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“PROSPECT NEAR PRINCETON.”

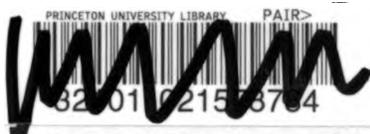
THE erection of the Seventy-Nine Dormitory goes far to complete the transformation of a property which in the last quarter of the eighteenth century became famous through the Middle States as “Prospect near Princeton,” the home of the Indian agent, explorer and scientific farmer, Colonel George Morgan. A single mutilated gravestone, overshadowed by the new dormitory, is all that is now left to give hint of a past of which none need be ashamed; and it seems high time to sketch, though it be but fragmentary, the history of which that stone is a pathetic reminder.

Two hundred and twenty years ago Prospect was a part of the tract of five hundred acres acquired from Robert Barclay, Governor of East Jersey and one of the Proprietors, by a Dr. John Gordon of Colliston, and later of Montrose, in Forfarshire. The records of the transaction are on file in the Secretary of State's office at Trenton.¹ Dr. Gordon, unless all indications are misleading, never saw his property, but gave a power of attorney to his brother Thomas,² a resident of Perth Amboy, and the latter, in 1695 or 1696, sold about four hundred acres of the tract to Richard Stockton, the Quaker, who settled at Princeton in 1696, and whose grandson was the Signer. In 1705 Stockton sold three hundred acres to Benjamin FitzRandolph, as we learn from the deed³ signed in 1734 by FitzRandolph, conveying the property to his son Nathaniel. This Nathaniel, it will be remembered, donated to the College of New Jersey, some twenty years later, the four-and-a-half acre lot on which Nassau Hall was erected, being part of a tract he had purchased from Richard Ridgway, to whom it had been sold

¹ East Jersey Deeds, Liber A, folio 326, and Lib. D, 292.

² E. J. Deeds, Lib. D, 350.

³ E. J. Deeds, Lib. G, 2, p. 65.



by John Horner, who in turn had bought it from the original Dr. Gordon. Sarah FitzRandolph, second of Nathaniel's ten daughters, married Thomas Norris of Princeton, and her father's property appears to have come, by processes not recorded, into her hands and thence into her husband's. In May, 1760, Norris disposed of the property to Jonathan Baldwin¹ of Princeton, and the latter, on April 1, 1779, sold it to Colonel George Morgan.² X

The deeds, so far as known to be of record, thus give the line of ownership, and the late Mr. Hageman, in his *History of Princeton*, follows substantially this lineage. The Morgan family traditions, however, claim that Prospect once belonged to Evan Morgan, Colonel George Morgan's father, from whom it descended to Dr. John Morgan, the colonel's older brother, who in turn gave it to him in trust for John Morgan, Jr., the colonel's son. To this version, which makes the Morgan ownership date from an earlier period than 1779, when the Baldwin-Morgan transfer was signed, two facts lend color. First, an entry in the colonel's journal states that he buried a nephew at Prospect in 1769. Granting that the date is correct, this entry does not necessarily prove Morgan's ownership, for it is generally conceded that more than one family used the Prospect burial-ground at the same time, and this although the Princeton cemetery was in use as early as 1761. The entry, nevertheless, is offered for what it is worth as evidence. The second fact — and it cannot be stated so briefly — is this: Samuel Hazard, the Philadelphia merchant, Princeton trustee, and sometime business partner of Evan Morgan, owned property around the original college lot;³ he died intestate, and in July, 1760, Evan Morgan, by writ of attachment, caused the public sale of a part of his Princeton property to satisfy a claim for some two hundred pounds.⁴ There is nothing of record to show that Evan Morgan ever controlled any other Princeton property; so that if the family tradition is ac-

The property is not mentioned in Dr. John M's will.

¹ E. J. Deeds, Lib. H, 3, p. 331.

² E. J. Deeds, Lib. H, 3, p. 333.

³ See his Letter Book in the University Library.

⁴ The documents are in the Office of the Treasurer of Princeton University.

X according to letter of Mrs Julia M. Singer (Mrs W. Henry Singer) 6706 Penn Avenue Pittsburgh. Sept 29/04 Evan Morgan, father of Geo. M. died in 1748 & hence could not have been the above partner of Hazard.

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cepted as fact, Prospect—or at least a part of what was afterwards the farm thus known—would have been a piece of Hazard land which Evan Morgan seized but did not sell. Evidence is entirely lacking to support the theory that he seized more land than he sold, but the explanation of the family tradition is easy if such a theory be accepted; for since it is known that the Hazard property was contiguous to Prospect, Mr. Baldwin's farm, we have only to believe that the unsold residue of Hazard land seized by Evan Morgan came into George Morgan's hands in the manner asserted by his family, and that he purchased in 1779 the adjoining Baldwin property, Prospect itself, and made one large farm of the two.

