New Brunswick and Burlington, according to where its sessions were held. It was on June 16, 1776, at Burlington, when Paterson voted, with Frelinghuysen, Hardenburgh, Witherspoon and Linn (constituting all the Somerset Deputies)--

"That in the opinion of this Congress the said William Franklin, Esquire [Royal Governor of New Jersey] has discovered himself to be an enemy to the liberties of this country and

that measures ought to be immediately taken for securing the person of the said William Franklin, Esquire."

On Oct. 9, 1775, it was reported to the Congress (when Paterson was again elected Secretary) that "his business and circumstances would by no means admit of his officiating as Secretary," and the reason may be that he was then (so Dr. Messler states in "Magazine of History," Vol. 3, p.429) "Commander of a Regiment of Infantry," but the authority for this does not appear. It does appear, however, in the minutes of the Provincial Congress of February 10, 1776, that he was an "officer in the Somerset battalion of minute men." Hence I conclude that he had enrolled in the local militia as an officer of some rank, but nevertheless, he was persuaded to continue to be an officer of the Congress, and his services never extended to the field.

The minutes of the Provincial Congress do not disclose who made addresses, nor on what topics. This is unfortunate, as without doubt strong arguments were employed for or against measures of state, the adoption of which were of paramount importance to the position New Jersey took in the Revolution. One strong speech by Paterson, in his own handwriting, has been preserved, and will appear, for the first time, in the next number of the Quarterly. Presumably it was delivered before this Congress. In it he declaims against the toleration shown to the Tories and the lamentable consequences to the Whigs from the supineness of those in authority.

At the conclusion of the 1776 Provincial Congress and the adoption of the New Jersey Constitution of that year, the Legislative Council, of which he was a member, appointed Paterson Attorney-General of the state, for a term of five years--the first Attorney-General under the new and independent state government. Evidently he was selected as the man best qualified to carry out the arduous duties of a most difficult and thankless office, as it involved the prosecution, not of ordinary law-breakers alone, but of alleged traitors to the new government, many of whom in Somerset, Hunterdon and Middlesex must have been among his friends, and some of them may have been his clients. But so admirably did he fulfill this duty that he was reappointed

when his first term expired, and he continued to act until 1783, when, the reasons for his holding the office being ended, he resigned.

In Alexander's "Princeton College During the Eighteenth Century" (p.87), it is stated that Paterson "was treasurer of the Province" in 1776. I cannot find that he was appointed to or held that office. He was, however, by virtue of his office as Attorney-General, made a member of the Committee of Safety, which had full charge of war matters when the Provincial Congress was not in session. The duties of this Committee, which had operated somewhat prior to his appointment, were fully set forth by Legislative act in the spring of 1777, and it was given extraordinary executive functions. It was composed of twelve members, of which Governor Livingston was President, and included the Chief Justice as well as Attorney-General. They were to act as a board of justices in criminal matters; to apprehend disaffected persons and commit them to jail without bail and to cause them to be tried in any county in the state; to commit to jail those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, or send them into the enemy's lines, etc. It might call out the militia, and act as a military board. As a war measure this act was a necessity, and it did wonders toward preserving order and putting down the Tories. The minutes of the Committee were republished by the state in 1872, and a perusal of them will show that from Mar 17, 1777, they met in various parts of the state--at Haddonfield, Bordentown, Morristown, Princeton, Trenton, New Germantown, Pittstown, Ringoes, Kingston, etc. The last minute is dated Oct. 8, 1777, at Princeton.

Among the associates on this Committee of Safety was Paterson's old friend of "New Bromley," Col. John Mehelm; a most faithful patriot, whose life should be written by some competent hand. Paterson could only attend when his other official duties permitted, yet it is remarkable at how many sessions he was present in 1777. We know from the court records and otherwise that during this period, but especially in 1778 and '79, how incessant his court duties were. To visit the various county seats, or where the absence of the enemy permitted courts to be held, required long rides on horseback. Letters from him

written at Morristown, at Newark, at The Ponds, at New Brunswick, at Princeton, etc., to the Governor, or to other correspondents, may be found in the "New Jersey Revolutionary Correspondence," published by the state in 1848, in Davies' "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," and elsewhere. They are always to the point, clear and direct, and exhibit the honesty, purity of character and patriotism of the state's chief law officer. One letter written from Raritan, December 4, 1780, to John Stevens, of Hunterdon County, Vice-President of the Council (Senate), printed in the "New Jersey Revolutionary Correspondence" (p.269), will suffice in this connection. The date is a little beyond that to which we have been referring, but it is most appropriate here. Mr. Paterson had been notified of his appointment to the general Congress of the States, and he gives his reasons for declining the appointment:

"Raritan, December 4th, 1780.

"Sir.--

"On my return from Sussex Court I met with your letter, which notified me of my being in the delegation for Congress. The appointment was unexpected, especially as some of the gentlemen of the Legislature were fully possessed of my sentiments on the occasion. From the commencement of this contest I have held myself bound to serve the public in any station in which my fellow-citizens might place me, and it is therefore with regret that I find myself under the necessity of declining the present appointment. I look upon it, however, as an act of justice to myself, as well as of respect to your honorable body, to declare that my non-acceptance of the delegacy is owing to its interference with my official duty in another line. The business of a criminal nature in this state is at present intricate and extensive; it unavoidably occupies the far greater part of my time. I feel its weight, and have more than once been ready to sink under it. Of the business of Congress, its variety, extent and importance I shall forbear to speak. Viewing these offices as I do, I am convinced that no one man can execute them both at the same time; if he can acquit himself well in one of them at once, it is full as much as can reasonably be expected. I am sure I shall count it one of the happiest

circumstances of my life if in the execution of my present trust alone I can give satisfaction to the public under which I act.

"I am, sir, with respect, your ob't and h'bl servant,
"The Honorable Mr. Stevens. Wm. Paterson."

Professor Geyer, in his "History of the Clisosophic Society" of Princeton, speaks of Paterson as "the beau ideal of a minister of Justice." Mr. William Nelson, of Paterson, says that the indictments drawn by Paterson while Attorney-General were remarkable for brevity and clearness. "He [Paterson] seems to have had a wonderful faculty for disregarding precedent and for eliminating needless verbiage, . . . qualities which evince a bold and even audacious courage for a man in the Eighteenth Century." Mr. Nelson has in possession a few law papers of Paterson, and the writer can testify that one of the indictments (for treason) is the most succinct and clever document of the kind he has ever seen. In the space of less than a page of letter-sheet the whole offense is set out with as much distinctness as if it had covered the usual several pages of technical verbiage.

