

THE
AMERICAN FAMILY
OF
REV. OBADIAH HOLMES

BY
COL. J. T. HOLMES

COLUMBUS, OHIO
1915

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1915

A LINE OF ANCESTORS

I

OBADIAH HOLMES
b. 1606
Manchester, Eng.

m. 1630

d. 1682
Newport, R. I.

KATHERINE HYDE
b. 1608?
Manchester, Eng.

d. 1684
Newport, R. I.

II

JONATHAN HOLMES
b. 1633-4
Manchester, Eng.

m. 1665

d. 1713
Newport, R. I.

SARAH BORDEN
b. 1644
Portsmouth, R. I.

d. 1708?
Newport, R. I.

III

OBADIAH HOLMES
b. 1666
Gravesend, Long Island, N. Y.
m. 1696

d. 1745
Middletown, N. J.

ALICE ASHTON
b. 1671
Middletown, N. J.

d. 1716
Middletown, N. J.

IV

JOSEPH HOLMES
b. 1698
Middletown, N. J.

m. 1722-3

d. 1777
Upper Freehold, N. J.

ELIZABETH ASHTON
b. 1700?
Upper Freehold, N. J.

d. 1750
Upper Freehold, N. J.

A LINE OF ANCESTORS

V

OBADIAH HOLMES	MARY CLUNN
b. 1728	b. 1732
Upper Freehold, N. J.	Lamberton, N. J.
	m. 1755
d. 1794	d. 1812
Wellsburg, Va.	Indian Shortcreek, Ohio.

VI

JOSEPH HOLMES	SARAH McNABB
b. 1771	b. 1783
Mecklenburg,* Va.	Shepherdstown, Va.
	m. 1799
d. 1868	d. 1862
Indian Shortcreek, O.	Indian Shortcreek, O.

VII

ASA S HOLMES	MARY MCCOY
b. 1806	b. 1814
Indian Shortcreek, O.	Brownsville, Penna.
	m. 1837
d. 1891	d. 1901
Indian Shortcreek, O.	Indian Shortcreek, O.

Not one of all these persons was ever twice married; and from 1606 to 1901 is nearly 300 years.

*Name changed to Shepherdstown, 1775.

INTRODUCTION

In volume 64, at pages 237-239, July number, 1910, of The New England Historical and Genealogical Register is a brief outline of the immediate English ancestry and connections of Rev. Obadiah Holmes.

The research on the genealogical line, which led back to him, as the immigrant ancestor, was commenced in January, 1900, as the result of the receipt of two letters from relatives in the west, one residing at Kansas City, Missouri, and the other at Denison, Iowa. The former was seeking to settle his relationship to Colonel Joseph Holmes, 1771-1868, a pioneer of the early days in Western Pennsylvania, the Pan Handle of Virginia and Eastern Ohio, and the latter was disclosing a short page of manuscript about the family which he had received from a Rhode Island genealogist, who had disappointed him by his exceedingly limited discoveries, in that behalf.

Obtaining a literal transcript of the family record in the Bible of Col. Joseph Holmes and a similar transcript from the Bible of his son Asa, an investigation of the ancestral line was commenced, following it backward, with the design, at the outset, of tracing from son to father, noting births, names, marriages, residences and deaths, to Colonial times, if possible.

Once enlisted in the work, the enterprise and the interest grew and extended and broadened and deepened until it became the absorbing engagement—occupying every spare moment outside of the profession—of making an elaborate brief on the facts and the law of an intensely interesting *case*.

It is enough here to say that there are more than 45,000¹ manuscript pages, in bound and indexed volumes, where there was no thought, at the beginning, of ever accumulating as many as 100 pages, and, beside, there are many and various books, perhaps 1,500,² and original documents of rare interest to the collector,

¹ 75,000 }
² 2,000 } October 15th, 1914.

bearing upon the family history and its times, now in the same library.

It is in compliance with the urgent solicitations of some of the distinguished members of the family—and of many, who do not stop to think of distinction—and of outside friends, to make an outline, at least, of this accumulation, that the task is undertaken while the demands of an exacting and jealous profession are still upon the author.

The plan and hope for a half dozen years have been that a small volume of the family history might be written, which would show what is now known of it from the Knight in the train of William the Conqueror—1066—Ranulphus or Randulphus Houlme, Randolph Holmes—to the Pioneer, Obadiah Holmes, on the crest of the Appalachian range, in 1775, moving westward, with his family, as part of the tide of emigration from the seaboard colonies to the wilderness, through which for almost half a century, stretched the wavering and crimsoned line between savagery and civilization, from Wyoming to the mouth of the Beautiful River.

Such volume was to be followed by a second, like unto it, which should connect with the first and show something of the history of that pioneer and his descendants, as, in the next century and a quarter, or more, they lived and labored and struggled and fought along that line and when it was finally broken, spread away across prairies and plains and mountains, taking part in founding and building the greatest empire the world has ever seen.

The plan and hope mentioned have not been realized, and this fact, with the danger of loss of the material, by fire or other calamity, furnishes the basis of the more urgent of the solicitations to make an outline.

No extended or connected genealogy of this branch of the family, or of any part, of it, worthy of the name, has been found, and the more pretentious of the partial lists contain numerous errors or inaccuracies, omissions and imperfections. The descendants seem all to have been too busy with the present or looking forward—"still achieving; still pursuing"—to take the

backward look beyond the range of living memory and mere traditions; too busy making history to waste the time, as it must have seemed to them, to make any special record thereof; and no stranger to the blood has been found to assume the burden, financial and literary.

Such a synopsis or *resume*, as is here presented, may be useful to the descendant, or the collateral, or the stranger to the blood, who may, at some later time, undertake to compile from the record, if preserved, the larger history of the family, if such history should be left by the collector partly or wholly unwritten.

If the accumulations, in these libraries, should be lost or destroyed, original investigation and research anew from east to west, here pointed out, may be materially aided.

The credit for the Register article referred to, in opening, is largely due to Ernest Axon, Esq., genealogist and correspondent, of Manchester, England. It does not do him or his work justice, because it is a mere excerpt and condensation of a part out of the English line and the wealth of facts and data prepared and furnished by him from the records of Lancashire and Cheshire churches and offices and courts, and elsewhere in England, through some two hundred years preceding the birth of Obadiah Holmes, the immigrant, and now a portion of the accumulations mentioned.

This will not be a genealogy or a history, but a mere memorandum along a line, on which some one may later work, genealogically and historically.

By way of illustration, a careful approximate estimate was made and it was determined that, in 1790, the descendants of Rev. Obadiah Holmes then living and dead numbered five thousand.

Details, though many are at hand, cannot be given place in such an outline and the memory of what the record shows rather than a research of it must be relied on, largely.

Thanks are due and hereby cordially tendered to hundreds of correspondents, who cannot now be named. It would be ingratitude, however, even under the circumstances, not to make special mention of the indebtedness for most intelligent and valuable aid

to Judge George C. Beekman of Red Bank, New Jersey, to Judge John C. Burke of the Newport, Rhode Island, bar, and to Mrs. Mary Holmes Rue of Cream Ridge, Monmouth County, New Jersey. Colonial Archives and documents and histories of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Virginia and Pennsylvania and the Northwest Territory; county, city, village and church histories; genealogical works; state, county and family records; mortuary inscriptions, documents, letters, memories, all have contributed.

COLUMBUS, October 15, 1910.

I

REV. OBADIAH HOLMES

OBADIAH HOLMES, the immigrant to this country, was born near Manchester, England, in 1606-7. His baptism occurred at Didsbury, on the 18th day of March, 1609-10, as "Obadiath s. of Robert Hulme."

For as much as an hundred years after his birth the name continued to be spelled in different ways: Hulme, Hulmes, Hullmes, Holm, Holme, Holmes, and otherwise, when it finally, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, gradually settled down to the present form—Holmes.

The name is said by different authors to be a derivative, like Hill, Dale, Wood and others, from the character of the land or place of residence of the first person, who took and thereafter bore it, and signifies a meadow surrounded by water, low, flat land, the deposit or made land at the confluence of two rivers or streams.

Flat grounds near water in Scotland are called holms, otherwise, more fully defined "a river, island, meadow, also cultivated rising ground." Beardsley, in his English surnames, says, "An holm was a flat meadow-land lying within the windings of some valley stream."

This Obadiah was the son of Robert and Katherine Johnson Hulme, who were married at Stockport, near Manchester, on the 8th day of October, 1605. The father, Robert, was baptized August 18, 1578.

Obadiah's grandfather, Robert Hulme of Reddish in the Parish of Manchester, a very old man, was buried at Stockport, January 14, 1604-5, and his grandmother—registered as "Alyce wydow of Robte of Reddiche"—was buried at the Collegiate Church, now Cathedral, Manchester, September 7, 1610; but it is not the purpose, at this time, to trace the line further backward.

They seem to have been parliamentarians, not loyalists, during the long civil war.

On the 20th day of November, 1630, at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, Obadiah Hulme married Katherine Hyde. On the 27th day of June, 1633, they buried, at Stockport, John, "infant of Obadiah Hulmes of Redich."

With two brothers, John and Samuel, it is said that he was educated—but it is not said that he graduated—at Oxford University. Both the others matriculated. Samuel is known to have graduated. In his mature years, out of a tender conscience, Obadiah expressed regret that he had been somewhat wild and had given his loving Mother serious concern about himself and his ways when he was passing from boyhood to manhood. It seems to have been neglect and possible errancy as to religious duties and ideas. If this was the trouble, he bravely atoned for it. In 1638, Obadiah Holmes, with his wife Katherine and their son Jonathan, then perhaps a little more than three years old, sailed from Preston, on the river Ribble, in Lancashire, some twenty-eight miles northeast of Liverpool and about the same distance northwest of Manchester, for the new world. They had a tempestuous voyage and did not enter Boston harbor until six weeks had passed. There were neither Mauretanas nor Lusitanias on the high seas in those days.

Soon after landing at Boston the little family made its way up the coast and settled at Salem, destined to become, within the lifetime of the immigrant, associated in history with the prosecutions and executions for witchcraft—an association, which, like Tennyson's Brook, will "go on forever."

He was, according to the record, admitted to membership in the church at Salem on the 24th day of March, 1639, and within that year, with two others, was granted two acres of land at Salem, on which they established glass works, sometimes said to have been the first in America. They were known and styled as "glassmen." It is stated in some of the books that bits of their glass are still occasionally found on the land so granted and used. They made the common window glass.

In volume 1 of Felt's *Annals of Salem*, page 169, among first

settlers, appears the name "Obadiah Hullines, g. l."—grant of land—"1639." Austin, R. I. Dict., dates the grant December 1st of that year.

Evidently, some one in copying mistook the Hullmes for Hullines.

On page 173, same volume, Obadiah Holme and Catherine Holme became members of the First Church of Salem under the year 1639. After his name are, again, the letters "g. l."—grant of land. The latter was perhaps for the glass works.

It seems clear that it was the same man in each list.

The church had been organized August 6, 1629. It held an important meeting on the 29th of that month attended by twenty-seven members. "Mr. Increase Nowell"—of whom more anon—was one of them; no women were present.

In passing, this illustrative item is taken from the Salem record—1 Felt 198:

"Aug. 21, 1637, John Gatchell is fyned tenn shillings for bordering upon the Town ground without leave, And, in case he shall cutt of his lounge har of his head into a seuill frame in the meantime shall have abated fue shillings of his fine."

Man is a debating animal, and it has been well said that human nature is much the same in all ages. The leading subjects of discussion in and about Salem, throughout the thinly settled Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and extending into other colonies, in those days, were the church and the different phases of theology and church doctrines and practice. Indeed, these things came with the men and women from Plymouth and Leyden, beyond seas.

It is to be noted that the migration of the Pilgrims to the rocky New England shores was to escape the persecutions of the church at the old homes.

Not to reflect on our "Pilgrim Fathers" unjustly or too severely, it may be said that the religious freedom, which they sought and established in the Pilgrim Colony, was to worship God after the forms and in the ceremonies as they established them by law, or take the consequences.

Obadiah Holmes had done some thinking and been, at times, somewhat disturbed on religious subjects while attending Oxford University and prior to and after his marriage, and it seems fair to say that the legal rigidity of the established church, as he found it in the new country, disappointed him. His mental tendency was toward dissent from some of its doctrines and practices and it was neither his desire nor inclination to keep silent in the midst of religious discussion. So warm did that discussion grow, as the months and years went by, touching the teachings and practices of the established church, the multiplied points of dissent and difference and the provisions of the civil laws and their enforcement with reference thereto, that by the year 1644 the Immigrant was evidently looking forward to a change of residence, for on January 1, of that year, in a division of land at Rehoboth, sixty miles away, east, he drew lot 37, which a year later—January 10, 1645—he forfeited by failure to fence or to move his family to it. The next year, however, he moved to Rehoboth—first called Seekonk—and settled on, perhaps near, the little river of that name, so that he is sometimes in history referred to as Obadiah Holmes of Seekonk. He was excommunicated from the church at Salem, practically driven from Massachusetts—banished the colony—by religious persecution.

In the same year—1646—he joined Rev. Mr. Newman's church at Rehoboth; but he soon found that he had not removed beyond religious and other controversies when making his second settlement in the new country, and the membership of the Rehoboth church was presently divided on doctrinal and legal lines and ranged behind the minister and Obadiah Holmes, as the respective leaders.

Mr. Bliss, in his *History of Rehoboth*, issued in 1836, at page 205, says,

"The leader on the part of the Schismatists, as they were then denominated, was Obadiah Holmes, a native of Preston in Lancashire, England. The precise date of his emigration to this country is not known. He was admitted to the church in Salem, Mass., March 24, 1639; from this he was excommunicated in 1646,

removed with his family to Rehoboth and became a member of Dr. Newman's church."

From pages 46 and 63 of the volume, it appears that the Rehoboth Church disturbance was on in 1649. It must have reached a climax in that year for on the 29th day of October, Obadiah Holmes entered suit for slander against Samuel Newman, the minister—born in England in 1600, also educated at Oxford—laying his damages at £100, the slanderous charge complained of being that the plaintiff had committed perjury in some court proceeding. The defendant, Newman, confessed his error and that he did not have the facts to sustain the charge and so lost out or was cast in the litigation.

In passing, it may be said that so far, the month and day of sailing from Preston have not been ascertained; the year would seem to be fairly determined as 1638. The statement that he was a native of Preston is inaccurate and probably originated from the fact that it was his sailing point. No evidence has been found that he ever returned to England.

On the 2d day of October, 1650, he, with others of Rehoboth, was indicted by the Grand Jury, at New Plymouth, for holding meetings on the Lord's day from house to house, "contrary to the order of the court."

This looks as if there had been another excommunication. A copy of the indictment is as follows:

"October 2, 1650.

"Wee whose names are heer underwritten, being the grand inquest, doe present to this Court John Hazell, Mr. Edward Smith and his wife, Obadiah Holmes, Joseph Tory and his wife, and the wife of James Mann, William Devell and his wife, of the towne of Rehoboth, for the continuing of a meeting uppon the Lord's-day from house to house, contrary to the order of this Court, enacted June 12, 1650.

THOMAS ROBINSON,"

and others to the number of fourteen.

Among the members of that court, then sitting, were Governor

William Bradford, Capt. Miles Standish and John Alden, "gentleman."

Dr. Newman and his remaining church members had followed up the church contest and the excommunication and the disastrous slander suit by obtaining the order of June 12, 1650, as Haman had followed Mordecai and the Jews, and obtained the law against them for not keeping the "King's ordinances."

This indictment quite clearly fixes the date of the removal of Obadiah Holmes and several of his dissenting adherents and friends from Rehoboth to Newport. It was doubtless in the fall of 1650 and the removal accounts for the absence of any further record or proceedings on the indictment of October 2, 1650, on the island of Aquidneck. It was only eight miles to Providence but they chose to make the final home down at Newport. Before the removal, they were all baptized, became out and out Baptists in doctrine and practice, and Obadiah Holmes became their leader and pastor.

By the last removal, he made several things certain:

Newport was his residence the remainder of his days;

In the Rhode Island colony, he was to enjoy one of its perpetual guaranties—freedom of conscience in religious matters;

He was to enjoy there intimate and sympathetic friendship and association with men whose names in church and state, in peace and war, will never be historically dimmed. Among them, were Roger Williams, Dr. John Clarke, Gov. Arnold, Samuel Gorton and Gov. Coddington.

In July, 1651, Dr. John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall, not only acquaintances, but close church friends—not then of the established church—left Newport for a summer visit among their former neighbors in Massachusetts, and with a concern and mission for the welfare of their church in those parts.

On Sunday, July 20, they were holding religious services in the house of a blind and invalid brother, named William Witter, a little way out of Lynn, some few of the neighbors having assembled there for the services. While Dr. Clarke was reading and expounding passages of scripture, two constables, with a warrant for the three visitors, broke in on the scene and arrested them.

The magistrate who issued the warrant was Robert Bridges. The offense charged against them consisted, in brief, in conducting such religious services in non-conformity with the statutes in such cases made and provided. They were worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and not in the places and according to the prescriptions and forms of the civil law regulating the worship in what was called the established church, and they were declaring doctrines on the subject of baptism which it regarded as heretical, in a high degree.

The exact form of the judgments pronounced against them is at hand and will show, not only the offense charged but the sentences ultimately imposed by the court.

The arresting officer, in the supposed discharge of his duty, took them from Mr. Witter's to the church, which the civil law required them to attend, and when they failed to remove their hats knocked them off their heads.

There was a polite wish expressed by Clarke and Holmes that they might be heard on the questions about which they disagreed with the representatives and adherents of the established religion. and when the privilege was denied them, Holmes seems to have been somewhat insistent on speaking out in meeting, and so, as well as by holding a service and administering the rite of baptism on the next day, incurred the extra £10 assessed against him, when the court came to measure up the fines.

Two days later—July 22d—they were taken down to Boston, a dozen miles, committed to the common jail and the trial before the General Court began one week later, as the date is recalled.

The members of the Court were

“JOHN INDICOTT, Governour.
THO. DUDLEY, Deputy Govern.
RICH. BELLINGHAM.
WILLIAM HIBBINS.
ENCREASE NOWELL.”

The trial or hearing was what would be called in the phrase and figure of these days “a howling farce.” It was the assumption by the Governor—Endicott—and his assistants of the guilt of the

accused and the practical stifling of the defense when Clarke and Holmes sought to speak in their own vindication. The members of the court shot questions at them, or made statements to them, which showed their guilt prejudged. Rev. John Cotton, the New England Divine, who had once barely escaped a charge of heresy, himself, and who, showing the zeal of the convert, afterward, in the lifetime of the accused, boldly defended and sought to justify roasting witches to death, mixed into the hearing, with denunciation and coarse abuse of the prisoners. The violence of some of the bystanders, in the presence of the court, and without its rebuke, went so far that Holmes was assaulted, struck, and cursed by a spectator, a minister of the Gospel of peace, Rev. John Wilson, who said with the blow, "The curse of God or Jesus go with thee," while in the custody of an officer, in the presence of the court, and within the protection of the law.

The judgment of the highest tribunal of the Colony—the General Court—was in substance:

That Obadiah Holmes pay a fine of £30 or be well whipped;
That John Clarke pay a fine of £20 or be well whipped; and
That John Crandall pay a fine of £5 or be well whipped.

The latter fell under condemnation for being in supposed bad company. He does not appear to have done or said anything to which exception was taken, otherwise.

The exact words of one of the sentences will give a comprehensive idea of all of them and of the intolerant spirit of the law, as interpreted and administered, and of the times.

"The Sentence of Obediah Holmes of Seacuck, the 31 of the 5th M. 1651.

"Forasmuch as you Obediah Holmes, being come into this Jurisdiction about the 21 of the 5th M. did meet at one William Witters house at Lin, and did hear privately (and at other times being an Excommunicate person did take upon you to Preach and to Baptize) upon the Lords day, or other dayes, and being taken then by the Constable, and coming afterward to the Assembly at Lin, did in disrespect of the Ordinance of God and his Worship, keep on your hat, the Pastor being in Prayer, insomuch that you

would not give reverence in veiling your hat, till it was forced off your head to the disturbance of the Congregation, and professing against the Institution of the Church, as not being according to the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and that you the said Obediah Holmes did upon the day following meet again at the said William Witters, in contempt to Authority, you being then in the custody of the Law, and did there receive the Sacrament, being Excommunicate, and you did Baptize such as were Baptized before, and thereby did necessarily deny the Baptism that was before administered to be Baptism, the Churches no Churches, and also other Ordinances, and Ministers, as if all were a Nullity: And also did deny the lawfullness of Baptizing of Infants, and all this tends to the dishonour of God, the despising the ordinances of God among us, the peace of the Churches, and seducing the Subjects of this Commonwealth from the truth of the Gospel of Iesus Christ, and perverting the strait waies of the Lord, the Court doth fine you 30 pounds to be paid, or sufficient sureties that the said sum shall be paid by the first day of the next Court of Assistants, or else to be well whipt, and that you shall remain in Prison till it be paid, or security given in for it.

By the Court,

ENCREASE NOWELL."

They were recommitted to the common jail. They were not without friends and sympathizers, however. The friends of Clarke and Crandall speedily raised the amounts of their fines and paid them, so that they were promptly released, really before they were advised as to what was going on, in that respect.*

The fine of the other was heavier and it required a little more time to raise the amount, but his friends were ready to pay it when he learned what they were proposing to do.

He promptly forbade the payment of the fine, making it a matter of conscience, and his scruples, in that behalf, were respected.

It was the clear perception by him of the far-reaching principle

*Brooks Adams, in his *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, says that Crandall's fine was never paid.

involved. That principle had been in a struggle, at a disadvantage, often apparently hopelessly lost, in the British Isles and on the Continent for hundreds of years; but its elements were eternal, immutable—it *would* “rise again.”

That principle was religious freedom, the right of every man, woman and child to worship God according to the dictates of his or her own conscience.

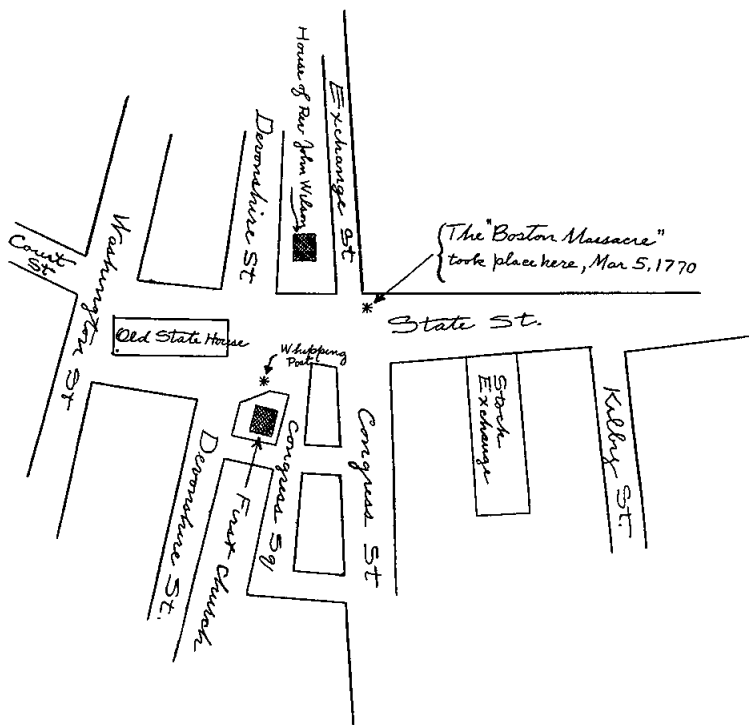
Obadiah Holmes denied the right of the civil power to thrust its hand or its mace between man and his Maker. He stood loyally and faithfully by the divine, the higher, law and was governed by and responsible to it alone in his relations to the Creator and Governor of the Universe.

It is remembered that the primary definition of a martyr is one who yields his life for the cause, but there is a secondary and broader definition: “One who suffers death or grievous loss in defense or on behalf of any belief or cause, or in consequence of supporting it.”

Unavailing efforts were made to induce him to recant, at least, so far that the alternative of corporal punishment might be avoided. The 5th day of September, 1651, came and he was taken from the jail, where he had been confined from the date of arrest, stripped naked down to the waist—he refused to aid by touching even a button of his clothing—tied to the post and publicly whipped.

Before the whipping began, they waited a while, expecting “Gouvernour Indicott’s” presence, “but he came not,” and, at last a Mr. Flint in presence of Mr. Encrease Nowell, one of the Judges, an elder in the Church, “saith to the Executioner, ‘Fellow, doe thine Office, for this fellow would but make a long speech to delude the people.’”

Take that lashing to the understanding, just as it occurred. There were thirty strokes, with a three-cord whip—ninety strokes in all, in a sense—held by the robust executioner, not in one hand, but in both hands. The strokes did not follow each other quickly, or lightly, to the end of the number. The testimony comes down to us from that day, uncontradicted, unqualified. The blows were laid on slowly and with all the strength of the



Location of Whipping Post

officer wielding the instrument of torture. There was a pause after each as if to give the officer time to recover the strength, which its delivery had exhausted. The punishment proceeded with great deliberation. The executioner was giving the bystanders an exhibition of his skill on the body of an adjudicated malefactor. Each blow must be within the ancient definition and injunction—"well laid on;" the criminal must not only be punished as his crime deserved, but he must be made to show his suffering under the punishment. Slowly the white stripes grow red and blue and black welts as the beating proceeds. Presently, the blood begins to ooze from spots of the broken flesh; then more, and more, and more, broken spots add their contributions and the life current begins to trickle in little streams down to the waist to soak into the clothing. On, and on, and on, go the fearful cuttings of the lash which, itself, is growing red, but no sound or evidence of pain or suffering has escaped the bleeding victim. The executioner throws into the blows the last atom of strength. Not to elicit a moan will be to suffer disgrace, himself, in the eyes of the onlookers. He spits on his hands, at intervals, three times, at least, during the scourging, to gain time, to increase and protract, the suffering of the offender and to give himself a surer, firmer hold of the whip stock. Still slowly the count proceeds, every fifteen to twenty seconds, or longer; "twenty-five"—"twenty-six"—"twenty-seven"—"twenty-eight"—"twenty-nine"—"thirty;" and the brutality ended; it was atrocious.

The blood is running into the Martyr's shoes past all the soaking of the clothes. The thongs or wristlets, which bound him to the post, are loosened; the law has taken full satisfaction out of his flesh and blood—it was a punishment really in violation of law—but it has not touched the heroic spirit. There has not been a groan or a murmur from the victim. The first sound from his lips were the words to the magistrates, who stood about as witnesses, "*You have struck me as with roses,*" and to his dying day, more than thirty-one years later, he testified that he did not suffer pain while the punishment was being inflicted, though there were many days afterward, running into weeks, during

which his only rest and sleep were obtained by a sort of lying or resting on his knees and elbows.

Several of his friends, who expressed sympathy with him when he was released, were arrested, imprisoned and fined for so doing, among them, John Hazel, a man said to have been between sixty and eighty years of age, rather infirm, who had traveled more than fifty miles, from Rehoboth, to be with his friend Holmes in his troubles. So broken was Mr. Hazel by his arrest, imprisonment, fine and ill treatment, for his devotion to the sufferer, that he died within ten days, and before reaching his home.

The cruellest purpose in all the unholy business, however, was in the issue of a new warrant, in an effort to re-arrest Obadiah Holmes, try and sentence him again and whip that sore back before he could leave Boston. The purpose was crueller than death—it is a species of libel on death to make such a comparison. His friends defeated the purpose, however, by spiriting him away.

Those who stirred the fires at Oxford about the Bishops, Latimer and Ridley, on the 16th of October, 1555, or the Indians who danced around the burning Crawford on Tymochte Creek, on June 11, 1782, had no more cruelty in their hearts; and one is reminded of what Latimer said, and of what is said about him, on that last day. The Bishops were then chained to the stakes.

"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as, I trust, shall never be put out." He "received the flame as it were embracing it. After he had stroked his face with his hands and, as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, as it appeared, with very little pain, or none."

Obadiah Holmes returned to Newport and in 1652, succeeding Dr. John Clarke, he became the second minister of the first Baptist Church in America. Providence claims to have the first, but the clear weight of the evidence seems to be the other way, though the issue is not now very material.

When he was whipped there were eight living children in his family; the ninth was born afterward.

The martyrdom of the father put no spot or stain on any of

them and in a few years, comparatively, the shame which intolerance, the lash, the thumbscrew, the pillory, the gibbet, the fagot and even the hideous *peine forte et dure*—pressing to death between two thick strong planks—of the Dark Ages brought to Massachusetts, made it safe for a Baptist, a Quaker, a dissenter or confessor of any sort, or even an Infidel, to visit Boston, or Salem, or Lynn, or live anywhere in safety in the great old Colony.*

A writer for that same Memorial History—mentioned in Mr. Bartlett's foot note—letting his prejudice or his resentment run away with him, or losing his grip on his good taste, discussing the incident in Boston's history says, "The Court sentenced the offenders to pay respectively a fine of five, twenty, and in the case of Holmes, thirty pounds, 'or be well whipped.' The fines of Crandall and Clarke were paid, against their wishes by friends. Holmes, not allowing this in his own case, was cruelly whipped. He had previously been in trouble in Plymouth and was regarded as a nuisance here."

Then, after describing and dwelling on the offenses and the legal status of the times, in a religious way, he utters a sweeping vindication of the "nuisances," "contumelious strangers" and their principles and contentions, in these words, before he leaves the page:

"It is a sad story. Most pure and excellent and otherwise inoffensive persons were sufferers and generally patient ones. But the struggle was a brief one. The Baptists conquered in it and came to equal esteem and love with their brethren. Their fidelity

*Asked with reference to the exact location of the whipping post, Hon Joseph G Bartlett, of Boston, under date of September 1st, 1910, furnishes the sketch map and the photograph card herewith presented.

He says

"The whipping post was situated in front of the first church (See Winsor's 'Memorial Hist. of Boston,' Vol. 1, p 506; there are other authorities all of which agree) The first church was located on the site of the present Brazier Building, No. 27 State St.

"The house of Rev. John Wilson was directly opposite, so that worthy could have had a reserved seat in his chamber to witness and enjoy the castigation of Obadiah Holmes. At the next corner the 'Boston Massacre' took place I enclose a photo of the end of the Old State House which looks down on the spot where the whipping post stood"

The photograph represents the reading of the Declaration of Independence, July 18th, 1776.

was one of the needful and effective influences in reducing the equally needful but ineffective intolerance of the Puritan Commonwealth."

The victim's own account of the transaction, written soon after the return to Newport to London friends, is quite full and specific, but is without a word of bitterness, and in all that has been preserved of his writings, language or sentiments, not an expression from him has so far been found of passion or resentment or ill-will toward any human being. The spirit manifested on the instant of his release from the whipping-post seems to have remained with him down to the end of his life. "I told the Magistrates"—he wrote—"You have struck me as with Roses;" and said moreover, 'Although the Lord hath made it easie to me, yet I pray God it may not be laid to your charge' " Such an utterance while the blood was still flowing from the quivering flesh of that back, lacerated by three times thirty lashes, was saintly, if it did not mount to the miraculous.

