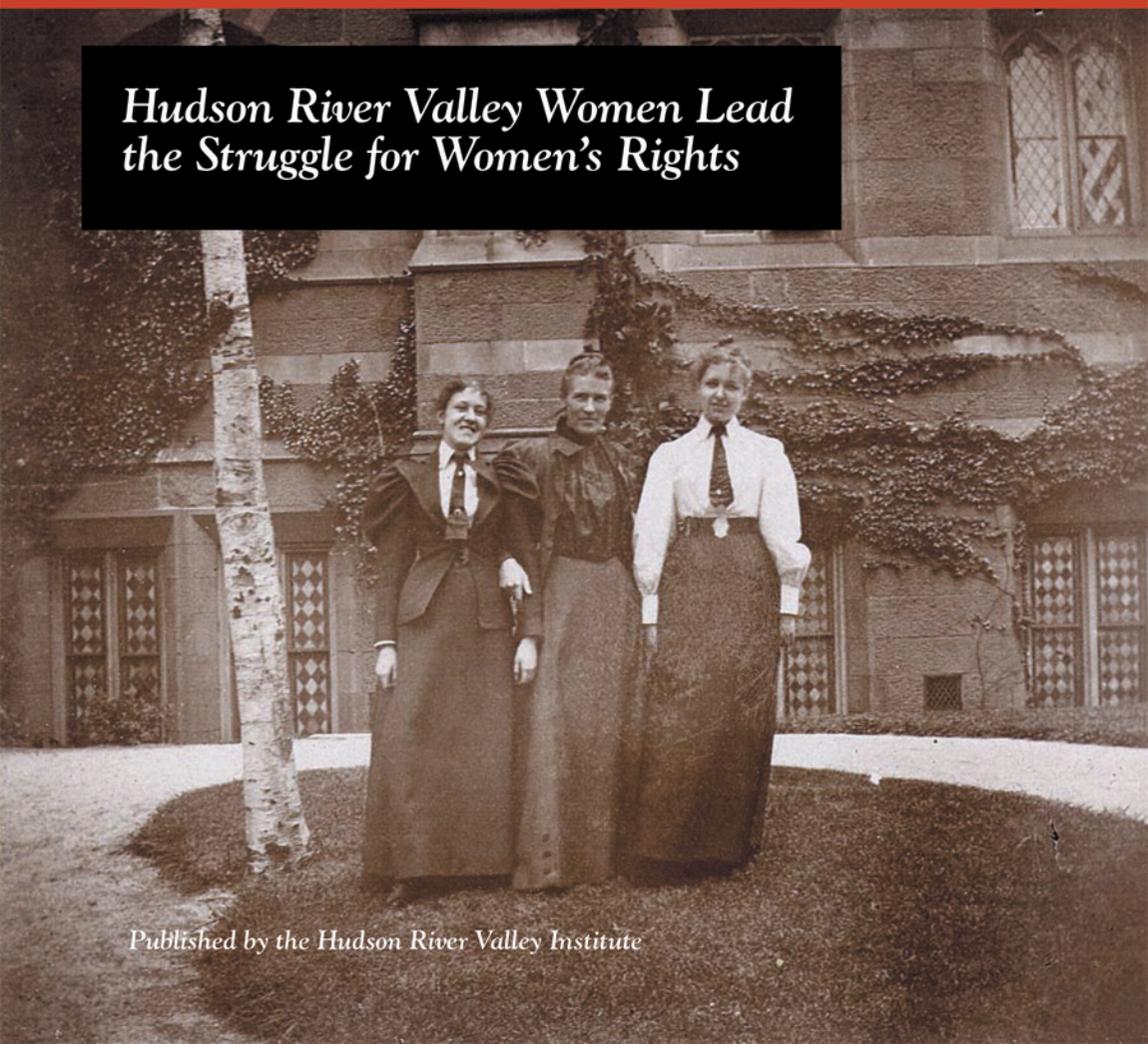


THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

*Hudson River Valley Women Lead
the Struggle for Women's Rights*



Published by the Hudson River Valley Institute

THE
HUDSON
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VALLEY
REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

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Call for Essays

The Hudson River Valley Review is anxious to consider essays on all aspects of the Hudson Valley—its intellectual, political, economic, social, and cultural history, its prehistory, architecture, literature, art, and music—as well as essays on the ideas and ideologies of regionalism itself.