When Mr. Paterson was made Attorney-General he was not quite thirty-one years of age. He already possessed self-poise, and had in him in full measure all the requisites of a sound, discriminating, influential lawyer. If not a great orator he was a most painstaking and learned reasoner. He had studied legal principles deeply; he had a genius for the law, and its practice became at once natural and easy.

Until the winter of 1779 he remained a bachelor, presumably out of choice. Then he married, on Feb. 9th, Cornelia Bell, whose father, John Bell, was a loyalist, which makes the matter seem to us a singular one. Ex-Judge Paterson, the grandson, says that Bell resided at "Bellefield," a plantation "near to" the Wallace house at present Somerville (the same where Washington had his headquarters), but I am unable from his description to identify it. The marriage took place at Union Farm, Lebanon township, Hunterdon county (said to be present Lansdown), at the home of Judge Anthony White, of whom more will be said when we come to note Paterson's second marriage to White's daughter. The Whites were friends of the Bell

family, and the marriage was a private one. It is stated to the writer by Miss Emily King Paterson, of Perth Amboy, a living great-granddaughter of Governor Paterson, that "John Bell, being a Tory, held no communication with his daughter after her marriage to so staunch a patriot." We know little more of Miss Bell, save that she made the union a happy one for the brief four and three-quarter years it lasted--until Nov. 13, 1783, when she died at Paterson's new home in New Brunswick. Miss Bell was about twenty-three years old when he married her, and he thirty-three.

The marriage over, Mr. Paterson looked about for a home for his bride, and, on April 13, 1779, he purchased at public auction the "Raritan plantation," heretofore spoken of, southwest of the present town of Raritan. Dr. Messler thus describes it in the "Magazine of History" (Vol. 3, p.429):

"On the 13th of April, 1779, he purchased an estate, sold as confiscated property, on the north side of the Raritan, consisting of more than 400 acres of excellent land, and opened an office for the practice of his profession."

In his "Centennial History of Somerset County" (pp.65,137) he says (giving no dates):

"He lived for several years on what is called the 'Paterson Farm.' Here he attended to the business of his plantation, and at the same time engaged in the practice of law. In the little office which stood aside from his dwelling and near the roadside he transacted his business and attended to the instruction of several students (to whom he refers later) . . . How many years Governor Paterson lived on the Raritan is not known to the writer."

Again he says (on p.22):

"One of the very best plantations embraced in this third purchase [of land in Somerset, by Indians to Van Quillen], was owned at the opening of the Revolution by a lawyer named Peregrine Lagrange, who, from conviction and choice, took the

part of the British government. As a consequence his property was confiscated and sold at public auction. It was purchased by William Paterson."

The facts are, that there was no "Peregrine Lagrange" in the case; that the farm purchased at this sale did not consist "of more than 400 acres;" that Paterson had "opened an office" years before 1779; and that it is not difficult to ascertain how long Mr. Paterson resided in his new home.

Paterson's grandson, ex-Judge Paterson, is still less explicit in his 1892 "Address" heretofore quoted from, saying:

"During this period [of the War], Mr. Paterson resided at Rariton [spelling it with an o], so-called, not what is known by that name, but descriptive of an indefinite extent of country along the river, then held, mediately or immediately, under proprietors, patents or rights in large farms or plantations."

From which latter description he might have resided at North Branch, or Bound Brook, or for that matter at Pluckemin, or Perth Amboy, as all the country surrounding the Raritan River and its branches was called, "Raritan," or the Raritans."

Advertisements in the "New Jersey Gazette," March 17, 1779, etc., show that the confiscated property was that of the then well-known lawyer, Bernardus Le Grange, (advertised, however, Legrange), whose residence had been at Raritan Landing, opposite New Brunswick, at least as early as 1748. (See "New Jersey Archives," Second Series, Vol. III, p.153). Whether he ever removed to and resided on this property near Raritan does not appear, but he owned it. Being a loyalist he was probably at this time in New York City. The commissioners to sell the estate were Jacob Bergen, of Princeton, Col. Frederick Frelinghuysen of Millstone, and Hendrick Wilson of Neshanic. The deed for the sale to Paterson was duly recorded (Secretary of State's office, Trenton, Deed Book H., p.338), and recites that on June 17, 1778, there was instituted an inquisition against "Barnardus Legrange, late of the Township of Bridgewater, in the said county, for offending against the form of his allegiance to the said State of New Jersey;" that judgment final

was obtained against him at the January term, 1779, in the Court of Common Pleas held at Hillsboro (Millstone); and that on April 13, 1779, William Paterson of Bridgewater purchased the estate for 12,324.8s, (Continental money value of course), the amount of the purchase being for the use of the state. The land is described as "bounded on the north by the Raritan river, corner of Joshua Wallace's land; thence runs northwest to the line of William Lane; thence northeast to the line of David Clarkson on the bank of the Raritan; thence along river to beginning, containing 352 acres and 17 perches of land."

Subsequently Paterson seems to have increased his acreage, as will appear later. This confiscated property included the farms recently in the possession of Alexander H. Brokaw and Henry S. Long (both now deceased), and the house stood, it is said, where Mr. Brokaw's late residence stands, but was pulled down some years ago when a new house was built.

So we find William Paterson taking his bride to a stone house on the broad acres that were on the north banks of the Raritan, in the very darkest days of the War, and when he was most busy with his official duties. But the honeymoon enjoyed must have been exceedingly brief, for the Attorney-General was soon elsewhere attending to his court duties with usual vigor, and writing letters exhibiting his regret that he was obliged to be away so much from his wife and home.

We now reach a period when, because of his reputation, students began to apply to be taken into Mr. Paterson's office, or at least to make recitations to him at stated times; and the known roll of these students, although not a perfect one by any means, gives us glimpses of some young men whose names afterward became as prominent as his own, and one of whom became Vice-President of the United States. The names and particulars of this honored roll must await the continuation of this article.