The activity, standing and influence of Obadiah Holmes in Rhode Island and in other colonies and portions thereof were very marked in the years which followed his martyrdom. The church at Newport was his permanent charge for more than thirty years and his devotion to it and its interests was uninterrupted and unswerving, so long as he lived.

March 11, 1655-6, the records show his name in the list of jurors for the General Court held at Warwicke, Roger Williams presiding, with the words "put out" following the name. Next morning he appeared as one of the court commissioners for Newport. The "put out" as a juror probably meant that he had not yet been admitted or received as a freeman of that Colony.

On the 17th of March, 1656, he appeared at Warwicke as one of the eight court commissioners—the General Assembly—for Newport, Roger Williams, moderator. On the 20th of May, 1656, he, with others, was received as a freeman of the Colony. Next day he sat as one of the six court commissioners from Newport. "John Sanford, *Clarke*."

He was again one of the commissioners of the General Court,

"held for the Collony at Warwicke, November 2d, 1658," Benedict Arnold, moderator.

John Crandall was one of the court commissioners from Newport to the General Court, held at Providence, May 17, 1659. He was a commissioner, again, May 22, 1662.

Through these years, Dr. John Clarke was in England as the Colony's agent, looking after the people's interests in the contest over the charter and resisting the proposal of Massachusetts and Connecticut to divide and absorb Rhode Island. The General Assembly was carefully looking after him and the interests, which he was safeguarding at the courts of the Protector and the King, in succession. The people finally won.

It was a notable victory to which Dr. Clarke gave a dozen years of his life, and Charles II is entitled to have some of his follies forgotten and to have the lasting credit of guaranteeing to Rhode Island autonomy and the principles not only of civil, but of religious, liberty. Under that guaranty there were no whippings "for conscience sake."

The words of the Charter, issued July 8, 1663, on the vital point, were, "We"—"have therefore thought fit, and do hereby publish, grant, ordain and declare, That our royal will and pleasure is that *no person within the said Colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any differences in opinion in matters of religion.*"

From 1641 down to 1688 Samuel Hubbard was a resident of Newport, a lawyer of those days, a man of affairs and, part of the time, the General Attorney of the Colony. He kept a record through that long period in the form of a diary, with his correspondence, which was preserved in part, at least, down to the middle of the nineteenth century. He and his family were for more than twenty years members of the First Baptist Church of Newport.

It is noted that in 1657 Mr. Hubbard and his pastor went on a preaching tour to the Dutch on Long Island, so that the minister's subsequent interests in that region and beyond were founded on some previous knowledge.

By the way, Hubbard had been sent by the Church, August 7,

1651, "to visit the bretherin who was imprisoned in Boston jayl for witnessing the truth of baptizing believers only, viz., Brother John Clarke, Bro. Obadiah Holmes and Bro. John Crandall."

About 1655, Hubbard and wife parted company or sympathy with the pastor and the church on the doctrine of Sabbath observance. They gradually became pronounced Seventh Day Baptists. The actual withdrawal of Hubbard and his wife and daughter, with four others, from the church and the formation by them of the first Seventh Day Baptist Church in America are dated December 23, 1671; and while that church controversy, according to the Hubbard mss., grew warm among former familiars, it did not extend to the disturbance, apparently, of their personal friendships.

Through years of research, assurances of talented and capable men and women, who had made investigations, were accumulated, that a manuscript volume of certain original documents from the pen of Rev. Obadiah Holmes, known to have been long preserved, had been hopelessly lost or destroyed, and in some instances copies were generously offered in the room and stead of originals, but the search for the latter was never quite wholly abandoned.

In 1901, it was confidently stated that the boundaries of the Holmes farm, at Newport, Rhode Island, could not be found or traced; in 1910, they were found and traced by both the original deed and the plat—annexed to it—of date "ye first day of March Sixteen hundred and fifty seven." The land bounded "on ye sea, on ye southwest and ye south." There were some four hundred acres of the tract, acquired at the date mentioned, together with a one-fourth interest in an adjacent planting tract. The land had been known as the "Sachusset farm" and was retained by the minister through the remainder of his life.

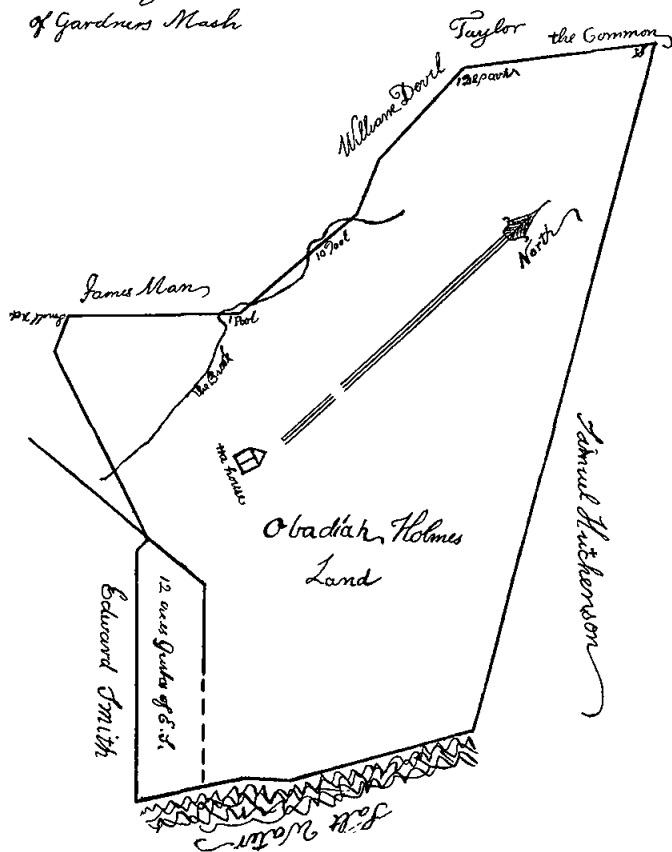
It was located on salt water, on the western shore of an arm of the sea, called the Seconnet River.

The deeds and plats and illustrations make clear the precise location and boundaries of the Holmes farm. The land had been acquired jointly by the four men named before the date of the deed of March 1, 1657, by which the minister became sole owner of the title in fee.

The Planting Field is his Side
of Gardeners Marsh

Woods

Allen



Holmes Farm 1657

The Holmes Burying Ground, hereafter described in some detail, is located on the farm and makes a sort of retaining point from and to which family history may be traced with a species of accuracy, in some respects and some directions, which doubtful traditions and inventions and imaginations and perversions and the flight of years may not affect, or discredit, or obliterate.

He acquired and owned other lands because an original deed for them is produced, which he made to his son Jonathan for, the consideration named, "one hundred and five pounds and tenn shillings" and considerations mentioned in his will, conveying "all my housing and lands lying and being within the presinks of the town of Newport aforesaid," bounded northerly by the farm of Stephen Burton of Boston, eastwardly by the sea or salt water that runs up to Portsmouth, southerly or southwardly by the lands of Phillip Smith, James Man and William Devill and north-west by a highway or common, "all which said parcels of land so butted and bounding containing one hundred acres, more or less, with dwelling houses and houses, barns and all and singular the premises and appurtenances thereto appertaining or belonging, to my said son Jonathan Holmes and his heirs and assigns forever for him and them to have and to hold, with sixty sheep six cows tenn oxen," with special warranty, "this ninth day of Aprill 1681."

Signed "Obadiah Hullme."

Witnessed by "Edward Thurston" and "Weston Clarke."

Mann and Devill and Smith are names found as companions in the Plymouth indictment of October 2, 1650.

It is tradition that Obadiah Holmes, "the confessor," as he is sometimes styled in history, brought with him when he came to America the first tall clock that was ever brought into the country. The clock is now in the rooms of the Long Island Historical Society of New York, still marking time after, at least, two hundred and seventy-two years of such duty.

It is stated that such clocks were so rare in those earlier days that, as a rule, only royalty or the nobility could afford them.

The present clock case is evidently more modern than the movement and the latter, no doubt, came over packed in a box

and was first cased or swung to a wall, in Salem, Massachusetts, in the early winter or spring of 1638-9.

The day this photograph was received, it was shown the author's driver and he was told the clock had been keeping time nearly two hundred and seventy years and was still running on Long Island; catching his breath and looking his informant in the face for a moment, he said, "Well! what do you think o' that?" There was no answer.

The "genealogical" inscription on the paper under the glass door in front of the weights and pendulum, and which "took white" and is illegible, in the photograph, is in these words:

"This Clock was presented
by
John H. Baker, Esq. of Brooklyn
in May, 1869
To the Long Island Historical Society

This clock has been running for over 200 years. It was brought to this country from London in 1639, by the Rev. Obadiah Holmes, at whose death it passed to his oldest son Jonathan, then to Jonathan's son Joseph who left it to his son John Holmes who was the great grandfather of the donor."

* * * * * * *

The remainder of the inscription is historical of the minister and contained in substance in this sketch.

Well on toward the end of his life, when the shadows were lengthening away to the east, "the Generall Assembly of the Collony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, held at Newport" on "Aprill the 4th," 1676, when King Philip was waging his war of extermination against the whites, and when these words from the Harper Encyclopædia tersely show the situation,

"In the spring of 1676 the work of destruction began. In the course of a few weeks the war extended over a space of almost 300 miles. Weymouth, Groton, Medfield, Lancaster and Marlborough in Massachusetts, were laid in ashes. Warwick and

Providence in Rhode Island were burned, and isolated dwellings of settlers were everywhere laid waste. About 600 inhabitants of New England were killed in battle or murdered; twelve towns were destroyed entirely, and about 600 buildings were burned,"

"Voted, that in these troublesome times and straites in this Collony, this Assembly desiringe to have the advice and concurrence of the most juditious inhabitants, if it may be had for the good of the whole, doe desire at their next sittinge the Company and Councill of Mr Benedict Arnold, Mr John Clarke, Mr James Barker, Mr Obadiah Holmes, Mr William Vaughan, Mr William Hiscocks, Mr Christopher Holder, Mr Phillip Shearman, Capt'n John Albro, Mr William Wodell, Mr George Lamton, Mr Robert Hodgson, Mr William Carpenter, Mr Gregory Dexter, Capt. Randall Houldon and Capt. John Greene; and the Generall Sargeant to inform the severall persons the Assembly's desire herein.

"Voted, this Assembly is adjourned till Tuesday next, the 11th instant."

This was Gov. Arnold, the great grandfather of the General, who went astray in loyalty to the patriot cause during the Revolution. He was Governor of the colony under the Royal Charter in all, some seven years after 1662, and in 1670 was sent to England as its agent.

The descent of General Arnold from the Governor is traced by Charles Burr Todd in "The Real Benedict Arnold," issued in 1903.

Among the persons so consulted, was Christopher Holder, a Quaker, who landed in Boston, July 27, 1656, and for his faith was whipped there September 23, 1657. There were thirty stripes laid on, "as near as the hangman could in one place, measuring his ground and fetching his strokes with great strength and advantage." November 22, 1659, he was banished the colony of Massachusetts, one of his ears being cut off. He became a freeman of Rhode Island in 1673, and died at Newport, January 13, 1688.

These two striking examples of persecution for the faith that

was in each, lived many years after punishment, as did others; some were tortured and some were killed outright.

One of the partners of Obadiah Holmes in the glass business at Salem, from 1638 to 1645, was Lawrence Southwick. His wife's name was Cassandra. Their daughter's name was Provided. Their sons names were Josiah and Daniel. The family were Quakers. In the course of the persecutions against that people, under a judgment imposing fines for their religious faith and practice, it was ordered by the General Court that Provided and Daniel, who had no separate property—they had just attained majority—should be sold into slavery to pay the fines, the expectation being that ship captains, then in Salem harbor, would buy them and carry them away to Virginia or Barbadoes; in fact, the judgment ordered the transportation.

A telling illustration appears in the Essex Antiquarian, and there is one not quite so striking in Drake's New England Legends. Governor Endicott and one of the Judges, in gay apparel, appeared, with a priest—a churchman—between them, mounted on fine horses and in presence of a crowd, the High Sheriff crying his sale of the comely maiden, meekly standing by. No one would bid for her or carry her away on shipboard, a temporary victory for the people, and the sister and brother were finally released. This was in 1658, seven years after Obadiah Holmes had been publicly whipped.

For some reason, by mistake, or otherwise, Whittier gave the mother's name to the daughter, in the poem.

"Speak out my worthy seamen! no voice, no sign replied;

* * * * *

"And when again the Sheriff spoke that voice so kind to me

Growled back its stormy answer like the roaring of the sea,—

"'Pile my ship with bars of silver, pack with coins of Spanish gold,

From keel-piece up to deck-plank the roomage of her hold,

By the living God who made me! I would sooner in your bay

Sink ship and crew and cargo than bear this child away!

"Well answered, worthy Captain Shame on their cruel laws!

Ran through the crowd in murmurs loud, the people's just applause."

The Southwicks were banished the Colony and took refuge on

Shelter Island, New York, where Lawrence and his wife soon died, it is said, "within three days of each other."

Another partner in the glass business was Ananias Conklin.

I know how futile and useless, and, in a way, how unjust it is, but I confess to a feeling of deepest horror, indignation and resentment against the burnings, scourgings, maimings, persecutions and banishments of those days, down to about 1695.

As I look back at them, in some detail, the laws would seem to have been enacted by lunatics and enforced by fiends incarnate.

In the year 1675 the minister, for the reasons stated by himself, wrote several distinct messages which he designed and intended to leave at the close of his life to the persons or classes in each indicated. The style and size of the paper used in these writings are shown by the photograph of a page, number four, of the first of the documents in his book, bound up, where there are in all six of them, which may be described as follows:

1. An address in the nature of a letter—and that is the nature of each number—to his friends and brethren, touching his own life and conduct, probably more than a dozen pages.

2. A declaration of faith at the solicitation of his Brother Robert and other friends and brethren, embracing thirty-five separate theses covering, in general terms, the whole ground of his religious belief and practice, in seven or eight pages.

3. A letter to his wife, presently copied in full, four pages.

4. A letter to his children also copied in full, four pages.

5. A letter to his "dear and well beloved brethren the Church of Christ at Newport on Rhode Island."

"In 1675." "Obadiah Hullme."

Six and a half pages.

6. A letter unto the world, containing fifteen pages; followed by this note:

"Copied to 50th page inclusive, which ends the present ms. Remaining leaves are cut off, stubs remaining."

These are the "Holmes documents," in connection with testator's will, which have been a sort of *ignis fatuus* through full ten years of search, at times, as stated, almost abandoned as hopeless.

Through the courtesy of a descendant of Rev. Obadiah Holmes, Mr. C. M. Bull of Newport, in this year 1910, neither genealogist nor lawyer will have such a search for them, or copies, in the next three hundred years.

Finding the deeds and plat of 1657 and the deed of 1681 and the inventory of 1682, was a genuine surprise.

In the years since the memoirs were written, some purloiner improved an opportunity to cut out the last five sheets, as the stubs show, and so secure a specimen of the minister's writing, his final sentiments on a lofty theme and his final signature and authentication of his final messages.

Extracts are made from some of these documents.

From the first:

"The twentieth day of the tenth month in the year 1675 I Obediah Hullme now come to the evening of the day being sixty-nine years old there or thereabouts and wishing to give some account of my estate and condition, what it was, and what it is, and what my hopes are, what shall be hereafter, unto my friends and relations whether in old England or new, considering I have had so many requests and desires from brethren and friends as I have had to that end, and purpose, and I know not but it may be some occasion to provoke some others to try their evidences themselves, and not to take all on trust as I fear many are too apt to do. * * * *

"And first I must remember my honored parents who were faithful in their generation, and of good report among men, and brought up their children tenderly and honorably Three sons they brought up aright to the University at Oxford but the most of their care was to inform and to instruct them in the fear of the Lord, and to that end gave them much good counsell, bringing them often before the Lord by earnest prayer, but I the most rebellious of all did neither hearken to counsel nor any instruction, for from a child I minded nothing but folly, and vanity, * * * * I was not only rebellious against my parents but against the Lord, * * * * continuing in such a course for four or five years; and then began to bethink me what counsel my dear parents and my dear mother had given me, many a call many a time with tears and prayers, my rebellion to my honored parents then looked me in open face, and my dear mother being sick it struck me my disobedience caused her death, which forced me to confess the same to her, my evil ways and danger

"* * * * I had done before but all this while I never considered sin according to the true nature of it as huge, loathsome to the Lord, but as it brought judgment upon me or on man yet was I fearful to sin and began to love to read the scriptures and frequent in prayer and other

duties, and took delight among professors that were of the strictest sort easily seeing the gross evil and danger of the formal ministers and professors and so the conformity was only superstition, a name. Yet for all that I had no rest in my soul, though I was in a manner as strict as any, and as I was enlarged in sorrow for sin or deep in humiliation, enlarged in prayer or filled with tears, my comfort came in and increased but as I failed in them so my sorrow was renewed and when I looked over my best performances found them full of sin. Oh then the fears doubts and questions of my own estate, I judged it was all done in hypocrisy which sin my soul did then abhor. Even in this sad and doubtful state I continued very long, yea many years, and although I could speak comfortably to others yet had often much disquiet within my soul and so was my comforts according to my enlargements.

"Not long after this there was in me a great love to the Lord, but alas! I was deceived by my own heart and the ministers who told me there must be such and such a love to him as to keep to him in duty and to part with all for him, but they left me short of understanding him as I should and my selfish heart was willing to love him or part with all for him yea, my dear honored father, brethren and friends, house and lands and my own native country for time, and to avoid the popish relics of the Bishops and that filthy hellish rabble and to separate from them and all those that mentioned them and was fully known in my own country, and adventure the danger of the seas to come to new England, where I tried all things in several churches and for a time thought I had made a good choice or change but in truth it little differed from former times and my spirit was like a wave tossed up and down, as not yet come to dig so deep as I should, or to consider the only ground of a well grounded hope, * * * *

"Now considering that I am come to the evening of the day I may expect my change every moment and the great desolations in this day causeth me to consider what is my hope and expectation for another life immortal forever, yea, everlasting.

* * * * *

"The Lord moved my heart to write these lines that they might speak forth my mind if I should lie down in silence, if I should be taken away suddenly by the enemy or die with sickness and my senses or memory should fail me; that then my dear and near relations, and my brethren natural and spiritual and the world may know what I was what I am and what I expect to be and enjoy; and it may be some may make but a scorn of what is writ and others slight the same; but it may be some may ponder and weigh the same and if any receive either information or comfort give the glory unto the Lord forever and ever, Amen."

From the second:

"For this faith and profession I stand and have sealed the same with my blood at Boston in New England and hope through the strength of my Lord

shall be enabled to witness the same to death altho I am a poor unworthy creature and all my righteousness are as filthy rags and have nothing to plead or to say or to fly unto but to grace and have nothing to rest on but only on the free mercy of God in and through Jesus Christ my Lord and Saviour to whom be honor and glory and praise forever and ever Amen

"Thus have I given you an humble and true account of my standing and of my dear wife's standing in our faith and order that you may consider the same comparing what is written by the Holy scriptures which are highly esteemed as our rule to-wards God and man committing this and you to the wisdom and counsel of God Yours in all love to serve continually having you in our prayers, fare ye well.

"This for Mr John Angher, and my brother Robert Hullme, and brother-in-law, and sisters; with Mary Howly, and to them that love and serve the Lord

"For Robert Hullme at his house in Redish near Gorton Chapel in the parish of Manchester.

"This deliver with care.

In Lancashire."

The third and fourth are the letters to the wife and children, respectively. Their spirit and expression are so tender, true, wise and catholic in the relations which they illustrate, that not a syllable of apology is offered for printing, in this little book, from the originals, every syllable of each, just as the author left it two hundred and thirty-five years ago.

"A letter to my dear wife, if she remain in the land of the living, after my departure, as a true token of my love unto her.

"My most dear wife, my heart hath ever cleaved to thee ever since we came together and is knit to the in death which is the cause of these lines as a remembrance of Gods goodness to us in continuing us together almost forty years not deminishing us in our off spring since the first day till now only our first born who hath made all our conditions comfortable to us whether infullness or emptiness lifted up or thrown down, in honor or disgrace sickness or health by giving us contentation and love one with and to another but more in a special manner in causing his fear to fall upon us and his love to be placed in our hearts and to know his will and to conform us to the obedience of the same as to be willing to take up the cross and to follow the Lord not fearing what man can do unto us for the Lord being on our side who can be against us, for with his rod and staff he hath comforted us, yea hath been our present help in a needful time; and we have cause while we live to praise his holy name while we are together and when death doth separate us that the longer liver many praise him while breath remains.

"Wherefor I, having some thought I may go away before thee, having signs or tokens that my day is but short and it may fall out I cannot or may

not speak to thee at the last shall give thee some considerations for thy meditations in a time of trouble or affliction that they may speak when I cannot if the Lord please to speak in them and by them consider how the Lord carried thee all along ever since thou hadst a being in this world as by tender parents and since thou camest from them the Lord hath provided for thee and preserved thee in many dangers both by sea and land and given thee food and raiment with contentation and he hath increased our store sometimes to our admiration also continuing our health in very great measure as also given us great posterity who hath increased to a great number and hath provided for them in a comfortable manner and that the Lord hath kept them from such evils as might have befallen them to our grief but we have had comfort in them, as also consider the peace we have enjoyed and love we have obtained from our friends and neighbours and strangers, yet my dear wife these things are but common favours that many may have their part in, but consider that choice particular favor that many receive not which God hath given to thee in choosing and calling thee to the knowledge of himself and his dear son which is life eternal and to draw thy heart to cleave to him alone esteeming him as the chief good as a pearl of great price or worth and causing thy heart to part with all for him which love hath constrained thee to hearken to his voice inquiring what his will was that thou might obey his holy will and commandments so as to serve him in thy generation. Oh! consider that great love of the Lord to cause thy soul to cleave to him alone and so he to be thy only portion so that he having given thee his son hath with him given thee all things thou dost enjoy and so to be to thee both in life and death thy advantage, the consideration of which causes me to put thee now in mind when I am removed, to consider him as thy husband as thy father as thy Lord and Saviour alone who hath said whom he loveth he loveth to the end and that he will not leave them nor forsake them neither in the six nor seven troubles but carry them through all till he bring them to glory wherefore lift up thy heart and be not discouraged and say to thy soul why art thou so disquieted within me hope in God and trust in his name and thou shalt not be disappointed, and let thy love to me end in this that it is better for me to be out of the body and to be with the Lord, at rest with him, and to be freed from that body of sin and death which I was in while I was in this present evil world, which caused much sorrow of heart to me in secret, for when I would do good evil was present with me, and consider the fears you had concerning me every day both for pains and weakness, and dangers of the many troubles that might befall me, but now let thy soul say he is out of all dangers, freed from sin and satan, and all enemies and doubts, and death is past, and is overcome and conquered, and he is at rest in a bed of quietness as to the body and with the Lord in spirit, but at the resurrection that weak, corrupt, mortal body shall be received immortal and glorious, and shall see and know as he is known therefore say, why shall I mourn

as one out of hope but rather rejoice in hope of the glorious resurrection of the just And now my dear wife do thou live by the faith of the son of God, exercise patience and let patience have its perfect work in thee. It will be but a little while before thy day will end and thy time will come to sleep with me in rest and that he that will come will come and will not tarry; keep close to the Lord in secret, be much with God in prayer and improve every season for thy souls advantage; in special in holy meditations. Be cheerful and rejoice in God continually care not for the things of this world, say not what shall I eat or wherewith shall I be clothed, for thy Father knoweth what thou hast need of and he hath given thee much more of these things than ever thou or I could expect or have deserved, and thou hast enough and to spare if his good pleasure be to let thee enjoy the same, if not he alone is a sufficient portion, yet I question not but he will preserve what thou hast and bless it to thee; wherefore make use of that he is pleased to let thee enjoy, I say make use of it to thy present comfort, and now thou art but weak and aged cease from thy labour and great toil and take a little rest and ease in thy old age live on what thou hast for what the Lord hath given us I freely have given thee for thy life to make thy life comfortable wherefore see thou doeth it so long as house, land or cattle remain, make much of thyself and at thy death then what remains may be disposed of according to my will; and now my dear wife whom I love as my own soul I commit thee to the Lord who hath been a gracious merciful God to us all our days, not once doubting but he will be gracious to thee in life or death and will carry thee through this valley of tears with his own supporting hand. Sorrow not at my departure but rejoice in the Lord and again I say rejoice in the God of our salvation, and in nothing be careful but make thy request to him who only is able to supply thy necessities and to help thee in time of need unto whom I commit thee for counsel wisdom and strength and to keep thee blameless to the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ to whom be all glory honor and praise, forever and ever Amen fare thee well."

The maiden surname of Katherine Hyde Holmes was unwritten in America for almost three hundred years, so far as records have been found to show. Genealogists and historians, mentioning her as the wife of Obadiah Holmes, wrote and had it printed "Catherine ———." That has now been corrected and made definite and certain, and justice to her character and memory requires that she shall not be forgotten otherwise.

In the marriage vows of that November 20, 1630, were the comprehensive pledges, which bound her to the one man and to marital faith and duty so long as both should live; but the extra-

ordinary future was then veiled and obscured beyond the vision of either.

She left behind for all time her earthly kith and kin, and the little grave at Manchester, and, cleaving unto the one man, as in duty bound, under those marriage vows, with him and their one son she set her face toward the great ocean and the vast, strange land beyond it, with its scattered little settlements and sparse population, a mere imperfect, ragged fringe along the coast of a continent, backed by an unknown and seemingly boundless wilderness.

God constituted essential, unchangeable differences in the natures of the sexes. The man is the natural warrior; the woman is the angel of peace. Man is aggressive, carrying sword and shield; woman needs that shield and wars with her nature when she grasps the sword.

There are exceptions to the rules, but these are the rules.

Everywhere, from Preston in 1638 to the Middletown farm, at Newport, in October, 1682, she is found in her place beside that husband.

Trials, sufferings, crosses; victories, triumphs, rejoicings, were borne with the life blood in its current through that heart, and the letter of the husband to her as his beloved "aged wife," away at the end of the long pilgrimage, corroborated by his earnest, affectionate, written injunctions to their children to care for her, is a tribute—it was not written for the public—to her faithfulness through all, at once, both simple and sublime.

It is late, but better late than never, to challenge attention to the "gude wife," while the martyr husband is not forgotten, and the challenge is ventured.

A few words preliminary to the other letter:

Obadiah Holmes was one of the twelve patentees named in the original patent from the Duke of York for the Monmouth grant embracing Monmouth County and parts of Middlesex and Ocean Counties in East Jersey, dated April 8, 1665. His name later appears in the records of that county and he held interests there, though, as already suggested, he never became a resident of that colony. Charles II was then king.

His name, with that of his oldest son, appears among the organizers of the first Baptist Church in East Jersey—at Middletown, Monmouth County—and the purchasers of the ground on which to erect the meeting house there. This was in 1667.

Three of his sons, Jonathan at Middletown in Monmouth County, Judge Obadiah, on Staten Island, New York, and Samuel, at Gravesend, the western extremity of Long Island, commencing in 1667, made settlements so near each other that each from his home could see the tree-tops about the homes of his two brothers. These homes and the interests about them were magnets to draw the father and mother and other members of the family as visitors, from time to time, so long, at least, as the father and mother survived. Nay, more, their daughter Lydia became the wife of Captain John Bowne, one of the leading and most distinguished citizens of those regions, in his day, resident at first at Gravesend, then for much longer time at Middletown, in Monmouth County. This was another magnet to attract such "visitors."

There have been much confusion and inaccuracy among genealogists and historians as to the number, names, dates of births, marriages and deaths of the children of Obadiah and Katherine Hyde Holmes, but this is neither the time nor the place to attempt critical or extended corrections. This confusion has been emphasized in the case of the Rev. Obadiah Holmes and his son Judge Obadiah. The latter was not a Monmouth patentee, but the pamphlet or book of errors and the entanglements that have grown up since the birth of the son in 1644, cannot now be written, under the plan of these sketches.

"A letter to all my children: My dear children a word or two unto you all who are near and dear unto me and much on my heart as I draw near to my end and am not like to see you nor speak to you at my departure wherefore I am moved to leave these lines for your consideration when I am gone and you shall see me no more; and take it as the real truth of my heart in love to you all, for as I have been a means to bring you into the world as corrupted and as sinful creatures as you were when conceived and brought forth into the world, as so as I was even so are ye by nature children of wrath as well as others and yet the Lord had mercy on me and I trust will shew mercy on you in and through the Lord Jesus Christ as he hath begin with some of you to cause them to know him and to serve him to love and obey him, so I trust will he shew mercy to you

all. Wherefore my dear children above all things in this world let it be your care to seek the Kingdom of Heaven and his righteousness, first and above all things and to consider what you are by nature even enemies to God be ye thoroughly convinced of that, and by actual transgression sin as yet. Know such great love as cannot be expressed by men nor angels hath the Lord sent and held forth even his son his only son to save and deliver from wrath as not to perish but to have eternal life even to all and every one that believes in his only son for in him is life.

"And now my son Joseph remember that Joseph of Arimathea was a good man and a disciple of Jesus and was bold and went boldly and asked the body of Jesus and buried it. My son John remember what a lovely and a beloved disciple he was. My daughter Hope consider what a grace of God hope is and court after that hope that will never be ashamed but hath hope of eternal life and salvation by Jesus Christ. My son Obadiah consider that Obadiah was a servant of the Lord and tender in spirit and in a troublesome time hid the prophets by fifty in a cave.

"My son Samuel remember Samuel was a chief prophet of the Lord ready to hear his voice saying speak Lord for thy servant heareth.

"My daughter Martha remember Martha although she was cumbered with many things yet she loved the Lord and was beloved of him for he loved Mary and Martha.

"My daughter Mary remember Mary she chose the better part that shall not be taken away and did hearken to the Lords instructions.

"My son Johnathan remember how faithful and loving he was to David that servant of the Lord.

"My daughter Lidiath remember how Lidiaths heart was opened her ear bored her spirit made to be willing to receive and obey the apostle in what the Lord required and was baptized and entertained and refreshed the servants of the Lord.