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Errata; Vol. 19.2:

- p3: The Indians involved in Francis Herbert's "The Cascade of Melsingah" were Wappingers, and possibly Nochpees.
- p9: Broadalbin is in Fulton County; the Chambers' family estate was located nearby, in Saratoga County.

From the Editors

Although this was not intended to be a theme issue, happenstance has made it one. All of the essays explore minorities living in the Hudson River Valley and the way they responded to specific, often unsettling challenges: African-Americans struggling to make a new place for themselves in society after their emancipation, Algonquians clinging to their spiritual beliefs after the onslaught of the Europeans, and women campaigning for the right to vote. In addition, in our Regional History Forum we offer a look at Philipsburg Manor, which keeps alive the contributions of enslaved Africans to our region and our country, and sites in Cold Spring related to the West Point Foundry, whose employees were mainly Irish immigrants.

Reed Sparling

Christopher Pryslopski

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Vernon Benjamin, adjunct lecturer in history at Marist College, has previously written on the controversial Tawagonshi Hill Agreement between Dutch traders and Iroquois Indians in 1613. He is presently completing a history of the Hudson River Valley for Overlook Press.

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1780-1860* by Martin Bruegel. Reviewed by Thomas S. Wermuth 58

On the cover: Laura Johnson Wylie, (center), with two unidentified students.
Courtesy of Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries.

One young wench Named Anna	}	70-0
aged Twelve years		
One Negro wench Named Peg	}	125-0
aged 30 years & her child named John		
One young wench Named Jim	}	0-6
aged Two years		
One Negro Man named Leson	}	100-0
aged about forty years		
one pigeon net and ropes		1-50
one old Jointer		0-12
In bank notes		54-0
In Gold Thirteen Eagles		130-0
One half	do	5-0
Two quarter	do	5-
Two Guineas @ $3\frac{7}{4}$ Each		33
in silver		143-63
One bank Note		10-0
two Bonds of Gerrit Trece	}	due .. 2,45 .. 90
Principal and Interest		
one Note Wilhelms Dubois	}	do .. 116 .. 82
Principal and Interest		
one Note of Daniel Vangeren	}	do 10 .. 26
Principal and Interest		

Figure 2

From Emancipation to Representation: John Hasbrouck and His Account Books

Joan Hollister & Sally M. Schultz

The records of ordinary people have largely been missing from historical accounting literature, much of which has been devoted to data maintained by large firms or to the accounting practices of a particular culture. Yet accounts kept by an individual or family for personal reasons are equally deserving of academic scrutiny. In fields such as history, economics, and philosophy, the home as a sphere of influence has received considerable attention; ignoring the home as a focus of study in accounting history is inconsistent with the central role it plays in agrarian societies.¹ Likewise, the social history of individual African-American slaves has been neglected; instead, there has been a concentration on the institution of slavery. Particularly little research has focused on the experiences of the black community as it embraced freedom after the abolition of slavery in New York. Using primary source material, this paper adds to the history of African Americans in Hudson River Valley society and helps create a more substantive and inclusive historical record.²

The hand-written account books of John Hasbrouck provide a singular perspective on the transformation of black identity in the Hudson River Valley during the “mighty change” that accompanied emancipation.³ The two surviving books—one dating from 1830 to 1838, the other from 1837 to 1863—give us important insights into the life of the first African-American voter in New Paltz.⁴ They help fill out the historical details provided by census records, which show that Hasbrouck maintained his own household after manumission and was a landowner. Hasbrouck was literate, numerate, and familiar with bookkeeping procedures. Born a slave, he became a free man and maintained a record of his work as a day laborer and the compensation received for it. These records provide considerable understanding of how one African-American family made the transition from slavery to freedom.

Before examining the contents of these account books, we consider the social and economic milieu into which John Hasbrouck was born and his life history.

Slavery and emancipation in New York

Following Hendrick Hudson's exploration of the river that now bears his name, the Dutch West India Company established trading posts at the current sites of New York City and Albany, as well as at an intermediate point near what is today Kingston, which was the earliest European settlement in the New Paltz region. There they conducted a profitable fur trade with the Native Americans and established policies that affected both the institutional framework of the community and the composition of the population. The perpetual need for new settlers led to a diverse population and contributed to the institutionalization of slavery. When the

Dutch surrendered control of the region to the English in 1664, slavery was already well established but had not been codified into law. The English developed the first legal framework for slavery in the colony. The 1702 Act for Regulating Slaves, together with subsequent acts, gave New York one of the most complete and severe slave codes in the Northern colonies. However, it did not contain any prohibition against teaching blacks to read and write, as was common in the South. Slaves were taxed as property, and could be bequeathed and inherited, bought and sold.⁵ A 1799 advertisement of a slave for sale appears in Figure 1.