II

While I have not found a record of more than one student-at-law enrolling with William Paterson prior to about 1780, it is most probable that there were several to whom he administered the drug of Coke and tonic of Blackstone at an earlier date. He was appointed Attorney-General in 1776, and at once gained a State-wide reputation for learning in the law and for assiduity in practice. True, it took him away from home a great deal of his time, and his responsibilities never lessened while he held the office, but as students were not scarce during the last two years of its incumbency, I must suppose that at least from 1777 until 1780 he had students, although tradition names but one -- the first on the list given below.

It must be borne in mind that law students were not then drawn necessarily from the vicinage, but from as far points as the reputation of the preceptor extended. Naturally, however, as a Princeton graduate, Paterson mostly drew to himself Princeton men. He was an honor to the college, and I doubt not the small staff of professors of "Old Nassau" strongly recommended him as a preceptor whenever they were consulted, because they knew of his peculiar legal training and of his fitness to teach young "limbs of the law."

In any mention made by other writers of Paterson's known students, only names have been given. Such mention has not been free of errors because based on tradition in large part. Dr. Messler, who has been more specific about the matter than others, says, in referring to the Paterson house at Raritan, that it was --

"Where Aaron Burr, Gen. Morton of New York and John Young Noell studied law, and probably also Frederick Frelinghuysen, Andrew Kirkpatrick and George M. Troup, Gov. of Georgia." (Centennial Hist. of Somerset Co., p. 137).

This is a cautious statement, and may be quite correct except as to Governor George M. Troup, who, by some inadvertance, has been named in place of Col. Robert Troup, to be mentioned later.

The writer has investigated the subject of Paterson's students so far as to make up the following list, which is probably correct, as far as it goes. It is certainly a distinguished list. The order stated is not necessarily the order in which the persons named entered Paterson's office:

1. General Frederick Frelinghuysen.
2. Captain (Professor) William Churchill Houston.
3. John Young Noell, Esq.
4. Colonel Robert Troup.
5. Colonel and Vice-President Aaron Burr.
6. Mr. Gales.
7. General Jacob Morton.
8. Chief-Justice Andrew Kirkpatrick.

As previously stated, I doubt not there were others, perhaps some who never pursued their studies to a conclusion. Now let us consider the roll in the above order:

1. General Frederick Frelinghuysen. It is to be noticed that Dr. Messler says of him that he "probably" studied with Paterson. The memorial volume of the Frelinghuysen family, by the late Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D. D., makes no mention of General Frelinghuysen's legal preceptor. It seems certain that he studied either with Stockton or Paterson, or both. He resided at Millstone, six miles from Paterson's office at or near South Branch, and about ten miles from Stockton's office at Princeton. Messler connects Frelinghuysen's student's days with the Paterson house at Raritan, but this is clearly an inadvertance. Frelinghuysen was admitted to the Bar in 1774 and Paterson did not go to the Raritan house until 1779. (See July Quarterly, p. 171). The most natural, and I think only feasible thing for Frelinghuysen was to have begun his studies with Stockton, because, in 1769, when such studies would have been begun under the five-year rule, he was a student in Princeton in his senior year, and Paterson was at "New Bromley," which Paterson says was "about thirty" miles away (although really not over twenty-five). Stockton's office was at hand. (Chambers says Paterson began the study of the law in 1770). But in 1772, when Paterson removed to Somerset county, it is conceivable that Frelinghuysen changed his pre-

ceptor, as Stockton was then a member of the Legislative Council and had an extensive practice, and might have been considered too busy to give students attention. Paterson had considerable leisure, and his new office at South Branch was much nearer to Millstone than was Stockton's. Their subsequent close friendship as patriots and as lawyers points toward the conclusion that Frelinghuysen and Paterson were intimately related in some way before the war broke out, and yet I consider the facts to be conjectural only. The actual proofs are wanting.

General Frederick Frelinghuysen's memory will always remain green in Somerset county, both from his own high character and the distinguished family of his name preceding and descending from him. His life has been recorded too often to require now more than the briefest statement of its leading facts and dates. He was born at Three-Mile Run, this County, April 13, 1753, his father being the Rev. John Frelinghuysen, and his grandfather the more famous Rev. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, both pastors of the oldest Reformed Dutch churches of Somerset. Frederick was also designed for the ministry, but preferred the Bar. He graduated at Princeton in 1770; as stated took his legal parchment in 1774, and opened an office at his home in Millstone. He was chosen a member of the Provincial Congress in 1775 and 1776; of the Continental Congress in 1778 and again in 1782; and was a member of the State Legislature in 1784, 1791, and from 1800-'03. In 1793 he was elected United States Senator, resigning in 1796. He served in the Revolution as Major, Captain and Colonel from Feb. 15, 1776, to Feb. 28, 1777, when he resigned because of his official duties. After the War he became a Major-General. He died Apr. 13, 1804, in his fifty-second year, and is buried near Millstone in the family burying-ground.

2. Professor William Churchill Houston. Some sketch of Houston, on which I cannot now place my hand, states that Paterson was his legal preceptor. That he was not actually in Paterson's office as a student, though perhaps enrolled with him, must be evident from the facts. Houston was born in North Carolina in 1744, and graduated from Princeton in 1768. He was, therefore, one year older than Paterson, but graduated at college five years later than Paterson. Becoming next year (1769)

tutor in the college, after two years (1771), he became Professor of Mathematics and Classical Philosophy in the same institution, and so continued until 1783. When the war broke out, he took command of a scouting party in Hunterdon and Somerset, and so obtained the title of Captain. Determining toward the end of the war to study law, he must then have enrolled with Paterson if at all, and because they were close friends. Yet Princeton records show he continued his duties there as Professor, and, although admitted to the Bar at the April Term, 1781, and removing to Trenton to practice, he did not resign at the college until two years later. He was also made Clerk of the New Jersey Supreme Court from 1781 to 1788, and Receiver of Continental Taxes in 1782-'85. As if all these duties were insufficient to keep him busy, his patriotic services, which had included membership in the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, comprised also membership in the Continental Congress, 1779-'82 and 1784-'5. In all these capacities he gained a high reputation as a scholar and statesman, and probably overworked himself so that his death was early. He died at Frankfort, Pa., where he had gone when out of health, August 12, 1788.