"Now my dear children consider how great love the Lord hath held forth in his son and to him for life and for cleansing and pardoning that you may be delivered from that great bondage and slavery that by nature you are in. Know you it is the Lord only that must draw you by his own power unto his son and that the son came to seek and to save that was lost even to the sick the whole need him not and therefore be ye careful ye reject him not and defer not the present tender of grace but while it is called a day harden not your hearts but turn to the Lord by true repentance and give credit to the Lord and testimony concerning his son that is to believe on him and so shall ye be saved. My soul hath been in great trouble for you to see Christ formed in you by a thorough work of the Holy Spirit of the Lord that it may appear you are born again and engrafted to the true vine that so you being true branches may bring forth fruit unto God and serve him in your generations although my care and counsel hath been extend to you as you all know yet it is the Lord must

work both to will and to do of his own good pleasure wherefore wait on him with care and diligence carefully, read the scriptures and mind what is therein contained for they testify of him and let your hourly desires be to him that he would effectually be your teacher of his Holy Spirit. Beware ye hearken to any one that shall speak contrary to the scriptures for if they do speak otherwise it is because they have no light in them, and let your conversation and life be squared by the same and they will direct you how to behave yourselves toward God and man, and next to the loving and fearing the Lord have you a most dear and tender respect to your faithful careful tender hearted, loving aged mother. Show your duty in all things honor her with high and cheerful love and respect and then make sure you love one another. It hath been my joy to see your love one to another, let it continue and increase, so may you be good examples to others, visit one another as often as you can and put one another in mind of the uncertainty of life and what need there is to prepare for death, take counsel one of another and if one see cause to advise or reprove the other hearken to it and take it well. Be ye content with your present condition and portion God giveth you and make a good use of what you have by making use of it for your comfort for meat and drink and apparel it is the gift of God and take care to live honestly justly quietly with love and peace among your neighbors, and if possible be at peace with all men and in what you can do good to all men in special to such as fear the Lord and forget not to entertain strangers according to your ability if it be done in sincerity it will be accepted specially if it be to a disciple in the name of a disciple and do to all men as you would have them do to you. Seek not honor of men nor praise from men but the honor that is of God by the truth that is part with all for the truths sake and if you would be Christs disciples ye must know and consider ye must take up your cross and follow him through evil report and losses, but yet know he that will lose his life for him will save it, and if you put your hand to the plough you must not turn or look back, remember Lots wife but be constant to death and you shall receive the crown of life This my dear children have I according to my measure counselled you and the good Lord give you understanding in all things and by his spirit convince, reprove and instruct and lead you into all truth as it is in Jesus that when you have done your work here he may receive you to glory. Now the God of truth and peace be with you and unto whom I commit this and you even to him be glory for ever and ever, amen. The 17th day 10^o 1675."

The Martyr had become, also, the Patriarch.

John, evidently their first born, was, as already shown, buried at Stockport, near Manchester, England, June 27, 1633.

Jonathan—the registry of whose birth has not been found—

would seem, from all the known facts, to have been more than three years of age when they sailed for America in 1638.

It will be observed that the father did not address them in the order of their ages and the order adopted seems to have had no special reason for it—Joseph, John, Hope, Obadiah, Samuel, Martha, Mary, Jonathan, "Lidiah."

Having lost one child named John, they conferred the name on an after-born brother—not at all an unusual thing.

These children were then—when this letter was written—all mature men and women between forty-two and twenty-two years of age.

Of one of these children the next chapter will give some account, but the outline plan, being followed, will not admit of details with reference to his brothers and sisters. A few words as to some of them may not be out of place.

Judge Obadiah settled first, as indicated, on Staten Island, New York. He was the clerk of the courts and finally held a commission as a Judge or Justice from Governor Leisler, who had the misfortune—1691—to be hanged for treason, so called. He was not guilty, but was on the contrary patriotic and faithful to his colony and his duty. Concurrently with the mishap to the Governor, the Judge made a final settlement at Salem in the colony of West or South Jersey, a little way below Philadelphia and across the Delaware river. He was a Judge of Salem county perhaps a dozen years, was a prime mover in establishing the Baptist Church at Cohansey, the place of his residence, and in that region, and occupied its pulpit as one of its ministers—though never in the regular ministry—in addition to his judicial and other duties as a leading citizen. He was twice married and when he died left several children. A son was drowned in early manhood. Many of his descendants, and especially of his daughters, are residents on Staten Island, at this day. He was buried at Cohansey, West Jersey, about 1722.

Lydia became the wife of Captain John Bowne and they finally settled at Middletown in East Jersey. One of their daughters, Sarah, married Richard Salter. Hannah, the daughter of Richard and Sarah Salter, became the wife of Mordecai Lincoln and the

mother of his son John—"Virginia John," he is styled—who was the great grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, a full martyr in the cause, which secured the freedom of the bodies, as well as the souls, of millions of men, women and children. Virginia John's son Abraham was the President's grandfather and was killed by Indians in the '80's of the eighteenth century, after his removal to Kentucky.

John remained at Newport. He was twice married; was a Lieutenant in the militia, many years—sixteen—the general treasurer of the colony of Rhode Island, a member of the House of Deputies, at different times, often employed and trusted, otherwise, in the public service, and died October 2, 1712, leaving a widow and several children.

Samuel, who married Alice Stillwell, settled at Gravesend and some of his descendants still reside there and on Staten Island.

Edwin Salter of New Jersey, one of the Holmes blood, who wrote the *Early Dutch Settlers of that colony*, prepared a three and a half column article on "Rev. Obadiah Holmes, his ancestry, children and neighbors," which was printed in the *Monmouth Democrat*, newspaper, of September 6, 1888. Near the close, he said:

"The Rhode Island accounts of the family state that Mary, daughter of Rev. Obadiah Holmes, married John Browne, born 1634, son of Rev. Chad Browne. This Browne family is the one distinguished in Rhode Island, and from some of its members Browne University took its name. John Browne and wife Mary had children; John, Born March 18, 1682, and James, Obadiah, Martha and Deborah."

These additional observations are taken from a letter of the present author dated, December 15, 1900:

Mary, daughter of Rev. Obadiah, must have been born about 1648.

Mr. Salter might have gone further with the evidence drawn from names of the Brown children. John was the name of an uncle and Martha was the name of an aunt. I have seen it stated somewhere that Mary and Martha were twins.

Mr. Salter did not seem to know of the John, born and who died at Manchester, England, nor of Joseph, who was well known at Newport. He says there were *eight* children.

I have much regretted that Mr. Salter's health failed and that he died before he prepared the more detailed history of the Holmes family, which he had in mind, for he was a discriminating and capable genealogist and writer.

By the way, Brown University, located at Providence, founded in 1764, one of the strongest institutions of learning in the land, was known as Rhode Island College until 1804.

Most, if not all, of the other children lived and died in Rhode Island.

There is a well written, a judiciously prepared, historical and documentary account of the Boston incident set forth in Volume One, Chapter four, at pages 173 to 212, inclusive, of the History of the Baptists, written by Rev. Isaac Backus, 1724-1806, of Middleborough, Connecticut, and completed, the first volume July 9, 1777, and the second one in June, 1796. The author's prefaces are enlightening on the general features of his history of those times.

Rev. David Benedict's History of the Baptist Denomination contains an intelligent, but somewhat brief, account, at pages 364 to 380 of his first volume, published in 1813. He was Pastor of Pawtucket Church, R. I.

No history of the Baptist Church in America can be complete, which overlooks Obadiah Holmes as one of its founders and builders. The fathers of its history, Backus and Benedict, separately, have fully and fairly fixed his place and credit, not only in the Baptist Church, but in the wider domain of the free religion, the freedom of conscience, which America's millions enjoy today; and the place and credit have been illumined and strengthened, if that be possible, by church historians down to and including Rev. Drs. Thomas Armitage and H. M. King in their separate writings of these current years.

In his case, it may justly be said that "the blood of the martyr has been the seed of the church."

It is a fact that there have been some Massachusetts historians,

who in writing of the period, the precise period, and times in which the shameful beating of Obadiah Holmes occurred, seem never to have heard or read of it, and, accordingly, make no mention of it, though it lay directly in their paths, and the search for the finer details of the transaction where it occurred and where, ordinarily, their record of it might reasonably have been expected to be found, has been disappointing. Some of them have been more just and generous. The pens of Rhode Islanders have far more effectually illustrated the subject.

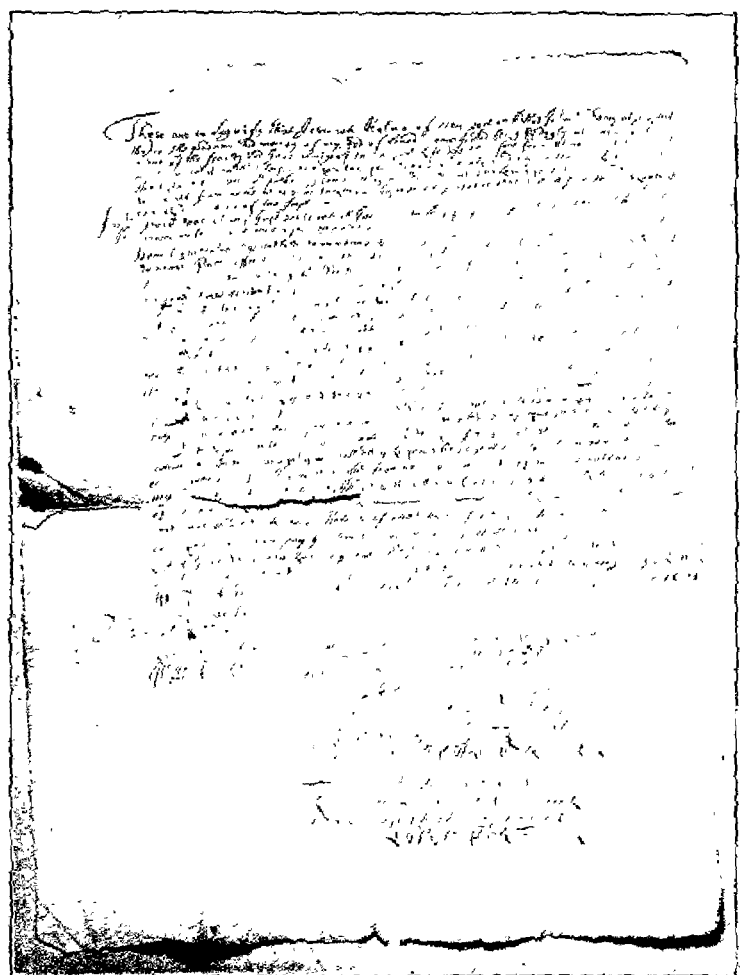
Wrong, shameful, atrocious, by the standards and teachings of later times; law, righteousness, God's service, by the standards of those times; Mr. Justice Story, in the Salem Centennial address, touched the heart of such matters. Said he,

"Let Witch Hill remain forever memorable by this sad catastrophe, not to perpetuate our dishonor, but as an affecting, enduring proof of human infirmity,—a proof that perfect justice belongs to one judgment seat only,—that which is linked to the throne of God."

It was after the memoirs and the letters to wife and children and friends and brethren were all written and after he had come down to the close of his last winter on earth that, admonished of the duty of making final disposition of his worldly affairs and business, he called in his friend Weston Clark and executed his last will and testament.

The body of the instrument seems to be in the hand-writing of Mr. Clark; the signature is plainly that of testator.

"These are to signifie that I Obadiah Holmes of Newport Rhode Island being at present through the goodness and mercy of my god of sound memory and being by dayly intimation putt in mind of the frailty and uncertainty of this present life doo therefore for settling my estate in this world which it hath pleased the lord to bestow upon mee make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner following committing my spirit unto the lord yt gave it me and my body to ye earth from whence it was taken in hope and expectation that it shall from thence be Raised at the resurrection of the Just.



The Will

Item. I will that all my just debts which I owe unto any person be payd by my executors hereafter named in convenient time after my decease.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Mary Brown five pounds in mony or equivalent to mony.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Martha Odlin tenn pounds in ye like pay.

Item. I give unto my daughter Liddiah Bowne tenn pounds.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my two grandchildren ye children of my daughter Hopestill Taylor, five pounds each and if either of them decease the survivor to have tenn pounds.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son John Holmes tenn pounds. Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Obadiah Holmes tenn pounds. Item. I give and bequeath unto my grandchildren the children of my sonn Samuel Holmes tenn pounds to be payed unto them in equal portions all those portions by me bequeathed my will is shall be payed by my executors in mony or equivalent mony.

Item. I give and bequeath unto all my grandchildren now living tenn pounds and tenn shillings in ye like pay to be layd out by each of them .

Item. I give unto my grandchild Martha Brown tenn pounds in the like pay all which afforesaid legacies are to bee payed by my executors hereafter named in manner here expressed that is to say the first payment to be payed within one year after ye decease of my wife Katranne Holmes twenty pounds ye year till all ye legacies be payd and each to be payd according to the degree of age. My will is and I do hearby appoint my son Jonathan Holmes my executor with bond, unto whom I have sold all my land housing and stock for these formed of my said legacy and my will is that my executor shall pay unto his mother Katranne Holmes if she survives and lives the summ of twenty pounds in mony or mony pay for her to dispose of as she shall see cause lastly I do appoint my loving friends Mr James Barker sen. Mr Joseph Clarke and Mr Phillip Smith all of Newport to be my overseers to see this my will truly is formed in writing.

Whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal this ninth day of April, 1681

OBADIAH HULLME (Seal)

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of:

EDWARD THURSTON

WESTON CLARK

"Edward Thurston Sen and Weston Clarke appeared before the Council the 4th day of November 1682 and did upon their engagements declare and own that thay saw Obadiah Holmes deceased syne seal and deliver the above ritten will as his act and deed and at y time of y sealing thereof he was in his perfit memory according to y best of our understanding.

Taken before the Council

Attest. WESTON CLARK Town Clerk

"The above written will is entered on record in the 80 page of the Council book No 2 belonging to y town of Newport

WESTON CLARK Town Clerk"

Judge Burke in a letter to the author says:

"Concerning the will it is my opinion that it was written by Weston Clark as the writing of the body of the will is similar to the writing in the certificate which was undoubtedly written by Weston Clark, Town Clerk.

"There is no copy of this will—probate—obtainable. As you know the records of the town of Newport were taken by the British during the British occupation, during the Revolution, and shipped to New York on a British transport which sunk in Hell Gate, New York

"Several years later the records were returned by General Carlton in a dilapidated condition and rotten, having been under water for years. Such as are legible are being restored by the Newport Historical Society, but no records of a date prior to 1702 are in existence I have no doubt the will was 'entered on record' as the certificate of the town clerk states."

The following are some of the variegated answers to the author in the first decade of this century as to the will of Rev. Obadiah Holmes, "not in existence;" "never proved or recorded;" "it had but two witnesses while the law required three, and so it never took effect;" "it was lost in a wreck at Hell Gate, New York, during the Revolution," and so on.

The answers were somewhat perplexing and all the time the original was quietly resting in Newport.

The inventory is as follows:

"An inventorie of the goods and housekind of
Obadiah Hullme deceased the fifteenth day of
October Anno Domini 1682

	tr.	s.	p
Pewder valued at fourteen shillings	00	14	00
Wooden vessels and barrels valued at fourteen shillings.	00	14	00
Brass and iron ware valued at 1 tr 8s	01	08	00
Tooles and chairs valued at 1 tr 8s.	01	08	00
Beds with furniture belonging valued at 5 tr.	05	00	00
Old wheels with glass and a fire pan 4s.	00	04	00
One sadle bridle and pillion valued at 12s	00	12	00
One chest - - - valued at 4s.	00	04	00
Wearing cloths valued at 3 tr.	03	00	00
Books valued at 8s	00	08	00
Ten mares and one coalt valued at four pounds ten shill- ings	04	10	00
Rept due; The summe of ten pounds.	10	00	00
One hundred and five pounds 10s (as it appears in ye deed)	105	10	00
	28	02	00
The above said goods and housekind valued by valued by, Elias Williams and Rowland Robinson this sixth day of November Anno Domini 1682	105 133	10 12	00 00

Elias Williams and Rowland Robinson have engaged according to law to the best of their understanding that it is a true as above written taken before mee this 11 day 10 month 1682

JOHN

Assistant

The above writton inventory is entered on record in ye 81 page of ye counciells book No 2 belonging to ye town of Newport

WESTON CLARKE Town Clerk"

Rev. Obadiah Holmes was forty-five years old when he received that beating, evidently in the prime of his strength It, no doubt, discounted his days. One feels that it was his heart that was giving him the warning symptoms as three score and ten ap-

proached in 1675, when he was inditing the final messages, which should speak for him if he should suddenly be disabled to speak for himself.

It was the still nearer approach of the end in 1681 and the appreciation of the weary work, at times, of the life engine that led to the preparation of the will, beyond whose date he journeyed more than a year.

Accord him the discount of the fearful scourging to which he was subjected and the plain consequences thereof, and, humanly speaking, he would have lived to more than four score years.

Thus, while in limited phrase and space he has been sketched, there is enough, it is hoped, to show what manner of man he was and what manner of life he lived.

"The last scene of all."

He had purchased, as we have seen, and at the time of his death for a quarter of a century had owned, the farm five miles east of the village of Newport—that distance from the present Court House—on which is located what is still known as "The Holmes Burying Ground."

He died on the 15th day of October, 1682, and they laid his remains away there. Within a couple of years, approximately—the spring of 1684 is ventured—when Katherine Hyde, the faithful wife, passed away, they buried her on the same lot and their graves are known and marked even down to this day.

The Burying Ground is forty feet from north to south by fifty feet from east to west, a rectangle. It is neatly walled in, the wall being built of loose—unmortared—stones, piled up on each other, about three and a half feet in height, with no gate or opening through it. The Ground is located on the west side of a public highway, in Middletown, about one-half mile north of Berkeley Memorial Chapel and, perhaps, four hundred and fifty feet west of the Seconnet River, a little arm of the sea.

The graves of the Martyr and his wife are located, the husband's south of the center of the lot nearly half way to the wall, and the wife's in a corresponding position north of the center. The marble slab at the grave of the wife had fallen in 1901, having been broken off at the ground. It was set up for the purposes

of the photograph. The slab at the grave of the husband was then still standing.

The inscriptions on these markers are as follows:

"In Memory
of
the Rev. Obadiah Holmes
Baptist Minister
from Great Britain
who died October 15th
1682 in the 76th year
of his age"

"J. Stevens."

"In
Memory
of
Catherine
wife of the
Revd. Obadiah
Holmes."

"J. S."

There are forty distinguishable graves on the lot, possibly all that were ever there. The author had them platted, located and numbered, and copies made of every inscription still decipherable in the year 1901, thirty-one in all.

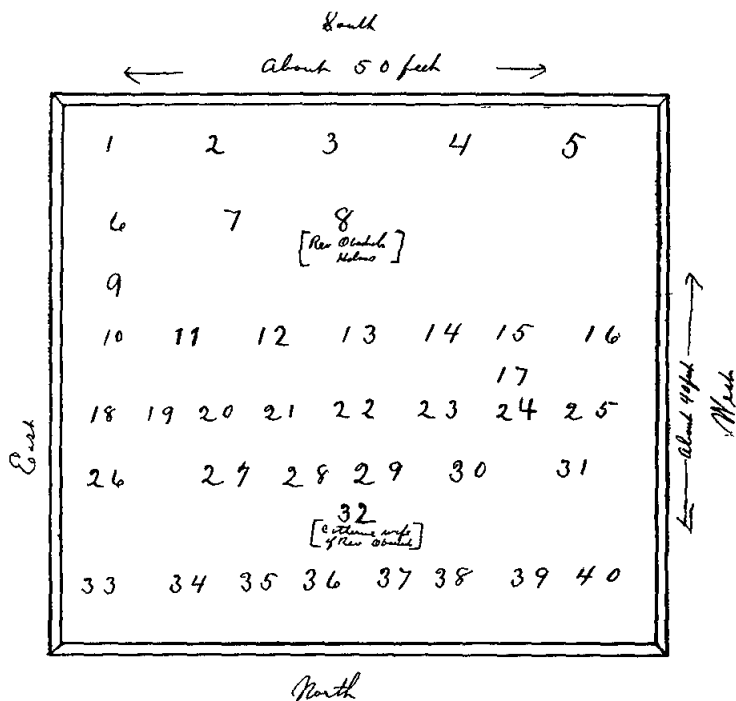
The latest burial seems to be indicated by the inscription of which the following is a copy:

"In Memory of
Sarah Dillingham
daughter of
John and Mary Holmes
who married first
Doct. Wm Tillinghast
and afterward
Capt. Edward Dillingham
She died May 24, 1836
in her 80th year."

The following list of locations of graves and of inscriptions from tombstones was made with great care by competent persons under the supervision of Judge Burke and furnished by him on the 5th of June, 1901.

It embraces every decipherable word on the gravestones to be found in that little cemetery on the date last mentioned

- 1 Stone broken and only stub remaining; no inscription
- 2 Stone broken and only stub remaining, no inscription
- 3 Stone broken and only stub remaining, no inscription
- 4 Stone broken and only stub remaining, on inscription
- 5 Stone broken and only stub remaining; no inscription.
- 6 Stone broken and only stub remaining; no inscription.
7. Stone broken and only stub remaining; no inscription
8. In memory of the Rev. Obadiah Holmes, baptist minister from Great Britain who died October 15th 1682 in the 76th year of his age—J. Stevens
9. Stone broken and only stub remaining; no inscription
- 10 Stone broken and only stub remaining; no inscription
- 11 Stone broken and only stub remaining, no inscription
12. Joseph Holmes x 1746
- 13 Margaret Holmes x 1765
14. Sarah Holmes x 1745
- 15 Jonathan Holmes x 1746
- 16 Joseph Holmes x 1753
- 17 Lydia Holmes
18. In x memory x of x Mr Jonathan x Holmes x son of the x Rev. Obadiah Holmes x J. S
- 19 In memory x of x Sarah x wife of x Mr. Jonathan Holmes.
- 20 In memory of x Joseph Holmes x who died x Octo 26 A D 1746 x in y 70 year of his age
21. In memory of x Margaret y wife x of Mr Joseph Holmes x and daughter of Elder x John Fones & Lydia his x wife late of North x Kingstown x she died December x 2d 1765 x in y 73d year of x her age
- 22 In memory of x Lydia x daughter of x Joseph Holmes x & of Margaret
23. In memory x of x Sarah y daughter x of x Joseph Holmes x & of Margaret his x wife died Octo x y 2d A. D 1745 x in y 18th year of x her age.
- 24 In memory of x Jonathan y son x of Joseph Holmes x & of Margaret x his wife died x Nov. y 27th A. D x 1746 in y 17th year x of his age
- 25 In memory of x Joseph y x son of Joseph x & Margaret Holmes x died April y 27th x 1753 in y 21st x year of his age.
26. Miss Prudence x Weaver x 1815.
- 27 Mr John Holmes x 1799
28. Mrs. Mary Holmes x 1817
- 29 Doctor William x Tillinghast x 1786
- 30 S D



A dry stone wall about 3 1/2 feet high completely surrounds enclosure.

31. William T. x Dillingham x 1827
- 32 In x Memory x of x Catherine x wife of the x Revd Obadiah Holmes. x J. S. (P. S This stone is lying on the ground face down in about the position shown on the plan.)
- 33 In memory x of x Miss Prudence x Weaver x who died x Nov 14 1815 x in the 70th year x of her age
34. In Memory x of x John Holmes Esq x who died x Nov 27th 1799 x in the 63d x year of his age
35. In Memory of x Mrs Mary x Holmes x who died x Aug 11 1817 x in the 80 year x of her age.
36. In memory of x Doctor William x Tillinghast x he departed this x life January 22d x 1786 in the x 33d year of his age.
37. In Memory of x Sarah Dillingham x daughter of x John & Mary Holmes x who married first x Doct Wm Tillinghast x and afterward x Capt. Edward Dillingham x she died May 24, 1836 x in her 80th year
- 38 In memory of x William T Dillingham x son of Edward x & Sarah Dillingham x born July 23, 1794, x died June 26, 1827.
39. In Memory x of x Catherine Matilda x daughter of x Mr. John Baker x & Avis his wife x who died Sept 20th x 1804.
- 40 In Memory x of x John Holmes x son of x John & Avice x Baker.

II

CAPTAIN JONATHAN HOLMES

JONATHAN HOLMES, the second child of Obadiah and Katherine Hyde Holmes, was born near Manchester, England, in 1633-4. His older brother John died in infancy, June 27, 1633. He came with his parents to America in 1638 and shared the fortunes of the family from the landing at Boston, through the settlement and life at Salem down to 1646, through the experiences at Rehoboth, down to the removal and final settlement of the family at Newport, Rhode Island, in the fall of 1650. He was, at this last removal, a boy of fifteen, the oldest of the eight boys and girls, who listened with awe, in August, 1651, to the strange story told of the father's arrest, trial, sentence and imprisonment, on the visit to Salem and Lynn; who waited and doubtless worried over the end of it all, and who wept over the story of the merciless lashing, which Puritan justice administered to that father on Saturday, the 5th day of September, 1651.

Of the history of his boyhood and early manhood no special items have been preserved. The general features, however, seem to stand out quite clearly from the light thrown on them by the history of the times and of his father and the family, and from the light thrown backward from his active private and public career, covering almost, if not quite, fifty full manhood years, during which he was making a record.

There can be little doubt that a portion of the boyhood and girlhood years of the growing sons and daughters of the minister and his wife was spent on that Middletown farm on the Secomet river, four or five miles east of Newport, and from that half-proved fact and the facts that are definitely known may be approximately inferred the nature of the life and training of the high and virile and forceful characters, which they are found to have been, in their several stations, through mature years

It was April 8, 1665, that the Duke of York issued the Monmouth patent—often in history styled the Nicolls patent—in which Obadiah Holmes, the father, was named as one of the twelve original patentees, and under which, it is known that his son Jonathan was one of the twenty-four associates, not specifically named therein as an original patentee.

At Portsmouth, R. I., say ten miles north of Newport, resided the family of Richard Borden, one of the earliest to settle in Rhode Island and among the most prominent of the colony. Richard Borden was admitted a freeman of the colony June 20, 1638. Among the ten children was Sarah, said to have been born in May, 1644.

In the year 1664-5, Sarah Borden became the wife of Jonathan Holmes, when he was approximately thirty years of age.

Prior to the issue of the Monmouth patent, April 8, 1665, he had visited the Monmouth country and with others had negotiated, with the Indian Sachems, for lands in that portion of East Jersey, and was so interested in the issue of the patent and the titles and business and employments and profits, which that instrument would, in a great measure, inaugurate, ratify, validate and confirm.

In this enterprise had been Captain John Bowne, who, in 1663, had married Lydia Holmes, his sister, and soon afterward removed from Newport and settled at Gravesend, Long Island.

His father and mother, William and Ann Bowne, had been neighbors of the Holmes family at Salem, Mass.

Some time during the year 1665, perhaps, after the issue of the patent and, certainly, after his marriage, Jonathan Holmes and his bride joined Captain Bowne and his wife and resided, it is said, in their home, at Gravesend, while the patent and settlement plans and matters were under consideration.

While they were so living and employed, on the 17th day of July, 1666, the first child of Jonathan and Sarah Borden Holmes was born in the Bowne homestead. He was named Obadiah.

It is recorded that the second child of Captain John and Lydia Holmes Bowne was born on the 18th day of July, 1666. He was named Obadiah.

This latter youth, after the next century came in, had some trouble in court with Mordecai Lincoln over the settlement of the estate of his father, Capt. John Bowne, in East Jersey, and Mordecai moved into the colony of Pennsylvania while the Jersey Sheriff still held a writ of execution against him for some \$1500. No matter about that now.

By the next year, 1667, Jonathan Holmes had helped to found Middletown, Monmouth County, East Jersey, and December 30, 1667, became the owner of lot 9, in the town and the next day had assigned to him lot 7 of the Poplar field, a sort of outlot. His brother Obadiah, though never a resident of East Jersey, was assigned, at the same dates, lot 20 in Middletown and lot 6, in the Poplar field.

Captain Bowne was one of the original Monmouth patentees and had lot 28 in the town and lot 9 in the Poplar field assigned to him at the dates just mentioned.

The children of the Minister would seem to have been enjoying the benefits not only of the name, but of the means and assistance, otherwise, of the father.

The residence of Jonathan Holmes at Middletown, East Jersey, dates from the year 1667. Some of the inhabitants were there as early as May, 1666. Ten years later, in the year 1677, Captain Bowne owned 1316 acres in Monmouth county and Jonathan Holmes owned 797 acres.

On page 45, Deed Book B, Monmouth County records, is a deed from five Indian Sachems to Jonathan Holmes, dated August 12, 1667. This was extinguishing the Indian title to the land to the end that the conditions of the Monmouth patent when complied with might carry to him the fee simple clear of claims and encumbrances.

According to the record, on the 6th day of January, 1667-8, "william Lawrence and Jonathan Hulmes" constituted the first court holden at Middletown and made orders as to fences, felling timber, wolves and overseers of fences.

These items contain the gist of the record as to the beginning of his East Jersey career and until 1684 that career was both busy and honorable in that colony.

He was one of the organizers of the first Baptist Church at Middletown, which church had the presence and the inspiration of his father at that organization. It occurred in 1667. That was more than a hundred years before the Ordinance of 1787, but "The Confederate Congress" on July 13th, the latter year, in the declaration, at the opening of Article III, that

"Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

saw no more clearly

the principles involved than did the East Jersey "Adventurers" in their wilderness by the sea. Most of them had migrated from the little colony—Rhode Island—whose charter, after twelve years of battle, largely at his own expense, with the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, at the English Courts, Dr. John Clarke had secured from Charles II, as already shown, the charter of July 8, 1663.

On the 22d day of April, 1668, Jonathan Hulmes and George Mount were chosen deputies "in the general assembly to be held at portland poynt," and November 1, next ensuing, Hulmes and Edward Tarrt were chosen such "deputies to act with the general assembly at Elizabeth Towne."

Before the beginning of 1668 Captain John Bowne had removed his residence from Gravesend to Middletown.

The people of Middletown were then living in entirely new cabins or houses, and as the stock ran at large and commingled more or less for grazing and feeding purposes the owners had duly recorded marks, mostly on the ears of the animals, by which they were distinguished from the common herd. The first recorded ear mark of the cattle of Jonathan Hulmes was January 4, 1668.

It would not be advisable to detail, at much length, the controversy in which the people of Monmouth County, at this time, became involved over their patent. A very general idea of it must suffice.

The Monmouth patent, issued as already stated, April 8, 1665, was signed by Governor Nicolls, then in office. It purported to be the grant of the Duke of York to whom Charles II had made a larger grant in 1658.

In the Monmouth patent were provisions for settling one hundred families and cultivating lands on the grant within three years, which, if complied with, should give the settlers the lands rent free, including customs, excise, tax or levy of every sort for a period of seven years; but the Duke had made a general grant, covering territory embraced in the later Monmouth patent, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, June 24, 1664, more than nine months prior to the Monmouth grant, in his name, by Governor Nicolls.

On the faith of the Nicolls patent and without knowledge of the prior grant, the settlement movement in Monmouth had occurred.

Ph. Carteret was governor and May 30, 1667, the General Assembly under him, so to speak, had passed an act that the towns should pay a public rate of £5 each, which Middletown and Shrewsbury repudiated; and at the November session of that body, 1667, Mr. Luke Wattson and Mr. Samuel Moore were deputed to make demand and if not paid distrain for the sums so levied. This raised "Cain," as did a question of taxation, though on different grounds, one hundred years later.

Through the year 1668, the tax deputies were pushing for the collection of the public rate and the good citizens were warming up to the assertion of their rights under the grants contained in the Monmouth patent.

When Jonathan Hulmes and Edward Tarrt from Middletown and Thomas Winterton and John Hans from Shrewsbury presented themselves at Elizabeth Town as deputies to the General Assembly, November 3, 1668, and declined to subscribe the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to the proprietary government, except on conditions, of course, to wit, the recognition of their rights and those of their constituents under the Monmouth patent, they were dismissed by the Assembly and those seats remained vacant through that session.

The citizens were called upon to aid in the distraint for the taxes.

At a town meeting held on "February; 4; 1668,"

"It is ordered that James Ashton; Jonathan Hulmes Richard Gibbons Richard Stoult William Lawrence and Edward Tarrt shall give answer to the governors men in the towns behalfe"

Edward Tarrt was, by resolution, authorized to sign and seal the answer to the governor, when prepared.

