

CAPTAIN JOHN OUTWATER AND HIS MILITIA:
BERGEN COUNTY, NEW JERSEY 1776 - 1781

Unpublished Works copyright 1987 Robert J. Shanahan, Jr.

Introduction

Economic, social and geographic conditions in Bergen County produced the circumstances for its role in the American Revolution. A large loyalist population and the County's use as a foraging base for British soldiers can be tied directly to the area's pre-war economic connections with New York. Similarly, the violence of Tory raiders was, in part, an extension of religious hatred within the Dutch Reformed Church, begun decades before the colonial revolt. The County's geographic closeness to British Headquarters in New York created a haven for loyalist troops, making them immune to counterattack. Against these conditions, John Outwater's company of militiamen, and other Bergen County troops, could do little but watch as area farms were stripped and burned by enemy foraging parties. The militiamen themselves were confined to harassment of the enemy and to stopping illicit trade. Even this was without success. In the preparation of this manuscript, I wish to thank the New Jersey Historical Commission for its "1980 Grant-in-Aid For Research In Local History". I would like to thank the numerous people who assisted me in this project, especially Dr. Terence Ripmaster and Dr. Michael Shaw of The William Paterson College of New Jersey, whom I found to be unfailing sources of inspiration and guidance.

Robert J. Shanahan, Jr.
March 1981

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Village of Hackensack had become the most important settlement in colonial Bergen County. Excellent shipping facilities along the adjacent Hackensack River, access to major roads north, south and west, and proximity to one of the few bridges across the river, made Hackensack a center of trade, travel and communication between the County's agricultural society and the great markets of New York City. This was also the seat of county government.

The majority of the County's citizens were prosperous Dutch farmers¹, the descendants of the original settlers who had founded New Netherland a century and a half before. Complete records are unavailable, but land indentures, birth and baptismal records and wills suggest an ethnically homogenous community and one, moreover, of modest but general prosperity². These close economic and ethnic ties were also reflected in the political organization of the County. Public office holders usually were men of piety the interlocking familial and social connections³.

Religion was an important element in the life of the community. By the 1770 there were thirteen Dutch Reformed churches in the County. One of the most important churches, at Hackensack, was founded in 1686. In those days it was common for one minister to serve several congregations. Thus in 1737 the churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh (present day Dumont) shared the same minister⁴.

The homogeneity of the County -- enforced by ethnic, economic, social and religious ties -- was shattered in the 1730's by a religious reform movement known as the "great Awakening." Protestant ministers of various sects throughout New England and the middle colonies began to complain of a decline in religious zeal among their congregations. They complained that people gave only an outward compliance to religious practices and had lost the inner fervor, which had once been a vital sign of faith. A growing number of ecclesiastics began to urge a regeneration of the faith in their congregations and called on them to confront their sins and to become Christians of spirit. The skill and fervor with which these ministers preached attracted large and responsive audiences, and moved many to emotional displays of repentance. The more orthodox ministers, sometimes referred to as the "old lights"⁵ viewed these religious outbursts as the heresy of enthusiasm, and rejected the belief that emotional impulses were signs of God's will. Thus a new factionalism emerged throughout the colonies, which effected, as well, the Dutch Reformed Church of Bergen County.⁶

The upheaval in Bergen County can be traced to the arrival in 1730 of Reverend Antonius Curtenius, who was called from Holland to be the pastor of the Hackensack Reformed Church. Curtenius would serve Hackensack for more than thirty years. During his tenure he succeeded

in uniting the churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh under his ministry. Curtenius appears to have been as "old light" and would not have agreed with the emotional teachings of such new light ministers as Theodore Frelinghuysen in the Raritan Valley.⁷ The growing popularity of "new light" ministries in Bergen County is reflected in the congregations. John Henry Goetschius arrived in October of 1748 from Long Island, where he had already gained a considerable following, and sharp criticism from old light ministers for his fervent sermons. In particular, one sermon, "The Unknown God", which had criticized the piety of his church members, had drawn an angry denunciation from church elders: "shall this stripling tell us that we have so long served and unknown God?"⁸ Thus, his arrival in Bergen County led to a sharp conflict between Curtenius and Goetschius, which soon spread to engulf the congregations of the united churches.⁹

The bitter struggle at Hackensack and Schraalenburgh is easily established. Shortly after his arrival, Goetschius attempted to gain control of church property by obtaining a charter from the governor without the knowledge of the Curtenius faction. When the latter objected to this, the charter was revoked. Goetschius was successful however in electing a church consistory which supported his ministry over that of his rival. As a result, elders refused to attend services led by Curtenius.¹⁰ The victory for the "new lights" was not a total one, however. The congregations of the two churches divided into two hostile factions, each of which rejected the authority of the other's minister. The passions aroused by this conflict often took the form of verbal abuse and even threatened violence. On one occasion Goetschius was forced to wear his sword behind the pulpit at Hackensack to assert his authority.¹¹