The original appeal of the mid-Hudson River Valley for Europeans had been the fur trade, but by the second half of the seventeenth century, the region was populated mainly by farm families, which formed the basic unit of social organization. Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the New York colonists addressed a labor shortage by importing African slaves. Both in clearing the land and maintaining farm life, Africans were vital to the initial settlement of whites in the Valley. The immediate source of slaves was New York City, a port of call for slaving vessels and the site of a lucrative slave market. Prior to 1748, the bulk of the African slaves imported into New York came from Britain's Caribbean colonies and the mainland colonies of South Carolina and Virginia; after that date, an increasing number of slaves came directly from Africa.⁶

By the middle of the eighteenth century, New York had the largest slave population of any of the non-plantation English colonies. Its slave owners did not create large, southern-style plantations, but used slaves as jacks of all trades in



For Sale,
The one half of a
Saw Mill,
With a convenient place for BUILD-
ING, lying in the town of Rochester.
By the Mill is an inexhaustible quan-
tity of PINEWOOD.—And also,
A STOUT, HEALTHY, ACTIVE,
Negro Wench.
Any person inclined to purchase, may
know the particulars by applying to
JOHN SCHOONMAKER, Jun. at
Rochester.
November 23, 1799.

Figure 1

the house and field. In rural areas, slaves engaged primarily in farm and domestic work, serving to sustain the agricultural economy. They worked in the fields and orchards, herded farm animals, and did chores such as barrel-making, carting, shoemaking, and carpentry. In the domestic realm, women were often found cooking, cleaning, and caring for their owners' children, as well as participating in the home production of cloth and clothing. Slaves would also run errands and make purchases for their masters.⁷

The Europeans strove to acculturate the Africans by inculcating them with Western values. In many parts of New York, this job was assumed by the missionary arm of the Anglican Church, which emphasized religious instruction and administered the Holy Scriptures. However, in New Paltz, the Dutch Reformed Church was dominant. In that denomination, Christianized Africans were recognized, in theory, as Europeans' equals before God. They could be baptized, married, and buried by the Church, and receive religious instruction together with whites. Nevertheless, it was often the case that slaves were not educated to the extent necessary to exercise these privileges.⁸

Knowledge of the interpersonal relationships between slave and master in the Hudson River Valley is limited. Close relationships were likely enhanced by the fact that most slaveholders owned small family farms, on which blacks and whites worked side by side. On smaller farms, slaves would have lived in the home with the owner, typically relegated to quarters in either the basement or the attic. On larger estates, slave housing would be constructed a short distance from the manor house. Slaves held by wealthy owners appear to have been maintained rather well; it is possible that the socioeconomic status of slaves within the institution of slavery may have reflected the status of their owners.⁹

However, relationships between slave and master that appeared to be functionally close were, from the Africans' perspective, purely of convenience. As long as one race was held in bondage against its will, there would always be differences between them. A key area of difference was the legal relationship between slave parents and their progeny. Parents were powerless to prevent the sale of their children to another white owner, and few children lived with either parent after the age of six. In general, masters would bequeath slaves to their descendants, so that a master's death could break up a slave family. However, some owners provided in their wills that their slaves be freed, so that manumission for some of the enslaved occurred well before it was legislated. Some wills also provided for slaves to become the heirs to their masters' property.¹⁰

Slaves who were unwilling to continue in bondage sometimes ran away. Most were apprehended and returned to their masters, but some successfully escaped,

signing on as crew on outgoing ships, or fleeing with assistance from Indian tribes or the French in Canada. Other blacks found ways of bending regulations and customs to their own advantage: Masters were sometimes persuaded to agree to terms whereby a slave might buy his freedom, earning the money by hiring himself out on his “own” time and making payments in installments. Or the master might agree that the slave would be manumitted in return for a given term of faithful service. In the eighteenth century, an increased uneasiness developed among the white majority over the presence of a black minority due to fears of a slave insurrection. In 1775, about 20 slaves were arrested in the Kingston area for plotting rebellion.¹¹