"It is likewise ordered that noe inhabitant shall be seised upon or caried by violence out of the towne *till the towne sees ffurther*"

Jonathan Hulmes and Edward Tarrt were appointed a sub-committee to prepare the draft of this answer, and unchallenged tradition says that Jonathan Holmes as the original author penned it—the first declaration of independence ever written and adopted in the new world.

This answer to the governor and the Lords Proprietors was submitted to the citizens in lawful assembly on the 17th day of March, 1668-69, for their action, when, "it was unanimously resolved that this following act shall bee our positive resolution and shall be presented to the generall assembly:—"

The answer is a careful and comprehensive recital of loyalty to the King—then Charles II—and to lawful government; of the grants of rights, powers and privileges in the Monmouth patent, under which they claimed, issued as stated by the Duke of York; of the issues made by the claim of the Lords Proprietors that they had purchased from the Duke the right to tax the patentees, their associates and grantees, for the use and occupation of the lands, which they had acquired, embraced in that patent, and to collect quit rents for them by distraint, in violation of such chartered rights, and the climax of the declaration is reached in the language,

"We are at present resolved not to intangle into any other interest pertaining to any men but shall by the assistance of God, stick to our patent; the liberties and privileges thereof which is our interest, which was once committed to us, not to betray like treacherous men; who for filthy lucre have bein ready to betray

themselves and others, but to deal faithfully with, it being a trust committed to us."

Dr. Stillwell in his *Miscellanies*, Volume 2, page 365—see also p. 150—has tersely stated the case and the outcome.

"The contention of the settler was that he had in good faith abandoned one home for another, under assurances of no rent for lands which he bought of the Indians, and for which he braved the hardships of a new country, the solitude of a wilderness and the dangers of the wild beasts and savages, while the Proprietors claimed that the titles given by Governor Nicolls were void, as they were issued at a date subsequent to their ownership of the land, and that he could not grant that which he or his master did not own; to which the settler demurred, answering that Governor Nicolls' acts were binding till he was relieved of office. Defiance, disputes, appeals, friction, riots and imprisonments, covering many years and many changes of ownership, were the outcome.

"A grant of 500 acres of land to such of the patentees as had purchased Indian titles was finally accepted and the long contention closed."

This last observation, however, does not apply strictly to Middletown, as, on May 28, 1672, the governor and council, upon an address made by James Grover, John Bowne, Richard Hartshorne, Jonathan Holmes, Patentees, and James Ashton and John Hanse, Associates, made in writing five important concessions under the Monmouth patent, which led to the settlement of the trouble so far as Middletown and Shrewsbury were concerned, and their deputies thereafter sat in the General Assembly. This could not, as it did not, give stability and justice to the government of the Proprietors. That remained and was an affliction for many years.

September 12, 1673, Jonathan Holmes was chosen Captain, with John Smith, Lieutenant, and Thomas Whitlock, Ensign, of the Middletown Company, and by order of the Council of War they were mustered into service next day. This was under the dominion of the Dutch which lasted this time about a year.

The troubles between the English and the Dutch were then brewing over their titles to the territories known as New Netherland, which spread away in every direction from Manhattan Island.

The grant of New Netherland to the Duke of York was made by Charles II in March, 1664, and on the 8th of September next ensuing, the country so known, including New Amsterdam,

passed into the possession of the English under menace of the guns of a fleet sent to make the conquest. The stubborn and irascible governor, Peter Stuyvesant, was finally subdued, without bloodshed, under the frown of the guns of the fleet and the commanding sentiment of his own people against the useless sacrifice of war.

The name of the Proprietor supplanted that of the Dutch in part and thenceforward it became New York until by a sudden dash the Dutch fleet recaptured the city on the 9th day of August, 1673, when they changed the name to New Orange. They held possession until the next year, when, pursuant to a treaty, they surrendered it to the English.

In 1665, the population of the city was approximately fifteen hundred souls.

Middletown, the Monmouth grant. East Jersey, were all quite close to the seat of war between the two nations on this side of the ocean and the mustering of troops in that vicinity, in September, 1673, is quite clearly explained thereby.

Captains Jonathan Holmes and John Bowne were chosen deputies to the General Assembly May 27, 1680. It met at Elizabethtown on the 2d of June next following. On the next day Captain Bowne was chosen speaker of the Assembly.

After eighteen years of residence in East Jersey, Jonathan Holmes moved his family back to the old home, Newport, Rhode Island. The intimate reasons for this removal cannot be certainly stated as matter of record or of history. He retained his landed and other interests at Middletown and Perth Amboy. He had been honored by the marked confidence of the people, again and again, and no jar or clash or unkindness appears anywhere in his Jersey relations. He had prospered in a property way and all their children had been born at Gravesend and Middletown; there were nine of them.

Obadiah, the oldest, was then eighteen years of age and seems to have remained at Middletown in charge of his father's business, property and interests and to have remained to the end of his life a citizen of the Colony of East Jersey, resident of Middletown.

Rev. Obadiah Holmes and his wife had passed away recently. Their oldest son in America had passed the half century mark in age and had evidently led an active and laborious life, practically on the frontiers. He had been a mature man when he left Rhode Island and his connections there had kept alive a knowledge of his character and talents and their growth and strength.

His father's will had been made April 9, 1682, in which he had been named as sole executor. What, if any, influence the settlement of his father's estate had upon the determination to return to Newport is not so far directly and positively shown

\ It is not a far cry, however, to the conclusion that there were satisfactory reasons drawing him back to Rhode Island and in the latter part of 1683 or the early portion of 1684 he made the removal. It seems to be a safe inference that the death of his mother and the settlement of his father's estate were factors having some influence on the removal.

On the 6th day of May, 1684, the General Assembly of Rhode Island, sitting at Newport, voted that Jonathan Holmes and thirteen others be and they were admitted freemen of the colony. William Coddington was, at that date, its governor.

Jonathan Holmes was then fifty years of age and was "of Newport."

He was chosen one of the deputies for Newport and sat in the General Assembly, which met at Newport February 26, 1689-90.

On the 27th of that month, with seven others, including several officers of the colony named, he was appointed and empowered to demand of the late governor William Clarke "and receive the Charter and all other papers and things in his custody, belonging to this Collony." The late governor refused to surrender the documents, but told the committee it might forcibly break open the chest containing them and take them away, which it proceeded to do.

John Holmes, Captain Jonathan's brother, was, that same day, elected General Treasurer of the Colony.

March 1, 1689-90, the General Assembly being advised by the

former Treasurer, Mr. John Woodman, that Major Roger Holden held some £30 in money, 'as also about 300 lbs of wool &c.," appointed and empowered Mr. Jonathan Holmes and four others to demand and if necessary distrain for this property as it had been raised toward building the Colony house and for the maintenance of government. The committee secured the money and so reported and was discharged on the same day, and the money was weighed and counted to the Treasurer, Mr. John Holmes, by another committee for the Colony's use.

Jonathan Holmes took his seat as a member of the General Assembly at a called session, "on special occasion for their Majesties service," at Portsmouth, September 16, 1690. A condition of war made "the raising of revenue for the supply of soldiers and other necessary charges, against their Majesties enemies," a necessity.

On the 30th of October, Mr. Jonathan Holmes was on a committee of eight to inspect the method of collecting taxes. The report was that there were adequate laws on the subject and the collection of the taxes was for executive officers.

Captain Jonathan Holmes was a deputy in the General Assembly, which met at Portsmouth, May 5, 1691, and, June 24, was one of a committee of five empowered to demand and receive "the General Records belonging to this Collony and all other writings and papers that are in his hands that concern the Court or Colony affairs from Weston Clarke late recorder." Clarke claimed the right to hold on to the records and papers until his accounts were closed. The matter was finally settled when he was assured that he would receive any balance due him.

John Holmes, the General Treasurer was found to owe the Colony £1. 19s. on the moneys and wool received from his predecessor in the office, "John Woodenman."

The session of the General Assembly opened at Newport, July 2, 1695, with this action:

"Capt'n Jonathan Holmes, Mr William Cory, Mr Jonathan Sprague, Mr Thomas Greene, Mr John Heath, Capt'n Joseph Daniel, Mr Joseph Hull, are by this Assembly appointed a committee, they or the major part of them, to inspect the former rate

From Will

O Badiah: hullme

From Deed

O Badiah: hullme

From Letter to Church

O Badiah Hullme

From Pow' of ATTY

Jonathan Hulme 

Tracings of the Father's Signatures—Photograph of the Son's Signature

of three hundred pounds, what is behind unpaid, and how it shall be gathered and paid, and propose a method by rating each person to the value of his estate two pence per pound, by the best method they can find and make return to this Assembly."

The little colony in the sea had before it the eternal question of taxation, its rates, adjustment and collection. On a wall in Egypt was found, not long ago, pasted under numerous layers of paper, or parchment, the complaint of a tax-payer on account of oppressive rates, more than 4000 years old. The question is perennial and represents an irrepressible conflict between public power and interests and private judgment as to taxes and tax rates.

The return of this committee was—and the General Assembly made it the law—"that the said rate by each person rated shall be paid into the General Treasury by the 20th of August next; in ready money; or wool at seven pence half penny per pound; butter at four pence per pound; Indian corn at two shillings per bushel; rye at two shillings, three pence; pork, the barrel, one pound, eighteen shillings."

Real estate was to be fully and fairly appraised and equalized and the rate should be two pence per pound of the valuation.

Cattle of the different classes had special rates according to ages.

At the same session, with four others, Captain Jonathan Holmes was chosen to run the eastern line of the Colony, according to "the best of their understanding" and "the boundarys of the Patent," and, if Massachusetts should show hostile opposition, to report progress.

As the question seems to have been open in 1705, the committee, presumably, did not establish the line.

He sat as deputy in the General Assembly at Newport, May 5, 1696. Eighty-three persons were admitted as freemen of the Colony and the Assembly dissolved. Next day, he was elected by the General Assembly one of the two Justices and his brother, "Lieut John Holmes," was re-elected General Treasurer.

He was one of a committee of six to prepare a report for

levying impost duties "upon wines, brandies and strong liquors imported into the collony," and in a prompt report the basis for such levies was laid and Capt. Samuel Cranston became the collector.

He was elected by the Assembly one of the six Justices on the 4th of May, 1698, and Mr. John Holmes was re-elected Treasurer.

At the session of the Assembly begun at Newport, May 3, 1699, he was still a member and his brother John was still Colonial Treasurer and the same things were true of the session begun at the same place April 30, 1700, when Jonathan Holmes was elected Speaker of the House of Deputies.

Among the proceedings at the session begun May 6, 1701, John Holmes, Jr. and Joseph Holmes, sons respectively of the Treasurer and the Speaker were "accepted freemen of the Collony," along with fifty-seven others of whom twenty-three were from Newport.

Elections were in May. On the next day, Jonathan was elected one of the Justices and the brother—"Lieut. John"—was re-elected Treasurer.

The same conditions as to official positions obtained with them, at the session which opened at Newport May 5, 1702, the Captain being re-elected Speaker of the House, on the 6th of that month. Each brother was a member of the House at this meeting.

Among the proceedings at the session held at Newport, August 25, 1702, it was voted "that Captn Joseph Sheffield, and the Treasurer Lieut. John Holmes, have full power to account with Jahleel Brenton, concerning his voyage for England, on the Collony's account, and make their return to the Assembly."

In 1702-3, February 2, the Assembly appointed Captain Jonathan one of the Commissioners to have charge of the sending of Captain Sheffield to England as agent of the Colony. This was in the contest over the charters for the Colony; the central proposition of the Assembly then being to uphold the existing charter of Rhode Island. The forwarding and instructing of such agent were fully entrusted to the commissioners. One item of the act was in these words:

"That if it should please God that he the said Sheffield, should be taken either in his going or coming, to or from the aforesaid realm of England, that then the charge and cost of his redemption shall be had and borne at the proper cost and charge of said Collony."

That session closed with the following action:

"Voted, That the Acts passed at this sessions of Assembly, shall be published by beat of drum in the town of Newport, forthwith under the seal of the Collony, and that the recorder shall within ten days after the adjournment of this Assembly send forth copies if possible, to each town in this Collony, under the Seal of said Collony, and to have eight shillings for each copy paid out of the General Treasury, forthwith, and upon the publication hereof, this Assembly is adjourned to the first Tuesday in Aprill next, to the Collony House in Newport; except the Governor or Deputy Governor see cause to call it sooner."

May 2, 1704, John was a deputy and his brother was not in the Assembly, and the same conditions obtained as to each, June 19, 1705.

Captain Jonathan was again a deputy May 1, 1706, the Assembly sitting at Newport. Another John Holmes, Jr. was among the admissions from Newport to be freemen of the Colony, and the Captain sat as a member of the House at the session begun July 3, 1706. He appears again as one of the deputies at the session begun and held at Newport, February 25, 1706-7, and was in attendance for the last time as a member of the law-making body of the Colony of Rhode Island on the 6th day of May, 1707, when elections were held for officers and the next Assembly, whose tenure of office should date from the following day.

His brother, Lieut. John, was chosen a deputy for that next year and the name of Captain Jonathan Holmes disappears finally from the legislative records of the Colony, which have come down to these days. He was growing old for the active duties of life. Born in 1633-4, when he walked out of the Colony

House at Newport, free from his office as a deputy, on the 6th of May, 1707, he was in his seventy fourth year, "living on borrowed time." By reason of strength, he was to see six more years, but the highest wisdom has described them,

"The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be four score years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow; for it is soon cut off and we fly away."

In the struggle with the Lords Proprietors in East Jersey over the guaranties of the Monmouth Patent the patentees, their associates, and those claiming under them said, we "shall by the assistance of God, *stick to our patent.*" Sticking close to the record of the life of Captain Jonathan Holmes, made in times when most of the writing was done, not on paper or parchment, but on the face of the earth to subdue it and on the billowing seas to conquer subsistence and homes and make the beginnings of a new world, it is not too much to say that:—

Clearly, here was a strong character playing a leading part among men wherever through the more than fifty years of mature life his lot was cast. From the early days in East Jersey when the wilderness and the savage were to be confronted; when chartered or patented rights were to be vindicated by word and deed; when the Sovereign's government, and provinces were to be protected against or reclaimed from the invader in legislative hall or at the head of his troops, the persistency of that career, in the lead, has about it a note, which rises to the end and in the definition of good citizenship may justly be called admirable. It was an eminently successful life in his day and generation.

Somehow, from the opening to the close, reasoning from the known to the unknown and building on the facts and the logic, it seems perfectly just to say that there was neither self-seeking, nor vanity, nor clap-trap, nor folly, nor frivolity in his composition; but there was sound common sense with a solid judgment, both alert and informed in action, and there was an admirable staying quality, reliable as a rock. There are two things, nay three, that stand forth in his history and character:—Men trusted

him; he never betrayed a trust, and, the crowning characteristic of the man furnished the reason for both, the earnest, steady effort of his whole life was to find his duty and discharge it. He justly deserved the prominence that he attained in the early histories of two, at least, of the Colonies in which he lived. He was not unknown in, at least, three others: Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York.

It would be unjust not to mention the credit due to the faithful wife. New England had no better blood than flowed in the veins of the Bordens and the flavor of a strong, helpful, charming life, in the relations of wife, mother, neighbor, comes down to us through more than two hundred years, clinging about the memory of Sarah Borden Holmes. Her husband owed her much; she was a help-meet, indeed.

The names of their children, mentioned by him in his will, made in 1705, were Obadiah, Jonathan, Samuel, Sarah, Mary, Catharine, Martha, Lydia and Joseph.

If Joseph was not beyond "eighteene"—the toga age under the law—when he was admitted as a freeman of the Colony in 1700, then he was born in 1682 and the growth of the family from 1666, the birth year of Obadiah, the eldest, may be seen almost as plainly as if the family record were at hand.

The will was admitted to probate and record at Newport November 2, 1713, and is also of record at Perth Amboy, New Jersey.

"The last days," then, are all that are now to be noticed. It was the 6th of May, 1707, when the Captain retired from public life. His will had been made. Two sons, Obadiah and Jonathan, were in Monmouth County, for Jonathan had soon gone back from Rhode Island and lived and died in East Jersey. Born there; sixteen when the family left the Colony, it is sympathetic human nature to suppose that ties had formed which were not easily broken, and which had some influence, as well as property considerations, in drawing him back to Monmouth County.

The daughter Catharine Whiteman had passed away when the will was made and her two children were made beneficiaries in the will in her room and stead.

The others were married and living about the home of the father and mother except Lydia, who with Joseph, seems to have been the homekeeper in their old age.

The mother went away in 1708 (?) and at the head of a grave near the wall on the eastern side of the Holmes Burying Ground, at Newport, stands a marble slab, the inscription on which is in these words:

“In Memory of
Sarah
Wife of Mr Jonathan Holmes.”

Five years went by—they were doubtless lonely years, as not even children and children's children could supply the lost companionship—and then—in October, 1713—close beside the wife's grave, another was made and on the marble slab, which stands by its head, are engraved the words:

“In
Memory
of
Mr Jonathan
Holmes
Son of the
Rev. Obadiah Holmes”
“J. S.”

Following is an abstract of Captain Jonathan's will as recorded in Rhode Island and in New Jersey:

“1705, Will made; proved Nov. 2, 1713; Son Joseph executor; Overseers, his brother John and Wm Weeden. He leaves to his wife Sarah best feather bed, all the plate and ten pounds yearly for life; Son Obadiah east half of farm in Middletown in Plain dealing, East Jersey, with all housing &c. Half salt and half fresh meadow, and all stock, to his son Samuel; A house and lot at Newport, R. I., and five pounds; to his son Jonathan the other half of farm in Middletown, New Jersey, half of salt and fresh meadow, young mare and five pounds; to his sons Obadiah and Jonathan certain other lands in New Jersey equally; to his daughter Sarah Slade fifteen pounds; to his daughter

Mary Easton £15; to two children of his daughter Catherine Whitman, deceased, fifteen pounds equally at the age of eighteen, daughter Martha Tillinghast, fifteen pounds; daughter Lydia, twenty pounds; Son Joseph Holmes, house and lot at Newport, R. I."

When "the documents," which were connected with these two men—father and son—after the long search, finally came to hand, they called forth a review and comments of twenty pages, of which the following is the conclusion. Copying it literally carries the apology for the use of the first person.

These instruments tend to vitalize the people, who were named in, and parties to, them. One sees so much of the movements connected with them, necessarily connected with their preparation and descriptions and execution, that the actors themselves and their surroundings and movements and thoughts and feelings and purposes and their very conversations seem to come down to us; their spirits fill the air about us and their stories, in a way, are lived over again within our comprehension and knowledge.

Say it is *imagination*, wholly, on my part, I dissent, because of the hundreds of the blood with whom I have been personally acquainted, during my life, running from Gr. Uncle Isaac, b. 1764, to my youngest grandson, b. 1910, and with my consequent formation of, and familiarity with, the *type*, and say I can almost see Obadiah Hullme and his son Captain Jonathan Holmes, in the days to which, for example, the Memoirs of 1675 and the will and deed of 1681 relate.

Rev. Obadiah Holmes was about five feet ten inches, in height, compactly and firmly built, weighing then one hundred and forty five to one hundred and fifty pounds against his one hundred and sixty in his prime, at the age of forty-eight to fifty; erect in carriage until about 1670, when age and the strenuous life he had lived began to give him a slight "desk stoop," which grew more noticeable down to the last, but was never pronounced into a "bow" or a bent condition of body; a dark complexion, in early life, showing the strength of his blood and the blood still giving character to the color of his cheek when the fading effects

of old age came to him; dark eyes of mild but firm expression; his mouth was firm, his teeth were good, he was always clean shaven; a benignant countenance; an active, earnest manner, an active, earnest man; agreeable socially, with no hard words for any person; a zealous servant of his divine Master, in season and out of season, regarding all times as in the former class; the voice was even tenored, clear and musical, the pronunciation was distinct; the gesticulation was what in oratory is called moderate, reserved, but appropriate to the sentiment; the hands and feet were comparatively small; the dress was in keeping with the times and with his ministerial office; his hair was iron gray, full and long, trimmed and thinned at the ends, after the Puritan style.

Doubtless in his later years he carried a straight black cane with a silvered knob at the top.

The son, Captain Jonathan Holmes, in many physical and mental and moral characteristics, strongly resembled his father.

He was full six feet tall, straight as an Indian, even down to old age. His experience as a soldier contributed to the gift of nature in this respect. His movements were energetic and more aggressive in their nature than the father's, which were mild and smooth and gentle in character, though no less decisive. He was slender, well built and carried a uniform weight, through mature life, of about one hundred and fifty five pounds. The complexion inclined to be dark, and he had a dark gray eye, the modification, in each case, coming from his mother's side. His hair was not all white when he died at eighty years of age. He was a stirring business man, whether looking after his private affairs and interests, or in charge of the business of the public, in any capacity. He was prompt, even punctilious in the keeping of appointments, or engagements, or the doing of things, under any circumstances

He was forty three years old when his father wrote the Memoirs and almost fifty years old when his father died. I doubt his having a gray hair in his head when he was fifty. He dressed well, in good taste. Though not a University student, as his father had been, he was well educated and that education

had been obtained in such schools as Salem, Rehoboth and Newport furnished, in those days, public and private; and it is to be remembered that he was reared in the home of educated parents, into which came, in regular course, eight brothers and sisters after him and among and of whom he was, under those parents, a leader, guide and monitor. The rearing under such tutelage and in such a family was in and of itself an education, and it is clear that he was a student of men and books and principles, a thinker, until he had passed his seventy-fourth year, at least. It was then that his good wife died and he seems to have retired from public employment and the active duties of life. He died in October, 1713, leaving large property to his children.

There are no known paintings or sketches of the persons of these two men from which we may learn the finer points of personal appearance, or infer the more definite characteristics; but in these dozen years of work and study over the few and scattered memorials of them, jointly and severally, the personality of each, as of many of their descendents, has grown up in my mind and is, in a measure, as fixed as though I had met the one on the streets of Newport and the other on the streets of Middletown.

These are not studied or revised sketches, but written right on as the impulse came when the preceding matter was finished.

Some day, I may revise and polish them so as to express, with ultimate precision, my mental pictures of the men.

Each was a power and each was honored in his day and generation.

III

SHERIFF OBADIAH HOLMES

OBADIAH HOLMES, the first child of Jonathan and Sarah Borden Holmes, was born at Gravesend, Long Island, Colony of New York, on the 17th day of July, 1666.

That his father built a residence at Middletown, East Jersey, and moved into it in 1667, seems very clear from the movements and acts recorded in the first town book of that village, which covers the period from 1667 to 1695.

A sort of nucleus or retaining point of settlers appears to have been started there in the year 1666, but the organized condition of Middletown dates from 1667. The original has been preserved

When Captain Jonathan Holmes removed his family from East Jersey to Rhode Island in the early part of 1684, it would seem that his eldest son, then nearly eighteen years old, remained at Middletown in the active care of his father's East Jersey property and interests, but he was still under age and so disqualified to exercise full power as his father's agent or attorney in fact in the transaction of, at least, some branches of the business. This condition is both disclosed and solved by a power of attorney from Jonathan Holmes to Richard Hartshorne, "my well beloved friend," bearing date, October 27, 1684, and of record in Deed Book B. at page 37, of the Monmouth County records, in which he constitutes and appoints the latter his attorney in fact and empowers him to collect rents and debts due the principal. Jonathan Holmes, in the instrument, described himself as "of Newport in Rhode Island and Providence Plantation, in New England, and also Middletown in the Province of East Jersey"

A copy of that instrument is as follows:

"Jonathan Holmes Sett Atto to Rich. Hartshorne

"Know all men by these presents that I Jonathan Holmes of Newport on Rhoad Island in the collony of Rhoad Island and Providence Planta-

tions in New England and also of Middletown in the Province of East Jersey or New Cæsarici in America Have Assigned, Ordained and made and in my Stead & place by these presents putt & constitute my trusty and well beloved friend Richard Hartshorne of Middletown afores'd to be my true & Lawfull Attorney for me and in my name and to my use to aske sue for Demand Recover and Receive and Receipt for all & every such debt, Rents & Arrearages of Rents, Sum & Sums of money as now are due unto me from any person or persons of East Jarsey or New Cæsarici, Giveing and granting unto my said Attorney by these present my full and whole power Strength & Authority in and about the premises, And upon the receipt of any such debts Rents and Arrearages of Rents Sum or Sums of money as *afores* Acquittances or other discharges for me and in my name to make Seale & deliver and all & every other Act and Acts, thing and things, Device & devices in the Law whatsoever Needful & Necessary to be done in or about the premises for the recovery of all or any such Debts, Rents or Arrearages of Rents Sum or Sums of money as *afores* for me and in my name to doe Execute & performe as fully Largely and Amply in Every respect to all intents constructions and purposes as I myself might or could doe if I were personally present and did Act and performe the same and one or more attorneys under him to make & substitute and the same at pleasure to revoake all which and whatsoever as my said Attorney or his substitutes shall Lawfully Doe or cause to be done in or about the Execution of the premises by Virtue of these presents, I doe shall and will allow and confirm by these presents Allso Further hereby giveing & granting unto my said Attorney full power & Authority for me and in my name to appear himselfe or by his attorney to plead to for and in defence of my right title and interest in or unto all and singulor my lands and tenements or any part thereof Lying and being within the Province Of East Jarsey or New Cæsarici in all and singulor the Courts of Justice having Jurisdiction of or plea concerning same singly by himself or jointly with others the *Propriet* as the nature of the case shall require

In Witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale this twenty seventh day of Octob in the year One Thousand Six hundred *Eighty Four*

Signed Sealed &

JONATHAN HULMES (Seale)

delivered in the

present of

Aron Davis

Thomas Ware

The 18th day of Feabruary 1685 there came before me Jonathan Holmes and acknowledged this Sett. of Attorney to be his Act and deed

JOHN THROCKMORTON

Justice

Copia Veras

ATT. R. GARDINER "

From the First Town Book, page 85 $\frac{1}{2}$, this record is copied :

"September the 11 : 1689.

"It was Mutually agreed betweene Obadiah Holmes the younger and John Lemon that the marke formerly recorded for Jonathan Holmes the Elder Should Stand his Sons Obadiahs soe that John Lemons marke is now as followeth

"A crope one the right Eare" &c.

The next entry provides that the brand "O. H." shall "marke" the horses of Obadiah—it is dated, "January ye 28 : 1695-6?"

At the term of the Court of Sessions for Monmouth County, held at Middletown, commencing September 26, 1693, Obadiah Holmes was a member of the grand jury. He was then twenty six years old. On the same grand jury was his cousin Obadiah Bowne, just one day his junior.

In 1696 he married Alice Ashton, born in 1671. The Ashtons were perhaps the first or among the very first settlers in the Monmouth country.

Obadiah Holmes was the Sheriff of Monmouth County in 1698⁹ when their second child, named Joseph Holmes, was born at Middletown, and he was in that office, as shown by the court records, during a portion of the embroilment of the community in the controversy with Governor Hamilton and his leading supporter, Col. Lewis Morris. These two and two other justices were attempting to hold court at Middletown where, on the 26th of March, 1701, about one hundred good citizens, of whom Obadiah Holmes was one, entered the Court House, released the man on trial for alleged piracy, tore up the papers and record in his case and arrested the Governor and his justices and held them prisoners four days.

In the episode, two of the Bordens, Richard and Benjamin, of the party of citizens, were wounded.

It was the claim and contention of the people that Hamilton was disqualified under the law to hold and administer the office of Governor of the colony by reason of his nationality—he was a Scotchman—and that his commission as Governor was defective in at least two vital respects, (1), it did not have the requisite

number of signatures of Proprietors, having ten only when sixteen were required, and, (2), it did not bear the provincial seal.

The disorder was one of the echoes—and there were still echoes an hundred years later—of the struggle which began when the Proprietors, nearly forty years before, sought to ignore all rights of the people of Monmouth under the patent of April 8, 1665, even those of the *bona fide* occupying claimants for the cabins, which they had innocently and honestly built and the laborious improvements, which they had made, not to mention the abandonment of one home and the making of a new one in the face of savages, wild beasts, the dangers of a wilderness, under the covenants and guaranties of the patent, without notice of any claim of defect of title.

"The breaking up of the Court"—says Judge Beekman in his *Early Dutch Settlers*, page 63—"at Middletown held by a usurping governor and his bogus justices was the right thing to do, at the right time" Those engaged in it, he further says, "deserve the praise and gratitude of posterity for their stern and persistent resistance. It destroyed the government of these wrangling and contending factions and relieved the people from much injustice and wrong. Is it any wonder that the pioneer settlers of Middletown issued the 'first Declaration of Independence' and recorded it in their township book against the unfair and monstrous government by the Proprietors?"

Obadiah Holmes was one of the signers of the petition to the King, July 17, 1701, asking that East Jersey be taken under the government of the crown and that the King appoint a governor of the province.

The controversy between Proprietors and their schemes and instruments of government, on the one hand, and the people and their active representatives, on the other, went on with vigor and energy before the King and Council and in the Jerseys, both East and West Jersey being involved.

It resulted in the surrender of government by the Proprietors of both provinces to her Majesty, Queen Anne, on the 17th of

April, 1702. Under date of "Whitehall 4th Augt 1702," the Earl of Nottingham, then "his Majesties Principall Secretary of State," nominated to the Lords of Commerce and Trade as proper persons to be members of the Council of New Jersey, among others, Capt. Andrew Bowne, Capt. John Bowne, John Holmes and Obadiah Holmes.

In 1712, May 31, there were four sheets cut out of the Church book of the Middletown Baptist Church by order of the church, because, perhaps, of differences, which had arisen in the congregation and been, at least, partially recorded therein, and which by agreement of the parties thereto had been settled by a reference to "friends from Philadelphia" on the 24th of that month

The entries in the book are very meagre and imperfect down to 1731-2.

In 1713, under the will of his father, Obadiah Holmes was given title to half of his father's Jersey property; his brother Jonathan receiving the other half. It was located in Monmouth County, in the vicinity of Middletown, and in Middlesex County near Perth Amboy, and thenceforward Obadiah Holmes seems to have devoted himself to his growing family and his private interests and duties, abjuring the search for office or public employment. He had witnessed stormy periods in government from his childhood and in his prime had been an active participant in resistance of tyrants until he saw them surrender their power and with that power the opportunity to abuse it to the detriment of the rights of the people. He had earned a rest and his remaining time was less disturbed. The surrender by the Proprietors of the right to govern left control in the crown and so ended the clashes, contentions and lawlessness, which accompanied and followed the divided responsibility in the proprietary government.

As evidence of the more peaceful flow of his later life notation may be made that on the 28th of February, 1720, he appeared

as a member of the grand jury at a session of the General Quarter Sessions held at Freehold, Monmouth County. Freehold is sixteen miles southwest of Middletown.

On the 18th of March, 1723, a public highway was laid out between the lands of the brothers, Obadiah and Jonathan, in Middletown township, the lands which had come to them under their father's will.

"March ye 1st 1731-2," a list of the members of the Middletown Baptist Church was made in which is found the name of Obadiah Holmes. This was still nearly forty years before Methodism appeared in the new world. That was in 1768, in the "old John Street" mission, New York City.