× From Colonel Morgan's possession the place passed into that of his son John, and in 1805 the latter disposed of it to John I. Craig, who in 1824 sold it to John Potter. The latter's son, Thomas, tore down the Morgan house and erected the present mansion; and in November, 1878, Prospect, which had shrunk to less than thirty-five acres, was finally deeded to the college by Robert L. and Alexander Stuart.

γ The stone farmhouse which saw so much of historic interest in the eighteenth century was, according to Hageman,¹ erected by Colonel Morgan. Who built its predecessor, occupied by Jonathan Baldwin,² and what became of it, Mr. Hageman does not say. There is nothing in Colonel Morgan's Account-Book³ for the period to indicate that he was building a house on his lately acquired property. And since, from the location of their family graveyard just southeast of the present Carpenter building, it is fairly well established that the FitzRandolphs, Mr. Baldwin's predecessors in the ownership of Prospect, lived on the main street, the supposition is that Mr. Baldwin himself built the house he occupied at Prospect, and that Colonel Morgan substituted the stone house already mentioned. But I am inclined to think that they were one and the same house, although enlarged,

¹ History of Princeton, I., p. 186.

² Hageman, I., p. 74.

³ In the University Library.

perhaps, by the colonel, who had freer tastes and larger ideas of comfort than it was ever granted to Mr. Baldwin to enjoy. The house stood on the site of the modern mansion occupied by the president of Princeton University, and the obvious name “Prospect” dates from at least the Morgan period.

During Mr. Baldwin's occupancy, the history of the place was presumably that of any farm of respectable mediocrity. He was a perfectly worthy individual, a graduate of the Class of 1755, and is said by Alexander¹ to have become steward of King's College, New York, a statement followed by Hageman,² but not verified by the records of Columbia University. Returning to Princeton he served as steward of Nassau Hall from about 1758 to 1773, the most picturesque of the many estimable incumbents of that thankless office. In his endeavor to satisfy aristocratic tastes at plebeian prices, he achieved neither popularity nor success. His efficiency as a steward was the subject of a lively debate in the *New York Journal*, wherein he defended himself with more warmth than elegance.³ And early in 1773, as we learn from Philip Fithian's *Journal*,⁴ his was the image built of unsavory butter that was hung by the neck in the dining-room as a hint from the malcontents of the college refectory.

As a local patriot at the beginning of the Revolution, Mr. Baldwin played a prominent and well-recognized part. In July, 1774, at a meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, he was elected a member of the Committee of Correspondence, and in January, 1775, was appointed a member of the Windsor Committee of Observation and Inspection, which shared in the election of the next Committee of Correspondence, to which also he was appointed. In May of that year he became a member for Middlesex in the Provincial Congress which met at Trenton. During the winter of 1776-77 his was one of the many Princeton homesteads which suffered at the hands of the British. On page 265 of a manuscript

¹ Princeton in the 18th century, p. 34.

² I., p. 74.

³ See issues for January 1, 8, February 12, 19, March 12, and June 4, 1767.

⁴ Pp. 33 and 34.

“Inventory of Damages done by the Enemy to Inhabitants of Middlesex,” and preserved in the State Library at Trenton, is to be found, under the heading “Jonathan Baldwin of Princeton,” the following entry relating to Prospect, the items of which lead one to surmise that the “damages done” were wear and tear due to the quartering of the British troops on the farm premises.

Jonathan Baldwin of Princeton.

In the year	2	Tea Kettles alm ^t new	2.
17-6	2	Iron Pots & 1 kettle	1. 15
	7	Bedsteads & Cords	5. 5
	6	Leather Bottomed Chairs	3. 10
	1	Chest of Drawers damaged to y ^e am ^t of £10	5.
	2	Sets China, 2 Tea Pots & 6 Bowls all China	3. 10
	2	Tables 30/- 2 Flour Casks full Lampblack	6. 10
		100/-	
	7	Empty Hogsheads & Pipes	2. 5
	1	Ditto full of excellent Cyder	1. 10
	10	Gall ^s old Metheglin	1. 10
	10	Gall ^s Cyder Spirits	1. 10
	1	Plough & 1 Harrow	3.
	1	Woodshed 20/- 1 Mare 8 y ^{rs} Old £12	13.
	2	Cows hamstringed damaged to y ^e am ^t of 100/-	5.
	100	Bushels Potatoes	7. 10
	150	D ^o Oats £15. 100 D ^o Corn £15	30.
	22	Tons Hay £55- 8 tons of y ^e best Sort D ^o £24	79.
	2	W. Horse Loads Corn Tops	4.
	400	Bushels Wheat @ 5/-	100.
		Clothing & Dry Goods to the am ^t of £200. }	
		amongst which was 50 piec ^s Ribands }	150. 0. 0
		1 Piece of Damask 2 do of flowered Gause }	
	2000	Pannels of Fence @ 2/-	200.
	300	H. Flax in Sheaf	5.
			<hr/>
			630. 15. 0