Antislavery first became a political issue in New York in the 1760s. As American Patriots spoke of the danger of enslavement by the British, many colonists saw an analogy between their situation and that of the enslaved blacks. Subsequently, the Revolutionary War created opportunities for slaves to gain their freedom, which was promised by both sides in exchange for military service. Masters could send slaves to fight in their stead or might accept cash or a land bounty for each slave that enlisted. Some slaves were freed when their masters left their homes and possessions in flight from the British. Others were freed after the war, when Loyalists were required to forfeit their property.¹²

Talk of the abolition of slavery stalled during and just after the American Revolution. When peacetime normalcy returned (and following years of controversy) New York enacted a gradual emancipation bill in 1799. It provided that male children born to slaves after July 4, 1799, would be freed at age 28, and female children at age 25. To pacify slave owners, the law allowed them to abandon black children a year after birth. The state agreed to pay a monthly maintenance fee to caretakers of these children—even if they were the former slave owners—making the abandonment clause a hidden form of compensated abolition. In 1817, a new emancipation act was passed that officially abolished slavery in New York effective July 4, 1827, a day observed as Emancipation Day by blacks throughout the state. The painstaking elimination of slavery over a period of three decades fueled blacks’ impatience with captivity, and some slaves became vigorous lobbyists for their own, or their loved ones’, early release.¹³

Legislation passed in 1821 required a free black man to own at least \$250 in property and to have been a resident for at least three years in order to have the right to vote in New York. (In contrast, a white man only had to own \$100 in property and meet a one-year residency requirement.) As a result of this restrictive provision, there were only 298 black voters in New York by 1828 out of a total population of nearly 30,000 African Americans. In 1846, a statewide referendum

on equal suffrage for blacks and whites was defeated by a vote of 224,336 to 85,406. It was not until the early 1870s that the black male electorate was completely enfranchised.¹⁴

The personal freedom that the abolition of slavery brought to blacks in New York was not necessarily accompanied by economic freedom or social acceptance. Some black families moved to the larger towns and cities, while others remained attached to their former owners. Blacks in rural areas progressed much more slowly toward economic independence than did city residents. Many free blacks continued to live in white households and work as domestics and farmhands. Freed slave laborers were sometimes given just enough compensation to cover their room and board. Poorer blacks often worked as independent farm laborers who were hired on a temporary or seasonal basis by white farmers. Some of the more prosperous blacks owned their own property, which might have been purchased or received as a gift from former owners. Some black landowners would combine labor on their own small plots of land with hiring themselves out to white farmers. The massive influx of immigrants from Europe during the nineteenth century created additional socioeconomic problems for African Americans. The recently arrived Irish and German, who began to compete for jobs traditionally held by blacks, found the avenues of social and economic mobility more open to them than they were to African Americans who had been in the country for generations.¹⁵

Huguenot settlers in New Paltz and their slaves

Twelve French Huguenots who had immigrated to the New World to escape religious persecution were granted a patent in 1677 for land at New Paltz that was located in a fertile lowland of the mid-Hudson River Valley.¹⁶ It is not known whether these patentees, as they were called, had owned slaves before coming to America, but one of them, Louis DuBois, purchased two African slaves at a public auction in Kingston in 1674.¹⁷ By 1703, the county census reported 64 white adults and 57 white children, 7 black adults and 2 black children in the town of "Pals."¹⁸ Patentee Jean Hasbrouck bequeathed two male slaves, Gerrit and James, to his son, Jacob, and a female slave, Molly, to his daughter, Elizabeth, in his will, dated August 1712. The will further provided that if Molly bore children, Jacob would get the first daughter, but he was required to leave the girl with her mother until she was one year old. The provisions of this will illustrate the strict control masters had over the fate of their slaves and their progeny.¹⁹ Almost a century later, John Hasbrouck was born to a slave owned by Jean Hasbrouck's grandson.²⁰

The New Paltz Huguenots' ownership of slaves is consistent with that

reported for Huguenots at other locations in the New York colony. Slaves appear in several inventories of Staten Island Huguenot farming families taken in the 1690s, and the 1698 census for New Rochelle indicated that nearly 19 percent of its inhabitants were slaves. In 1703, 50 percent of the French in New York City owned slaves.²¹