The name and date were not evidence of his uniting with the church then, but of a listing at that date of the active members. He was then in his sixty-sixth year and had long been a member of the church.

His will was made December 4, 1744. His wife Alice had died in 1716. Their eight children, Jonathan, 1697, Joseph, 1698, Deliverance, 1700, James, 1702, Samuel, April 17, 1704, Mary, 1706, John, 1708 and Obadiah 1710, ranged in ages, at her death, from nineteen years down to six.

Here is a plain factor in the quiet life led by the father during a portion of the time after the extinction of the proprietary government. In the loss of the wife, with such a family, his responsibilities were, shall we say? more than doubled. She was forty five years of age, in the prime of life and wisdom for the guidance of such a flock when she died.

Obadiah Holmes died April 3, 1745, and his will was probated on the 16th day of the same month. It is now of record in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, New Jersey, Book D, page 265. His children are each named in it. The estate was large.

Captain Jonathan's son Jonathan, who settled with his older brother Obadiah, at Middletown, East Jersey, was known as Jonathan Holmes, Senior; this son of Sheriff Obadiah was known as Jonathan, Junior, and a cousin of the latter—a son of Jonathan, Senior—was known as Jonathan, Minor, to avoid confusion.

In passing, it may be noted that Samuel, the fifth child of Obadiah and Alice Ashton Holmes, married Huldah, a daughter of Gershom and Sarah Clayton Mott. One of their children, born February 16, 1740, was afterward known as Colonel Asher Holmes, who commanded a New Jersey regiment in the battles of Germantown, Princeton and Monmouth and who was prominent in the Revolutionary movements affecting that state, and, perhaps, above all the counties in the confederacy, affecting the people of Monmouth County. For years during that period it was a veritable hell in which to live for men, women and children. What with regular army movements and battles upon its soil, it had, in addition, Royalists, Pine Robbers, murderous Hessians, civil and internecine war. No honor accorded to the memories of the patriotic men and women of Monmouth County, who suffered or suffered and died in the cause can exceed their deserts or the justice due them or their memories.

Barber and Howe, in their History of New Jersey, say that,

"In the war of the revolution it suffered severely. Its easy access from New York, and the safe anchorage for vessels within Sandy Hook, rendered it a favorite resort of the royalists for forage and plunder. Some of its inhabitants were awed into submission to the crown, and took up arms against their former neighbors, between whom occurred many sanguinary conflicts. Within its borders occurred one of the severest battles of the war."

At last, the inhabitants of the county were driven in self defense into an association which pledged retaliation against

royalists. The document signed by 436 Monmouth men is historically famous. After the preamble, reciting conditions and justification, it puts three points with great clearness.

1, For every associate patriot captured and imprisoned or paroled while not in arms one of the leading and most influential loyalists shall be imprisoned and treated with "British rigor" until the patriot is liberated.

2, For every house of a good subject that shall be destroyed there shall be full retaliation out of the property of the disaffected.

3, For every article of personal property so taken from good subjects reprisals shall be made from the loyalists.

Col. Asher Holmes headed the list of signers.

He was one of a committee of two that waited on Gen. Washington with an address of the Monmouth people touching the murder of Captain Joshua Huddy, their hero martyr of the Revolution. Lots were drawn and Capt. Asgill of the British service, then a prisoner, an innocent man, was chosen for execution in retaliation for the murder of Huddy and the refusal of the British authorities to surrender his murderer, one Lippencott, though the latter was less responsible than some of the cowards behind him. The near approach of the end of the war and the eloquent letters of his talented mother saved young Asgill's life.

Judge Beekman in his letter to the author of date June 1, 1903, says,

"I send you as a present a letter written by Col. Asher Holmes of Revolutionary fame in New Jersey to Col. John Smock, who was a Lieut. Col. in one of our New Jersey Regiments and after the war a Justice of the Peace when it was an honor to hold this office. It is his own writing and I hope you will take good care of it as his writing is now very scarce. He was a brave and faithful officer, an honest man and a thorough patriot, whose name now stands among the first of our Revolutionary officers in New Jersey."

While his back is turned, this is a good time and place to break the rule again and say that Judge George Crawford Beekman

In the Affair respecting John Burrows being sent by
Mr Jacob. Cornhaver for now settled, he paying the
Cost therefore gave Miss Belonguest the Reg-
-imence both of him & and John Wainright
July 25th 1793
John Smith Esq.

Asher Holmes

of Red Bank, New Jersey, of distinguished derivation, life and service, in his profession, judicially, historically and socially has greatly honored himself and his kinsfolk of many names and in many states. He is a descendant of Captain Jonathan Holmes, son of Rev. Obadiah.

The wife of Col. Asher Holmes, to whom he wrote from the field the first account of the battle of Germantown, which letter is still preserved, Sarah Watson, was born five days after his birth. They were married Feby. 21, 1771. He was the first sheriff of Monmouth County under the Republic and died June 20, 1808, at the age of 68 years, 4 mos. and 4 days. His widow died Sept. 11, 1830, at the age of 90 years, 5 mos. and 20 days.

This Samuel Holmes died Feby. 23, 1760. By occupation he had been a merchant. He and his wife are buried in the Holmdel Baptist Church Yard.

At some time between the death of his father—Sheriff Obadiah—which occurred, as stated, April 3, 1745, and his own death, he made an entry in one of his account books, which may appropriately be here copied. It has probably never been printed, unless it may be found in the excessively rare volume, Judge Beekman's "Old Times in Monmouth."

The writer probably had no thought of its preservation through more than one hundred and fifty years, and its perpetuation through still other centuries.

He wrote,

"Memento.

"I find that my grand father, Jonathan Holmes, late of Rhode Island, deceased, His will was proved 22nd day of Nov. 1713, so that tis likely he departed this life, sometime that year, and perhaps in October 1713, and not long after my said grandfather's decease, I heard my father say, that if his father at lived until such a time, which I now forget his father would be

four score years old, so that he was nigh eighty years old when he departed this life. He was born in Lancastshire, County, Old England. My father, Obadiah Holmes, departed this life on Third of April, 1745, aged seventy eight years three months and a few days. My father told me not long before he was sick with that last sickness of which he died, that he thought his father, was nigh thirty years old, before he married, although he could not remember certain that his father had told him so. My father told me that he was born at Gravesend, L. I., called Nassau Island, in New York Colony."

It is written of Samuel that "he bought lands in 1729 of Gershom Cottrell near Hop Brook. His Plantation was called Scots Chester. In 1753 the account of his estate given in to the assessor was 1620 acres of land, 55 cattle at 2 years old and upward, 75 horses and mares, 92 sheep, 3 white servants, 2 negro men.

The following is a memorandum in his own writing:

"In 1752 In the poor rate tax I paid about ye 23d of the Tax of the Township of Freehold and there is about 255 house holders in Freehold."

Of his subscription money to Rev. Abel Morgan he writes:

"Note I did subscribe to pay to said Morgan at his first settling in Middletown the sum of twenty shillings proc every year and I have paid yearly."

It has been seen that there were eight children of the Sheriff all of whom are named as beneficiaries under his last will and testament. The following letter shows the spirit that seemed to pervade the family when among the sons Samuel had need of \$2000 or \$2500 cash in an emergency. Obadiah very naturally

came to a knowledge of the fact and appealed to the brother Joseph in the "difficulty," as he styled it.

The aid was given and the difficulty avoided.

"March ye 5th 1754

My brother

This to Inform you that I am In great necessity of four or five hundred pounds or more and am Indebted about so much unto brother Samuel, which sum If Samuel cannot get by the fifth of may, he is threatened to be arrested and certainly will, which must discredit and greatly hurt us If I cannot get the money; and he be arrested I might take the blame to myself; therefore my request is that you would be so good as to consider the difficulty of our circumstances, and try in burlington or else where, If you cannot get the above mentioned sum, Samuel Smith of burlington son to great Richard Smith; did expect that sum or rent, to be paid In about this time; I have written to brother James to ask Mr Coward If he would not be bound with you for the money In case the cash is to be had, and only myself to be bound with you would answer I should much choose it; but If it would otherwise answer. I am very unwell and ailing in several respects; that I dare not undertake a journey to burlington. So if the money is to be had and you can get Mr Coward or some other man that will answer to be bound with you and bring the money to me I will give you a Counter bond or Mortgage land as you shal choose so that you both be made secure and bear your expense and pay you for your trouble, as brother James at present stands in that publick station and other Incumbrances I don't choose to ask him to be bound unless there be absolute necessity. I would have you bear in mind that one writ may bring half a dozen more—which may in this scarce time of money and doubtless will have a terrible effect upon us all If Coward fails I would have you try some other man. with my respects to your self and family from your Indisposed brother.

OBADIAH HOLMES.

March ye 5th, 1754

to

Mr

JOSEPH HOLMES, living
In upper Freehold."

Following is a copy of the will of Sheriff Obadiah Holmes, recorded in Book D. at page 265 of the Secretary's Office at Trenton, New Jersey:—

"In the name of God Amen I Obadiah Holmes of Middletown in the County of Monmouth in the Eastern Division of the Province of New Jersey Yeoman, the twenty fourth day of December in the year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and forty five, being of a sound mind and disposing memory, thanks be to God for the same, and calling to mind the uncertainty of this present life, knowing that it is appointed for all men to die Do make and ordain and declare this to be my last will and testament as following viz—First and principally I recommend my soul to Almighty God, that gave it and my body to the earth from whence it was taken to be buried at the direction of my Executors herein after mentioned and named and as touching such worldly goods and Estate as it hath pleased God to bestow upon me (which I have not already given) I give and Devise and Dispose of the same in manner and form following,—that is to say—First of all I give unto my daughter Deliverance Smith the sum of Ten pounds money at eight shillings the ounce to be raised and levied out of my Estate. In like manner I give unto my son Jonathan Holmes the sum of Five pounds of like money. In like manner I give unto my son Obadiah Holmes the sum of ten shillings. In like manner I give unto my son James Holmes ten shillings. In like manner I give unto my daughter Mary Mott the sum of ten pounds in like money as above mentioned And whereas I have given unto my son Joseph a deed of gift bearing date the tenth of February 1721 for that land which I purchased of David Stout and have also conveyed by a deed of Sale unto my said son Joseph—part of that tract of land which I purchased of my father Jonathan Holmes dec'd S^d land lying and being in Crosswicks as by Deed of Sale for the same may appear bearing date the 23^d day of September 1704 and also for part of a tract of land which lays between the two said tracts of Land to witt, that which I purchased of my father Jonathan Holmes and that from David Stout And now I do hereby give and bequeath (the remainder of those two tracts of Land and all the land which I have at Crosswicks in Upper Freehold Township) unto my said son Joseph Holmes his heirs and assigns forever Beginning at a stake in the south side of Burlington Path, John Smiths west corner, thence running along Burlington Path to the north eastward corner of my said son Josephs land, which I purchased of the aforesaid David Stout thence southwardly along said line to a corner of the other tract of land belonging to my S. son Joseph which I conveyed to him as above said, thence eastwardly along the line of the last mentioned Tract of land of late belonging to John Smith, thence northwardly along Smiths line to the beginning. Together with all and all manners of woods trees, orchards paster, improvements, benefits and

advantages, whatsoever unto him my said son Joseph Holmes his heirs and assigns forever To have and to hold the said land with all and singular, these rights members and appurtenances unto the said land belonging or in any manner of ways appertaining I give and bequeath unto my son John Holmes his heirs and assigns forever the Plantation whereon I now Do Dwell. Beginning at the northwestward corner of my said Land or Plantation Ramonoson Brook commonly called Hop Brook to the northward of a small run of water in the corner of the Land of late Major James Hubbard Deceased thence westwardly along the line of land which was of late James Hubbards to my Bro Jonathan Holmes Land, thence southward along said Jona. Holmes line to my Son Samuel Holmes land, which he purchased of Nicolas Cottrell, thence eastward along said Samuel Holmes line to a corner of Land which I conveyed unto my sd son John Holmes as by deed of sale for the same may appear bearing date the 15th day of October 1733, thence northwardly along said John Holmes's line to another corner of John Holmes's land thence eastwardly along said John Holmes's line about ten chains be it more or less to a swamp, thence northwardly along said swamp to a Ditch and small run of water which runs down from the northward of my now Dwelling House—thence eastward down the run of water and said John Holmes's line to Ramonoson brook, thence northwardly up said Ramonoson brook to beginning. Bounded northwardly by land of late Major James Hubbard and eastward by said Ramonoson brook and in part eastward and in part southward by said John Holmes's Land and in part southward by said Samuel Holmes Land and west by said Jonathan Holmes Land, together with all manner of Housings, Buildings, Pastor's Woods Trees water springs brooks with all the Rights members and appurtenances to the said Land, belonging or in any manner of ways whatsoever thereunto appertaining unto him the said John Holmes his heirs and assigns forever and after my son John Holmes has paid all the several sums of money as above mentioned to the several of my children herein named and pay all my just and lawful debts if any should be; that then I give unto my said son John Holmes all my personal Estate and I do name and appoint my son James Holmes my son Samuel Holmes and my son John Holmes Executors of this my last Will and Testament to see the same executed, in testimony whereof I hereunto set my hand and seal the day and year first above written

Signed sealed & published as my
last will and Testament in the
Presence of

JONATHAN HOLMES—
JOHN BOWNE JUNIOR
ELIAS COVENHOVEN
GEORGE REID JUNIOR"

OBADIAH HOLMES

IV

HON. JOSEPH HOLMES

JOSEPH HOLMES, the second child of Obadiah and Alice Ashton Holmes, was born at Middletown, Monmouth County, Colony of East Jersey, in 1698. Middletown was the home of his father through all the years of his life except the first, or a part of it, spent at Gravesend. No public mention or record of his name is found while he was growing to manhood.

The village was thirty four years old when his career began and it was fifty seven years old when, early in 1722, he married Elizabeth Ashton. They settled in what was then and is still called Upper Freehold, one of the seven townships of Monmouth County.

Joseph Holmes was one of the founders there of what was known at first as the Crosswicks Baptist Church, later and still known as The Yellow Meeting House.

In 1731, April 1, Joseph Holmes was assessed on one hundred and fifty acres of land in Upper Freehold township for the purpose of "Building A Cort house in ye County of Monmouth," the one built in 1715 having been destroyed by fire in December. 1727. At the same time John Ashton was assessed on seven hundred and sixty acres and Joseph Ashton on four hundred acres of land.

In the month of October, 1758, the tax list for the township showed John Ashton assessed for two hundred acres, and no assessment on Joseph Ashton or any other of the name. Joseph Holmes was assessed on nine hundred and forty five acres and James Holmes on seven hundred acres. John Coward, the only man having more land in the township than Joseph Holmes, was assessed on twelve hundred acres.

Elizabeth Ashton Holmes was the daughter of John Ashton and while the John Ashton of 1727 was her father the John

Ashton of 1758 was most likely her brother and the inheritances and prosperous business of Joseph Holmes, in these twenty-seven years of vigorous, driving manhood, had increased that one hundred and fifty acres in 1731 to nine hundred and forty five acres in 1758.

The children of Joseph and Elizabeth Ashton Holmes were: 1, John, born January 29, 1724, died young; 2, Alice, born June 10, 1726, married John Polhemus, and died April 1, 1788, without children, wife and husband buried in the Yellow Meeting House graveyard—the husband survived the wife five years; 3, Obadiah, born October 13, 1728; 4, James, born March 6, 1732, died young; 5, Mary, born September 17, 1733, married Peter Imlay; 6, Joseph, born December 31, 1736, married Phoebe Wardell and died August 31, 1809—she had died February 25, 1786; 7, Jonathan, born December 24, 1738, married Lydia Throckmorton, 1767; 8, John—the youngest child—born March 29, 1744, married Deborah Leonard 1774, died August 10, 1783—she died May 6, 1811—both buried in the yard of the Yellow Meeting House. The record as it appears in the old Bible will be given later.

With reference to some of these children, the following observations may be made, at this point: Obadiah will be the subject of the next chapter. As to Mary Holmes Imlay the only answer now available is in the words of one of the Monmouth County relatives recently: "I do not know where she died, or where buried, or where they lived."

Joseph was active, prominent and influential in the patriot cause and councils during the Revolution. They seem to have left no children. Jonathan died August 4, 1777; his wife died February 14, 1783; they are buried at the Yellow Meeting House. They left five children: 1, Elizabeth, born 1768, married Samuel Wyckoff, died 1834; 2, Joseph, born 1772, married Mary Bruere and died July 16, 1815. His widow died June 28, 1833, aged 59 years, 3 mos. and 25 days—they are buried at the Yellow Meeting House; 3, John, born 1773, died young; 4, Sarah, born 1775,

married Clayton Erle, died in 1800 and, 5, Alice, born 1776, died March 16, 1790, aged 14 years, 3 months and 2 days.

John and Deborah Leonard Holmes had five children: 1, Elizabeth, born January, 1775, married Rowland Ellis, a merchant of Philadelphia, died May 9, 1795; 2, Mary, born 1777, died 1778; 3, Joseph, born 1778, married Ann Lowrie; 4, Alice, born 1780, died 1802; 5, John L., married Rachel, daughter of Solomon Coombs.

John Holmes died August 10, 1783, and his widow Deborah died May 6, 1811. Their graves are at the Yellow Meeting House.

It will be observed that as in the family of his great grand parents, Obadiah and Katherine Hyde Holmes, so in the family of Joseph and Elizabeth Ashton Holmes, there were two sons named John.

These details are given, as will be others of like kind, for reasons that will become obvious as the story unfolds. One of them may as well be stated now. The repetition of the names Obadiah, Jonathan, John and Samuel—not to mention others—in the family, generation after generation, in the multiplying branches, through three hundred years, produced a confusion, which baffled the most skilful historian and genealogist, unaided, outside of the record, to trace lineages in some branches with certainty.

These children and grand children of the couple under consideration viewed in the light of the times and of their occupations and property, shed a light on the lives of the patriot and his wife. The last child—the second John—was born in 1744. When he was twenty-one years of age, the Stamp Act was passed by the British Parliament and the issue of taxation without representation was squarely made between the Mother country and her American colonies.

Looking back along the narrow line, which even these four lives present, commencing with the dominance, intolerance and persecutions of the established church in England, Old and New; remembering the efforts to stifle and pervert the terms and guaranties of charters and patents to the prejudice of the rights and

liberties of the subjects; recalling the oppressions of the representatives of the crown, proprietary or official, the grasping after quit rents and taxes and land titles by such representatives or usurpers of the offices, taxation without representation, the logic of events, shaped by Great Britain, led irresistibly to the Revolution.

Something in the very air, the atmosphere of the new world, inspired and bred a love of freedom and justice. Government, the ruling classes, might hang and burn and whip, the sense of the people—the masses—was in favor of righteousness and against the wrongs and in the end the people had their way.

The Ellis history of Monmouth County credits the formal organization of the Baptist Church in Upper Freehold to Joseph Holmes—first named in the list—and forty-six others, who had asked and received letters of dismission for that purpose from the Middletown Baptist Church, and fixes the date of such organization "on the 10th day of May, A. D. 1766." It was known for seven years as the Crosswicks Baptist Church—now the Yellow Meeting House.

There was a Jonathan Holmes among these founders, but no Obadiah.

The church privileges of the Upper Freehold Baptists down to 1766 seem to have been of a desultory character, locally, with their membership in a church eighteen or twenty miles away at Middletown.

The name of Joseph Holmes appears for the first time in its very imperfect church book as a member of the Middletown Church under the date 1733. Samuel Holmes and Elizabeth Holmes appear under the date 1734 and Deliverance Holmes under date 1735.

Gershom Mott, a member, died March 3, 1733-4. He and his wife Sarah Clayton Mott were grand parents of Col. Asher Holmes.

"May 5, 1735, Joseph Ashton & Joseph Holmes have agreed that ye church shall appoint men to decide their difference & settle the bounds of their land. Church appoints Samuel Ogborne, Jarot Wall & Rich^d Mount."

James Mott, who was born April 5, 1707, kept a journal "Relating To Church Discipline" in the Baptist Church at Middletown from September, 1748, to October, 1777.

The opening paragraph, expressed in the quaint form and language of that day, shows, among other things, a striking case of hearsay.

"In September 1748 At A Church Meeting In Middletown William taylor Told Me that his Daughtur told him That Arthur Rowlin told her that he Would Come down to Middletown at Said Meeting and Would Prevent the admitting of John Williams Wife to Church Preuelig But told hur not to Tel hur fathur"

The matter was earnestly heard and considered at the December meeting and this was the entry:

"January 7=1748⁸ at a Church meeting at Middletown Complants Being Brought Aganst Arther Rowlin for drinking to Excess Wilful Lying and Soing Discord in the Church= tho Not appearing Was Suspended"

Time went on and "Arthur" was in evidence again,

"August 3=1751 At a Church Meeting By John Brays: Arthur Rowlin he had Bin Under Sensur For Sum time: Made application to the Church For admition to his Place agane. acknowledged himself Gilty of the Charge laid Against him With Some Sines of Repentance: But the Church Though(t) fit to haue a longer time to Euedence the Truth of his Repentance."

To finish this one church story, suffer another extract from the Journal.

"December 3 Day 1752 At a Publick Meeting In Middletown Arthur Rowlin Was ExcominiCated the Crimes Prued against him Ware Drinking to Excess and a luse and Extrauagant life"

On the 5th day of September, 1768, Joseph Holmes headed a committee of eight church members which met at "Crossweacks" to hear an important slander case. The accused was suspended.

In the latter part of 1750, Elizabeth Ashton Holmes died. Reading between the lines, one of his married sons, for the most part, thenceforward, occupied the Upper Freehold homestead, though it remained the property of the father, and his home so long as he lived, except for the operation of the deed presently mentioned. When his wife went away the times that were to try the souls of men and women in the Colonies, and not least in New Jersey, were coming on swiftly. The events that foreshadowed the clash of arms were following each other in kindling succession.

Joseph Holmes measured his years practically by those of the century in which he lived and when the storm broke in 1775 he was seventy-six years old. A man of large means for his colony and his times, though the days of the sere and yellow leaf had come to him, he heard the call to public duty and obeyed it.

On Tuesday, July 19, 1774, under what are known as the Monmouth Resolutions, he was chosen one of the delegates to the Provincial Congress to be held at the City of New Brunswick, on Thursday, July 21, two days later. The Congress sat three days.

He was a delegate in the session of the Provincial Congress, held at Trenton in the months of October and November, 1775, and also in that held at New Brunswick, from January 31, to March 2, 1776, as well as in the sessions held at Burlington, June 10, 1776, adjourned to Trenton and then to New Brunswick from August 21, next following.

The work also embraced his service as a member of the Committee of Safety, a most important and responsible position and charge in those times.

A letter is at hand from Col. Forman to him, officially, which is in these words:

"November 21st 1776

Dear Sir;—There is a task laid upon me that I don't like

Col. Taylor refuses taking the oath required: in consequence thereof the officers refuse acting under him They request me to take the command next month, which begins tomorrow. 'Tis quite likely Col Taylor has orders from the General, and also money for to supply the regiment with provisions. Before I can go I must have orders and money to supply a commissary. You see the immediate necessity for orders being sent, or our guards on the shore may be suffering for provisions, and in the greatest confusion

I am,

S FORMAN.

To Joseph Holmes Esq.,
At Burlington"

By the way, his son Joseph, as "Joseph Holmes Jr," was a member of the New Jersey General Assembly under the constitution adopted July 3, 1776.

The father's home was plundered—one account says burned, but that is inaccurate—by Pine Robbers during the Revolution That portion of the country was peculiarly exposed to their depredations by reason of its proximity to what were known as the Pine Barrens where the Robbers harbored and whence they derived their title.

The final record of public service shows him chosen as one of two commissioners of New Jersey to attend, and his attendance upon, a convention at York Town in Pennsylvania, where the States of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia were also represented "for the purpose of considering and forming a system adapted to these states to regulate the price of labor, of manufacturies and of internal produce within these states and of goods imported from foreign parts, except military stores, to be laid before the respective legislatures of each state for their approbation."

The session lasted from March 26, 1777, until the record closed with these words:

“and that this meeting be dissolved.

A true copy

LEWIS BURWELL, Chairman

Signed Thursday Eveng

By candle-light, April 3, 1777.”

Two days later, he was at his home, for on the 5th day of April, 1777, he made his will in which he characterized himself as “of sound and disposing mind and memory.” His wife is not mentioned in it. The first son John—the first born—is not referred to. The daughter Mary is not mentioned, though his granddaughter Elizabeth Imlay is given land at Middletown Point. The son Obadiah is not referred to for reasons suggested in the next chapter. After special bequests and devises and providing for payment of debts, the residue of the estate is distributed among Joseph, Jonathan and John—the youngest.

The end was approaching. Two days later, April 7, he made a deed to Jonathan for his homestead, which was also devised to him in the will. This deed was not recorded until long afterward—February 11, 1784.

On the 25th day of July, 1777, at 8 o'clock a. m., he passed away in his seventy-ninth year. His funeral occurred on the day that Jane McCrea was murdered by Indians at Fort Edward, New York, July 27, 1777, styled in the history of the Revolution “the year of the three bloody sevens.”

The wills of Joseph and his son, Captain Jonathan, were admitted to probate on the same day, to wit: the 11th of August, 1777, and they are of record in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, both in Liber 19, the son's beginning on page 3 and the father's, next, beginning on page 7.

For a considerable time after these researches into family history were begun there appeared no slaveholder in the old connections, but “the brickwork” was not then all disclosed. In this single family of Joseph Holmes the wills show that the father and, at least, two of the sons were slaveholders; even the

names of the slaves, in part, are preserved; those of the father are provided for by bequests and devises of property to them.

Two of the sons, Jonathan and John, were officers of the New Jersey troops during the Revolution. Captain Jonathan Holmes died as the direct result of the hardships and exposures of the service during the campaigns in New Jersey in the first half of the year 1777. The date of his death, already stated, was August 4, 1777. His brother Lieut. John Holmes died August 10, 1783, in his fortieth year, barely living to see the successful end of the Revolution.

Living in times of peace and plenty, an hundred and thirty years after these officers closed their careers, it may not be an easy task for those who have never seen actual war, with its dangers, anxieties, and merciless exhaustion, wounds and death, or confronted its starvation and rags, with or without the loathsome prison, to appreciate what they went through, or what discounted their lives.

The foot-loose, care-free young soldier—dare-devil, may be—whose house is shingled when his hat is on, in camp or field or battle, is one proposition—there are no cares or responsibilities behind him. On the other hand, the soldier with doubled years and wife and little ones and home behind, carries a wearing spirit-burden each day, even though the “dear ones” may be safe. Now add to that as merely illustrating hundreds of cases not in New Jersey alone, the perils, some of them worse than death, from dissolute British or Hessian soldiers, malignant Tories, heartless Pine Robbers, murderers, within easy reach of their homes and little families, as they were in Upper Freehold, while these two brothers marched and starved and fought and endured, no wonder that each died before his prime.

The traditions of their parentage, services in the army, sufferings and deaths have been identical in the family east and west of the mountains and from their nature could scarcely have a

parallel, which could confuse identity in the line of descent, if that line were not otherwise confirmed by many facts as well as traditions. Those traditions were no clearer one hundred years after the Revolution east of the mountains, in New Jersey, than they were west of the mountains, in Pennsylvania, Virginia and in the Ohio country, among the descendants of the Holmes blood.

The homestead of Joseph Holmes and his wife Elizabeth Ashton Holmes erected in 1720-1722 is still standing and has been continuously owned and occupied by their direct descendants, as the law phrase is, "from thence hitherto." We know that the homes of their children, Joseph, Jr. and Jonathan and John, were on the 945 acres and, in military parlance, "within supporting distance" of each other.

Captain Jonathan made this memorandum in his brief diary, which was found after his death and has been preserved:

"Monday 9 Dec 1776. Left home and all, which I understand * *"—a Pine Robber—"soon took possession of and plundered, 1 gun wagon horses and negro man—leaving my wife destitute of help on the place."

The Pine Robber was a neighbor whose name was well known. But for his innocent and irresponsible descendants, that name and his history would be published even now.

The father had been gone almost three years and so had Captain Jonathan; Lieut. John's family was then occupying the homestead. Very clearly he was away from home in the public service and some time in the spring a descent was planned, the tradition of which was thus recorded and is kept under the old roof tree.

"In 1780 About the last of April the Refugees attacked the house of John Holmes in Upper Freehold and robbed him of a large amount of Continental money a silver watch, gold ring, silver buckle, clothing &c."

After many years, lost and almost forgotten, the old Bible was found and restored to the old homestead. Its record is worthy of preservation by the "art preservative."

"The Ages of Joseph & Elizabeth

Holmess Children: Written by me

William Baker Master In Stead

of a Better April ye 8th 1732

John Holmes was Born; January
ye 29th; 1724

Allis Holmes was Born; June
ye 30th Anno Domini 1726

Obadiah Holmes was Born
October ye 13th; 1728

James Holmes, was Born; March
ye 6th Anno Domino 1732

Mary Holmes was Born September
ye 17, 1733

Joseph Holmes was Born ye 31 of
December 1736

Jonathan Holmes was Born ye
2 of December 1738

Died 4 Aug 1777 about 1/2 past twelve
in the morning

John Holmes was Born; March ye
29th Anno Domini; 1744

Deceased the 13 of August 10 o'clock
at night 1783"

"From the old Bible in possession of Mary H. Rue in the old home where the children were born."

"The Ages of John Holmes & Deborah Holmes's Children

Elizabeth Holmes was Born January the 2. about 5 O'clock in the afternoon 1775

Mary Holmes was Born October 29 about 8 O'clock in the afternoon 1776. Died 30 July 1777 about 5 O'clock in the morning

Joseph Holmes was Born August 21 about 1 o'clock in the morning 1778

Alliss Holmes was Born June 18th about 4 O'clock in the afternoon 1780

John Holmes was Born on Wednesday 10 July about 8 O'clock at night 1782

Mary Ann Ellis was born August 20th 1793 on Friday morning.
Died February 19th 1795 on Thursday evening"

"From same old Bible."

In the handwriting of one of the sons—John—interlined in the caption of the first page of the record, is this entry:

"My Father Died 25, July 1777
about 8 o'clock in ye morning"

Following the name of Allis Holmes is this interlineation,
"Died April 1st 1788"

Joseph and Elizabeth Ashton Holmes are buried in what is known as the Ashton Burying Ground in Upper Freehold Township, Monmouth County, New Jersey.

Following is a copy of the will of Hon. Joseph Holmes, L 1108—57:

"I Joseph Holmes of Upper Freehold of the county of Monmouth and State of New Jersey, being of sound and disposing mind and memory do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following.

"Imprimis I will that all my debts and funeral charges be paid and Discharged by my Executors hereinafter named, out of my outstanding debts.

"Item—I give and bequeath unto my son Jonathan Holmes all that tract or plantation whereon he now lives, and to his heirs and assigns forever Beginning at a stone standing on a bank of a ditch on the south of the meadow that lies southward of the house wherein I the said Joseph Holmes now lives also being the northeastwardly corner of a Tract of land in the possession of Joseph Holmes Jr and from thence running along said ditch north seventy degrees and ten min East one chain and twenty four links, thence seventy seven Degrees and thirty minutes East one chain and fifty seven links &c—to land patented by John Smith deceased and now in possession of Moses Ivens — — —

"Item I give and bequeath unto my son John Holmes all the remainder of my lands in Upper Freehold except a small lott in the Barrons whereon is a stone hill, with all the buildings and appertenances thereto belonging unto him his heirs and assigns forever Also all my household goods stock and farming utensils.