Jonathan Baldwin being sworn saith that the above Inventory is Just & true to the best of his Knowledge and belief. That he hath not Received any Satisfaction for any One of the said Articles herein Contained. And that he hath good reason to believe the whole of the said Articles was Taking & Destroyed by the Enemy & their Adherents.

JONATHAN BALDWIN.

Sworn Oct. 15. 1782
before B. Manning, Ap^t

A year later, in December, 1777, the Council of Safety then sitting at Princeton ordered Mr. Baldwin to take

charge of the ball and cartridge supply there stored, and it may safely be assumed that one of the outbuildings of Prospect was used for that purpose. The minutes of the Council for the next few months contain several references to his services in this matter.¹ But his ill-luck as an executive officer at last overtook him, and in June, 1778, he was fined six pounds by the Council for selling sugar without certificate and at a higher rate than was legal, and he was compelled to forfeit the eighty-eight pounds, thirteen shillings and six pence which he had received for it.² Before another year had elapsed he sold his property to Colonel Morgan.

George Morgan was a different type of man from Mr. Baldwin, and when in 1779 Prospect passed into his generous control a change came over the spirit of the place. Comparatively wealthy, he enabled the farm to take on a style and to acquire a reputation it had never before possessed. Under his ownership it became the Morgans' favorite homestead, their headquarters. Six of the colonel's children were born there, and of these five found their last resting-place in the quiet little burial-ground close by the house. Anne, his eldest daughter, was married at Prospect to Thomas Gibbes of Johns Island, South Carolina; two of her children were born at Prospect, and thither she returned in 1798, on the death of her husband, and there she lived until 1801. To Prospect also young John Morgan, the colonel's son and the last of the Princeton Morgans, brought his bride, Margaret ~~DeKay~~, in September, 1794; there two of his children were buried, and there he resided until 1805, when he moved out to Morganza in Pennsylvania.

But see
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Bunyan, dau. of
James Bunyan &
Juliana DeKay.

Colonel Morgan was a man who served his day and generation in a peculiarly active and able way, but whose name has curiously dropped from history, eclipsed by the more brilliant career of his medical brother. The story of his life until his settlement in Princeton, pieced together from its scattered sources,³ reads like a romance of adven-

¹ Minutes of Council of Safety of New Jersey, pp. 178, 182, 192, 195, 211, etc.

² Minutes of Council, p. 257; Hageman, I., p. 75.

³ These sources have been laboriously examined by his great grandson, Colonel James Morris Morgan of Washington, D. C., whose manuscript sketch of his ances-

ture — a romance unfortunately aside from the purpose of this paper; after his coming to Princeton, the story is that of the finer type of American gentlemanhood of the post-Revolutionary period, dignifiedly modest, courteous, and hospitable, and always chivalrous. Although ever obedient to the call of his country, he was fonder far of his home, his books and his bees than of public life; which accounts for the fact that his name has just made its first appearance in a dictionary of American biography.

He describes himself in an old family Bible as "son of Evan, and grandson of David, gentleman of Wales, whose ancestors returned to its mountains rather than be enslaved by William of Normandy, called William the Conqueror." The emigrant grandfather, David, dwelt awhile in America, but he could not resist the weird call of the Welsh hills and he recrossed the Atlantic, leaving behind him on the flyleaf of the family prayerbook this superbly phrased legacy which his children have never disgraced:

"I, David Morgan, Gentleman of Wales, bequeath to my descendants in America, this comfortable certainty; they come neither from Kings nor nobles, but from a long line of brave gentlemen and women with unstained names."

Born at Philadelphia in 1742, George Morgan became in his twenty-first year a member of the mercantile firm of Baynton & Wharton, and yielding not less to the dictates of his heart than to his good business perception, married Mary Baynton, the beautiful fifteen-year-old daughter of the head of the firm, and a direct descendant of Sully, Henry of Navarre's minister. Commercial enterprise led to extended tours in the West, and the familiarity and popularity with the Western Indians that he thus acquired rendered obvious his appointment as Agent for Indian Affairs in April, 1776. In the following January he was commissioned a colonel in the Revolutionary Army, and in November, 1777, he became Deputy Commissary-General of Purchases in the Western

tor's life it has been my privilege to examine, and to whose interest and active assistance I am under deep obligation. I would also acknowledge here the generous permission given me by Mrs. Hughes Oliphant, formerly of Trenton, to avail myself of the family records in her possession.