During this same period, a controversy over ecclesiastical authority developed within the Dutch Church. Those ministers associated with the forces of the Great Awakening sought to obtain ecclesiastical autonomy from the Classis of Amsterdam. These progressive ministers felt that it was too distant and cost too prohibitive to justify a reliance on Amsterdam for ordained ministers and religious rulings. They formed the Coetus party, of which Goetschius was a member, and petitioned the Amsterdam Classis for autonomy in 1738. In 1747, this petition was granted. The old lights opposed this separation and the subsequent decision of the Coetus to constitute itself as an American classis, in 1753, made the former only more fervent in their opposition. By 1755 the old light dissenters had organized themselves into the Conferentie party, of which Rev. Curtenius was a member. The resulting conflict between Conferentie and Coetus adherents exacerbated the struggle between the Goetschius and Curtenius factions in Bergen County. This split cut across family lines, dividing husband from wife, parents from children.¹² One faction would lock out the other from worship and attacks on members

of opposing factions were common. It is said that the violence from the Conferentie was most "vehement and outrageous."¹³ The previously united congregations split into two at Hackensack and Schraalenburgh, "Worshipping on alternate Sabbaths in the same building, each acknowledging the right of the other half of the property at each location."¹⁴ Although by 1775, both Curtenius and Goetschius had been replaced, fractional enmity would continue for decades.

John Outwater was born of September 17, 1746, just as the Great Awakening began to affect the Bergen County area.¹⁵ The American roots of his family extend back to Franz Jacobsen who had emigrated sometime prior to 1657 from Oedewater, Holland to settle in Albany, New York. In Albany, Franz had raised two sons: Thys Franz Outwater and Thomas Franz Outwater. In 1686, Thys left Albany and settled in Tappan, New York where his descendants can be found today. Thys' grandson, Dr. Thomas Outwater, was a noted surgeon in the Revolutionary army.¹⁶ Franz's other son, Thomas Franz Outwater, bought a third share of a stretch of land called Moonachie Island between Berry's Creek, Indian Path, Losing Creek, and the Hackensack River by 1680.¹⁷ Thomas had seven children: Jacob, Thomas, John, Peter, Elizabeth, Janneke and Annajie.¹⁸ John Outwater, the son of Jacob, was born at Moonachie in 1746.¹⁹

The Jacob Outwater family differed little from other Bergen County Dutch families. Their moderate wealth was derived mostly from the sale of farm products in Hackensack and New York. Jacob Outwater served as a Bergen County Judge in Hackensack between 1755 and 1758.²⁰ The Outwaters were also active members of the Reformed Church at Hackensack.²¹ Although Jacob's role in the Coetus – Conferentie dispute is not known, the available evidence does suggest that his was an active one. For example, a meeting fo the Coetus on September 11-14, 1753 requested that:

The existing differences at Hackensack and Schraalenburgh should be adjusted in love, and that the two ministers, Curtenius and Goetschius, and also the Consistory, and Outwater (j. Outwater) and his friends should be earnestly recommended to revive again the brotherly love which has begun to grow cool.²²

Further evidence of his religious beliefs can be found in Jacob's will. In it, Jacob warned his three sons that if they left the Dutch Reformed Church he would divide his properties evenly among his eight children instead of bequeathing it to them alone.²³

Jacob's son John married Harriet Lozier and had six children.²⁴ By 1774, John had begun to acquire large tracts of land adjacent to the properties he had received from his father.

In this same year, he was elected Sheriff of Bergen County.²⁵ The services to his monarch would be short lived.

The relative propriety of the closely-knit farming community was little affected by the growing opposition to the acts of the British Parliament. However, the blockade of Boston did send ripples of concern through Bergen County. If Parliament could blockade Boston it could also disrupt the Bergen County economy by blockading New York. Thus it was natural that a majority of Bergen County's farmers supported efforts toward a peaceful solution to the dispute between the colonies and the Crown. As a meeting of over 300 residents of Bergen County, held in Hackensack in 1774, a resolution was passed which, while reaffirming their loyalty to the King, endorsed the election of delegates to a colonial congress whose purpose was to petition an end to Parliament's ruinous administration of the colonial economy.²⁶

The worst fears of Bergen County were confirmed with the arrival of Admiral Richard Howe's fleet in New York Harbor on June 27, 1776, and the reinforcement of the British garrisons on Staten Island. To counter this military presence, the newly established Continental Army, then concentrating its forces in New Jersey, built Fort Lee along the Hudson and Washington himself established his headquarters in the center of Hackensack.²⁷ The war had come to Bergen County and with it came the disruption of its economy. The most pressing problem for the Bergen County farmer became economic survival.