"Item—I give and bequeath unto my granddaughter Elizabeth Imlay and to her heirs and assigns forever, a lott of land at Middletown Point on the east side of the main street before John Burrows Door also a sum of two hundred and thirty pounds to be paid out of my outstanding debts.

"Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Alice the wife of John Polhemus, the sum of three hundred pounds to be paid out of my outstanding debts

"Item I give and bequeath unto the Baptist Church or Congregation in Upper Freehold whereof Thomas Farr and Thomas Cox are Deacons the sum of seventy pounds to be paid by my Executors out of my outstanding debts to said persons as the said congregation shall appoint, but they are not to make use of the principal on any pretence whatever.

"Item. I give and bequeath unto my old negro man Jack the sum of six pounds a year as long as he lives, to be paid out of my outstanding debts and order and direct that my Executors pay him the sum annually and the use of the upland south of Lahway Creek which I give to my son John where Benjamin Beers now lives, during his life, if he chooses to live on said land.

"Item I give and bequeath the above excepted lot of land or stone hill to be equally divided amongst my three sons Joseph Holmes Jonathan Holmes and John Holmes and to each of their heirs and assigns forever.

"Also my negro man George and all the money I have in hand and all outstanding debts to be equally divided amongst my three above named sons.

"If anything there shall be after paying my debts funeral expenses and legacies above bequeathed, and I do hereby constitute and appoint my

three sons Joseph Holmes, Jonathan Holmes and John Holmes Executors of this my last will and testament

"In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and seal the fifth day of April, In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven

JOSEPH HOLMES.

In the presence of Jacob Hendrickson

James Mott Jr

Sworn at Burlington 11th August 1777

Probate was granted by Gov. Livingstone unto Joseph Holmes and John Holmes as Executors."

The accounting for the administration of the estate at Burlington was delayed through the troublous times of the Revolution and as the following copy of the exhibit and record shows. It will be remembered that the son Jonathan died ten days after his father; that the son John, who evidently had the active management of the estate, died August 10, 1783, and the final accounting devolved on Deborah Leonard Holmes, the widow and administratrix of John Holmes, the son and executor of the testator, Joseph Holmes.

"The account of John Holmes one of the Executors of the Estate of his father Joseph Holmes Late of the Township of Upper Freehold, In the County of Monmouth & State of New Jersey as well of & for so much of the Goods & Chattels of the Personal Estate of the Said Deceased as have Come to his hands To be administered as of & for his payment and Disbursements out of the Same, and also the account of Deborah Holmes administratrix To the Estate of the above Said John Holmes Deceased So far as concerns the administration of the above Said John Holmes In and about the Business aforesaid.

Dr These accountants Charge Themselves

1777		£	S	D
August	To Cash in hand as pr appraisement	52	7	1
August 14. 1777	To Cash Received	341	7	6
y ^e 15th	To Cash 12/		12	
Sep y ^e 2 ^d	To Cash from Daniel Holmes administr ^{tr} to William Holmes	140	19	8
y ^e 12th	To Cash from Joseph Vandike			
	£12:13 9 pr Table Depretiation	12	4	10
y ^e 16th	To Cash from Joseph Stillwell			
	£38:12:6 pr Do—	36	17	6¾

Octbr ye	10	To Cash from Samuel Forman			
		£12.8:6 pr Do—	11		2
	21st	To Cash from Edward Taylor			
		£13.0:2 pr Do	11	2	8
ye	27th	To Cash from James Mott £75.19.9			
		pr Do—	63	18	3
Novembr ye	3d	To Cash from Jacob Still £1.0 0 pr			
		Do—		17	4¾
	17th	To Cash from William Compton			
		£312 2:6 pr Do—	245	19	9½
March ye	1				
	1778	To Cash from John Hornor wheelkite			
		£1 19 9 pr Do	1	3	8
April ye	17th	To Cash from Hugh Hutchin £1 1:7			
		pr Do—		10	2
May ye	15th	To Cash from Daniel Holmes			
		£169:1 7½ pr Do	68	19	3
July ye	14th	To Cash from John Ashton £2 2:0½			
		pr Do		15	1¾
Janry	1779	To Cash from Joseph Stillwell			
		£36 16 5 pr Do	4	19	3
	19th	To Cash from Hugh Hutchin			
		£19:1:2 pr Do	2	6	10½
August ye	1st	To Cash from John Ashton 16/6 pr			
		Do		1	¼
		To Cash 18 dollars In Bills on			
		France	4	16	6
June		To Cash not appraised £15.	15		
		To 1 Rideing Chair Taken at the ap-			
		praisement	16:		
		To 1 Negro Man Named George			
		Taken at the appraisement	100.		
		To one half of wearing apperal, the			
		Whole appraised at £18	9		
			£1140	:18	: 9½

Pr Contra they Pray Allowance

Cr—

July ye	25th	N—1			
1777		for Cash for a Coffin	5	0	0
		for Liquor & Service at the Burial	2	5	

HOLMES FAMILY

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August ye	1	for Expense at the appraisalment	8	9	
		for one Days going with waggon &			
		Horses To prove the will	15		
	2				
	14th	for Cash to Alice Polhemus for her			
		Legacy as pr Receipt	300 :		
Septembr	13	for Cash to Thomas Cox as pr Receipt	70 :		
ye	19th	for Cash put In the Continental Treas-			
		ury £87:15 pr Table	82	7	3
January ye					
	22 ^d 1778	for Cash paid Joseph Holmes			
		£268 :1:6 pr Table	172	5	8¾
ye	24th	for Cash put In the Treasury for			
		Betse Emlay £112:10	112	10	
Decembr	17—				
	1779	for Cash 360 Dollars put In Loan for			
		Betse Emlay being the amount			
		of 18 Dollars, In Bills On			
		France at 1 for 20	4	16	6
April ye	19				
	1784	for Cash from Deborah Holmes to			
		Joseph Holmes	103	1	19
March 31 st					
	1787	for Cash from Deborah Holmes to			
		Joseph Holmes	156	6	4
			<hr/>		
			£1009	16	3¾

The above Credit of £82-7-3 being money put into the public treasury appears to me to belong to the State and ought not to be deducted on account of disbursements £82-7-3 And that the sum of £4-16-6 being the Amt of bills on France is interest which was due on E Emleys Certificates and ought not to be credited or deducted on acct of disbursements . 4:16-6 £87 : 3 : 9

(on outside)

“Amt. Stated by Joseph
Throckmorton
of John Holmes Exer
and Deborah Holmes Admr
found by Doctor Henderson
to be Erroneously Stated”

The following memorandum was found a few months ago by Joseph Holmes of Cream Ridge, New Jersey, in the Secretary's

Office at Trenton. Its proper location in time is January 15, 1777:

"Gov. Livingston
John Cooper
Andrew Sinickson
Joseph Holmes
Robert Morris
Peter Tallman
Abraham Van Nest
Silas Condit and

William Churchill Houston

during recess of the Legislature on 15th of January requested the Treasurer to pay into the hands of Enos Kelsy, commissioner for the purchase of clothing, the sum of 7000 £ engaging to replace the same in the treasury, provided the Legislature at next sitting should not direct it to be credited in the accounts of the Treasurer."

This matter connects itself with the accounting of the personal representatives of the Patriot, above shown, as the liability seems plainly to have turned up against his estate, at least, to some extent.

From Secretary's Office, Trenton:

"Be it remembered that on the Eighth day of November One thousand Seven hundred and fifty—letters of Administration were granted by His Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esq. Governor of the Province of New Jersey, unto Joseph Holmes of all and Singular All goods chattels & effects of Elizabeth Holmes, Deceased Late of the County of Monmouth; being duly sworn well and truly to Administer the said Deceaser's Estate to Exhibit as true & Perfect Inventory & Render as just and true account thereof. Given under the Prerogatives Seal of the Said Province at Burlington this day & year above said—

CHARLES READ Regr."

No inventory or account of the administration of the estate of Elizabeth Ashton Holmes has been found, either at Trenton or Burlington, New Jersey, in each of which searches have been made in the proper offices for such inventory or account.

The public services, officially rendered, under the Colonial governments of East Jersey and Rhode Island by Captain Jonathan Holmes, in both civil and military capacities, entitle his descendants to membership in The Colonial Dames; and the

public services officially rendered by his grandson, Hon. Joseph Holmes, during the Revolutionary War, entitle his descendants to membership in the S. A. R. and the D. A. R., respectively. Some of the particulars of the latter's service may be found in the "Minutes of the Provincial Congress and the Committee of Safety of Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1775-1776, pp. 23, 197, 199, 201, 254, 325, 445, 450, 455-457, 471, 472, 478, 489, 502, 504, 512, 535, and in New Jersey Rev. Corr. 1776-1786. pp. VI, 19 and 35."

The Minister's services, also, qualify his descendants for membership in the Colonial Dames.

NOTE: Joseph Holmes of Cream Ridge, New Jersey, and his sister, Mrs. Mary Holmes Rue, have been very helpful in matters of the history of the old plantation of Hon. Joseph Holmes and its people.

Their ancestry from Captain Jonathan and Lydia Throckmorton Holmes—whose residence was built before the Revolution on the 945 acres and is still standing and called "The Red House"—is briefly as follows: Joseph, born in 1772, and Joseph, born in 1810. The birth year of the present Joseph was 1849. The Mother, Mrs. Martha A. Holmes, widow of Joseph of 1810, was ninety years of age October 23, last. Mrs. Rue owns and occupies the ancestral home built in 1720-1722.

Joseph Holmes, at a meeting of the Sons of the American Revolution, recently, conversed with a direct descendant of Ananias Conklin, one of the partners in the original glassworks at Salem, Mass.

December 1, 1914.

PIONEER OBADIAH HOLMES

OBADIAH HOLMES, the third child of Joseph and Elizabeth Ashton Holmes, was born in Upper Freehold, Monmouth County, New Jersey, on the 13th day of October, 1728. He was manifestly named for his grandfather, the Sheriff, and in honor of the still earlier ancestor, the Sheriff's grandfather, the Boston Martyr. He was in his eighteenth year, when his grandfather, the Sheriff, died. His oldest brother, the first John, having died young, he was the oldest of the living sons of the family. Alice was two years his senior, the next surviving child was Mary, five years younger, and then came Joseph, more than eight years his junior, Jonathan more than ten years and John well on to sixteen years his juniors. He was twenty-one years of age in the fall of 1749. At the holidays of 1755, in the village of Lambertton, now absorbed in the southern end of the city of Trenton, New Jersey, he married Mary Clunn, two of whose brothers were New York merchants thirty-five years later, another being a merchant in the city of Philadelphia as late as the '90s of that century. Tradition says the father, John Clunn, was a New York merchant. One of her uncles, Joseph Clunn, was a Captain in a New Jersey regiment and for many years after the close of the Revolutionary war kept a hotel, called in those days a tavern or an inn, which bore the sign of Alexander the Great, at Trenton in that state. After the war Alexander was painted out of the sign and Washington on horseback was painted in.

Of the years between his majority and his marriage, about six in all, no special account can be given. Very naturally from all that is known of the family, conditions, occupations, property and connections, he remained on the homestead until

about the time of his marriage, most likely for a short time afterward.

Before October, 1756, he had settled on Staten Island where he was engaged in boat-building. It was on Staten Island that Judge Obadiah had settled in 1668 and resided until 1690, when he moved to Cohansey, West or South Jersey. Several of his children had remained or returned there and some of the descendants of Samuel of Gravesend, whose wife was Alice Stillwell, had married and lived on the Island and from Upper Freehold to the Island was a matter of twenty miles, only. His grandfather and great uncle Jonathan had owned lands at Perth Amboy, separated by a narrow stretch of water from the Island. Settling on Staten Island to make an independent start in life was not a peculiar, but, in the light of the facts, a very natural thing.

Four sons were born there: John, October 9, 1756, William, September 8, 1758, Obadiah, September 8, 1760, Abraham, August 10, 1762. Soon after the latter's birth, the family removed from Staten Island to Trenton, New Jersey, and the father was engaged in merchandizing there until the spring of 1767.

This move seems to have some clear reasons in its support. Lamberton was the Clunn home, at least, at the time of the marriage; the Clunns were in trade in the two considerable towns of New York and Philadelphia on the direct highway between which Trenton was and is located, and it was within a dozen miles of the Upper Freehold homestead.

While this residence and business continued, Isaac was born, April 29, 1764, and on the anniversary of Washington's birthday, February 22, 1766, they named the first girl, born in the family, Elizabeth, for her grandmother Holmes.

That grandmother had died about the first of November, 1750, and by the early portion of 1767 the Upper Freehold children of this family were all married except John, the youngest, who was of full age and it has already been read between the lines that Jonathan and his wife became the homekeepers for his father, at least, for a time. A retired country gentleman, approaching

the end of his life lease, having only his family and his public interests to concern him, he one day learned that his son Obadiah was "going west."

The French and Indian war, which began with the affair at Great Meadows on the old mountain road from Fort Cumberland to Fort DuQuesne, July 4, 1754, witnessed the appalling defeat of Braddock's columns on the north bank of the Allegheny River, a dozen miles above Fort DuQuesne, July 5, 1755, and reached the climax of victory for the British and Continentals, under General Forbes, when his head of column looked down the hills on that fortification and the French abandoned it forever and pushed off down the Ohio, November 25, 1758, was fought to settle among others, the question as to whether or not the Ohio River should be the southern boundary of Canada.

The actual and the diplomatic end of that long contest was not reached until the treaty of Paris, signed February 10, 1763. Then the western wilderness had peace, after its kind, for a few years. The next break was between the Colonies and the Mother Country and its active menace began with the Boston Tea Party over the Stamp Act, on the evening of December 16, 1773.

That was a prelude, but to the Colonists not the promise, of war.

The Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770, had been a dangerous irritant, but the tocsin was not really sounded, so that all the people heard, until Major Pitcairn shouted, near the meeting house lawn at Lexington, "disperse, disperse, ye rebels," and then ordered his troops to fire, on the morning of April 19, 1775.

Then and there was "fired the shot heard round the world."

The close of the French and Indian war was the signal for the commencement of a migratory movement, which has never had a parallel on this continent. The soldiers of the western campaigns, hunters, traders, adventurers, explorers, surveyors and others carried back to the people along the coast such accounts of

the fertility of the soil, the beauty of the country, its forests and streams, its hills and mountains and valleys, that the western fever was like a disease; thousands were affected by it. The tide gradually set in and down to the commencement of the Revolution the primitive roads to the southwest and to the west were worn out by travellers. In general phrase, the invitation was acted upon to scale the Appalachian range and explore and settle the new world beyond from the St. Lawrence River to the southern terminus, where the mountains spread out and sink into the plains of southern Tennessee and northern Georgia and Alabama. The published journals of Washington's touring and campaigning west of the mountains were a decided factor in producing and fostering the movement.

Affected by this fever, caught in this tide, was Obadiah Holmes, then of Trenton, New Jersey.

The accurate or specific details are lost in the lapse of time apparently beyond recovery, but when Joseph Holmes learned that his oldest living son was determined to try his fortune beyond the mountains, or in them, he added to the savings of the shipwright and the merchant such advancements in goods and chattels and equipments and funds as would equal that son's fair patrimony and with his Godspeed, said good-by to that branch of his family. It was in the spring or early summer of 1767—so far no nearer date can be fixed; Elizabeth was one year old.

It does not require a vivid imagination to enable "the mind's eye" to see the little family on its winding way from Trenton to Philadelphia and from Philadelphia, by the old wood road, in a steady general direction, through southeastern Pennsylvania and through northwestern Maryland, to the mouth of the Shenandoah River, for that was the actual route traversed. Crossing the Potomac, at that point, the valley of the Shenandoah was followed upward one hundred miles, when a settlement was made within the bounds of what is now Rockingham County, Virginia. In what company, if any, the pioneer's family travelled on this journey, or any part of it, cannot now be stated from record or

tradition. What special influences operated to determine this settlement are apparently in the same category. Some facts are fixed by the evidence, record and traditional.

Mordecai Lincoln and his wife Hannah Salter, who migrated from East Jersey into southeastern Pennsylvania, still retaining title to a portion, at least, of the Jersey lands, had a son born May 3, 1711, who is known in history and genealogy as "Virginia" John Lincoln to distinguish him from a cousin of the same name and about the same age.

Virginia John Lincoln and Obadiah Holmes were the grandchildren of full cousins. The common ancestor was Rev. Obadiah Holmes. The direct line downward from him to Obadiah—western pioneer—was Jonathan, Obadiah, Joseph. The direct line from him downward to Virginia John Lincoln was Lydia Holmes, Sarah Bowne and Hannah Salter. The relationship of the two men in question was doubtless known to each; the character and extent of their intimacy or association, whatever it may have been, can hardly ever be known. These two lines of facts are known:

In 1767, Obadiah Holmes moved his family from Trenton, New Jersey, by the route indicated, and settled in Rockingham County, Virginia.

Before August 16, 1768, John Lincoln moved from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, into what is now Rockingham County, Virginia, whence he derived the title "Virginia John." A glance at the map will show that Lancaster County lies in the general line of travel of those days from such points as Philadelphia and Trenton to the Potomac valley region from Fort Cumberland down stream a long way beyond the mouth of the Shenandoah

Did these families, so related, travel together toward the great west? Did one influence the other and how and to what extent as to the venture and the settlement? The only answers to such questions now available are in the class of facts just suggested. Most of the records made by men and women in those regions in those days were not on parchment or paper, with pen and ink, but with wagon wheels and footsteps, of man and beast along

the wilderness roads and on the wild lands of mountain and plain, which like the Master's writing with his finger in the sand perished in a night, or with the ax and the gun and the few and rude implements of the husbandman resulting in the cabin and the clearing and subsistence, the marks and the memory whereof perished long ago. They had little time to tell us the details of their thoughts and doings and so as to many things in their history inference and conjecture and silence alone are left us.

This generation—the mass of it—has little conception of the break in the great majority of the family chains made by the passage of some portion of the family over the Allegheny mountains. One striking illustration must suffice—Abraham Lincoln, a President of the United States, had no knowledge whatever of his ancestral line east of those mountains. That towering barrier between the east and the west of those days had broken it and inhabitants both sides of the great wall had their hands and minds too full and too busy with other things to turn to the preservation, tracing or restoration of lineages.

Jacob Holmes, the sixth son of Obadiah and Mary Clunn Holmes, was born in what is now Rockingham County, Virginia, on the 8th day of December, 1768. About two years thereafter, perhaps in the summer of 1770, the family moved down the Shenandoah and up the Potomac and settled at Mecklenburg—now Shepherdstown—Virginia, twelve miles above Harper's Ferry. Here, on the 27th day of January, 1771, were born the eighth and ninth children of the family, Joseph, the seventh son, and Margaret, the second daughter.

Using her needle, with which tradition says she was an expert, too soon after the coming of the twins, the mother lost her sight and for more than forty years lived in total blindness. She died in 1812.

What considerations or influences turned the family back from the Kentucky line of migration, or what considerations influenced the next removal, may not now be described.

In the summer of 1775—one account says it was 1773—the family—moving up the Potomac—crossed the mountains from

Fort Cumberland, Maryland, to Catfish Camp, now Washington, Pennsylvania. The point of settlement at the end of this move was two and a half miles below what had been the old Indian's Camp. Catfish had gone west about the time Obadiah Holmes left Trenton and settled and later died somewhere in the Scioto valley, not far from the present site of the City of Columbus.

The first western Holmes farm lies on the south side of Chartiers Creek and bathes its feet in that stream. The township in which it lies was first named Strabane. It is in what is now known as South Strabane Township, Washington County, Pennsylvania. In those days Virginia claimed the territory.

Two or three other pioneer families bore them company as they traversed the mountains by Necamolin's path, later but still twenty years before the crossing, known as Braddock's Road.

In 1775, it was in a practical wilderness. The migration mentioned had brought pioneers over the mountains, but they were settling in the vast forests and on the Indian border.

When the pioneer settled down on the western watershed of the mountains, he and his wife had with them seven sons and two daughters. The sons were aged respectively, nineteen, seventeen, fifteen, thirteen, eleven, seven and five years. The daughters were nine and five, respectively. There was an appropriateness in the stalwart promise of these sons to the environment into which the father had brought them. The life before them, for the next twenty years, was to be most aptly defined as one of border warfare, full of labors, dangers, hardships, mingled with the alarms of war and deaths and sorrows.

On the 26th of March, 1776, there came to the Chartiers home Samuel, the youngest son of these pioneers. His gentle mother never saw him.

Late in the year, perhaps in August, or September, the oldest son, John, enlisted in a western Pennsylvania regiment and crossed the mountains to participate in the campaigns of eastern Pennsylvania and western New Jersey for the protection of Philadelphia. The final battle, at the Brandywine bridges, in which the patriots were worsted, really out-generalled, resulted in their

loss of that capital. Tradition says that John Holmes was captured at Brandywine. Whether it was then or in some other movement close to it in time and place, he was made prisoner and his later known history may be written in few words. He was transported to England and later died of a fever on board a British prison ship in an English harbor.

It would, perhaps, not be much, but it would certainly add something to the traditions about him, if the author could now have one hour's conversation with the soldier's brother, Col. Joseph Holmes, whose memorial sketch follows. Regrets are useless. The opportunity, which, unappreciated, existed more than twenty years, has been gone more than forty years.

Diligent search and research for more than ten years have failed to elicit a single additional item throwing light on that prison life, his death or burial. No wonder: when along the shore of Wallabout Bay in the sand and in the water, and about the fateful sugar house prisons on this side of the ocean, at the Metropolis of the western world, lie the bones and the dust of thousands of such patriots, the closing chapters of whose lives and whose epitaphs may be written in one word—"unknown." Those houses and ships were like tombs, only not so kindly.

The life and warfare of the Ohio border will never be fully described, though there are vivid pictures of some portions of them. In the very nature of the times and circumstances of the country and people and of the conflicts, which savagery—and the cousins across the sea—forced upon those pioneers, very much of the truth and facts as they were must be lost forever. The bloody line of conflict in the west was the Beautiful River from its sources to its mouth. Forays, massacres, murders, skirmishes and battles occurred along its banks and in the interiors on both sides. Some of the larger of these transactions stand out in strong colors on the rough canvas of those years. So well known are they that any description of them can scarcely be justified in such a story as this: Point Pleasant, 1774; the first siege of Fort Henry—Wheeling—1777; Gnadenhutten, 1782;

Crawford's defeat, Sandusky Plains, 1782; Fort Henry again, 1782; Harmar's Campaign, 1790; St. Clair's defeat, 1791; Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794.

The Revolution touched these people not only by taking their sons into the ranks to march and fight and suffer or die; it invited or incurred retaliation at the hands of the British Cabinet. The latter pushed their troops and governors and emissaries up the St. Lawrence and through the great lakes to Detroit and beyond, in the northwest; they armed and inspired savages against the long frontier, with its defenseless women and children, and the torch and the tomahawk and the murders, captivities and outrages unutterable, were viewed with complacency, or indifference, or approval, on the other side, except when a Burke or a Fox or a Barrie or a Sheridan, in the Parliament, painted in lurid colors, from time to time, the accountability to which men and nations and Almighty God would, in ages to come, hold King George III and his ministers and Parliaments.

In what is known as the Moravian campaign of March, 1782, the third son, Obadiah, Jr., was a soldier; it resulted in Gnadenhütten. That expedition will not be discussed here, but out of the material in hand may some day have full treatment to the end that the closest possible approximation to the truth may be attained.

The picture was dark enough without being shaded and further darkened by reckless and indiscriminate, and sometimes absolutely ignorant, denunciation of many men the equals, if not the superiors, of the authors, in all that make sturdy and honorable manhood, pervaded by a Christianity and morality without spot or blemish, humanly speaking.

Obadiah Holmes, Jr., on that fatal ground, voted with the sixteen against the massacre and rescued at the risk of personal danger to himself from the high passions aroused in others and took home with him and reared and cared for him ten years, an Indian boy of seven years of age.

He was in the Crawford campaign and in the heat of each day's battle there. When it came to the retreat, and as he was leaving the field, he found a comrade shot through the thigh unable to walk, whose horse had been lost or killed in the melee. Dismounting, he placed his comrade in the saddle, held him on and, guiding his horse, escaped the fate that overtook their near neighbor, at home, and their beloved commander, in the field, Col. Crawford. It was heroic work and had but one melancholy satisfaction, at last; though that was beyond price to the relatives and friends of the wounded man. Without medical or surgical aid on the long hard retreat, the wound was beyond a cure when they reached their homes and the comrade died within a week after the return.

One of the retaliatory moves of British and Indians after these two campaigns was the final siege of Fort Henry in August—September, 1782, the one which gave it greatest fame, out of which grew the Betty Zane powder story, where the defense of the Fort was successful and which is claimed to have been the last engagement of the Revolution. Peace came with the treaty of Paris signed September 3, 1783, and the borderers had a sort of surcease from warfare and bloodshed until 1787, when a seven years conflict began, which ended only with Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers on the 20th of August, 1794.

In 1785, Obadiah Holmes made his final move from Chartiers Creek to his farm in the Pan Handle of Virginia, two and a half miles southeast of what was then Charlestown, now Wellsburg, on the Ohio. The farm is in sight of the river from Beech Bottom looking up Buffalo Creek about one mile in a direct line. Here he died at the beginning of April, 1794, having made his will which is of record at Wheeling, in Ohio County, on the 18th day of February next preceding. He was buried on his own land.

A copy of his will is as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen. I Obadiah Holmes of Ohio County, Virginia, farmer, being through the abundant mercy and goodness of God,

though weak in body yet of a sound mind and perfect understanding and memory, do constitute this my last will and testament and desire it may be received by all as such.

"First: I most humbly bequeath my soul to God who gave it and my body to the earth from whence it came, with full assurance of its resurrection from thence at the last day. As for my burial I desire that it may be decent at the discretion of my dear wife and my executors hereinafter named, who, I doubt not, will manage it with all required prudence.

"As to my worldly estate, I will and positively order that all my debts be paid; first, that my dear and beloved wife, Mary Holmes, shall have one third part of all my worldly estate, real and personal, Secondly, my beloved son William Holmes to whom I give also one shilling; Thirdly;—my beloved son Obadiah Holmes to whom I give also one shilling; Fourthly, my beloved son Abraham Holmes to whom I give also one shilling; Fifthly, my beloved son Isaac Holmes to whom I give also one shilling, Sixthly, I give and bequeath the remainder to my beloved children, namely, Jacob Holmes, Joseph Holmes and Samuel Holmes, to whom I give all my estate both real and personal to be equally divided between the last three named. And as for the execution part of my estate, I do hereby constitute and appoint my two beloved sons Jacob Holmes and Joseph Holmes in whom I fully repose that trust.

"In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand this eighteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety four.

Present,

NATHAN GRIFFITH,	}	OBADIAH HOLMES	(seal)
WILLIAM HAMAR,			

"N B. I, Obadiah Holmes awarding to my above wife in presence of the annexed witnesses, namely, Nathan Griffith and William Hamar, do give to my beloved daughter Elizabeth Pumphrey the sum of one shilling; also, I give to my beloved daughter Margaret Hays the sum of five pounds."

"A copy,

Teste,

Moses Chaplin,

C. O. C"

In 1797, the farm was sold, the Virginia home passed to others and the gentle Christian mother found a home with her son Jacob, to whom the General Government had given six hundred and forty acres of land one mile below the forks of Indian Short-creek—now Adena, Jefferson County, Ohio—on which that son had settled soon after the battle of Fallen Timbers. The land

was given to him as compensation for his services for three years and four months as a spy along the frontier from Pittsburgh to Marietta mostly spent on the north side of the river and inland far enough to detect signs of Indian incursions so as to warn the dwellers in the settlements south of the river in time for them to gather their children, pack their belongings, herd their stock and make for the nearest fort, there to remain until the danger had passed. The service began with September, 1790, and ended after Fallen Timbers.

It may not be out of place to interrupt the story long enough to say that recent inquiry of the Department at Washington as to any possible record of the service of this soldier elicited this answer:

"The War Department has no record of the names and services of spies." Reasons are obvious.

On this section of land have stood three Methodist Episcopal church buildings, one after the other, each known as the "Holmes Meeting House." The original structure—there was not a nail or a piece of iron in it—was erected and dedicated in 1802. It was close to the creek, on the south side, opposite the present Meeting House, and in 1810 a flood ruined the building and the little cemetery about it. The people then built their house and provided a cemetery on the high ground, still occupied, north of the creek. The waters will hardly ever reach them; but one church building there has been destroyed and another damaged by lightning.

In this churchyard, the blind mother has rested since 1812, when she died in her eightieth year. It was once written of her and that must close the inadequate tribute to her character and long life of effective usefulness, even bearing, as she did, one of the greatest of human afflictions, the total loss of sight.

"Gentle, patient, loving and beloved, in life, saintly in character, down to the end, this pioneer woman, though residing among them so long, never saw the sunlight on the magnificent forests and fields and rivers of this western country"

Concerning the pioneer children a few words may be justified. John, the first born, was lost in the whirl and storm of the

Revolution and sleeps in English soil or at the bottom of an English harbor. Tradition imputes to him a part in the Dunmore war of 1774 and says that he was at Camp Charlotte on the Scioto River a few miles below the site of what is now Ohio's Capital City, when that Campaign closed

William's wife was Mary Johnson. He owned a Pan Handle, Virginia, farm adjoining that of his father and died there in 1802. His widow and children, at once, crossed the river and settled among the relatives near the Holmes Meeting House, with one exception, a young daughter, who entered the family of her Uncle Obadiah and lived there several years.

Obadiah married Jane Richardson and remained in Washington County, Pennsylvania. He owned a large farm in the vicinity of Woodville in Allegheny County, that State, and their home was crowded at last with ten daughters and two sons; both of the latter became Pittsburgh physicians and surgeons, Dr. Shepley Ross Holmes being, perhaps, the most prosperous and distinguished member of his profession in that city while in the prime of his powers. The daughters became wives of leading Pittsburghers and their descendants permeate Pittsburgh society

Jane Richardson Holmes died on their farm some time in the '20s. Obadiah Holmes, from whom his descendants derive title to enter the Sons or Daughters of the American Revolution, died at the home of his son Shepley Ross in Pittsburgh in June, 1834. Husband and wife are buried at Woodville. He was a Lieutenant at the close of the Revolution.

Abraham's first wife was Elizabeth Johnson Rollins, a young widow, whose first husband had been killed by Indians on his farm in western Pennsylvania. She was a sister of his brother William's wife. They settled first, at the beginning of the century, on Indian Shortcreek near the new home of his younger brother Joseph. In the summer of 1817, the latter and his wife, stopping on the way home from church, were one Sunday dining with them when the hostess fell dead from her chair. She is buried at the Dickerson Church, near Cadiz, Ohio.

In the same year, two of their sons, John, then thirty-four years old, having a wife and four or five children, and Samuel,

twenty-four and still unmarried, accompanied by a neighbor, a man of family, named Windsor, about thirty years of age, started from the home neighborhood with a drove of horses for the markets "over the mountains." They never returned. The widest possible search and inquiry, with all the time that has since elapsed, brought this single item concerning them or their stock and nothing more:

The three men, with the horses, were seen late one afternoon crossing a bridge over the Schuylkill, leading into Philadelphia, which did not then extend west to that river.