District. A warm friend of General Washington and on familiar terms with Franklin, Lafayette, Rochambeau and the Revolutionary leaders, civilian and military, his services in the public cause and his relations with public men of every party and rank may be traced in the voluminous archives of the Continental Congress. Four chests, crammed full of letters to him from distinguished men in America and France, were accidentally left behind in a barn at Prospect when the family finally moved to the West, and could they have been recovered from the rich autograph collection which they are said to have founded, these documents would have revealed a correspondence far wider in range than that of the average man of the colonel's day.

The allusion here is to the W.B. Sprague Collection - by authority of Mrs. Oliphant. v. c. 5

As I have intimated, the most stirring part of his career was a finished chapter by the time he settled at Princeton to become a scientific farmer. He had the means and the opportunity at Prospect to gratify his taste, and he lost no time in indulging himself. The entries in his Account-Book which concern Prospect begin almost with the date of his purchase. He bought the property on April 1, 1779, and two days later is an entry relating to “my Farm;” while on May 8th of that year is the first entry definitely naming Princeton. The estate had by no means recovered from the scourge of British visitation and was in a bad state of repair. Within ten days its new owner had disbursed large sums of money for ditching, for posts, rails and fencing and for mason work. From this time on the entries in the Account-Book were chiefly concerned with farming matters at Prospect.

The house was a solidly made two-and-a-half story building with basement and attic, and three dormer windows on the front slope of the roof, if a picture painted in 1790 may be trusted. The garden lot of three acres on which the house, the barns and stables, the milk-house and other out-buildings stood, was surrounded by a rail-fence. The ground was not terraced, but sloped steeply down to the farmlands which made the colonel famous as an agriculturist. Along the college line of the property he planted a row of cherry trees whose fruit annually afforded a welcome

relief to poorly fed undergraduates.¹ Part of the farm was so well wooded that in 1785, when the square behind Independence Hall at Philadelphia was being improved, Colonel Morgan was able to spare for planting there a hundred sturdy young Prospect elms, some of which were said to be still standing a few years ago.² That the gift was as much of a surprise as it was welcome, this letter from the President of the State Council shows:

Philadelphia April 22, 1785

Dear Sir—

Mr. Vaughan having communicated to the Council the valuable and unexpected present you have sent them of trees, and the obliging manner in which it has been made, I feel a very particular pleasure in returning the unanimous thanks of that body, for your kindness and politeness.

I am Sir your affectionate
hum. serv't

JOHN DICKINSON³

George Morgan, Esq., Princeton.

According to a receipted State tax bill for 1780, found in the Account-Book, the farm was modest enough in its equipment when Colonel Morgan purchased it. The live stock on its two hundred and ten acres consisted of three horses, seven "cattle" and nine hogs; only one slave was attached to the place, most of the work being done by hired hands; while the Prospect equipages were limited to a "Riding Chair" and a "Covered Waggon on Springs."

The best, and in fact the only, description of the establishment in Colonel Morgan's time is to be found in the Journal of Manasseh Cutler. This reverend promoter, on his way to Philadelphia in July, 1787, reached Princeton on the night of the 11th and tied up his horse at Christopher Beekman's tavern, under the Sign of the College. The next morning—his time being short—he started out at the dubious hour of half-past five to call on Colonel Morgan, to whom he had letters of introduction. He found the colonel

¹ New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings, 2 series, vol. 3, p. 92; and Hageman, I., p. 187.

² E. M. Etting, *Independence Hall*, p. 134, and family documents.

³ Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, I., p. 416.

"in his parlor engaged with his books," and was very politely received. Says Dr. Cutler:

"His house stands a little back from the College, and in a situation which commands a complete view of his whole farm, consisting of about two hundred acres. There I saw verified what I had before often heard observed, that the boundaries of his farm might be easily distinguished from his neighbors', from its high state of cultivation. He gave me a general history of his improvements, and of the experiments he was then making. His barn and yard are truly curiosities. His garden consists of three acres, and is principally employed for making experiments, which appeared to be well judged and critically attended to. Here I saw the Hessian fly, as it is called, which has done immense injury to wheat. Our country is under much obligation to this gentleman for the discoveries he has made, and the information he has given respecting this insect, in consequence of his experiments. It has enabled the farmers in this part of the country to get rid of an insect that had wholly cut off their crops of grain for several years successively. In his garden he had Indian corn growing, in long rows, from different kinds of seed, collected from the different latitudes on this Continent, as far north as the most northern parts of Canada, and south as far as the West Indies. His Apiary struck me with astonishment. On the southern side of his garden he had 64 swarms of bees in a line, which I judged extended more than 15 rods. He takes the honey when he pleases, without destroying the bees."¹