For many in the county, there was little choice. Washington's undisciplined and disorganized army could never force the professional British army from the colonies. Soon his Majesty's regiments would be operating freely throughout Bergen County, taking reprisal against all those disloyal to the King. The British occupation of New York, which was Bergen County's major market, made it increasingly practical for Bergen County's residents to profess loyalty to the King. This was especially true because the King's army paid for its provisions in gold.²⁸ To these economically minded Dutchmen, it was only a matter of time before the rebellion ended. Thus, from June until November 1776, the majority of those who had been previously known as Whigs would sign the loyalty oaths. Some, such as Abraham Van Buskirk, received commissions in the loyalist militia.²⁹ One Whig, Robert Morris, complained:

The County is under the direction of men who in their hearts are our secret enemies and oppose the measures taken by the continent, and do no one thing in their capacity as a Committee but what fear compels and they disapprove.... Judge you, sir what a damp these men throw among us who are heartily disposed to favor the cause (of our) country. I... fear the consequences.³⁰

Most members of the Conferiente party of the Dutch Reformed Church were loyalists while many of the Coetus subscribed to Whig beliefs. This more conservative Conferiente wished to maintain old world ties, while the reform-minded Coetus was naturally predisposed to take a more independent position. Consequently, the religious qualms, which had divided these two groups, would spill over into the struggle for political sovereignty. Unfortunately, the violence also carried over; the Revolution became a pretext for religious civil war.³¹

After Washington's evacuation of Fort Lee and northern New Jersey in November of 1776, many of those who had refused oaths of loyalty were arrested and imprisoned in New York. Reverend Dirck Romyn, who had replaced Goetschius earlier in the year, escaped capture when British troops or Tories carried off and destroyed the contents of his patronage. Subsequently, the "rebel Parson," as he was called, moved his family to New Paltz, New York.³² Continued pillaging and foraging expeditions by both Loyalist and British troops made more pressing the need for protection of private property. Organization was impossible as long as the county remained under loyalist control. Indeed, when American General Heath briefly occupied Hackensack in mid-December 1776, he noted that the local Whigs were reluctant to show any sign of joy and even feared to provide useful military information.³³

The Whig condition improved when British soldiers, the power behind the loyalist presence, were evacuated from New Jersey following the American victories at Trenton and Princeton in December of 1776 and January 1777. Now the Tory families became the object of looting mobs seeking retaliation. In addition, families with grudges sought revenge against loyalists for injuries they had received.³⁴ Hundreds of Tories began to flee Bergen County for the relative safety of British-occupied New York. The county, which had been a loyalist stronghold became a no man's land held neither by the British nor colonial forces. Loyalist regiments concentrated in the southeastern part of the county near the British Army near New York, while Washington headquartered at Morristown to maintain control over the areas west of the Passaic River. Both opposing forces contend themselves the foraging among Dutch farms, seizing "traitors" and occasionally skirmishing one another. By 1780, the flight of refugee Dutch farmers had reached such proportions that the Classis of the Dutch Reformed Church noted the lamentable condition of its congregations.³⁵ The Whigs, having no haven to which to flee, were compelled to organize for their own protection.

David R. Bogert, who was fifteen when he joined Outwater's militia company, mentions in his pension affidavit that after Washington's evacuation of the county, "a considerable number if the people of Hackensack...were....formed under the command of Colonel Buskirk" -- the Tory colonel. However,

" when the Hessians were taken at Trenton, a spirit of resistance seemed to revive amongst the peoples, a Company was then formed at Hackensack out of its inhabitants who remained true to their Whig principles ...the company chose the Officers of John Outwater... Captain, Adam Boyd Lieut, Abraham Allen Ensign."³⁶

This company was one of twenty-five which had been authorized by act of the State Assembly in 1176 to form a Bergen County regiment.³⁷ Although Theunis Dey was elected as regimental commander, he was considered too valuable to the operations of state government to risk a battlefield command. Major Mauirtius Goetschius commanded eastern Bergen County.³⁸ Since it is not known when in 1776 Outwater's company was authorized to form, and given the emotional chaos of the county in late 1776, it is quite possible according to Bogert's story that the unit was not mustered until early 1777.

Companies like Outwater's were composed of farmers recruited in each locality and commanded by a local officer. While theoretically they were a permanent force, hierarchically arranged, the reality was different. For example, Outwater's company was charged with patrolling the Hackensack River to guard against enemy raids from Tory posts in Paulus Hook, to halt illicit trade with New York, and to capture deserters.³⁹ In the event of an enemy advance. His company was supposed to join with other Bergen units under the command of Colonel Dey. This did not always happen. Often Outwater's company would refuse an order, which would involve it in any action outside its immediate locality.⁴⁰ Similarly, the company was only technically permanent. There is much evidence to suggest that Outwater's company -- like many others in Bergen County -- was really only a part time force.⁴¹

Hackensack's economic importance as a center of trade with New York made it a logical base for Outwater's company. Throughout the war, Bergen County trade with British authorities in New York continued unabated. Not only was the occupational army a sure market, but the British paid in gold. From 1777on, shops in Bergen contained British goods.⁴² In Hackensack, Outwater was in a position to halt such activity by patrolling banks on the Hackensack River. At times, this met with success, as it did in the fall of 1780. Outwater, Abraham Vanderbeek and Elias Brevoost caught "Abraham Kip and his wench and another woman loaded with honey, butter and mutton which they were conveying to the enemy in the city of New York..."⁴³ The woman told Outwater about an ox that was tied to a tree in the Cedar Swamp, waiting to be turned over to the enemy. These goods were taken to the Justice of the Peace, Jacob Terhune, in Hackensack and were confiscated and turned over to the three militiamen as reward.