There were many conjectures as to their fate, but they shed no light. The field is still open and this is put on record: They were murdered and their bodies hidden that night. Their horses were stolen and marketed by the murderers.

Abraham's second wife was Mary Marshall, a widow, the daughter of an Irish refugee Captain in the Irish Revolution of 1798. They were married January 20, 1820. Shortly afterward—in 1821—they settled four miles north of Mansfield in Richland County, Ohio, and died there on his farm along in the thirties. There are numerous descendants of his children by each wife.

Isaac married Elizabeth McNabb, the eldest child of George and Martha Shepherd McNabb, born at Mecklenburg, Virginia, July 24, 1772. The wedding occurred October 28, 1794, on the farm of her father, which adjoined the farm of Obadiah Holmes, near Wellsburg, and was celebrated by Rev. Dr. Joseph Doddridge, then a young Methodist minister, later the author of Doddridge's *Notes*, one of the best known of border books. He had been reared an Episcopalian and as soon as his church people penetrated the western country in sufficient strength for organization, he returned to the Episcopal church and was active and influential in its establishment and councils and promotion, on both sides of the river, for more than thirty years, until his death, at Wellsburg, in 1826, November 9th.

It is reliable and illustrative tradition that the bride and groom "celebrated their wedding by stripping flax that afternoon."

The records of the Pan Handle, all of it then Ohio County, Virginia, show various transfers of land in which Isaac Holmes was concerned before the end of that century.

In 1796, they settled on the section where Harrisville, Eastern Ohio, now stands. In 1805, they moved to a farm in what is now Green Township, Harrison County, and in 1814, finally settled near Leesville, in what is now Carroll County, Ohio, and the title to the fine old homestead is still in his family. He was many years a successful merchant in the village and from 1794 made visits to the east—buying goods—and saw more of the New Jersey and New York Holmeses and Clunns than all his brothers and sisters combined.*

One of their sons, who died in 1821, was named Clunn Holmes and others of his descendants have borne that as a Christian name.

One of these eastern trips has this description, in tradition:

At the opening of navigation in the spring of 1794, a man named John Mitchell and Isaac Holmes started from Pittsburgh—Fort Pitt, the old settlers called it—with a boatload of flour for New Orleans. After they had been out two or three days, Mitchell confided to Holmes the information that he was carrying a letter from Pittsburgh to New Orleans of such importance that for its safe delivery he was to receive the sum of \$1500. It was "steep postage," but the contents no doubt had to do with the secret scheme, then pending, to sever the western country from the east by a mountain boundary line and establish an independent government for it, and the messenger's neck was in grave danger if he were captured with the letter, or proved to have been its bearer. Aaron Burr possibly caught an idea from the scheme and tried to put it into some sort of execution soon after the incoming of the next century. Both failed.

* During the Harmar campaign of 1790, while a portion of his troops on the way to Fort Washington—Cincinnati—lay at Steubenville, one of the New Jersey cousins, with the column, visited over night with his Uncle Obadiah's family, six or seven miles down the river and on the Virginia side, went on with the troops and was never heard of by any of them afterward. That was a disastrous campaign.

The letter was delivered and the postage paid. From New Orleans Isaac Holmes sailed for New York and the vessel was twenty-one days making the trip. This was his first visit to the relatives in New Jersey and New York. He came home through the mountains. His father died during this absence. Isaac Holmes died June 9, 1851; his widow died November 15, 1857, at the Leesville home.

The children of Isaac and Elizabeth McNabb Holmes, born between 1795 and 1818, were Martha, Clunn, Sarah, Mary, Susannah, Nancy, George, Samuel, Elizabeth and John McNabb. The last survivor of them, Samuel, owner of the homestead, at Leesville, died there May 17, 1901, more than eighty-nine years of age.

To Samuel on the 20th of February, 1901, fifty questions, touching family history and traditions, were submitted and his answers were taken stenographically. His answer to the 50th interrogatory, as to the personal characteristics of the Holmes men of the generations he had known, is in these words:

"They were all dark complexioned and had black eyes. There was none of them less than five feet ten inches up to six feet. They were tall, slender and straight, and they were considered good figures. They were smart and active and were great men with guns."

He died May 17th, next following, and counting from the birth of his uncle Obadiah, September 8, 1760, and he personally knew all his uncles and aunts, except John, the Revolutionary soldier, and William, who died in the Pan Handle in 1802, his knowledge of this Holmes family, in a way, covered one hundred and fifty years.

Many of the men among them had been very athletic. For examples, Obadiah, son of William, 1758-1802, could stand beside a horse sixteen hands high and, placing one hand on the animal's withers, leap over it. His uncle Jacob, 1768-1841, was never



Samuel Holmes Homestead

outrun by white man or Indian, and was noted, in that respect, in his earlier days, from Fort Pitt—Pittsburgh—to Fort Harmar—Marietta—along the border.

Col. Joseph Holmes, when he was nearly ninety years of age and the athletic feats of his brother William's son Obadiah, were mentioned, in his presence, was heard to say that he had never known a greater athlete among the pioneers than this nephew Obadiah, except the latter's uncle Jacob.

Elizabeth, who so early in life started on her travels westward, married William Pumphrey after the removal to the Pan Handle farm; crossed the river with the return of peace on the border, settled near what became and still is Hopewell Church in Jefferson County, Ohio, and left a family whose descendants there and elsewhere are numerous and prosperous. She was a woman of excellent spirit and presence. "She did what she could." Wife and husband are buried in the Hopewell churchyard. Their tombstones show that she "died Sept. 26, 1838, in the 73rd year of her age," and that he "died Dec. 1, 1842, in the 78th year of his age."

Jacob has been partly traced. He was essentially a hunter and a soldier.

The Draper manuscript in the Wisconsin Historical Library with reference to Jacob Holmes, his wife and border associates and experiences is interesting. He enlisted seventeen days after his marriage and was gone on the Gallipolis expedition six months; this brought him home in April, 1791. His appointment and service as an Indian Spy, as stated, covered three years and four months, ending with the return of peace to the Ohio border, so that he saw substantially four years of regular service during that war.

A house stands by the same spring from which he drank and near which he built his cabin, on his land below Adena, as early as 1795. It is now the "Wilkin farm." The first winter after he settled there—it must have been a very favorable one for the hunt—he killed one hundred and one deer. There was little

market for the meat; the market was good for the hides and tallow.

A quarter of a century went by. Game was disappearing; the wander-lust grew upon him; he must go west. His brother Isaac prevailed on him to stop near his own Leesville home. Jacob bought a farm there and settled on it in 1829. Soon the game and the land there were found unsatisfactory and in the fall of 1833 he sold and packed and moved to the southwest, to Highland County. Presently, in the spring of 1839, he found a wilder country and there stands, two miles north of Kenton in Hardin County, Ohio, a fine old brick residence surrounded by a fertile and beautiful farm where he spent his last days. Gentle reader, do not mistake this man from the apparently restless character which this description may give. Wait, please.

Born in the wilderness, reared in the wilderness and on the Indian border where eternal vigilance was the price of life and liberty, in the midst of adventure and danger, which often gave a species of exaltation to the spirit; with a wife who was the incarnation of hatred of the savage, capable as any man in courage and with her rifle, with one or two or three little ones on the cabin floor behind her, standing off from that cabin with her rifle and ax, in the absence of her spying husband, one or two or three sneaking, crawling, treacherous Indians—no help within a mile—as she did again and again, who can not appreciate, in some sort, the longing of Jacob Holmes for the wild freedom and beauty and danger of the forest with its hunt and game and wild beast, long after the savage had disappeared from his range?

A striking example of the spirit and habit is found in the life of Boone. His beloved Kentucky became civilized and commercialized and the forests lost their lure for him. He went again to the west, away beyond the Mississippi, and in the evening of his days, when he could no longer because of age and weakness tramp the woods, or cross the streams, it is written that he sat by his door, at times, with his rifle across his knees and gazed at the hunting grounds about him in gratification of the sentiment, which his whole life had ingrained with him, "the ruling passion strong in death."

When Jacob Holmes finally settled in Hardin County, Ohio, old age was coming on, yet, after he was three score and ten, within the hunting range about his farm with his rifle he brought down deer, and on one well remembered occasion came home and had one of his younger sons and some of his farm help hitch the horses to the sled—no snow on the ground—and bring in from the woods the conquest of his rifle. A little grand-daughter six or seven years old who was at the home when the sled returned told the story to the writer, and the nervous tension and suppressed excitement of the old hunter, as his game was brought upon the lawn, were so vividly, though quietly, depicted that the fire of his eye, the quiver of his lips and the deep labored breathing of the veteran woodsman, described by her, seemed almost present to the senses of the listener.

In Methodism the Rigging Loft was occupied in 1767; it was to the infant church "the upper room in Jerusalem." In 1768, Philip Embury, Barbara Heck and Captain Webb, with their associates, attained the stamp of immortality in a great Christian denomination by founding, promoting and building the first Methodist Church in America on John Street, New York City, since then affectionately styled by its children "the mother of us all."

In no long time the Circuit Rider and his religious enthusiasm penetrated the wilderness and permeated its dwellers. It was a religious movement unique in some of its features, adapted to the needs and sentiments and character of the borderers, aggressive, enterprising, vital, going to the people, not waiting for them to come to it, without a rival in the early stages of western migration, settlement, warfare and struggle.

The family of the pioneer Obadiah Holmes naturally, so to speak, became Methodists, and they had staying qualities. Jacob Holmes, on whose land the first Methodist Church in the Northwest Territory—the Holmes Meeting House—was founded, became a local preacher of the denomination and through all remained a zealous, faithful Christian.

It is impossible to write his life in these sketches. His sons

and grandsons have been among the most effective ministers and pulpit orators of the denomination in their fields.

One more picture and the scene must shift.

On that beautiful lawn of the Kenton homestead, under the trees, one day in July, 1841, was spread a banquet to which all his living descendants and their immediate connections had been invited, and most of them had loyally come, some of them riding horseback more than one hundred and fifty miles to do him honor. Children, children-in-law, grandchildren, great grandchildren, among them, ministers, lawyers and physicians, crowded that lawn and the festal boards on that occasion. The day there must be left to imagination now, except that when the "cloth was removed," he rose in his place and addressing them publicly for the last time, in simple language, preached a sermon, which welled to his lips, from his own life; which applied its teachings for whatever was good in it to the conduct and guidance of the lives of his beloved and closed by bidding them farewell, wishing each a safe journey home, a prosperous, useful and happy life and earnestly hoping that he might, in God's good time, meet them all in heaven.

Find the true measure of his life in this scant outline of his last sermon. It rises above the wildness, the conflicts, the journeyings and the unrest of all those years and shows his rest on the eternal principles of good and truth and righteousness.

He is buried in the Grove Cemetery at Kenton.

His wife was Elizabeth Huff, born October 22, 1772, a sister of the famous Indian fighting Huff family of the Ohio Valley, related to the Doddridges. John Huff, a younger brother, had been killed by Indians, and the latter never were forgiven by the Huff family. The wedding occurred on the last day of September in the year 1790, in a boat in the middle of the Ohio River, below Wellsburg, near their Pan Handle homes. She was, in every way, an ideal pioneer woman and her life deserves an independent sketch, if this age had any leisure for it. Her fearlessness and prudence in danger equalled those of her brothers along

the Indian border and she capably filled every station assigned her in life.

She survived her husband and sleeps beside him.

These are the inscriptions on their tombstones:

“Jacob Holmes

Died October 14th 1841, aged 72 years

10 months and six days.

‘All is well; all is well.’ ”

“Elizabeth Holmes

Died January 27th 1857 aged

84 years, 9 months and 5 days.”

“All is well; all is well” were his last audible words.

Joseph Holmes, the seventh son, the eighth child of the pioneer family in the plan of this work will be the subject of the next chapter.

Margaret Holmes, his twin sister, became the wife of Jeremiah Hays prior to her father's death and, in the general movement of the family into the Northwest Territory, they settled on what was known as Warren's Ridge in Jefferson County, where in 1816, the husband was killed by a falling tree, leaving his widow with five children. Two years later she became the second wife of Elias Pegg, a Revolutionary soldier, whose first wife, in the Eastern Ohio region, not far from Wheeling, had been Elizabeth Nonsettler. There were no children of this second marriage. The descendants of Elias Pegg—one of them bearing his name today—are among the best citizens of Ohio's capital county. Four of the Hays children grew to manhood and womanhood in the home of their step-father, married and within the ten years between '20 and '30 removed to the vicinity of Peoria, Illinois; the oldest Hays child remained in Jefferson County.

Elias Pegg and his wife Margaret are buried in what is known as the Franklinton graveyard now in the western edge of the

city of Columbus. They died in 1835, the husband surviving the wife a short time.

A claim agent, name unknown, late in the old soldier's life, procured his discharge—he had seen seven years of service in the Virginia line during the Revolutionary war—and other military documents for the purpose, as he pretended, of prosecuting for him a claim against the government. Neither agent nor papers were ever heard of afterward.

Samuel, the youngest of the pioneer family, performed no military service; the Revolution had begun before his birth; he was only three months old when independence was declared. In 1795, he married Mary McNabb, the sister of his brother Isaac's wife, born at Shepherdstown, Virginia, January 2, 1779. In 1797, they crossed the Ohio and settled in Jefferson County, four miles north of the new home of his brother Jacob. The transfers of land in which he was concerned until 1816, shown by the records, are numerous. In the year just mentioned he moved to Coshocton County, Ohio, and a few years later exchanged his Coshocton lands for a farm adjoining that of his brother Abraham four miles north of Mansfield in Richland County, Ohio.

They had thirteen daughters and one son born to them between 1796 and 1823, inclusive. It was often said by those who knew them that "they were the most beautiful girls of all the country sides where they lived." One of them died young; twelve of them married and reared families. Three of them were still living in Ohio in 1903. They were Sarah Ashton, Charlotte Ward and Rebecca King. The son, Obadiah, never married, was a contractor and builder, a man of fine presence and captivating manners, an officer of the 3d Ohio Infantry in the Mexican War, where he contracted from exposure the disease which ended his life April 2, 1849. He died at the Richland home.

Several of the daughters settled in Hardin County, and while the parents were visiting them in the latter part of 1855, the father sickened and died. The mother remained with her children in that county and, a little over two years later, passed

away. They rest on the same lot with Jacob and Elizabeth Huff Holmes in the Kenton cemetery.

The inscriptions on their tombstones are in these words and figures :

“Samuel Holmes
Died January 1st 1856 aged
79 years 11 months and 6 days
‘All is well; all is well.’ ”

“Mary Holmes
Died February 26th 1858 aged 78 years
11 months and 28 days
‘Blessed are the dead that die in the
Lord.’ ”

The names of their children in the order of their births were Nackey, Elizabeth, Obadiah, Martha, Mary, Huldah, Margaret, Phebe, Sarah, Susannah, Nancy, Charlotte, Sally, Rebecca.

Here is another instance of the repetition of a name in the family. Sarah was born in 1813 and died at the age of about seven years; the child born in 1821 was named Sally.

NOTE—The graves of the sisters, Abraham’s first wife, who died in 1817, and William’s wife, who died in 1824, are side by side in the Dickerson graveyard, and those two graves only, in that yard, were made with the heads to the north.

VI

COLONEL JOSEPH HOLMES

JOSEPH HOLMES, the seventh son, the eighth child of Obadiah and Mary Clunn Holmes, was born at Mecklenburg, Virginia, on the 27th day of January, 1771, and was named for his grandfather Holmes. He was in his fifth year when the family took part in the "great crossing." When the removal was made from Chartiers Creek to the Pan Handle, he was in his fourteenth year, and when he made the permanent crossing of the Ohio, after the sale of the Virginia homestead in 1797, he was on the eve of some important events in his own life.

It may be worth while to glance, in a little detail, at the years between 1785 and his final settlement on the Ohio side of the river.

The Indians fought for the Ohio as their southern boundary until their crushing defeat on the Miami of the Lakes in August, 1794, and they contended in argument and Indian diplomacy, until the treaty of Greenville, in August, a year later, and on down to the very time of the signature of the treaty, that their southern line should be that river. They were defeated on this claim as they had been in battle the year before and by the same man—General Anthony Wayne. The Indian line was pushed so far west by the terms of the treaty that the Ohio country was forever safe from their claims or inroads; but with British backing, they had made border life miserable for more than seven years before that final battle. The British policy still strove to make good, at least, a portion of the purpose of the French from 1754 to 1758, *to make the Ohio River the southern boundary of Canada*. That was the meaning of the British fort on the Maumee, built within the territory of the United States, under whose sullen, silent guns Fallen Timbers was fought. It was the moral

and physical support of the Indian claim to the Ohio country; but the policy of so many years, transferred by force from France to Great Britain, was shot to death in the course of the brisk charge of Wayne's veterans through the brush that August day on the north bank of the river and the Indian became a hopeless, paralyzed representative of the policy, argue as he might down to the next August day at Greenville, where only three years before the tribes had slaughtered St. Clair's column.

The birth-day of Joseph Holmes has been stated; that will furnish his age when he was interviewed by Dr. Lyman C. Draper, at the old homestead in Eastern Ohio, in March, 1863, and again, October 6th of the same year. The reports of the interviews are in the Draper Manuscripts of the Wisconsin Historical Library, at Madison.

No better idea of the life and career of Joseph Holmes, his brothers Obadiah and Jacob and others on the Ohio border, through those final Indian years, can be given than is found in these sketchy notes of the interviews by Dr. Draper, whose long work on western Indian history, still largely unprinted, was the foundation of the greatest historical collection west of the Allegheny Mountains. The first interview, by question and answer, is thrown into narrative form to avoid repetition.

"I was born in Berkeley Co., Va, in Jany, 1771; came to Washington Co, Pa, 1775—moved to Brooke Co, Va, 1785—one mile from the Ohio. My first service was in 1790: I served four months with Lt. Mitchell—saw a man shot and scalped, and was still living, and I believe got well

"Baldwin Parsons raised a company of volunteers and went up the Big Beaver, and I think killed some Indians—this was in 1790 or '91 I was at it. I was offered a very fine horse and saddle if I would marry his daughter.

"I think he died about 1810 *—not positive. Can't tell where his children went

* It was 1811.

"I was out with Capt. McMahon in Nov 1791, to the mouth of Owl Creek,¹ Ohio, and there killed three Indians and could give the names of all out on this Expedition. Neither Baldwin Parsons, nor Capt Brady, nor either of the Wetzels was on the expedition

"Jacob Holmes was appointed an Indian Spy in 1792 and served in that capacity until 1795, 'till peace was made.

"I was out on a scouting party in 1790, crossing over and into Ohio as far as Owl Creek, under Capt McMahon, afterward Major under Gen. Wayne at Fort Pitt—some 70 or 80 were on this expedition and among them my brother Jacob Holmes."

The second interview is reported by Dr. Draper in the following form:

Dr. Draper visited Col. Joseph Holmes October 6, 1863. The latter's recollections of men and events follow:

"From Col. Joseph Holmes, born near Shepherdstown, Berkley Co. Va, January 27th 1771—son of Obadiah Holmes: In fall of 1775, moved out to Chartiers Creek, two & a half miles from Washington, Washington Co. Pa,

Can tell nothing about the attack on the Walker family.

Of Brady's expedition in fall of 1794, has no special recollection.

About 1790, Capt. Saml Brady & ten or a dozen men—Jacob Holmes, on a scout, at the Tuscarawas, just below the mouth of Stillwater, near Gnadenhutten, they espied an Indian in a canoe, Capt Brady recognized him & call'd him by name—John—and he came promptly—stood & talked a long time together—Brady told the men this Indian had been a great friend of his, & he should not be hurt—finally got in his canoe & departed: Having told Brady that three hostile Indians had gone down to the mouth of Tonnika But didn't think it worth while to go in search of them—too much time had elapsed

Brady's Leap—Had no knowledge of such leap—never heard it mentioned till since his death: But has heard him speak of his having been a prisoner—don't remember that they threatened to burn him—made him run the gauntlet—Brady said he did not get hurt much, that he ran over one squaw who was ready to whip him; that John—mentioned on the preceding page, befriended him while a prisoner. Supposes Brady ran away from the Indians, & then made the leap over the Cuyahoga—that he was very active, tall, slim, well-made, & could have made the leap described,

¹A matter of sixty-five to seventy miles into the Indian country Owl Creek is in Coshocton County.

twenty-two feet, that my informant has known a man John Stewart jump twenty-one feet on level ground near the mouth of Short Creek, at Carpenter's block-house about 1791.

Wm Huff & Baldwin Parsons were scouting on Bill Creek of Little Beaver—saw an Indian sitting on a log fishing—& Huff shot him, & he fell into the stream—about 1793 Ind^{ns} had stolen horses—& Huff & party recovered three.

Francis Riley—Riley lived in the block-house—called Waxler's block-house, on the western bank of the Ohio, about two miles below the mouth of Buffalo Creek—and in winter he moved up to his cabin on the river hill. A warm day in February, Mrs Riley went out to gather up some sugar water. Five Indians caught her, tied her to a sapling & left her—and went to the house. their son W^m Riley, about 20 years old, caught up a little brother and ran—but was soon overtaken & killed: Then they caught two Riley girls, one about thirteen, & the other about eleven—and made them prisoners: One boy, John, about fifteen, ran down the hollow & made his escape, while the Indians were killing the others. Then they killed John Schemmerhorn, about half way between Riley's & the block-house: Then discovering a suckling child in the cabin in a sap-trough, for a cradle—took it out to where the mother had been left, who during the Indians absence had managed to loosen the rawhide with which she was fastened. & got away, finding her gone, the Indians dashed out the child's brains. The Riley girls never returned—went after them after Wayne's treaty—found the Indians had sold them to the Canadian French, & both married Frenchmen, & declined to leave their families.

Beaver Block House Expedition, 1791—Jos. Williams, Wm Williams, Baldwin Parsons, Jos & Jacob Holmes, Fr^s McGuire, Wm Huff & others: On foot—with blanket hopped on his back, some bread & flour & meat—took up round the heads of Yellow Creek, Little Beaver,—no signs till they got on towards Beaver—Jim Williams and another shot one Indian—can't remember particulars: Got three or four horses—not certain about it. Don't remember about the traders there. Indians made headquarters there—traded at Pitt.—& would go & do mischief, steal horses, &c, & they determined to rout them out.

On return Baldwin Parsons, who then lived in what is now Brooke County, on the ridge, some six miles back from the Ohio river, gave a large party—plenty of roast wild turkeys & bread, & whiskey for supper—and a night frolic of dancing—fifty or sixty gathered—and the affair closed up next forenoon with a fight. Brady was not there—Frank McGuire was there. Parsons had previously been against Indians—on Crawford's campaign. He moved over the Ohio to Short Creek—built a mill & died there. He was a very large man—six feet & two inches, with heavy frame—got to weigh over 250 lbs.

Francis McGuire was a very large man—over six feet, & larger frame than Parsons.

McMahon's Owl Creek Expedⁿ 1792. Thinks Brady was not along. Ki. Bukey was one of the spies—Tho^s Edgington & Tho^s Harper were also spies. No Wetzels along as remembered. Started from Old Mingo Bottom—out Little Stillwater, stopped there a day or two to get a supply of meat; then went on over the Tuscarawas, camped below Gnadenhutten: there divided the men—McMahon took 8 men—Lt Biggs 8, & Tho^s Edgington, an old spy, 8—& started. McMahon aimed for Whitewoman creek—Biggs up Tonnika, & Edgington up Sugar creek; but on top of river hill of Whitewoman, McMahon sent out two spies, who at the bottom of the hill discovered an Indian camp, with fire still, where Indians had had a fall hunting camp, & had only left that day: Reporting this, McMahon & Biggs' parties united & went up the Whitewoman & camped that night close by—next day went up the river, all day: Could hear the Indians once in a while in the afternoon shoot—heavy storm just before sun down, after the rain was over, very dark, & probably striking fire: Men kept up hunting—very wet grass &c & some drizzling—& abt nine o'clock discovered the Indian fire—then went within some twenty rods—& McMahon told his men, that Wayne had promised that if they wd catch an Indian and bring him in to Wayne alive, he would give \$300, reward—& McMahon said if the men wd take a prisoner, the reward would be divided amongst them. Then picked out six of the largest & strongest to go ahead & jump on the Indians & hold them while the others were to creep up & assist:—crawled up to within two rods of the camp, & when Indians in first sound sleep, then jump on them: Indians—four in number—had been singing & laughing till quite late before they laid down—& one seemed to be grunting as though somewhat ill: This latter Indian got up about midnight & stirred up the fire—& orders from McMahon whispered around to fall back, & crawled back some forty or fifty steps: & gave up the idea of catching them, await till day break & fire on the camp: Still drizzled—As day was breaking, whites began to surround, & take their places—Bukey & Jos Holmes under the bank of Owl Creek just at its mouth on Northern side behind a large fallen tree—with orders for none to fire till McMahon did so: The sick Indian came out outside & squatted near where Wm Morrison was posted behind a sugar tree—he had had a sister killed a year or two before on Short Creek, & he felt a spirit of revenge, got on his knee & took aim—& Indian heard something & turned & exclaimed 'Swannock'! 'white-men,' when Morrison's ball passed through his body, & he pitched forward dead: The other three Indians jumped & ran for the creek, within a few feet of Bukey & Holmes—Bukey shot one as he reached the edge of the water—Holmes & several others shot another in the creek, as he plunged in one direction & then another to prevent being shot at, but he was killed, & sank in water about three feet deep—while the fourth, George Girty, a son of old white George Girty, made out to get through losing his gun in the creek—with

nothing on but his breech clout (Nov 19th)—& as he got over & emerged, slapped his posteriors in derision & escaped. Got out the Indian sunk—took three scalps—three fine horses, two of them reclaimed which had been stolen the week or so before,—twenty deer skins, three other skins—three guns. It was a very foggy morning after the night's rain, & it was thought it turned out as well that Morrison brought on the fight as he did—no one blamed him for it. Staid at Indian camp & got breakfast—& started for home before the streams sh^d rise: The rain turned to snow by noon—& it was a tedious day, many were benumbed, as had Whitewoman to wade five times that day—the wading & wet snow. Did not stop till night when got beyond Whitewoman—& made up a large fire at the mouth of a run on East side of Whitewoman. Ensign Wm Wells had been left with some fifteen men on East side of Tuscarawas, nearly opposite Gnaddenhutten—uniting with these, all returned. Swam the horses over—river Tuscarawas high—Solomon Hedges rode over one horse & the others followed: Made rafts large enough to carry three or four men—& hurried on home. Took scalps, strung them on a pole raised the scalp halloo as they crossed the Ohio & marched through Charlestown (Mr Saml Hedges adds, that Ki. Bukey was scalp carrier.) now Wellsburg, & the entire population turned out to give them a welcome reception—Ths Edgington & party made a faithful scout, but made no discoveries, & returned the next day after McMahon's. One horse, furs, & guns were sold at auction, & divided among the eighteen—the deer skins were divided. Took 20 days provisions, & were gone 19 days.

Wm Morrison lived many years around Short Creek, & finally removed down the Ohio.

In 1785, spring Obadiah Holmes moved into Brooks Co Va, within a mile of Buffalo Creek—two and a half miles from the mouth.

Don't recollect about Tiltens taken prisoners.

Nor abt Israel Osborn killed in 1787.

Nor about Castleman girls taken—1790.

1790—Mrs Van Buskirk killed—Her father Saml Linder, a German—she had been up to see her father & Mother on horseback, & returning home Indians ran up & caught the horse—& she got off and horse got scared & ran home. This gave the alarm—& six men went down below the mouth of Buffalo at the Narrows where it was thought they would attempt to cross. In the night, whites heard the Indians coming down the hill, hearing their chargers tick against their powder horns. The men fled ingloriously—& the Indians decamped up the hill—& descending the river hill into a ravine, in getting over a log, she evidently put her ankle out of joint, when she was tomahawked. Five or six Indians by the sign. Indians had sunk their canoe at the Narrows below mouth of Buffalo—& scared off—went high above—Crossed & escaped.

In 1781, a party went to the Moravian Indian towns, & expected to have

found & brought in a large number—found only seven, brought them in, & after awhile liberated them.

In March, 1782, Williamson went out again—found a large number—& in towns found some clothing of persons murdered—one Nathan Rollins & brother had had a father & uncle killed took the lead in murdering the Indians, & Williamson was opposed to it; & Nathan Rollins had tomahawked nineteen of the poor Moravians, & after it was over he sat down & cried, & said it was no satisfaction for the loss of his father & uncle after all—So related Holmes Jr who was there—who was out on both Moravian campaigns, & Crawford's.

After treaty of '85 at Beaver—many persons went west of the Ohio, hoping to secure settlement rights: thus—McCoy & wife & family, & David Pusley making his home there. In 1787, Indians came to McCoy's—door was shut—Pusley jumped out of a back window, & was caught by four or five Indians who rose up—then went in & killed Mrs McCoy—McCoy & son had gone over or east of the Ohio for provisions. Indians threw out the feathers from the bed, & took away the tick & other articles—did not burn the house: Took Pusley away about a quarter of a mile—when Wm Spencer & son James had been out after & got their horses & returning—Indians heard the bell, & squatted by a tree, & directed Pusley to squat, who would not—& seeing him, Spencer & son suspected the true state of the case, put whip to their horses & escaped. Incensed at Pusley, the Indians tomahawked him on the spot. McCoy lived a little west of where Mount Pleasant, Ohio, now is.

No recollection of Brady's Muskingum & Hocking expedition in 1792: Nor of the Sandy defeat in 1793.

Lewis Whetzel—in spring of 1797, Capt. Holmes went down to New Orleans with a boat load of flour, at Walnut Hills, now Vicksburg, Wetzel joined them—& went down to New Orleans: He said he had undertaken to go with Ellicott as a pilot & woodsman. Said he had been imprisoned several months on his back for giving a little girl a pewter quarter: Released, & went up to Wheeling region—then went down with Ellicott to Walnut Hills—& joined Capt. Holmes. Lewis loved whiskey—never heard of him, after they parted at New Orleans. Holmes & Wetzel had a few times been out scouting, but met no Indians—Wetzel only a volunteer scout. No knowledge of Wetzel being employed as a scout. In 1782, Mills wanted Wetzel to go with him to get his horse—W^d it w^d be dangerous, but if Mills wished it, he w^d go with him. Mills thought not. Wetzel s^d he almost thought he felt the Indians seizeing his belt—when he wheeled & shot him—& then another—& the other two trying to flank him, but decamped.

Once went out from Wheeling & killed an Indian gobbling like a turkey—heard him relate it: Indⁿ just across the creek was a big rock, behind which he ensconced himself. Lewis went near there a little before day, & watched till he got a shot.

Indians took a woman prisoner—& several wanted to go—he said no, if they did the woman would be killed: They yielded—Lewis & another he permitted to go went near night—found their canoe sunk at mouth of Va Short Creek; watched—Indians came—got up canoe, & all in—both shot—& both Indians fell, & Wetzel swam in & drew canoe to shore, & saved her. Often heard it related along the river.