3. John Young Noell. That Noell studied with Paterson is proven by the letters of Col. Troup, who spelled his name "Noel" (see *infra*). Few facts concerning him are known to the writer. He graduated from Princeton in the class of 1777, and in 1780 we find him at Raritan in Paterson's office. We do not know where he finished his course, but he was admitted to the Bar in April, 1783 (two years after Paterson removed to New Brunswick), and in 1786 was made counselor. Where he first practised does not appear, but on securing his counselor's license he removed to Georgia, and there became "one of the most eminent lawyers of the south." Many distinguished Georgians studied law with him. He died at Augusta, date not ascertained. (See Alexander's "Princeton College in the Eighteenth Century," p. 201, where name is also spelled "Noel").

4. Colonel Robert Troup. While Dr. Messler confounds him with Governor George M. Troup, of Georgia, we know the contrary; in fact the latter was not born until 1780. Colonel Robert Troup, however, was born in 1757, probably in New York City. He graduated at Columbia College in 1774, and the next year

entered the Continental army, being commissioned Second Lieutenant of the First Regiment, New York Militia Volunteer Infantry. In 1777 he became Captain-Lieutenant in the Second Regiment, Continental Corps Artillery; the same year was Major and aide to Major-General Gates; also Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Master-General. From 1778-'9 he served as Secretary of the Board of War. He was always known afterward as "Colonel" Troup. Why he gave up arms when he did and determined to become a lawyer does not appear, but his close intimacy with Colonel Aaron Burr began at about this latter date (1779-'80), when the two corresponded most frequently, as appears from Davis' "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," to be now quoted from. Troup and Burr were of nearly the same age, and were like brothers. They had seen much of each other in the army, and after Burr retired from that (in 1779) and decided to resume his interrupted study of law, Troup and he proposed they enter the same office. Burr, as will be seen, wanted to study with Paterson; Troup, however, gave his preference to Stockton, at Princeton, and entered his office. On Feb. 29, 1780, Troup wrote to Burr:

"I did not forget Mr. Paterson when I gave the preference to Mr. Stockton. . . . But he is immersed in such an ocean of business that I imagined it would be out of his power to bestow all the time and pains on our improvement we would wish. Besides, I was afraid of being more confined to the drudgery of copying in his office than I ought. This is inseparable from an office in which there is a good deal done, however well disposed a lawyer may be to promote the interest of his clerk. You observe that his present office expires next summer. I grant it. Yet he may be chosen Attorney-General again: and this I believe will be the case, for there is not a man of sufficient abilities in the state, except him and Morris, to whom the people would give the office. . . . I will venture to predict that Paterson will be continued though against his inclination." (Davis' "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," p. 195).

Nevertheless Troup, after a few months' study with Stockton, went into Paterson's office between February and July, for reasons not clearly set forth in his correspondence with Burr, but

probably in part because he could have Burr with him, as the latter was willing to go to Paterson's office and not to Stockton's. On July 18, 1780, Troup writes to Burr, this time from Raritan, and says:

"I am charmed with my present situation in every respect. It could not be more agreeable to my wishes. I shall have reason to thank you, as long as I live, for my change. The man I lodge with (name not stated) is an able farmer--has a large house--is fond of me, and is possessed with everything a reasonable person could expect or wish for. There is an agreeable neighborhood in this part of the country, and, when I choose, I can unbend myself in very genteel company. . . . Paterson is the very man we want. He is sensible, friendly, and, as far as I am capable of judging, profound in the law. He is to examine me on Saturday or Monday on what I read, and I am preparing accordingly. I have heard him examine Noel yesterday on the practice, and I find his examinations are critical. In a couple of months I expect to be as far advanced in the practice as Noel. I cannot bear that he should be before me." (Ibid, p. 208).

On Oct. 23, of the same year, Troup wrote to Burr, from Morristown:

"Paterson really loves you with the tenderest affection, and can scarcely speak of your state of health without shedding a friendly tear. . . . Paterson treats me as a bosom friend. He has gone so far as to press me in the warmest terms to command his purse." (Ibid, p. 214).

It was near this time that Colonel Burr also entered Paterson's office for about six months, but how long Troup remained there does not appear. He must have left about the time Burr did, and went to New York City, as he was there admitted to the Bar and became one of the leading and ablest lawyers of that city. Frequent casual references to Troup in various works concerning the New York Bar show that he was as intimate with Alexander Hamilton (he and Hamilton were both born the

same year) as with Colonel Burr; that he and Hamilton tried many causes together or as opposing counsel, and all accounts intimate that he ranked high. He was elected to the State Assembly in 1786. On Dec. 10, 1796, he was appointed Judge of the United States District Court. From 1811 until 1817 he was a trustee of Columbia College, and in 1824 was made Regent. He died in 1832, aged seventy-five years, and never ceased his friendship for either Paterson or Burr during their lives. I doubt not that a full account of Troup's life, could it be written, would prove of much more than ordinary interest.

5. Colonel Aaron Burr. Burr's biography is too well known to need repetition here; his curious army and political life and trial for treason fill many a page in our national histories. Burr was born at Newark, New Jersey, February 6, 1756, being the son of Rev. Aaron Burr, who was President of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) from 1747 to 1757. During the most of the latter's administration the College was established at Newark, and it was there when young Aaron was born. When only thirteen years of age (in 1769) he entered Princeton, being of precocious mind, and even then is said to have been fitted to enter the Junior class. But he was obliged to enter as Sophomore "owing to his extreme youth and smallness of stature." When not quite sixteen (in 1772) he and Paterson, who was then twenty-six, began a correspondence that was kept up more or less during Paterson's life. Perhaps it was founded in the first place on Paterson's regard for Burr's only sister, because as early as 1768, Paterson wrote to a friend: "Miss Burr is such a charming creature that she deserves a whole page," but I can rather believe it was because of Burr's unusual mentality and prospects. At this time Paterson was a student in Stockton's office at Princeton. The fact that subsequently this same Miss Burr was married to Tappan Reeve, one of Paterson's devoted college friends, may have served still further to increase Paterson's interest in the small Burr family.

The early letters of Paterson to Burr exhibit the same frankness and affection that continued to exist long afterward. Some of them are published in the Davis' "Memoirs" previously referred to, and show that, while Paterson was at "New Bromley," he could not forget the young student in the classic shades of

Nassau, and that Paterson was glad to give him sound advice upon his oratory, etc. Paterson even seems to have written speeches for Burr, that in later years were published as Burr's college addresses. (See the "Memoirs," pp. 28-36; and cf. art. in "N. J. Law Journal," Vol. 20, p. 166.) Says Davis in writing of this period: "To be thus early in life honored with the respect and esteem of such a man as Judge Paterson was highly flattering." ("Memoirs," p. 36). It is unnecessary to quote from these early letters, as many of them appear in the volume to which frequent reference is now made.