The county's dependence on New York was, of course, reciprocal. The nearest and richest source of food and firewood necessary to maintain a large army in New York was across the Hudson in Bergen County. But the militias' operation impeded this flow of goods and forced the British to resort to foraging. Detachments of hundreds and often several thousand British troops scoured Bergen County farms for livestock and produce, taking from rebel and loyalist alike. For example, in September 1777, Sir Henry Clinton sent a 2,000 man foraging expedition into the county and seized 400 cattle, 400 sheep and some horses.⁴⁴

The British also relied on loyalist forces to forage in New Jersey. Van Buskirk's battalion of New Jersey volunteers, mostly recruited from the Hackensack area, often foraged in small bands, burning buildings and arresting suspected rebels. John Lozier⁴⁵ of Outwater's company recalled a typical foraging expedition which occurred in the spring of 1781:

The British had come up the Hackensack River with a Gun Boat, had plundered the inhabitants and carried off about twenty head of cattle-- the cattle was retaken, the British had a loss of seven men and one prisoner.⁴⁶

Small loyalist foraging bands usually operated out of blockhouses; wooden fortifications built along rivers. The blockhouses allowed the loyalists to continue their foraging operations throughout the revolutionary period. One blockhouse built on Brower's Hill, an area near New Bridge (River Edge) north of Hackensack, was unsuccessfully attacked in 1778 by Outwater's militia operating under the command of General Wayne's army.⁴⁷ A more famous blockhouse was built at Bull's Ferry (North Bergen), along the Hudson River and was the object of several raids prior to the celebrated attack of July 1780. With the approval of General Washington, General Wayne's forces attacked the blockhouse in 1780; an expedition probably joined by Outwater's men. This attack was a failure.⁴⁸

Thus in Hackensack, John Outwater had to contend himself with harassing loyalist trade and foraging operations. As the main roads led to Hackensack, the fight was often brought to Outwater. One militiaman noted that duty was frustrating because it was limited to defensive operations. Beginning in 1777, the loyalists attacked regularly from Paulus Hook and Hoboken. These bases were so close to British lines that they were immune from counterattack. Yet, Bergen farmers had to defend everything within a twenty-five mile radius.⁴⁹ Often, the militia could do little but retreat against superior force. The men would return to "desolate homes, generally without finding anything left to subsist upon."⁵⁰

Despite the militia's general inability to expel the British or to put a halt to trade and foraging, some men were attracted to militia companies for personal gain. As has already been noted, a spoils system had been introduced early in the struggle. Outwater militiaman,

Abraham Vanderbeek, provides us with numerous examples of this spoils system. Although joining the company in January of 1780, "...for want of employment and the good of his Country,"⁵¹ Vanderbeek managed to combine service to his country with material reward. In one instance, both he and Outwater captured a man attempting to deliver six horses to the British Army in New York; in another, Vanderbeek discovered a boat containing twelve live sheep; a cargo of salt was also seized by Vanderbeek and others. Each time the captured goods were condemned by the Justice of the Peace Terhune and were rewarded to the captors.⁵²

Outwater, himself, was able to capitalize on his position as militia commander. In addition to receiving a part of the spoils, he also received fees for posting bond for accused loyalists.⁵³ Later, his election to the New Jersey Assembly in 1777⁵⁴ may have influenced his subsequent selection as a surveyor of confiscated Tory property. The state legislature sought to inhibit Tory sympathizers by confiscating all properties held by those who had aided the British between April 19, 1775 and October 4, 1776, or who had failed to take the loyalty oath prior to December 11, 1778. Many of these confiscated properties were immediately sold and the monies used to pay off claims against confiscated estates. Nonetheless, at war's end a large number of farms remained under the legislature's nominal control. Records of which lands had been repurchased, which had been reclaimed, and which were still unclaimed were, however, both partial and confused. To settle these issues the legislature appointed land surveyors to map these areas under dispute and thus to prepare them for sale. Outwater was one of those assigned to survey these remaining properties,⁵⁵ giving him an obvious advantage over other potential buyers. From 1772-1813, he was able to purchase large tracts along his property in Moonachie.⁵⁶ The war, for John Outwater, thus brought both direct and indirect material benefits. It should be noted that most of the confiscated property in Bergen County was sold undivided and did not, as some have argued, redistribute land more equitably or benefit the poorer landowner in the County. The incidence of confiscation in Bergen County was the highest in the State. Revenues from the sale of these properties were twenty-five percent of the total of such incomes in the state.⁵⁷

In discussing the material benefits gained by the Bergen County militiaman, several points need to be emphasized. First, militia service was not salaried and most militiamen did not expect to be paid. The major motivation for service appears to have been the protection of local properties. The informal nature of this service naturally precluded careful records of personnel or of activity. Thus, when the new Federal Congress authorized pensions for revolutionary War veterans, many militiamen had little proof of having served.⁵⁸ Second the

eighteenth century mind saw nothing immoral about using position for personal benefit, especially when in unsalaried public service.⁵⁹ This was acknowledged by the Federal Government in its first request that all pensioners list money and goods received as a result of service. The militiaman was not reimbursed for the time spent in guardhouses and on patrol. Both his farm and his family were neglected. It was extremely rare when a grateful public would request the legislature to award money for the capture of a wanted Tory, or for the aid in preventing a terrorist attack.⁶⁰ This is not to condone the militiamen turned mercenary, but to distinguish them and the dedicated Whig.