In fall 1791, Geo. Carpenter & John Van Arsdall, two spies, eating their meal on one of heads of Ohio Short Creek, when a party of Indians chased them—but both escaped. Jac^c Holmes was not of the party. (This sh^d be 1793—see Phil^a Advertiser. L. C. D.)

Jacob Holmes commenced spying in fall of 1791—on Beaver blockhouse expedition—but was in no fight: He & Geo. Carpenter slept many a night under shelving rocks on Indian Short Creek. Jos Washburn was a spy with Jac^b Holmes: after the war Washburn went down the Ohio—married a daughter of Jos. Edgington. Holmes & Edgington spied in 1792, '93 & '94

Col Jos Holmes was out some spying with Capt Brady—short trips between stations, from Mingo Bottom down

Vachel Dickerson—Capt McMahon engaged for several months to supply the people of Gallipolis with meat—the first year the French went there, having been about two months at mouth of Buffalo—Capt McMahon employed hunters—they to have the skins, & a stipulated amount per month: Vachel Dickerson was one—Jac Holmes after only a month married, were among the fifteen hunters: Once Dickerson was hotly chased—ran through a creek nearly up to his arm pits—once over, treed, & saw an Indian on the other bank peering for him, when D shot & he fell. Dickerson got to camp, wet, water in his shot pouch—had a severe chase before getting to the creek

Capt Jos Holmes was out with a company in 1812 & helped build Fort Meigs—for six months—a cold snowy winter—& rem^d till last of March, 1813, & marched home. Out in tents all winter. Afterwards chosen Colonel of a regiment. Five feet, 10 inches—spare—& active. Fond in early life of athletic excises—running foot races—wrestling &c. Represented Harrison county in the Legislature—settled in Harrison in 1801.

Octr 6th 1863. ”

The Virginia home was broken up in the spring of 1797, when the farm was sold and the last of the brothers and sisters to make such removal—seven in all—finally crossed into the Northwest Territory—Obadiah, with his family, remaining in Western Pennsylvania, and William, with his family, remaining in the Pan Handle. All were then married except Joseph. Two of his brothers, Isaac and Samuel, had married two of the McNabb

girls, Elizabeth and Mary, respectively. The McNabb farm adjoined the Holmes farm in Virginia along the northeast boundary of the latter and so remembering that the McNabb family had followed the Holmes family and a part of the Shepherd family across the mountains from Shepherdstown in 1784, it was not strange that they were well acquainted. It was in 1798, if not the preceding year, that George McNabb disposed of his lands in the Pan Handle and settled in Jefferson County—now Belmont County—about four miles southwest of the present site of St. Clairsville, the county seat. Before the holidays of 1798 Joseph Holmes had taken steps to secure the title to the section—six hundred and forty acres—of land, which lies between the little village of Emerson and the western edge of Mount Pleasant, Ohio, and immediately south of the public highway running along a ridge from one village to the other, a distance of one mile. There was no village there then. By the holidays of 1798, he had cleared a spot in the forest and built a cabin in it, say forty-five rods south of the present roadway, near a spring.

February 26, 1799, there was another wedding at the new home of George and Martha Shepherd McNabb, in which the contracting parties were Joseph Holmes and Sarah McNabb, the third sister marrying the third brother.

Martha Shepherd was the daughter of Capt. Thomas Shepherd and Elizabeth Van Meter Shepherd. Captain Shepherd was the founder of Mecklenburg—Shepherdstown—and owner under grants of the Governor of Virginia of more than 2000 acres of land at that point, on the Potomac, after 1733, the date of his settlement there. His wife was Elizabeth Van Meter, a daughter of John and Margaret Van Meter, whose domain in the Shenandoah Valley embraced some 40,000 acres. Capt. Abraham Shepherd, the oldest son of the original settler, was an executor of his father's will at the beginning of the Revolution and then changed the name of the village to Shepherdstown in honor of his father's memory. He marched a battalion of Virginians from Shepherdstown to Boston and joined General Washington's command at the time of the siege of the latter place and it was at his home in 1792 that Thomas Worthington, later governor of Ohio and

United States senator, married Eleanor Swearingen, the niece and ward of Captain Shepherd's wife.

Col. David Shepherd, for many years the most prominent man, in civil and military capacities, in the Pan Handle, the whole of which was then called Ohio County, was another brother of Mrs. McNabb. He commanded Fort Henry—Wheeling—when it was besieged by Indians in the fall of 1777. During the siege—September 1st—his oldest son, William, was killed before his eyes, in a sortie, where the market house now stands, and his son-in-law, Francis Duke, coming down the river from Beech Bottom block-house, with his men, to the relief of the Fort, was killed just before he himself succeeded in entering it. The successful defense of the Fort was one of the marked displays of heroism of both men and women during the Revolution.

The bride at the February, 1799, wedding was born August 26, 1783, and was just one year old when she was carried in her Mother's arms "over the mountains." On her wedding day she was, therefore, exactly sixteen years and six months of age. She tipped the scale that day at one hundred and seventy pounds—a healthy lass.

By the end of the month, they were settled in the new cabin at Mount Pleasant.

Late one afternoon in the spring of 1800 a man—never mind the name—rode up to the bars in front of the cabin, which then stood in the edge of ten acres of cleared and fenced and cultivated land, representing more than a year of hard labor and expense.

The visitor ordered the occupant to "move off this land" and when the occupant inquired why he made such demand, the visitor answered, "because thee has no right here," and rode away. Next morning, the settler, somewhat concerned, rode early to the temporary land office at Steubenville and upon having his entry revised found that the clerk had made an error, confused numbers of sections and had actually assigned him on the record, one that was miles away, rocky, inferior and undesirable. His "friend" had found the defect of his title, made a perfect entry over him and then ordered him off. Recognizing the technical

and indisputable legal right of the party of the other part, the occupier went to him to make such terms as he might. That other would not sell, he would not consent to the occupancy of the cabin until a new one could be founded and built elsewhere and when the final appeal was made, that, in good morals and conscience, he ought to allow and pay something for the improvements which more than a year's hard labor had made on the land, the answer was, "no, no, thee had no business on the land."

There was no alternative, except to transport the wife and babe back to her father and mother and with gun and hatchet and haversack, start through the woods on a new exploration. It was July.

In 1797, in the course of explorations, he had traveled all over a section—640 acres—on the north side of Indian Shortcreek, near its headwaters, and in sight of the ridge dividing the waters which flow east into the Ohio at Warrenton and those which enter it at Marietta, many miles below. He had scored some of the trees that the section might be easily recognized again and had, in mind, balanced it against the Mount Pleasant section, eleven miles below. The advantages of each section were different, but Mt. Pleasant won first choice, because of the topography; the land sloped from every direction, except one, downward toward the spring by which he had built his cabin; the farmer's eye saw that the crops would need less labor to handle and house them.

The search for a new location, although considerable tramping and examination took place, did not last very long. No error was permitted in securing this second title and by the holidays of 1800 another cabin was built by the great Spring in the wilderness on the second choice, which was ever afterward satisfactory to him though he never forgot what he deemed his mistreatment, morally, touching the first.

In February, 1801, they moved into the new structure which was the cabin home until 1806; then they moved into the new two story four room log house with its wide northern and south-

ern post and rail covered porches, each the full length of the house. In 1834-5 this was superseded by the brick residence, which, well preserved, stands close to the original sites of its predecessors. The spring still sings the old song.

There have been thousands of Ohio homes of the same type—not Ohio alone—but these suffice to obviate any long description for those who read the history of the times.

The conquest of “the black forest,” in a sense, consumed two generations of men and women. From the cabin the life and labors and conquest moved on steadily. The Indians were gone, but the people were still frontiersmen and frontier women; the larger wild game stayed about them, including deer, as late as 1816.

In 1802, about eight months after the settlement of Joseph Holmes, the pioneer Thomas Dickerson, with his wife Mary Curry from Dickerson Run, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, settled on the section of land where the Dickerson Church now stands. The Dickerson section by its southeast corner touched the northwest corner of the Holmes section.

These two pioneers, as early as 1802, were leading in nourishing the germ and fostering the growth of what has been known for more than one hundred years as the Dickerson M. E. Church. The third church building stands on the exact site of its predecessors and that site was originally and is today ideal. The pioneers and their descendants, many of them, are silent witnesses of that beauty and of the vast progress made since wilderness and wild beast howled about them, where they now calmly await the resurrection morn.

Though the rule excludes the introduction or discussion of the living in this work, a gray-haired grandson of each of these pioneers is among the leaders of the church society, bearing the family name, and they—and their children and grandchildren when the latter visit their “old homes”—live in sight of the tabernacle, day by day.

The following paragraphs are copied from the historical address of Joseph Holmes, one of the trustees, at the dedication of the third Dickerson church, on Sunday, October 7, 1888. This

Joseph Holmes—1825-1889—was a grandson of the pioneer for whom he was named, a son of George and Tacy Thompson Holmes, presently mentioned. He said,

"Among the first members of the society were Thomas Dickerson and wife, Joseph Holmes and wife, William Walraven and wife, William Scoles and wife, James Worley and wife, Abraham Holmes and wife, Eli Dickerson and wife, William Welling and wife and James Jones and wife. Preaching was held like the prayer meetings, from house to house. In those days sermons were like angels' visits, 'few and far between' The first quarterly meeting was held on the farm of Joseph Holmes—not far from where the barn now stands—in the summer of 1805 This meeting was conducted by the Rev. Asa Shinn—Asa Holmes was named for him. The Methodists and others from beyond and about Wellsburg, on the Ohio River and from the Holmes Church, on Shortcreek, came to the meeting, not only to renew the friendship of other years, but to aid in pushing forward the cause of Christ

"It may seem strange to those of modern times when we describe the arrangements for holding this first quarterly meeting. The meeting was held in the grove; the seats were made of rails, logs and puncheons. A few puncheons were used for a platform. In two trees standing about six feet apart a notch was cut in each tree, and in those notches was placed a puncheon about 16 inches wide, and on this the preacher laid the Bible, and this was the make-up of the preacher's pulpit. The meeting was one of great spiritual power, and several persons united with the church.

"The second quarterly meeting was held on the farm of Thomas Dickerson in 1807, with the same arrangements and like results."

The British cousins were never altogether satisfied with the results of 1783, the close of the Revolution, or 1795, the close of that Indian war, and once more, in hope of some sort of redemption, or recoupment, opposition to the doctrine of free trade and sailors' rights forced the declaration of war and the sons of the Revolutionary fathers and many of those fathers themselves, were drawn into the field and out on the high seas to settle the question of independence anew by the gage of battle.

The war of 1812 had been going on but a short time when in August of that year, Gen. Hull surrendered Detroit to the British and Indians.

The call came to Captain Holmes while he was in the harvest field to marshal and march his company to Steubenville. The

regiment was the 3d Ohio Infantry commanded by Lieut. Col. John Andrews. No time was lost; the help and the small sons were left among the oats shocks on the western slope of "the Knob-field," while he went to his house and started horseback, with the good wife to instruct his orderly sergeant, to notify his men of the call and then procure from Mount Pleasant the necessary personal supplies for the campaign. Next day and next the Captain's home was crowded with neighbor women putting into shape the clothing and personal equipment for husbands, sons and fathers and then from that local rendezvous, by way of Cadiz, they marched away to the regimental headquarters and thence by a very direct line through Ohio to the Maumee, where, immediately opposite Wayne's battle-ground of August, 1794, through that fall and winter, they soldiered and helped build Fort Meigs and reached their homes at the beginning of April, 1813.

The winter had been a hard one, not only for the soldiers in the northwest, but for the wives and children and stock, which they had left at their homes. The wife of Captain Holmes was often heard to comment on the burdens which she carried through that winter and, in the earlier years after it was past, she hoped no wives would ever have to go through such trials and labors again in her day. Abroad over the wide farm was scattered the stock of all sorts, horses, cattle, sheep and so on, to be cared for, fed and sheltered, as best might be, through deep snows and storms and frosts and hail and rain, with the help of one son, thirteen years old, while in the home were six other children ranging in ages from eleven down to one—"and no help."

Building Fort Meigs and scouting and campaigning from that point through the fall and winter and spring was not child's play for those engaged in them. An illustrative story from the lips of the veteran challenged the childish interest and sticks in memory still. As the result of excessive rainfall on melting snow and ice, the Captain awoke one morning to find that the

Maumee had overflowed its banks in the night and his bed, bottomed of poles and brush and leaves, was floating about his tent! To the soldier, of course, this means a good deal more than the disturbance of the "bunk."

The strategic importance of Fort Meigs was recognized by the British and they undertook its capture, but the defense under General Harrison, April 28—May 9, 1813, was successful.

A muster roll of the company of Captain Holmes made at Steubenville, at the close of that campaign, in his hand-writing, lies open on this table. No name of a living man of all the eighty-two appears in it; yet there are many names that are familiar. There are written and printed copies of the roll in existence and the original may be in the War Department.

Ohio troops were held in constant organization and readiness down to the close of that war. The young state along its northern and northwestern border was peculiarly exposed to British aggression.

Following is a literal copy of the final commission in the War of 1812; the first one—the Captain's—seems to be irretrievably lost:

"In the Name and By the Authority of the State of Ohio. +

"Othniel Looker, Speaker of the Senate, Acting as Governor and Commander in Chief of the said State +

"To Joseph Holmes Esq Greeting +

"It is certified to me that you are duly elected Lieutenant Colonel of the third regimen+ in the first brigade and fourth division of the Militia of this state +

"Now, Know You, that by virtue of the powers vested in me by the constitution and +laws of the State; and reposing Special trust and confidence in your courage, activity, fidelity + and good conduct, I do, by these presents, commission you as Lieutenant + Colonel of Said Regiment hereby authorizing and requiring you, to discharge, all and singular, the duties and services appertaining to your said office agreeably to + law and such instructions as you shall, from time to time, receive from your superior officer. +

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name, and caused the Great Seal of the State of Ohio to be affixed+ at Chillicothe, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight

hundred and + fourteen, and in the thirty ninth year of the independence of the United States of America

Jer. McLene

Othniel Looker

Secretary of State"

Indorsed

"State of Ohio
Harrison County

}

SS On the 18th of
November A. D. 1814
Joseph Holmes

(Seal)

Esquir + the with in Named Colonel of third
Ridgment First Brigade forth + Divitian of the Ohio Malitia personally
appeared Befour me + Charles Chapman one of the justics of the peas
for said county + and took the oath to suport the Constitution of the
United States and the Constitution of the State of Oh:

Given under my hand and seal this 18 of November A. D 1814
Charles Chapman"

Folded and further indorsed:

'Commission

J Holmes Lt Colonel

3d Regt 1st Brig 4 Div"

These documents came by presentation to the author from two of his sons, George and Abraham, executors of his last will and testament, not long after the close of the Civil War.

The veteran was to take no further active part in warfare, though he was to see his country engaged in three other wars before he passed away, Seminole, Mexican and Civil.

The contest in the reduction of the forest and the improvement and cultivation of the soil did not abate one jot or tittle with him for fifty years. These were fundamentals. With them, however, neither public nor private duties were neglected and in a new country they were numerous.

In the early '20s he was one of the Commissioners of Harrison County. The County had been erected out of the original Jefferson County, January 2, 1813.

In 1832 he was elected to the Senate of Ohio for the counties of Jefferson and Harrison. He served in the position two years, the first session of that body extending from December 3, 1832

to February 25, 1833, and the second session from December 2, 1833 to March 3, 1834. He was a member of the Standing Committee of three on Colleges and Universities.

The election occurred on the second Tuesday of October, 1832, and following is a copy of one of the tickets used by electors:

“Governor
Robert Lucas
Congress
Samuel Stokely
Senator
Joseph Holmes
Representative
Joseph Rea
Commissioner
Daniel Hardsock
Auditor
John M. Lacey
Recorder
John C. Huston.”

One of his firmest friends during that service—also a member of the Senate—was Hon. Peter Hitchcock of Geauga County, later one of the ablest and most distinguished Supreme Justices the State has ever chosen.

It was not long after the return from that service until he passed the ordinary span of life and then in 1844, he called his four sons to the “old home” for consultation as to the ultimate division of his property and the intermediate care of himself and his aging wife. He was the eighth child of his father’s family, seven of the ten had then passed on and, as he told the sons, he “could not, reasonably, expect to be here much longer.”

The business was settled in a day and early in 1845, he retired from the active cares of life. Thenceforward he enjoyed his “ease with dignity.” By 1856, his brothers and sisters were all gone. On the 5th of March, 1862, his closest companion for sixty-three years and one month left him much alone in the world.

The will of Col. Joseph Holmes, made August 4, 1854, proved May 1, 1868, is recorded in Book C, at pages 114 and 115, Harrison County, Ohio, Record of Wills.

He mentions as equal legatees five of his daughters, "Mary Glasner, wife of John Glasner, Elizabeth Thomas, deceased, wife of Isaac Thomas, Cynthia Stiers, deceased, wife of John Stiers, Sarah Haverfield, wife of James Haverfield, and Susan Webb, wife of Joseph Webb, deceased—Sarah Elliott and Susannah Thomas taking the share of their mother share and share alike subject to an advancement of \$100 made Nov. 21, 1849, and the daughters of Cynthia taking their mother's full share in like manner;

"Except that which is specifically disposed of in a certain Bond executed to me by my son Asa Holmes bearing date the Twenty Ninth day of July 1854."

He nominates his sons George and Abraham as executors and enjoins upon them the old fashioned duty of overseers.

The witnesses of the will were the sons of the first named executor, Joseph, Jr. and Rezin Holmes.

The bond required of the executors was \$5,000.

The estate was duly and fully settled.

His lands had been disposed of by deeds prior to the beginning of 1845, when he was seventy-four years of age. He lived more than twenty-three years afterward.

A great war was on; his interest in it was intense, for his whole life, civil, military, as a pioneer and builder from wilderness and territorial days, with personal memories east of the mountains and of Kingly times, the progress through the darkness of Revolution and the darkness of savagery; through labors and services and sacrifices, through wars and rumors of war, he had come out in the clear light of a great country to find it at his sunset torn by dissensions and indulging in bloodshed, of which, in one view, none might have a keener appreciation. It was a proposition to destroy the government, which, in their way, he and his had helped to build. "What is the danger?" was with

him a burning question. The depth of its interest, at such an age, was a sort of marvel. There was an almost unwonted restlessness to know each day's developments of the struggle. He lived to hear the answer—"Great as it has been, the danger is past," and when his eyes at last closed on the 20th day of April, 1868, it was with the assurance that the doctrine of disunion was dead. Those three last years were as clear intellectually as though the years had been in the seventies and not away down at the close of the nineties. There is still a vivid memory of his abiding interest in word pictures drawn for him by two of his grandsons from the fields of the Rebellion and in his own comparisons and contrasts with those of camp and field in '12-'15, or, back of that, in '90-'94, recalled and reviewed.

The graves of himself and wife are fitly marked at the Dickerson Methodist Episcopal Church, which church they helped to found in the wilderness days of eighteen hundred and two.

The children of Joseph and Sarah McNabb Holmes were George, 1799-1886, who married, 1st, Hannah Lynn, 2d, Tacy Thompson, and 3d, Hannah Mansfield; Mary, 1801-1882, married John Glasener; Elizabeth, 1803-1851, married, 1st, William Dickerson, 2d, Isaac Thomas; Cynthia, 1805-1844, married John Stiers; Asa S., 1806-1891, married Mary McCoy; Abraham, 1808-1880, married, 1st, Rachel Mansfield, 2d, Phebe Ekey; Martha, 1811-1893, married John Webb; Joseph, 1815-1891, married, 1st, Mary Heberling, 2d, Sarah I. Moore; Sarah, 1815-187+, married James Haverfield; Susannah, 1820-1878, married, 1st, Joseph Webb, 2d, Joseph Dunlap; John, 1821-1829

Nine of these children reared families and their descendants are numerous and widely scattered. There is a marked tendency, however, toward the extinction of the name among them as the Holmes sons are outnumbered by the daughters and seem to be growing "few and far between."

The graves of George, Asa S., Abraham, Susannah and John are at the Dickerson Church, that of Mary in Eastern Illinois, that of Elizabeth in Southeastern Iowa, that of Cynthia, at the

Stiers Meeting House, Harrison County, Ohio, that of Martha at New Athens, Ohio, and that of Joseph at Hopedale, Ohio.

The following sentences are extracted from a sketch of Col. Joseph Holmes, written for Caldwell's Harrison County History in 1875. The author of the sketch is now unknown. His lines are copied literally.

"Mr. Holmes lived on the same farm until his death April 20th, 1868; he was a farmer and a man of very exemplary habits, using no tobacco or whisky and never had a doctor in his life, and would not in his last illness. He knew his time had come, and at the good old age of 97 years and two months, he retained a good memory and knew all that was going on until his last moments. His family still live in the township and own near twelve hundred acres of the finest land in the township. Abraham"—his home is illustrated in the work—"still owns a part of the old Homestead, with such beautiful scenery and such fine homes, rich and deep soil, the best spring water in almost every field, and instead of wild beasts, we find sheep on every hill top, that raises the finest wool the world produces."

NOTE—The last survivor of the wives, or widows, Sarah Moore Holmes, died January 2, 1914

VII

ASA SHINN HOLMES

ASA S. HOLMES, the fifth child of Joseph and Sarah McNabb Holmes, was born on Indian Shortcreek in what was then Jefferson County, Ohio, on the 4th day of December, 1806. He died there January 3, 1891.

His generation is all gone, but his is the last of that class in the family. It is a sort of immediate link between the dead and the living. The substance of the sketch, which will be more of the character than of the life, was written more than ten years ago, but not then for publication.

He grew to manhood on the homestead, receiving there a common school education only.

The years 1828-1831 were spent with his cousin Obadiah Holmes in contracting and building in Richland County, Ohio, during which his home was in the family of his uncle Samuel. During the years 1833-1835 he was engaged in building at and about the old home in the County of Harrison. The house which is the residence of the present owner was built by him—the brick in 1834-5 and the frame portion in 1849. In 1836, he made a flat boat run, with flour, from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. Coming home, at Vicksburg he and his traveling companion, Wm. Mansfield, found the ice running in the Mississippi so as to stop navigation and they walked through the wilds of middle and northern Mississippi, western Tennessee and Kentucky to Louisville and thence followed the course of the Ohio River to their homes, arriving about the third of December.

February 2, 1837, he married Mary McCoy—b. May 3, 1814, d. March 18, 1901—and settled on a portion of the homestead. April 1, 1839, he moved to the village of Georgetown, Harrison County, becoming, in turn, the owner of its flouring mill and

machine shops, until February 22, 1845, when he became owner of the homestead, where he resided the remainder of his life. His justice's docket, while resident of the village, bears evidence that the law is ever in favor with some persons as a resort for redress or defense, real or imagined.

The Latin poet said,

Ex uno disce omnes.

This sketch and partial, disconnected, estimate of one, may give some idea of the strength and fiber of all of his brothers and sisters where separate history, estimates and details, according to the plan, are impossible.

He was more than the ordinary man in many ways. With full opportunities and proper training in the schools, he would have shown an intellect of great strength; he would have illustrated the stretch and compass of the human understanding. No words can now help or harm him and what is said comes from long knowledge and a judgment of the man, which has gone on maturing to this day.

It was his perennial regret that a college education had been denied him. After he was twenty-five years of age and even beyond his marriage, he continued to purchase and study books belonging to higher education. Some of them are at hand now, and have been in the author's library for many years.

The schooling in the backwoods, in his school days, was somewhat irregular, unsystematic, often imperfect, three months in winter and subordinate, at all times, to the demands of manual labor of which there was great abundance, summer and winter, for young and old, male and female, and the heads of the house had no use for laggards.

It would seem to be enough to suggest such an ambition and hint at its limitations.

He had the instincts and, by nature, the heart and soul, of a *gentle* man. He was tender, considerate and just to all others, always. He sought with earnest solicitude what was right and from fixed and intelligent principle adhered to it tenaciously.

His integrity of purpose and life was as steady as the light of the sun and as pure. He doubtless erred, as who, among men, has not done so? But he committed no errors that were touched with any element of wrong in the intent. He suffered wrongs, most of them patiently, quietly, and the disposition to do so increased with the increase of years. He was a proud-spirited, high-tempered man. The proud spirit was veiled by his gentleness and his pervading sense of justice to all men, and his high temper was uniformly held in check by a self control, which he had studied and exercised from youth onward.

* * * *

When he was perhaps forty-two years of age, he attended, as often happened, a public meeting one evening in the home village two miles away. The leading and considerable men of the village were there as speakers. The building was crowded. He spoke near the close of the meeting. He had not been quite well for a week. Keeping close to the subject, he presently touched one of its branches, *human sympathy*, and drew an illustration from the life of Napoleon. After one of his great battles, the Emperor was traversing the field, walking among the slain—no sound, no life—when suddenly he came upon a faithful dog affectionately licking the hand of its dead master. Napoleon stopped; grasping the scene in an instant, he burst into tears. No words were needed to make the application. When the speaker reached the climax, his eyes filled, his voice choked and he stood for a moment speechless, overcome by emotion from the force of his illustration and its rushing, unexpressed application. The writer never saw an audience more deeply moved for a little time than that one was. It seemed not to breathe. A new light shone around the speaker; he had disclosed a strange power over men and women, yet it was simplicity itself. It was the touch of true eloquence, an index of the innate strength and force that were in him

He was deeply imbued with the wisdom of a temperate life—a pronounced temperance man. In another such meeting along in the same years, Dr. Samuel Thompson narrated his personal experience in breaking the habit of drinking whiskey in the

harvest field. It had been the "fad" of those early days to furnish the reapers with strong drink—everybody drank in the harvest field. Dr. Thompson claimed, no doubt, honestly and truthfully, that he was the first young man of the country side to pass the bottle or the jug and refuse the accustomed dram. He was about nineteen years of age when he made his resolve, in this respect, and began to carry it into execution. By that time he had acquired a strong liking for liquor and his picture of his struggle, which was a long and hard one, and his final triumph over the dangerous habit, delivered in short, clear, pithy sentences, was very graphic.

When the Doctor sat down Asa Holmes rose to his feet and began speaking. He turned his thoughts and words especially to the young men and the boys. He and Doctor Thompson had been lifelong friends and they knew each other well in that early life in forest and field. He referred to the example of his friend and commended it in appropriate terms, and then he did what showed the aptitude, the natural talent and the wisdom of the speaker, his capacity for seizing and improving opportunities. Dr. Thompson was three years his senior and they had quit the drink in the same year, but it had required much less effort on the part of the speaker to master the appetite than his friend had described in his own case.

Then he drove home his leading thought that the difference in their ages and the lighter, easier, struggle by the younger man, or boy, to "break off" was a striking argument in favor of quitting early in life—the earlier, the better, and best of all was *never to begin*.

He was a good listener, an agreeable companion. He was fair and open in debate, ever aiming at the development of the truth of a matter. He was a mathematician of much strength and skill, a native logician. Admit his premises, and, as a rule, his conclusion prevailed.

His philosophy was of the soundest character; its maxims and sayings were broad and deep in doctrine. What could excel his constant teaching that tended to contentment? "Enough is as good as a feast." "Whatever be thy lot, learn therewith to be

content." In heathen phrase, "accept the goods the gods provide." "Once I was young, but now I am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread." "*Materia medica* has no cure for old age."

He was full of such wisdom and imparted it freely and effectively. He was a theologian, a Biblical scholar, in the sense of familiarity with the Divine Word, penetration into the Divine meaning and ability to express his ideas clearly, with few equals in all that country.

His patriotism had no discount and his faith and trust in the ultimate judgment of the people was abiding, immovable.

After he had passed four score he was one day walking through his lawn with one of his sons, then starting on the return to his own home from a visit to the parents, when, in a sort of retrospection, he quietly said, "I feel as though the world had gone off and left me." It was in 1890. Every child of their ten, save one, was out of the home and away in homes of their own. Every brother and sister, save one, Joseph, had passed away. As he looked out over the hills and valleys and forests, near and farther away, with which and with whose inhabitants he had been familiar from childhood, his father's comrades, associates and neighbors were all gone, his own companions through life had nearly all entered the tent whose doors swing inward only and the loneliness of old age, which stands next to that of the grave, had, in the course of nature, come to him. He saw it all in that retrospect and in its true perspective.

Ten years before his death he made an elaborate will disposing of his estate, his chief concern all through its preparation being that his wife, if she should survive him, should be abundantly and assuredly provided and cared for while she lived, but at the beginning of December, 1890, in a series of conferences with most of their children he cancelled his will and administered and distributed his own estate, retaining and providing for the legal hold upon it, which should secure the support and comfort of himself and his wife for the remainder of their days, and a month later,

January 3, 1891, at 10 a. m. he died. His wife survived until the 18th day of March, 1901, at 8 a. m. They are buried in the Dickerson Church yard.

An extract from her memorial—March 23, 1901—will appropriately close this sketch and, at the same time, end the work on “a line of ancestors.”

* * * *

“She did her duty well. No child, no neighbor, no friend, no enemy—if she ever had one—can justly lay to her charge a single teaching, or doctrine, inculcated in the mind of a single child not in accord with the teachings and doctrines of the Word, or not on the highest plane of morals. I am oldest, knew her longest, if not best, and I never heard a syllable, or witnessed an act, on her part, that tended, in the smallest degree, to evil

“She was quick to perceive the wrong, if any there were, in conduct or sentiment and prompt to rebuke, or check, or correct it, as occasion might require. She had an instinctive appreciation of the finer shades of right and wrong and resolved all doubts touching them on the safe side. She neither went in the way with what was not clearly right, nor would she permit her children to do so.

* * * *

“In January 1891, father went away. They had lived and walked together as husband and wife nearly fifty-four years. They had seen their fathers and mothers pass into the unknown and this was the first member of their family circle of twelve to join the silent majority.

“More than ten years have gone by since and now the second one of the charmed circle has stepped beyond, after a long, strong life

“How many of the blood and their friends are ‘over there’!

“She was given a vision by the Master of Life vouchsafed to few mothers in this world and as she lay in her casket in the church her face had in it a glorified look such as I never saw there before, as though the spirit in the rapture of this last view of earth and the first view of heaven were transforming the features again into the bloom and smoothness of perfect youth and health.

“I recall my tall, young, dark-haired mother while the roses which had blushed on her bridal day still mantled her cheeks. I remember her as she appeared in the old house by the mill before the year 1840 came in. There are others still living, who remember her many years longer; among

them, her sister Susannah, who must have known her since 1823, nearly eighty years, having herself been born October 20, 1821.

"Within fifty-three days of her 87th birthday, she saw her ten children all alive—five sons and five daughters—ranging in ages from sixty-four down to forty-five years, in respect and honor wherever known; scattered, it is true, but each loyal to her as the retaining point of the old home—itsself over an hundred years old.

"Eight of them attended the funeral service and four of the sons slowly lowered her body to its last resting place.

"The eight represented almost as many residences: Columbus, Cadiz, New Philadelphia, Shortcreek, Chicago, Athens, Steubenville. The two daughters absent are residents, respectively, of Miami, Indian Territory, and Lorain, Ohio.

"It is not at all likely that a parallel can be found in the Northwest Territory: the father and mother, each, beyond four score years at death, and ten children, so evenly divided, all living. It was an exceptional vision—to her, a very great mercy."

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