When locating at Raritan, in 1779, Paterson wrote to Burr (dating his letter, however, at "The Ponds" in Bergen county):

"I am married, Burr, and happy. May you be equally so. I cannot form a higher or a better wish." ("Memoirs," p. 170).

In the same letter it is shown that the Mrs. Provost, whom Burr married later, Paterson knew, and knew that Burr expected to marry her; and he intimates that Burr left the army (Mar. 10, 1779) as much because of his desire to be near her as for any other reason! During the same year, on Sept. 29th, Paterson again writes:

"I am, my dear Burr, one of the happiest of men. The office I hold calls me too frequently, and detains me too long from home; otherwise I should enjoy happiness as full and high as this world can afford. It is, as you express it, 'serene, rural, sentimental.'" (Ibid, p. 188).

The correspondence is always close, intimate, delightful. Burr reciprocated Paterson's attachment, but, unfortunately, few letters of Burr to Paterson exist, or, if they do, they have not been published.

Two more letters from Paterson should be quoted from, for they exhibit in clear light the friendship of the two men just before Burr entered Paterson's office, and also how Paterson had now increased activities. His office pressed sorely upon him; he was overworked and over-wrought as the State's chief legal officer in this the darkest period of the War, and he

longed for his home comforts and family. Both letters were written from Morristown, where Paterson was engaged at court, and were dated only a few days apart. Under date of Aug. 27, 1780, Paterson writes Burr:

"I am from home as usual. My official duty obliges me to be so. I grow quite uneasy under it, and I find ease and retirement necessary for the sake of my constitution, which has been somewhat broken in upon by attention to business. The business has been too much for me. I have always been fond of solitude, and, as it were, of stealing along through life. I am now sufficiently fond of domestic life. I have every reason to be so. Indeed, I know no happiness but at home." (Ibid, p. 211).

And on August 31, 1780, Paterson again wrote:

"It is now near the midnight hour, and yet, late as it is, I could not acquit myself to my conscience if I had not again written you before I left this place, [Morristown], which will be early tomorrow. My life is quite in the militant style--one continual scene of warfare. . . . I rejoice when the hour of rest comes up, and sicken at the approach of day. Business fairly bears me down. The truth is, I am tired of writing, tired of reading, tired of bustling in a crowd, and by fits heartily tired of myself. Since I have been at this place, I have had a letter from Mrs. Paterson, who is well. Our little girl, who was indisposed when I left home, is not worse. I flatter myself I shall find her better when I return. Alas, that I cannot be more at home. A husband and parent have a thousand tendernesses that you know nothing of." (Ibid, p. 211).

Burr, following Colonel Troup, came to Raritan and took up his law studies (which he had begun in 1774 with his brother-in-law, Judge Reeve, but had abandoned for the army) with Paterson "in the autumn of 1780." (Ibid, p. 218). The two must have been more as brothers than as preceptor and student. But he remained there only about six months, leaving "in the spring of 1781" for Haverstraw, N. Y., to continue his studies with Thomas Smith, brother to Attorney-General Smith of New York, and the

reason is thus given by Davis:

"The Judge was a man governed by fixed and settled rules. In the application of these rules Colonel Burr found that his study of the law would require much more time to prepare him for an examination than he was ready to devote. He concluded that there must be a shorter mode to get at the mechanical or practical part; and, having determined to make the experiment, he left the office of Judge Paterson." (Ibid, p. 218)

James Parton in his "Life of Aaron Burr" (Vol. I, p. 131), thus states the reason:

"Judge Paterson was a thorough lawyer, and desired to make his pupils such by grounding them well in the principles of the law, and not till afterward instructing them in the practice. Burr desired to reverse this order and acquire the practice first. There were reasons why he wished to hurry into the practice of his profession: he was in love; his purse needed replenishing, or would soon need it; and it was certain that if the independence of the Colonies were secured, of which there seemed little doubt, Whig lawyers would monopolize the business of the profession and the offices to which the profession leads."

Where Colonel Burr boarded at Raritan, is unknown, even by tradition. It probably was at the same "large house" of "an able farmer" where Colonel Troup had located, but while one might hazard a conjecture on that point it would be conjecture only.

The story that at Paterson's, at Raritan, Colonel Alexander Hamilton first met Colonel Burr and became intimate, to result years afterward in the unhappy duel, has been printed in newspapers, but is without foundation. On the contrary it is stated by Shea, in his well-known "Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton," (p. 401), that Hamilton first met Burr in the Fall of 1776, while both were serving under Washington in the State of New York, and from the first there was no personal liking of either for the other. The authority given by Shea meets all the probabilities of the case; it could scarcely have been other-

wise, for Washington was then intimate with both these officers.

Burr concluded his studies at Albany and was admitted to the Bar there Jan. 19, 1782, or only about nine months after he left Paterson's office. He was married to the Mrs. Provost, before mentioned, on July 2, of the same year, at Paramus, N. J., where she resided and had dispensed liberal hospitality.

In the work of Davis from which I have quoted, he thus remarks upon the continuation of the close friendship of Paterson and Colonel Troup for Aaron Burr even long after Burr became of national repute:

"The letters of Judge Paterson and Colonel Troup [to Burr] afford the best evidence of . . . their affectionate devotion to him as friends. . . . They present rare and extraordinary examples of fidelity and friendship. Both these gentlemen preceded Colonel Burr to the tomb. Both continued to respect, to esteem and to love him to their last hour. . . . [But] both these distinguished citizens, as politicians, were opposed to Colonel Burr from the year 1788 until the close of their lives." ("Memoirs," p. 218).

It was probably fortunate for Paterson's peace of mind that he did not live to see Aaron Burr tried for treason.

6. A Mr. Gales. He evidently did not finish his studies. All one can now say of him is what is embraced in a letter of Colonel Troup to Burr, dated at Morristown, Oct. 23, 1780: "The horse will be delivered to you without a saddle. Gales, a young fellow who was studying with Paterson, requested me to lend it to him to ride as far as Newark last August, and he ran off to New York, and I never could get the saddle again." (Davis' "Memoirs," p. 216).

7. General Jacob Morton. Dr. Messler is not the only authority in this case, as it is stated by an authority to be named later that General Morton studied law with Paterson.