From this description it is easily gathered that the curious bent of Colonel Morgan's mind had not been satisfied with a career as an explorer and an Indian agent. Having turned farmer, he carried his investigating spirit into the management of Prospect. Not content with raising the commonplace produce of husbandmen the world over, he was continually experimenting, now in corn, now in bees, now in methods of pest extermination; and as a leader of his contemporaries in farming—the leader, if we may accept Dr. Cutler's judgment—he fully deserved the gold medal awarded to him by the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, the first medal—according to Timothy Pickering, the society's secretary—"ever given in American Agriculture."

His pet hobby seems to have been bees, and whenever he read a new method of managing a hive he noted its

¹ *Life, journals and correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, I.* (1888), p. 246. The extract in the *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 2 ser., vol. 3, p. 73, is from the earlier edition.

salient points in his vademecum, the Account-Book, already so freely drawn on. From "J. Worlidge's Management of Bees" he makes a four-page quotation, adding a note to express his disagreement from the process outlined and citing authorities in his own support. "I hope," he says, "soon to satisfy myself by my own Experience in the respective Methods recommended by these Gentlemen," and he reminds himself of "Mr White's method," and adds: "See Miller's Dictionary under Article Bee." A little further on he quotes eleven pages from "Thorley's Female Monarchy," calling attention to a difference of expert opinion as to the weight of bees; then he copies out twelve pages from Wildman and records the result of his own investigation as to the weight of bees.¹ Presuming that honey, after all, is man's chief end in bee-raising, Colonel Morgan's apiary was entirely successful, according to the verdict of that universal connoisseur Benjamin Franklin, whose letter of January 8, 1787, to young John Morgan explains itself:

Sir:

I find myself greatly obliged to your good father for the hive full of honey which he has so kindly sent me, and to you for thinking of me, and proposing it. I use it as part of my regimen every morning at breakfast. It is much the best I have met with in America and I think fully equals the famous honey of Narbonne so much esteemed in France.

With my hearty thanks please present him with my best wishes for his prosperity, and many happy years to you both, in all of which this family joins me.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

B. FRANKLIN.²

Communications on the Hessian fly appear over Colonel Morgan's signature in the early volumes of Carey's *American Museum*, a magazine which printed many of the papers of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture. The issue for June, 1787, contains an exhaustive letter to the society from the colonel's pen, quoting various authorities

¹ Thorley says 2000 weigh a pound and a quarter, Wildman asserts that 5366 weigh just a pound, while Butler as emphatically insists that 4480 is the requisite number, or 80 more than Colonel Morgan's experiment found to be necessary.

² Papers of James Morris Morgan. Original owned by Col. A.S.M. Morgan of Pittsburgh (Sept 1904) who also owns the original of the Washington-Morgan letter on Indian dictionary.

at home and abroad on the subject of the Hessian fly and describing his own method of driving out the pest at Prospect. The letter closes with a request for the loan of a good microscope in order to carry on further investigations. A year later—July, 1788—in a letter from New York, he denounces a misleading article on the Hessian fly which had appeared in the Philadelphia newspapers and refers his readers to the publications of the society,¹ and then, as "a lover of his country and a friend to farmers of the middle states," he informs his readers from experience and research "that their absolute reliance (under providence) must be on the yellow bearded wheat, not the white nor the red bearded wheat, the sowing of which by mistake has occasioned much disappointment. That this declaration," he goes on to say, "may have its full weight with all who know me, I give my name. George Morgan, of Prospect, N. Jersey."

In a postscript containing directions for sowing, he adds that he has sent samples of the yellow bearded wheat to General Washington, to John Dickinson, Esq., and to John Beale Bordley, the agriculturist, in hopes of finding out whence this wheat originally came, that thus he may "render acceptable service to the Natives of Virginia, Maryland and Delaware."