Another function of a militia was law enforcement. Adam Boyd, Outwater's lieutenant, was elected sheriff of the county in 1777.⁶¹ This election consequently involved Outwater's militia in formal law enforcement. Boyd's immediate responsibilities were to feed prisoners, carry out death sentences and to recruit agents to gather intelligence behind enemy lines.⁶² Occasionally, the militia was called out to satisfy larger needs. In early December of 1779, those Tories who had enlisted in the British Army during the 1776 invasion attempted to return to their homes. Boyd, probably with the militia help, arrested eleven of these fourteen people for treason.⁶³ Outwater's company guarded the county jail and prisoners against rescue of felons scheduled for execution. The militia was also used at least once to maintain the peace among local citizens and continental troops.⁶⁴

An important function of the militia was to defend against loyalist troops, most notably under Van Buskirk. These raids were of a purely punitive nature; to murder, loot and destroy. On the surface, such raids appear as wanton acts, especially since the rare raid by Bergen Whigs never equaled the former in viciousness. When examined more closely however, one may find, between loyalist and rebel, a deeper motivation that political struggle -- a continuation of Coetus-Conferentie antagonisms.

At the outbreak of the war, the Coetus-Conferentie struggle in the Dutch Reformed Church was still unresolved. The congregations remained split, each retaining a minister of its own. Many of the liberal-minded Coetus sided with the Whigs, while the Conferentie chose to identify with the loyalist position. Thus, underlying the political struggle was a more passionate religious belligerency. For Van Buskirk and other loyalists, the war provided opportunities for vengeance that would not have been possible in peacetime.

Because the churches at Hackensack and Schraalenburgh were used by both Coetus and Conferentie congregations, those buildings were spared destruction by Tory mobs -- a fate not commonly shared by other churches throughout the state. Instead, Conferentie hatred was expressed in Hackensack by attacks on a prominent Whig minister, Reverend Dirck Romeyn.

In 1777, his patronage was looted and his family forced to flee to safety. In 1780, several loyalists attempted to murder the parson, but were prevented from doing so by two armed men who were accompanying Romeyn. It would have pleased many local loyalists to see Romeyn and his followers arrested and put into British prisons.⁶⁵ In March of 1780 this wish came near to success.

Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British forces, had long disapproved of these religiously motivated raids and had rebuked loyalist militia commanders for their destruction of churches instead of military targets. Nevertheless, Tories awaited an opportunity to conduct a major operation against the Whigs in Bergen County. This opportunity was provided by Sir Henry's departure in early 1780 for Charlestown. With the approval of Clinton's second in command, General Kyphausen, the loyalists now prepared their plan of attack.

In the early morning hours of March 23, four hundred British, Hessian and loyalist soldiers marched through Hackensack smashing windows, and burning and looting homes designated by Tory guides.⁶⁶ Outwater's men were asleep when the attack began and could do little to prevent it. Many buildings were set on fire, but only the courthouse and two homes were completely destroyed. Fifty or sixty men were taken prisoner by the enemy -- nearly every grown man. One of the major targets, Rev. Romeyn, escaped capture by hiding on a beam behind the chimney in the attic of his parsonage. After the enemy had left, he was able to put out the fire they had set and thus prevented damage to his home.⁶⁷

Although this was the most damaging of Tory raids, many others followed a similar pattern. Homes and farms were burned, valuables were taken as booty, women were raped and beaten and men were carried off to prison terms or execution. Against such raids, Outwater's men could do little.

When the war ended, the members of the county militia returned to their farms, hoping for a return to pre-war prosperity. Former Bergen County Whig leaders now participated in the establishment of new government at all levels.⁶⁸ Outwater, too, continued his public service. As a New Jersey assemblyman, he co-sponsored an amendment to the 1797 election law, which continued the right of woman to vote in state and municipal elections.⁶⁹ The last election won by Outwater for the Assembly was in 1815.⁷⁰ Other post war offices held by Outwater were: Bergen County Freeholder (1786); Bergen County Justice (1791-1794); Council Member, Village of Hackensack (1796-1807) and Justice of the Court of Common Pleas (1800).⁷¹