Morton was a New Yorker, born about 1761, who was driven like many others from New York City by the War of the Revolution and its occupancy by the British. As he was admitted to the New Jersey Bar at the September term, 1782, he may have been a student of Paterson at Raritan, or he may have been

such only at New Brunswick. The facts as to that matter are not stated. Soon after his admission as attorney he removed to New York City, where he became prominent, and at the same time, as early as 1786, became an officer in the militia. In 1797, when Governor Jay selected some prominent young lawyers to be members of a "Court of Justices of the Peace," a new court established by the Legislature, Morton was one of the appointees. Previous to this, in 1791, he is recorded as a trustee of the American Museum, the forerunner of the New York Historical Society. On December 31, 1799, he was one of a committee of five to arrange for a funeral procession in honor of General Washington. In that year he was one of thirty citizens of the city "esteemed for their wealth." In 1803 he was city alderman. From 1807 to 1808 he was city comptroller and in 1809 was chosen clerk of the Common Council, which position he held for twenty-six years. In 1812 he commanded the artillery for the defense of the city, and for many years Morton's Brigade of Artillery "was the pride of the New York Militia and the favorite of the public." He became a Division Commander in 1815. In 1824 he served when General Lafayette was welcomed. His residence was at 9 State Street. He died suddenly December 3, 1836, of apoplexy, in his 76th year, and then had long been known as "Major-General Morton." Obituary resolutions of Council declared a "high regard" for his memory "as an officer of talent, integrity and usefulness and as a citizen of virtue, patriotism and benevolence." In an "order" of the New York State Society of Cincinnati, of which he was a member, published in the New York "Evening Post" of Dec. 5, 1836, it is there stated that he had "studied law with the late Judge Paterson of New Jersey." He did not return to the practice of his profession after the War of 1812. (See Valentine's "Manual," 1860, p. 10; "Memorial Hist. of N. Y.," pp. 76, etc.; Guernsey's "Hist. of War of 1812." For these references I am under obligations to Mr. William Nelson, of Paterson, who also gave me some of the facts concerning Colonel Troup's history after he left Paterson's office).

8. Chief Justice Andrew Kirkpatrick. Dr. Messler states that he "probably" studied with Paterson. In Alexander's "Princeton College in the Eighteenth Century" (p. 186) it is

positively stated that he "completed his legal studies in the office of Judge Paterson." Kirkpatrick was born near Liberty Corner, Somerset County, Feb. 17, 1756, and was of Scotch ancestry. He graduated at Princeton in 1775, and began to study for the ministry, but soon turned to the law to the disappointment of his father. Possibly he then enrolled with Paterson, but all accounts agree that, being thrown by his parents on his own resources, after his decision to study law, he soon went to Virginia and taught school; then taught at Kingston, N. Y., and then in Rutgers's Grammar School at New Brunswick. He was admitted to the New Jersey Bar in September, 1785; so I judge all his real studies under Paterson were at New Brunswick, from 1783-'85. He practised at New Brunswick 1785-1803, and was then appointed Chief Justice of the State, a position he held for twenty-seven years. His residence was across the street from the present residence of Dr. Austin Scott. Judge Elmer, who practised under him, said that he "was a learned, and, in the law of real estate, a profoundly learned lawyer; a complete master of the obstruse learning of Coke and the black letter reporters." Paterson being his legal preceptor, we can readily see from where the Chief Justice obtained his enthusiasm for the groundwork principles of the law. He died at New Brunswick, Jan. 7, 1831. (Cf. in this connection Messler's "Centennial History," p. 136; "Andrew Kirkpatrick," by Gen. James Grant Wilson, in Vol. II of "Proceedings N. J. His. Soc.," pp. 82, 83; Elmer's "Reminiscences," p. 307).

This closes the known and partially-known list of Paterson's students. No doubt there were others.

The preserved Quarter Sessions Minutes of Somerset begin with the January Term, 1778, and are interesting as showing the Attorney-General's activities in this County in criminal matters, until his resignation in 1783. Some of the cases there noted may be the subject of a separate article at another time.

In April, 1783, the Revolutionary War definitely ended by the United States Congress ratifying a Treaty of Peace. Then Attorney-General Paterson decided to resign his position, although he had three more years to serve. He considered his laborious work for the State finished, and we can believe he

turned over his office to his successor, Joseph Bloomfield, afterward Governor, with alacrity and pleasure. He desired more time to devote to his family, and wished to resume the quieter occupation of a private practice.

It may be noted that in the meantime several important domestic events had occurred at his Raritan home. In April, 1779, about two months after Paterson's marriage, and as soon as Paterson secured the Raritan plantation as a permanent home, his father, Richard, sold his property at Princeton and went to live with his son. The deed for the Princeton property, then of nearly 49 acres, was to "James Moor of Princeton," (as stated in the July Quarterly, p. 164). He lived there only a little over two years, and then died, a family record of him containing this memorandum:

"Richard Paterson departed this life at Raritan, in the Township of Bridgewater, County of Somerset, on Sunday, the 5th of August, 1781, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and was interred the day following in the burying-ground on the farm belonging to William Paterson, at Raritan."

In (or about) May, 1780, his only daughter, Cornelia, was born at Raritan. The fondness of the parental heart for this first child was made evident by many allusions to her in his various letters to Burr. Dr. Messler states ("Centennial Hist. of Somerset," pp. 22, 23) that she was not only born, but "grew up to early girlhood" in the "stone house" of her father at Raritan, but the date of Paterson's removal to New Brunswick prevents our accepting that as fact. He also states that after the death of her husband she intended to purchase the Raritan homestead and make it her residence, "but her own death prevented the consummation of the plan," and this is likely under all the circumstances. Cornelia married, in May, 1802, Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, the noted "last of the Patroons" of Albany, whose first wife had been Margaret, daughter of Gen. Philip Schuyler, of Revolutionary fame, and sister to the wife of Alexander Hamilton. The Van Rensselaer family was one of the most distinguished in the State of New York, and this Stephen (who graduated at Princeton in 1782) its best

known and most useful exemplar, being a man of wealth, position and commanding influence. The match was clearly one that gave great pleasure to Judge Paterson--the latter being then on the United States Supreme Court Bench. Mr. Van Renssalaer died Jan. 26, 1839, and Cornelia, who was sixteen years his junior, died in New York City, August, 1844.