Colonel Morgan's Account-Book—and this shall be the last mention of it—besides being a record of expenditures, is a veritable mine of late eighteenth century agricultural and miscellaneous information. He used the last half of it as a commonplace book, and it contains recipes for making "Matheglin. By Mrs. Stockton"—probably the Morven recipe for this insidious beverage; it quotes a method for exterminating "Catter Pillars," mice and moles; it tells how to fatten hogs by giving them antimony, and how "To cure Fruit Trees of the Worm;" it gives directions for brewing ale and beer and for making currant wine and various dyes, for planting pumpkins and constructing pumps, for curing hams and curing corns; it advocates an infusion of peartree leaves drunk as tea as an

¹ Amer. Mus., I., p. 256, and II., p. 298.

antidote for mushroom poisoning, and it names remedies for epileptic fits, "Cancer and any Tumor," elephantiasis, ague and snakebites. A treatment which strikes the unbucolic mind as heroic enough to kill or cure is that advised for "the Hollow Horn in Cattle"—"Bore a large Gimblet Hole in the hollow Horn & put therein Gun Powder Vinegar & Pepper well mixed together & stop the Hole with a Peg." Finally, in unconscious confession that his active outdoor life was not entirely proof against the subjective effects of his indoor hospitality, the genial master of Prospect writes across one page, in his boldest script, this philosophical remedy "For the Gout—Wool, Flannel & Patience," adding in his usual hand, and as a concession to the potion habit, the ingredients of a sulphur decoction.

It is a matter of common knowledge that, in recognition of his personal qualities and of his integrity and interest in their cause, the Delaware Indians conferred on Colonel Morgan the title of Taimenend, the name of their venerated patron saint, a name known to-day for better or for worse as Tammany. The traditions of the family assert that this title was conferred on the colonel by a delegation of Delawares sent to Prospect for that purpose in 1776. No corroborative evidence has come to light that any Indian delegation ever visited Princeton on such a mission, although it can be established that Colonel Morgan was addressed by the Delawares as Taimenend very soon after this date. It was, however, at his suggestion that in the spring of 1779 arrangements were made for a delegation of the Delawares to come to Philadelphia and confer with Congress on its Indian affairs. Colonel Morgan appointed Captain John Dodge, an Ottawa interpreter, and Daniel Sullivan, a Delaware interpreter, to act as guides, and he gave orders that until other lodgings could be secured the party should occupy his Philadelphia house, where they would also find stables and provisions for their horses. But Sullivan and Dodge, deeming probably that city life was scarcely suited to the tastes of their charges, brought them straight on to Princeton, and the ten chiefs forming the party camped on the Prospect grounds. Their presence gave an unwonted

touch of barbaric color to the spot, such as had not been seen since the aboriginal days when the king's highroad existed only as an Indian trail. Colonel Morgan entertained the chieftains during their stay in Princeton, and in the opinion of his wife they proved far pleasanter guests than another company of visitors who came also unbidden two years later. With them the Delawares brought to be educated at Princeton, under Colonel Morgan's supervision, the three boys whose hapless story was told in a former number of the BULLETIN.¹

On the 10th of May, in the presence of Colonel Lewis Morris, Captain Dodge and Mr. Sullivan, the chiefs, headed by Key-ley-lamend, or Captain John Killbuck, signed at Prospect an address to Congress and General Washington. The document is among the Papers of the Continental Congress² at the State Department, Washington. It is in Colonel Morgan's autograph and consists of five large folios. After reminding Congress of its numerous broken promises as contrasted with Delaware fidelity to pledges, the chiefs ask to be told "for a certainty whether or not their Necessities can be relieved & their several requests complied with, or whether they must look to the English alone for the Supplies of all their Wants;" in response to the invitation of Congress and its agent, they have brought down three children of their principal chiefs to be educated at Princeton and "should it be agreeable to Congress we are ready," they continue, "to increase the Number, in order that Our Nation may the sooner & more effectually be brought to embrace civilized Life, & become one People with our Bretheren of the United States." They then express the hope that Congress will further countenance and support the missionary labors of the Rev. David Ziesberger. The next paragraph describes in detail the boundaries of the territory owned by the Delawares as a free and independent nation, and such part of this land is promised to the United States as may be mutually convenient, "that they may have room for their Children's Children to sit down upon." In conclusion they pray God may grant wisdom and virtue to

¹ See vol. 13, p. 101, etc.