When Jean Hasbrouck died, his son, Jacob, was left in possession of his father's farm and most of his other assets. In 1721, Jacob Hasbrouck began construction on a new stone house that was of a scale and extravagance beyond that of any other house in the area. The building, which still draws attention today, was a clear statement of Jacob Hasbrouck's wealth and position in the community.²² Based upon the 1728 tax list for New Paltz, he was the fourth wealthiest of the 33 taxpayers in the community. On the 1755 Census of Slaves for New Paltz, he is listed as the owner of two male and two female slaves above the age of 14 years. That census listed 28 slaveholders who owned a total of 48 male and 32 female slaves.²³

When Jacob Hasbrouck died in 1761, he bequeathed to his sons his land and other assets, including Negroes, horses, cows, and sheep; a cart, plough, spade, and hoe; as well as gold and silver, money, bonds, and mortgages. The stone house was inherited by Jacob J. Hasbrouck, Jr., who appears on the tax list prepared in 1765 with property valued at £65, making him the fifth wealthiest of the 112 taxpayers listed. His name also appears on a 1790 census of New Paltz slaveholders as the owner of four slaves. According to an assessment list made for the U.S. Direct Tax in 1798, Hasbrouck had an extensive and diverse real estate portfolio, which demonstrates the extent to which the legacy of Jean Hasbrouck had been preserved and built upon by his heirs. When Jacob, Jr., died in 1806, the bulk of his assets were inherited by his two sons. As the experience of the Hasbrouck family illustrates, the enslavement of Africans created a way of life from which many generations of whites benefited. Too often overlooked is the fact that much of the labor upon which the Huguenots and their descendants built their communities, prosperity, and longevity was based upon the institution of slavery.²⁴

John Hasbrouck

Several months after the slave John Hasbrouck's birth in 1806, his master, Jacob J. Hasbrouck, Jr., died. The infant and his mother were listed among the assets in an inventory taken shortly thereafter. An excerpt from this inventory (Figure 2) shows that "one Negro wench named Peg aged 30 years & her child named John" were valued at \$125. In contrast, a 12-year-old girl was valued at \$70 and a 40-year-old man at \$180.²⁵ This same inventory reported the value



Locust Lawn

of various farm animals, the most expensive of which was a seven-year-old bay horse, valued at \$40.

The descendant's elder son, Josiah, inherited the stone house in New Paltz where he had been residing, while the younger, Jacob J., inherited the new house that his father had built north of the village in 1786.²⁶ Among the inhabitants of Josiah's household, as reported in the 1820 population census, were a male and female slave who were the appropriate ages for John and his mother, Peg. So it appears that Josiah inherited them from his father.

Josiah Hasbrouck was a prosperous merchant who was active in town, state, and national government. He was the proprietor of a thriving general store and tavern located in the family's stone house in New Paltz. Around the turn of the century, he had begun purchasing parcels of land in the Jenkinstown area south of New Paltz, acquiring several hundred acres with two mill sites, three stone houses, and numerous frame houses and farm buildings. After his father's death, he moved his family to Jenkinstown, engaging in farming and milling operations there as early as 1806. Here he built a new house known as Locust Lawn, which was completed around 1814. Its Federal style reflected the influence of the new architecture Josiah had seen along the Potomac while serving in Congress.²⁷

There was an integrated school in the Jenkinstown area, which John Hasbrouck may have attended. According to the recollections of a county historian, "it would appear from letters written by both Blacks & Whites that

the teachers of that school must have been very proficient in their occupation. Reading, writing, and grammar were instilled in the pupil's mind."²⁸ Instruction in mathematics would have included business applications, such as computing the total cost for a quantity of goods and translating the various state and foreign currencies in use during the era. Problems of this type appeared in the schoolbook of Sarah DuBois, who was a granddaughter of Josiah Hasbrouck born the same year as John Hasbrouck.²⁹ Growing up in a mercantile family may help explain the extent of business instruction that Sarah DuBois received, as well as John Hasbrouck's familiarity with the art of keeping an account book. At this time, bookkeeping itself was apt to be learned by an apprentice, rather than as part of the school curriculum.³⁰ The basic format of John Hasbrouck's account book is similar to that seen in books kept by the family of Josiah Hasbrouck.