In 1781, when Rev. Jacob R. Hardenbergh finished his nineteen years' pastorate at the then collegiate churches of Somerville, Bedminster, and North Branch, he removed to New York State. Having large real estate possessions near Raritan, he entrusted William Paterson, Elias Boudinot and Col. Frederick Frelinghuysen with a deed of trust of his farm of 348 acres "along the Raritan, near Somerville," adjoining lands of Jeronemis Van Nest, Philip Tunison, John Wallace and other lands of Hardenbergh, to be maintained for Ann, his wife, and his son John, with conditions as to reconveyance. (Trenton Deeds, Book A.K., p. 685). This deed recites a complete chain of title to the property back to a patent of the Proprietors, Feb. 8, 1683. The reconveyance was made August 13, 1798. (Ibid, Book A.T., p. 345.)

In the summer of 1783 Mr. Paterson moved to New Brunswick, because of "domestic relations," whatever that may mean. (See Judge William Paterson's "Address on the Life, etc., of William Paterson", p. 18). There he at first resided in a house near that of Dr. Moses Scott, perhaps opposite, and, it would seem, in Albany street. In 1791, however, the year he became Governor of the State, he purchased a lot of about 108 feet frontage on Burnet street, south side of Commerce Square, and built on the northwest corner a mansion afterward known as "the Governor's House," whose stone front measured about 67 feet. The lot extended back to the Raritan river, perhaps averaging about 350 feet in depth. A portion of this property was sold by the estate, in 1813, to Abram De Graw, but the main part, including the mansion, continued to be owned by the Paterson heirs until 1847, when it was sold to John D. Clark. Then the mansion was torn down and the stone was used for part of the foundations of the present "Paterson Block," now represented by three stores, one owned by Mr. William Rowland, (who purchased it in 1852 and has occupied it as a store ever since), and the other two by the Vliet estate. (Information above from Dr. Austin Scott,

of New Brunswick).

At New Brunswick Paterson practised law, quietly and "lucratively," as we are told, until he was called to assist in the greater work of formulating at Philadelphia the Constitution of the United States, which was the first step toward a National reputation and many honors, the character and importance of which all Jerseymen know. "Paterson street" and "Block" in New Brunswick well commemorate his name there to this day.

Paterson's charming young wife, however, did not live long to enjoy the felicity of her husband's comradeship after he laid off the armor of his state prosecutorship, as she died Nov. 13, 1783, in her twenty-eighth year, four days after the birth of her only son, William Bell Paterson,¹ and was buried in the First Presbyterian churchyard at New Brunswick. Of that church Mr. Paterson was thereafter a constant attendant during the remainder of his life, and of it he was elected in 1784 an "original trustee," upon its incorporation by the Legislature in that year.

¹As stated previously in the text Governor Paterson's daughter, Cornelia (Mrs. Van Rensselaer), was his first and only daughter. She had six sons and three daughters, all but one of whom married and had families. William Bell was the Governor's only son and was born Nov. 9, 1783. He died Apr. 30, 1833; married Jane E. Neilson, of Charleston, S. C.; studied law and was admitted to practice in New Jersey November, 1806; did practice for a while in New York city, and thereafter resided at Morristown and, finally, at Perth Amboy, where he died. He probably practiced little if at all in this State. He had four children, three sons and a daughter. His daughter, Cornelia Bell Paterson, married Mr. J. Lawrence Boggs, of New Brunswick, and died Sept. 12, 1909, at Perth Amboy. Mr. Boggs died May 29, 1892.

William B.'s sons, representing the male line of the Governor, were:

1. Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell Paterson, rector of Episcopal churches at Princeton (1845-'51) and Salem, N. J., and at St. Paul, Minn.; he died Mar. 19, 1876. He married first Alice,

The second marriage of Mr. Paterson occurred about 1785, his bride then being Euphemia White, daughter of the Hon. Anthony White, at whose home at Union Farms, Hunterdon county, Paterson married his first wife, Euphemia being present at that first wedding. Anthony White had, in the meantime, re-

daughter of former President Charles King of Columbia College, by whom he had five daughters, all deceased; and, second, Frances Webb, a niece of Gen. Watson Webb, of New York city, by whom was a son, Capt. William Paterson, of the Coast Artillery, U. S. A., still living and serving the army. He married a Miss Bertha Gillet, of New York, and has one daughter. The second wife of Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell Paterson is still living. A grandson of Rev. Dr. Paterson is the Rev. Harvey Officer, well known in religious matters in the State of New York.

2 and 3. William and Stephen Van Rensselaer Paterson, twin brothers, born May 31, 1815, both of whom graduated at Princeton in 1835. Stephen was a civil engineer at Perth Amboy and, one time, Surveyor-General. He married Emily Sophia King (sister to the wife of his brother Rev. Dr. Andrew B.), but died suddenly in New York city Feb. 24, 1872, without children. He and his brother William published in 1882 a small volume of verse entitled "Poems of Twin Graduates of the College of New Jersey." William, known as "Judge William," lived until Jan. 1, 1899, and also resided at Perth Amboy. He was a lawyer, being admitted to the New Jersey Bar November, 1838. He was a member of the New Jersey Assembly 1842 and '43; Secretary of the Constitutional Convention of 1844; Lay Judge of the Court of Errors and Appeals 1882-'9; and was five times elected Mayor of Perth Amboy. He married Salvadora, sister of General George G. Meade, and left one daughter, Emily King Paterson, who now resides at Perth Amboy. Judge Paterson left, unpublished, a voluminous MSS. biography, now temporarily in the hands of Dr. Austin Scott, of New Brunswick.

It thus appears that Capt. William Paterson of the U. S. Coast Artillery is the only living male descendent of the Governor bearing the Paterson name, and Miss Paterson, of Perth Amboy, the only living female descendent bearing that name.

moved to the city of New Brunswick, where he had lived originally; in fact for many years he had been a native of near that city, in Somerset County, at Raritan Landing, in the house long occupied by Mr. George Metlar and said to have been erected by White in 1740. For many years he was a Judge of the Somerset courts. (For an extended account of Judge White, see "N. J. Archives," Second Series, Vol. III, n. 11, note).

In this connection, while anticipating the time record, it may be noted that Euphemia outlived Governor Paterson some twenty-six years, and died, without issue or remarriage, at New Brunswick Jan. 29, 1832, in her 86th year. She is also buried in the First Presbyterian churchyard there, by the side of Paterson's first wife, Cornelia Bell.