² No. 166, p. 411, etc.

the Representatives of the United States and to the Commander-in-Chief of their Forces that such answer may be given to this statement as will cement an everlasting union. The document is dated May 10, 1779 and "Sign'd at Princeton—New Jersey at the House of Colonel George Morgan Agent for the United States of America and in his Presence—And in the Presence of US Lewis Morris, John Dodge, Daniel Sullivan."¹

On the 12th of May, as they were about to leave Princeton, the Delawares endeavored to materialize their gratitude to Colonel Morgan in a manner recorded, so far as I can discover, only in his Journal. Their nation had always experienced great advantages from his counsel and his uprightness; he had now entertained them for some time in his own home and had undertaken the care of the boys above mentioned; they therefore proposed to give him a tract of their country on the Ohio about three miles wide and six miles long, beginning at a point opposite the lower end of Montour's Island and running down the river. Colonel Morgan thanked them for their unexpected gift, but on account of his official capacity as agent for the United States, was compelled to decline and the Delawares pressed their offer in vain.²

By the 16th of May they were all back in Philadelphia. Colonel Morgan himself was to introduce them to Congress

¹ The signatures of the Indians are merely their marks, Colonel Morgan supplying names and rank, as follows: Cayleylamont (also spelled Key-ley-lámend) or John Killbuck, 1st chief; Weylapacheecon or Eysalaus, called Captain Johnny, 2nd chief; Peykeeling, Counsellor; Teytapacheecon, Counsellor; Coolpeecomín or John Thompson; Weyleypapaland, Quesacothey, Meymaoconon, Neymeysayland or John Lewis, and Scapeheley. George Morgan's name, as Agent for the United States, ends the list.

² It is not altogether improbable that he foresaw that sooner or later the government would gain possession of the Indian lands; and he was already experiencing the friction caused by a dispute of title to such territory. In November, 1768, at a general conference held at Fort Stanwix with the Six Nations and other tribes, he and his trading associates had accepted, in settlement of some £86,000 of damages done to their trading post and stores by the Indians, a tract of about 3500 square miles area in what is now the northwestern part of West Virginia, which caused a long legal struggle between what was called the Indiana Company, with himself at its head, and the United States Government—a struggle of which there was and could have been but one inevitable result, the defeat of the company.

after he had straightened out his household at Prospect. Meanwhile he forwarded¹ to John Jay, president of Congress, the statement described above; and the whole episode may be dismissed with the remark that the Delawares got no real satisfaction.

For the next eighteen months farming operations were carried on at Prospect without any rude interruption to mar their peacefulness. But on the night of January 3, 1781, a body of soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line, between two thousand and twenty-four hundred strong, who had mutinied on New Year's night at Morristown, and had marched off with field-pieces, ammunition and provisions, carrying with them their general, Anthony Wayne, and Colonels Butler and Stewart, reached Princeton and encamped footsore and weary at Prospect. Their destination was Philadelphia and their intention to demand from Congress a redress of grievances. The Marquis of Lafayette and General Arthur St. Clair hastened to Princeton to endeavor to bring the men back to their sense of duty, but after one interview as hastily beat a retreat. Joseph Reed, president of Pennsylvania, and Brigadier-General James Potter, representing the commonwealth, and escorted by twenty of the Philadelphia City Light Horse, and followed by a committee of Congress, of which Dr. Witherspoon was a member, then came up to investigate the situation in person. The Congressmen dared not come beyond Trenton, while Reed's party made Daniel Hunt's tavern at Maidenhead its headquarters. After much hesitation President Reed decided to visit Prospect and secure information for himself. Accordingly, on the afternoon of the 7th, he rode into Princeton and found the camp at Prospect perfectly organized, with sentries regularly posted, the guard turned out, the artillery ready to salute, and the whole line on parade in honor of his visit. With his escort he passed along the front of the line, the troops presenting arms, and then entered into a preliminary conference with the board of twelve sergeants, which lasted well into the evening. The next day further conferences took place, General Wayne, virtual prisoner though he was, doing

¹ Papers of the Cont. Cong., 163, p. 341.

all in his power to assist Reed in his conciliatory task. It is related in the Morgan papers that "Mad Anthony" finally regained the confidence of his men by one of those impetuous acts for which he was famous. After a particularly heated debate, in which the troops had developed an ugly mood, even threatening the life of Mrs. Morgan because they saw her on the lawn whispering to a servant and suspected her of treachery, Wayne sprang up unarmed and tearing open his ruffled shirt bosom called on them to shoot him or stab him if they doubted his loyalty to their cause, at which his hearers broke into cheers. Reed's concessions were substantially accepted after a little display of backbone on the part of the authorities, and at Trenton, a day or two later, the incident was closed.

The behavior of the mutineers at Princeton was on the whole good, although some trifling damage was done to college property, for which Dr. Witherspoon at once entered a claim against the State of Pennsylvania to the amount of nine pounds four shillings and six pence, and received prompt payment.¹

It was while they were at Prospect that the troops availed themselves of the lucky opportunity to show their superiors that though in open mutiny they were by no means disloyal. Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander at New York, gravely misjudged them by sending to Princeton two emissaries, offering the full pay for which they were clamoring if they would desert the American cause and lay down their arms. The Pennsylvanians promptly seized the pair, a British sergeant named John Mason and a Jersey Tory from South River named James Ogden, marched them to Trenton on January 9th, tried them by courtmartial at Somerset on the 10th, and the next day, at the crossroads near the Trenton ferry, hanged them as spies.