John Outwater died on May 18, 1823⁷² at 76 years of age. Near his grave stands a small monument listing his accomplishments in his life. Thus, it was economic and geographic closeness to New York, which caused an outpouring of localism in Bergen County. These two

factors predetermined the county's role as a foraging base for the enemy, which contained rich farmlands and a haven for loyalist troops. The pre-war Coetus-Conferentie struggle in the Dutch Reformed Church provided a pretext for religious civil war, creating a viciousness between Whig and Tory unforeseen before the war. The Bergen County militiaman was helpless in combating these conditions; indeed, Outwater confined himself to harassing the enemy and to stopping as much trade with the enemy as possible. Even with headquarters in Hackensack, east Bergen's most strategic town, Outwater's company was largely ineffective in halting enemy raids and in stopping illicit trade. Yet, determined men like these helped build a post war society equal in stature to the prosperous colonial age.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bergen County Bar Association. Washington and His Army in Bergen County: November 12-21, 1776, Hackensack, N.J.: Bergen County Bar Association, 1957.
- Bergen County Deed and Mortgage Vault, Bergen County administration Building, Hackensack, N.J., Book C, #17; Book I, #51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59, 91.
- Boorstin, Daniel J., The Americans: The Colonial Experience, New York: Vintage Books, 1958.
- Calhoun, Robert M., The Loyalists in the American Revolution: 1760-1781, New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1973.
- Clayton, Woodford W. and William Nelson, History of Bergen and Passaic Counties, Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1882.
- Council of Safety in the State of New Jersey, Minutes of the Council of Safety for the State of New Jersey, 1777, Jersey City: John L. Lyon, 1872.
- Harvey, Cornelius B., ed., Genealogical History of Hudson and Bergen Counties, New Jersey, New York: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1900.
- Institute of Early American History, The Great Awakening: Documents on the Revival of Religion, 1740-1745, Richard L. Bushman, ed., New York: Antheneum, 1969
- Keesey, Ruth M., Loyalty and Reprisal: The Loyalists of Bergen and Their Estates, New York: Columbia University, 1957.
- Leiby, Adrian C., The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley: The Jersey Dutch in the Neutral Ground, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980.
- _____, The United Churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh, New Jersey: 1686 – 1822, River Edge, NJ: Bergen County Historical Society, 1976.
- Memorial stone to John Outwater, Hosback Farm Cemetery, Carlstadt, New Jersey.
- Military Pension Records of Revolutionary War Soldiers. Originals in the National Archives, Washington DC; copies at the Johnson Library, Hackensack, N.J.
- New Jersey Historical Society, Archives of the State of New Jersey: Abstracts of Wills 1796-1800. Newark: New Jersey Law Journal, 1944.
- New Jersey Historical Society, Archives of the State of New Jersey: Newspaper Extracts 1752-1765. Patterson: The Call Printing Co., 1902
- New Jersey Historical Society, Archives of the State of New Jersey: Newspaper Extracts 1770-1771. Patterson: The Press Printing and Publishing Co., 1905
- New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey. "Memoirs of Dr. Peter Wilson" and assorted letters of Wilson. Manuscript group number 318.
- Philbrook, Mary. "Women's Suffrage in New Jersey Prior to 1807." Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Edward S. Rankin, ed. Somerville, NJ: Somerset Press, Inc., 1939.

Plumb, J.H. England in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Penguin Books, 1963.

Romeyn, Rev. Theodore B. Historical Discourse Delivered on Occasion of the Re-opening and Dedication of the First Reformed (Dutch) Church at Hackensack, New Jersey: May 2, 1869 New York: Board of Publication, 1870.

Taylor, Benjamin C. Annals of the Classis of Bergen of the Reformed Dutch Church. New York: Board of Publication of the Protestant Dutch Church, 1857.

Tombstone of John Outwater, Hosbach Farm Cemetery, Carlstadt, New Jersey.

Wetervelt, Frances A. History of Bergen County, NJ: 1630-1923. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1923.