It is an interesting fact that the Paterson homestead at Raritan was not sold by him during his lifetime, nor by his estate until thirty-four years after his death, which occurred Sept. 9, 1806. Then, on April 1, 1840, for the consideration of \$9,000, it was conveyed by his heirs as follows: about 290 acres to Peter B. Lowe and Daniel Kinney, and about 159 acres to Peter B. Lowe. The total of this acreage being close to 450 acres, it would appear that either Paterson or his estate added to the original purchase of 1779. (See Somerset Co. Deeds, Book W., pp. 297, 298). Paterson also owned 175 acres in Hunterdon county, "in possession of Van Kirch," at the time of his death (as appears by his will), and perhaps 63 acres in Bernards township, Somerset, as one of the conveyances shows, as well as his house in New Brunswick and some other real estate.

This practically concludes all I have intended to write of the life of Governor Paterson, embracing almost strictly his earlier years. The more widely known events of his subsequent career, as statesman, executive and jurist, are well known, and, if treated in the Quarterly, should properly be prepared by another hand. His life-history after 1786 is quite as much the property of the Nation as of the State. His patriotic conduct in the capacities of member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, of United States Senator 1789-'90, of Governor of the State 1791-1792, of Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court 1793-1806, and of reviser of the New Jersey statutes in 1799, will bear careful study, and can awaken no other than

profound feelings of satisfaction that New Jersey had, in its formative period as a State, one among its citizens whose solidity of learning, cogency of reasoning, assiduity as a worker for the common weal and high probity were such as Governor Paterson possessed to a remarkable degree.

Note.--Since the publication in the July Quarterly of part of the foregoing article, in which the writer stated that "New Bromley," in Hunterdon county, the place where Governor Paterson first opened an office for the practice of law, and which, after it lost its name, became "Stillwell's Mills," was to be identified with "Hall's Mills," midway between New Germantown and Whitehouse, that statement of the location of "Stillwell's" has been challenged, and it would seem, successfully. As the whole matter of the location of "New Bromley" hinged upon where "Stillwells," was, and as investigations by the writer indicated no other place than "Hall's Mills," it was accepted as the fact. Various persons had been interviewed on the subject, and there had also been a previous publication or two to that effect.

"Kennedy's Mills," (at present Reger's Mills") located about a mile south of "Hall's Mills," is now shown to have previously been "Stillwell's." It is true both are in a sense in the same general neighborhood, but the difference is great as to the history and surroundings of the two places. Thomas Jefferson Kennedy, who came there upward of seventy years ago from Warren county, purchased the mills of a Mr. Stillwell, so that the "Stillwell" name then ceased, although it must have been perfectly well known to the late Dr. Messler, who was born in 1800 in the immediate neighborhood and was brought up there, and who positively stated that "Stillwell's" was "New Bromley." The Mr. Kennedy named, and then his brother, owned the mills for a long period; and indeed, the writer well remembers the spot as "Kennedy's Mills." During the Revolutionary period and in the early part of the last century there was not only a grist mill there, but a fulling mill, a store, a blacksmith shop and several houses. It was clearly intended to be a business centre, which began to fade as such after 1810, when the turnpike road from New Brunswick to Easton was straight-

tened, and "New Bromley" was left out in the cold; but even before then it had lost its name. The sites of some of these former buildings, especially of the fulling mill, are still to be seen. The old Kennedy house, which is yet there, was built by the former owner, Stillwell, about 1830. Of the Revolutionary buildings probably nothing remains, except some foundation stones.

Our informant as to the above is, in the first place, Miss Annie E. Melick, now of Millstone, a granddaughter of the second Kennedy owner above named. She remembers well the facts as related to her by her parents and other members of the family, and that Stillwells from the West used to visit the place "to see their old home." Her parents also remembered that the oldest of these visiting Stillwells used to speak of "the Colonel" (doubtless Colonel Mehelm), as residing on the property and as having been "a distinguished man in the Revolution." A second informant is the aged aunt of Miss Melick, Miss Margaret R. Kennedy, who now resides on the same property (which has never gone out of the family), and who writes under date of September 20, 1912:

"My father's brother, Thomas Jefferson Kennedy, came here to live in 1841. I presume he bought the property in 1840. He bought it at public sale. Mr. Nicholas Stillwell had had possession of the property and rebuilt the house on the old foundation. His son-in-law, a Washington Skillman, purchased it of him at public sale. He died insolvent. Nicholas Stillwell had owned the mill, store, farm and all, but had failed. I remember seeing the old man when a child. My father, Burnhardt S. Kennedy, brought his family here in 1845. Mr. George Stillwell, one of the two sons of Nicholas, owned and lived on the farm across the road, now Reger's. I remember hearing them say the mill formerly was near (I think above) where the mill dam now is, and that in the time of the French and Indian War the mill was owned by two brothers who struggled to the French. In 1845 and for years afterward every one in this part of the country knew that the Stillwells had owned the mill and the two farms."

The French and Indian War closed in 1763. The mill was built about 1760 by Andrew Leake (if this was the same, as now

seems certain. See July Quarterly, pp. 232, 233).

Miss Melick has also kindly sent to us an interesting letter, written in 1897, by the most painstaking local historian of the region, Dr. John C. Honeyman, then of New Germantown, corroborating the fact that "Hall's Mills" could not have been "Stillwell's." Among other things his letter says:

"Hall's Mills on the Rockaway is a modern institution, having been erected by the late John Hall (whom I well remember), and before his time there were no mills at that place. . . . Old Mrs. Park" [who died many years ago] "told me, in answer to my inquiries about the neighborhood, that no mill or industrial establishment of any kind stood on or near the site of the present Hall's Mills previous to their erection."

Dr. Honeyman also identifies "Stillwell's" with "Kennedy's" Mills. To our mind the latter's statement is of itself sufficient to show that "Hall's Mills" was an improper identification with "New Bromley."

It is a matter of satisfaction to have the question, which has vexed many writers, settled, and to believe that after all, the brave and honored Colonel John Mehelm, and the still more distinguished Governor Paterson, did not locate in the spot previously suggested, but in one which, although not now so flourishing as in the Revolutionary period, has more tangible history, and is situated amid a scene of landscape and river of considerable beauty.