Two full years pass before the records bring Prospect again to public notice. In June, 1783, in consequence of another mutiny, this time at Lancaster and Philadelphia, Congress fled from the Quaker City and came to Princeton, making of the village the capital of the United States until

¹ Penna. Colonial Records, XIII., p. 43.

the first week of November. As soon as the news reached Princeton that Congress was coming, Colonel Morgan offered to that body the use of his house and any of the buildings on his farm. There is evidence that the offer was accepted, that at least the first three sessions, June 30th, July 1st and 2d, were held at Prospect, and that the apartment in which Congress sat then received the name "Congress Room."¹ And when in the fall a canvass was made of available accommodations in case Congress should decide to remain at Princeton through the winter, Colonel Morgan, with Prospect at his command, made one of the most generous offers. His name is also associated with the visit that Washington made to Princeton that summer; for he was deputed to obtain quarters for the general, and it was through his instrumentality that the Berrien house at Rocky Hill was secured. There is no record that the commander-in-chief ever visited Prospect at this or at any other time; but his friendship with Colonel Morgan is indisputable, and it is more than merely probable that he was a frequent guest at the colonel's table during the two idle months that he spent here.

A decade elapsed before the next and last incident occurred at Prospect to disturb the long slumber into which the village was already falling at the close of the eighteenth century. On September 12, 1794, a detachment of two hundred Jersey cavalry, on their way to Pennsylvania to aid in suppressing the Whiskey Insurrection, reached Princeton, and were ordered for forage, etc., to Colonel Morgan's barn, where the commissary department had purchased hay in bulk for the whole squadron. The men found the provision for them very satisfactory and spent the night in perfect comfort.² When they rode away the next morning the public history of Prospect was ended.

There remains to be said but a word concerning the burial-ground, which was one of the oldest in Princeton. How far back it dated is not known, but at least as early as

¹ The evidence is part of a narrative too long for recital here, but which is shortly to be published in another form.

² See Captain David Ford's Journal in N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc., VI., p. 77.

1769, if Colonel Morgan's Journal may be trusted. Mr. Hageman says that Jonathan Sergeant, who died of small-pox just before the battle of Princeton, was buried there, and his wife Abigail, daughter of President Jonathan Dickinson, was probably also interred there. The Baldwins, too, undoubtedly used it, although there are no records to prove the assertion. The graveyard was obliterated by the cutting through of Washington Road.¹ In Colonel Morgan's time the spot was shaded by several large chestnuts and elms, with a hedge of sweet briar, some of which he ~~took with him to Morganza.~~ A thin clump still shelters the one grave that is left of the ten or twelve which are known to have existed. The Morgan family Bible, owned by the heirs of Mrs. Dudley Woodbridge of Marietta, Ohio, gives this list of the children of Colonel Morgan buried at Prospect: Benjamin (died July 16, 1773); George (died October 6, 1777); George (born at Philadelphia, October 15, 1777, died November, 1778); Mary (died September 25, 1786); Rebecca (died 1790).^{*} In his Journal, formerly owned by Mr. ~~Daniel~~ T. Morgan of Washington, Pa., is this entry relating to a nephew:

David.

"George Morgan Baynton, b. Philadelphia August 11th, died at Prospect . July 22^d 1769. I had him interred at Prospect. Voluntas fiat."

There, too, is this second entry:

"George Morgan Baynton, the second of that name. He died a martyr aged seven. I had him brought from Brunswic, and interred at Prospect 1780, three years after the death of his father."

A third entry reads:

"Catharine, daughter of Joseph Bullock of Philadelphia, died at Prospect, June 7th 1794. She lies interred at Prospect."

Miss Bullock² was a niece of Colonel Morgan. She died of consumption at the age of twenty-two, and hers is the solitary grave under the shadow of the new Dormitory.

VARNUM LANSING COLLINS.

¹ See Hageman, II., p. 416.

² For her story, see the Princeton Alumni Weekly, II., p. 263.

* Mrs. Singer has photographs of leaves of Morgan family Bible on which are records of his children "Mary is the only one given as having died at Prospect (1786) and the only ones mentioned as having been born there are George 1780, Thomas 1784 and Maria 1787. This looks to me as if the Morgans became residents of Princeton when the Colonel moved there in 1774." (letter of Sept. 29, 1904)