ENDNOTES

-
- ¹ Bergen County Bar Association, Washington and His Army in Bergen County: November 13-21, 1776 (Hackensack, NJ: Bergen County Bar Association, 1957), p.10.
- ² Ruth M. Keeseey, Loyalty and Reprisal: The Loyalists of Bergen and Their Estates (new York: Columbia University, 1957), P. 218.
- ³ Ibid., p. 7.
- ⁴ Benjamin C. Taylor, Annals of the Classis of Bergen of the Reformed Dutch Church (New York: Board of Publication of the Protestant Dutch Church, 1857), p. 170.
- ⁵ Institute of Early American History, The Great Awakening: Documents on the Revival of Religion, 1740-1745. Richard L. Bushman, ed. (New York: Antheneum, 1969), p. 85.
- ⁶ Ibid., p. 3-87, et passim.
- ⁷ Ibid., p. 4.
- ⁸ Rev. Theodore B. Romeyn, Historical Discourse Delivered on Occasion of the Re-opening and Dedication of the First Reformed (Dutch) Church at Hackensack, New Jersey: May 2, 1869 (New York: Board of Publication, 1870), p. 58.
- ⁹ Ibid., p. 49-58, et passim.
- ¹⁰ Taylor, p. 181.
- ¹¹ Romeyn, p. 60.
- ¹² Taylor, p. 182-83.
- ¹³ A number of secondary sources state that the intense level of congregational violence at Hackensack and Schraalenburgh was not found elsewhere among Dutch churches in New York and New Jersey. There is no clear evidence of this assertion. Romeyn, p. 55.
- ¹⁴ Ibid, p. 55.
- ¹⁵ Tombstone of John Outwater, Hosbach Farm Cemetery, Carlstadt, New Jersey.
- ¹⁶ There were at least three Thomas Outwaters. The first, the son of Thys, was appointed by authorities to practice the "Suttonian System of Physick" in Orange and Bergen Counties. New Jersey Historical Society, Archives of the State of New Jersey: Newspaper Extracts (Patterson: The Press Printing and Publishing Co., 1905), VIII, 1770-1771, p. 481. The second was a 1762 Princeton College Graduate and a Dutch Reformed Church minister. He was the son of Elizabeth Outwater, a sister of John Outwater's father. The third Thomas was a loyalist in the Revolutionary war period. John Outwater may have been his cousin. New Jersey Historical Society, Archives of the State of New Jersey: Newspaper Extracts (Paterson: The Call Printing Co. 1902), V, 1762-1765, p. 637. Keeseey, p. 244.
- ¹⁷ Frances A. Wetervelt, History of Bergen County, NJ: 1630-1923 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1923), I, p. 382.
- ¹⁸ Cornelius B. Harvey, ed. Genealogical History of Hudson and Bergen Counties, New Jersey (New York: Genealogical Publishing Co.,1900), p. 169.
- ¹⁹ Memorial Stone to John Outwater. Hosbach Farm Cemetery, Carstadt, New Jersey.

-
- ²⁰ Woodford W. Clayton and William Nelson, History of Bergen and Passaic Counties (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1882), p. 82.
- ²¹ Adrian C. Leiby, The United Churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh, New Jersey: 1686 – 1822 (River Edge, NJ: Bergen County Historical Society, 1976), p. 97.
- ²² Romeyn, appendix V, VIII, IX, XXVII.
- ²³ New Jersey Historical Society, Archives of the State of New Jersey: Abstracts of Wills (Newark, New Jersey Law Journal, 1944) IX, 1796-1800, p. 271-72.
- ²⁴ Clayton, p. 401.
- ²⁵ On November 10, 1774, John posted an eight hundred pound bond obliging him to fulfill his duties “with respect to all persons whatsoever concerned as to our said Lord the King.” Bergen County Deed and Mortgage Vault, Bergen County Administration Building, Hackensack, NJ. Book C, #17
- ²⁶ Bergen County Bar Association, p. 11.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- ²⁸ Keeseey, p. 7.
- ²⁹ Westervelt, p. 103-04.
- ³⁰ Adrian C. Leiby, The Revolutionary War in the Hackensack Valley: The Jersey Dutch in the Neutral Ground (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980) p. 33.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- ³² Romeyn, p. 62-64.
- ³³ Westervelt, p. 107.
- ³⁴ Robert M. Calhoun, The Loyalists in the American Revolution: 1760-1781 (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1973), p. 367.
- ³⁵ Taylor, p. 187.
- ³⁶ Military Pension Records of Revolutionary War Soldiers, #W3502 (David R. Bogert). Originals in the National Archives, Washington, DC; Copies at the Johnson Library in Hackensack, NJ.
- ³⁷ Clayton, p. 71.
- ³⁸ Leiby, Revolutionary War, p. 127.
- ³⁹ Patrols from Outwater’s Company regularly started in Hackensack and went through such modern-day towns as River Edge, Little Ferry, Hasbrouck Heights, Moonachie, Englewood, Tenefly and Closter. Military Pension Records, #W3502 (David R. Bogart).
- ⁴⁰ In 1777, 2,000 British troops marched through Hackensack. Bogert claims his company refused to join Colonel Dey’s forces. Military Pension Records, #W3502 (David R. Bogert).

⁴¹ At least one captain in Bergen County divided his company into four groups, each of which would serve only one week a month. In this way the men were normally able to manage their properties three weeks out of every four. Military pension records, #R974 (Cornelius Board).

⁴² Keeseey, p. 23.

⁴³ Military pension records, #S1130 (Adam Vanderbeek).

⁴⁴ Westervelt, p. 108.

⁴⁵ Adrian C. Leiby correctly argued the existence of two John Loziers (Leiby, Revolutionary War, p. 144n). One was born in Hackensack and another lived in Pompton. Yet, only the pension affidavit for the Pompton Lozier was found. Apparently, the Hackensack Lozier was a member of Major Goetchius' Bergen County Rangers and was involved in the killing of a loyalist merchant who was trying to escape. Lozier and his partner were captured by the Tories and both were imprisoned until Washington secured their release (Leiby, Revolutionary War, p. 46-49.). Lozier was again seized with David R. Bogert and Ensign Terhune, the latter a member of Outwater's company, while on patrol. Thus it appears that the Hackensack Lozier may have been a member of Outwater's company. The affidavit of the Pompton Lozier shows that he was wounded in the 1781 Moonachie skirmish and that he served under Outwater. Military Pension Records, #W20525 (John Lozier).

⁴⁶ Military Pension Records, #W20525 (John Lozier).

⁴⁷ Military Pension Records, #S6575 (Abraham D. Banta).

⁴⁸ On the night of May 27, 1780, Ensign Terhune and nineteen of Outwater's militiamen, joined by thirty militiamen from the Closter area, marched to Bull's Ferry with intentions of destroying this foraging base. They abandoned this goal, but not before encountering a loyalist scouting party. The infamous Tory "John the Regular" – John Berry – was killed in the ensuing skirmish. Leiby, Revolutionary War, p. 253-57.

⁴⁹ Military Pension Records, #R974 (Cornelius D. Board).

⁵⁰ Military Pension Records, #R2860 (David R. Demarest).

⁵¹ Military Pension Records, #S1130 (Abraham Vanderbeek).

⁵² Military Pension Records, #S1130 (Abraham Vanderbeek).

⁵³ Outwater posted 330 pounds for Garrett Hopper, an accused loyalist, in November of 1777. In 1786, Outwater received a special act from the New Jersey legislature to reimburse him for a default bond. Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey, Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey, 1777 (Jersey City: John L Lyon. 1872), p. 89. Keeseey, p. 188-89.

⁵⁴ New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey. "Memoirs of Dr. Peter Wilson", manuscript group 318.

⁵⁵ Keeseey, p. 154-83, et passim.

⁵⁶ Bergen County Deed and Mortgage Vault, Book I, #51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 59, 91.

⁵⁷ Due to it's large Tory population, the revenues from confiscated property in Bergen County were much higher that elsewhere in New Jersey. Keeseey, p. 220-23.

⁵⁸ Most, like David R. Bogert, never asked for and never received discharge papers. He did not think they were necessary. Military Pension Records #W3502 (David Bogert).

⁵⁹ J.H. Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York:) Penguin Books, 1963), p. 45. Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), p. 338. It may have been to remedy this situation that Outwater's company was commissioned as one of two companies of state militia in 1780. In December of that year, Representative Peter Wilson, from Hackensack, used his influence in the state legislature to assure the designation of Outwater's company as the First Company, Bergen County State Troops, a salaried commission. New Jersey Historical Society, manuscript group #318. Papers of Peter Wilson, letter from Trenton dated December 11, 1780.

⁶⁰ The only known occurrence of an official reward for Bergen County troops was in 1780, when several residents requested that a \$1,000 reward be granted to Captain Blanch's company. Blanch's company was instrumental in the capture of John Berry during an attempted raid on the Bull Ferry Blockhouse on May 27, 1780. Keese, p. 20.

⁶¹ New Jersey Historical Society, manuscript group #318. "Memoirs of Dr. Peter Wilson

⁶² Leiby, *Revolutionary War*, p. 156.

⁶³ The captives were released by General Wayne who thought it better to encourage enemy desertion. Leiby, *Revolutionary War*, p. 225.

⁶⁴ In late 1777, or early 1778 recounts David Bogert, Major Clough of Colonel Baylor's Dragoons "pressed a quantity of grain at the house of a farmer named Berry of the use of the regiments and leave to the Sheriff to execute the writ. The Sheriff called out the Posse, when the regiment of militia assembled and our company was also called to assist the Sheriff, but good men in the place interfered and the Major allowed the writ to be served." Military Pension Records, #W3502 (David R. Bogert).

⁶⁵ Leiby, *Revolutionary War*, p. 228-31, et passim.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 236-45, et passim.

It is said that Lieutenant Adam Boyd mistook the noises outside his home as being those of his friends. "What's the matter boys?" he asked while opening the upper half of his door. The reply was swift: "You damned rebel! We will show you what the matter is." Boyd was fired upon by the invaders as he ran to his back door pursued by several Hessians. HE escaped capture, but his home was burned to the ground. Clayton, p. 194-95.

⁶⁷ Taylor, p. 63.

American casualties amounted to a boy, who had teeth knocked out by a musket ball, and Captain Outwater, who was shot below the knee. Outwater refused to have the ball removed and was buried with it in 1823. His refusal probably has more to do with a justified fear of eighteenth century medical techniques than personal pride. Clayton, p. 56.

⁶⁸ Adam Boyd served as a member of the Eighth, Eleventh and Twelfth United States Congresses. Clayton, p. 56.

⁶⁹ The Measure read: "That all free inhabitants of this state of full age....shall be entitled to vote for all public officers which shall be elected by virtue of this act, and no persons which shall be entitled to vote in any other township or precinct than that in which he or she doth actually reside at the time of election." Mary Philbrook, "Women's Suffrage in New Jersey Prior to 1807." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Edward S. Rankin, ed. (Somerville, NJ :Somerset Press, Inc., 1939), vol. 57, p. 88n.

⁷⁰ Clayton, p. 84.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 83-84.

⁷² Tombstone of John Outwater, Hosbach Farm Cemetery, Carlstadt, New Jersey.