Based upon the provisions of the 1799 emancipation act, John Hasbrouck would have expected manumission in 1834. However, with passage of the 1817 act, Hasbrouck would have become a free man in 1827. It is possible that he may have been freed at an earlier date, such as upon the death of his master in 1821. New Paltz census records report 213 slaves in 1810, 247 slaves and 81 free blacks in 1820, and 267 free blacks in 1830.³¹

The 1830 population census lists a black man named Jack Hasbrouck, but no John Hasbrouck. The nickname "Jack" has not appeared elsewhere, but it seems likely that this is the same man who would have been freed by the Hasbrouck family. The Jack Hasbrouck household consisted of one adult black man and one adult black female in the appropriate age categories for John and his mother, who at the time would have been 24 and 54 years old, respectively. In addition to the two adults, the household included four black children, all under the age of 10. It may be that John and his mother were caring for children that had been abandoned by their former masters. New York State had agreed to pay caretakers a maintenance fee of \$3.50 per month for each child, so this may have been one way that these former slaves adapted to life after emancipation. Since most of the free blacks listed in the 1830 census were living in white households, it is noteworthy that John and his mother apparently maintained an independent household. Five years later, there is an entry in John Hasbrouck's account book stating that his accounts with Jacob J. Hasbrouck (the brother of John's former master) had been settled, and that the house rent was settled to June 1, 1835. Unless this was just a penmanship exercise (as some similar notations in the books seem to be), John must have been renting a house from a member of his former master's family.

Fifteen years later, John Hasbrouck was living with his wife and their three children—all of whom were too young to have been children in the Jack

Hasbrouck household that appeared in the 1830 census. According to the 1845 census, John Hasbrouck was occupying four improved acres, and producing about 500 bushels of crops by cultivating wheat on 14 acres, corn on 10 acres, rye on 14 acres, and oats on four acres. Hasbrouck was farming more acreage than he resided on, as were a number of the other farmers listed on the census, who would have likely been leasing the land they cultivated. In 1845, John Hasbrouck's livestock included a horse, 12 hogs, and a cow that yielded 180 pounds of butter.

As had been the case in 1830, most of the 207 blacks listed on the 1845 New Paltz population census were members of households headed by whites. There were only eight independent black families there in 1845, and assuming the census taker worked by neighborhood, two of these families lived in the same area as John Hasbrouck. Only three of the black households included individuals who were taxed, suggesting that only three families owned land. None of the African Americans living in New Paltz in 1845 were identified as legal voters. This suggests that the properties held by black landowners were all valued at less than the requisite \$250 that would have qualified them to vote.

On the 1850 census, John Hasbrouck is listed as a laborer. The records indicate that his wife, Sarah, was a person over 21 years of age who could not read or write, and that his two eldest children were attending school. On the 1855 New York State population census, Hasbrouck is listed as a farmer, a landowner, and a voter. His frame house was valued at \$200, and he lived there with his wife, then 47 years old (who was listed as a housekeeper), and their four children: Margaret (aged 18), Philip (16), Almira (11), and Sarah J. (8). John Hasbrouck was the only black man in New Paltz listed as a voter that year, providing evidence that he was the first African American in the town to vote.

On the 1855 agricultural census, John Hasbrouck is listed as owning six improved acres of land valued at \$500, livestock valued at \$35, and tools worth \$5. Three of the six acres were meadow, which produced two tons of hay, and the single acre sown with rye produced 16 bushels. The census data indicate that rye and oats were the most popular crops in the area that year, reflecting the shift away from wheat production that occurred in the mid-Hudson Valley during the nineteenth century. On his farm, John Hasbrouck had four swine and one cow that produced 80 pounds of butter. In the decade since the 1845 census, Hasbrouck appears to have acquired two additional acres of land, but he considerably scaled back his agricultural efforts on his own account. Hasbrouck's account books show that beginning in 1830, he also worked as a laborer for neighboring farmers.

On the 1865 agricultural census, Hasbrouck, who was then in his late fifties, was again reported to be the owner of six improved acres of land. The land appears

to be valued at \$400, although the entry, which seems to have been revised, is somewhat unclear. He owned livestock valued at \$80, but no value was recorded for any tools or implements, nor was he reported to have raised any crops in either 1864 or 1865. However, he did have two cows that produced 120 pounds of butter and swine that produced 400 pounds of pork.

The Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz show that in 1837 John Hasbrouck's eldest daughter, Margaret, was baptized, and John and Sally appeared as witnesses to the marriage of another couple. John Hasbrouck was baptized as an adult in 1857, and the following year he and Sally were married in the Church, apparently sanctifying their union when they were in their fifties.³² A Sarah Hasbrouck, who may have been John's youngest daughter, Sarah Jane, is reported as being baptized as an adult in 1884.

The account books

Account books of this period from the New Paltz area—such as those kept by the family of Josiah Hasbrouck—typically included only accounts for individuals. The left, or debit, page of each individual's account shows the amounts due to the bookkeeper for the goods, services, or cash that had been provided to the other party. The right, or credit, page shows the commodities, services, or cash received in payment on the account. Accounts would often run for several years before being balanced and settled.³³ In colonial America, barter was practiced because communities were small and coinage was scarce; bookkeeping facilitated the asynchronous exchange of services, goods, and cash between relatives, friends, and neighbors.³⁴ During the nineteenth century, many farm households still traded with neighbors, swapping goods and labor with each other and delaying payment for months or years. As the century progressed and cash increasingly become the preferred medium of exchange, the economic and social significance of barter would decrease.³⁵

John Hasbrouck's account books add considerable detail to the census and church records that otherwise document his life. The earlier book, dating from 1830 to 1838, measures 4 1/2 by seven inches. The later book technically begins in 1837 and includes dates through 1863; its larger size is more typical of account books of the period. In both books, Hasbrouck has taken pains to practice his penmanship, which suggests a similarity to a school copybook. Figure 3 shows the lower portion of the first page of the later book, where Hasbrouck has carefully written out the alphabet prior to inscribing the book with his name and the date.

The earlier book shows that John Hasbrouck worked for Daniel DuBois from 1830 to 1832, after which he worked for Jacob J. Hasbrouck (the younger brother of

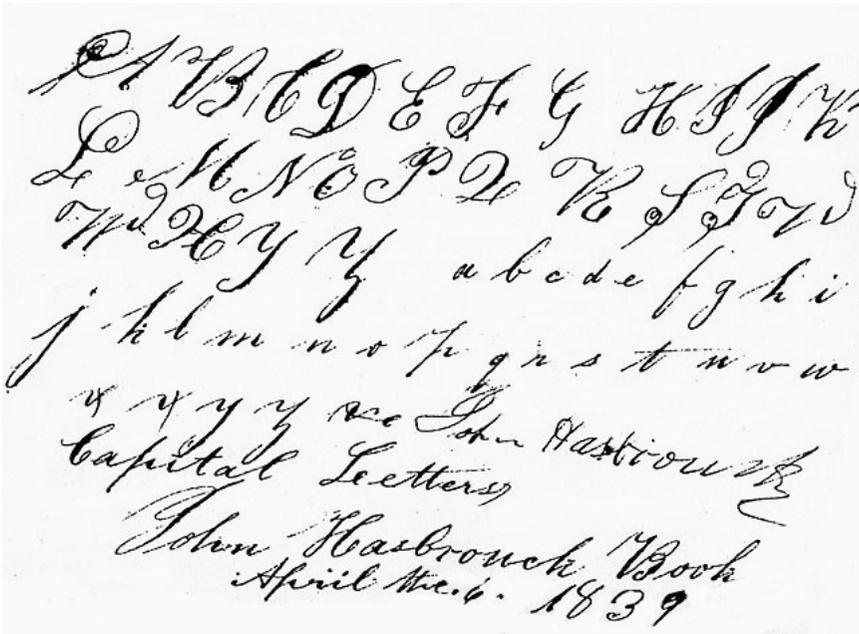


Figure 3

his former master) from 1832 until 1836. Then he again worked for Daniel DuBois from 1836 until 1839. The later book, which commences around the same time that the earlier book ends, shows that John Hasbrouck continued to work exclusively for Daniel DuBois until 1846. After that time, he also worked for two other farmers that lived in the same Ohioville neighborhood, Simon Rose and John W. DuBois. By the time of the 1855 census, the household of Daniel DuBois included a grown child and a nephew that were listed as farmers, as well as a servant from Germany, so he may no longer have needed the labor that Hasbrouck had supplied a decade earlier.

On the 1845 agricultural census, Daniel Dubois was reported to be farming 27 1/2 acres of land and producing 156 bushels of crops that included oats, potatoes, wheat, corn, and buckwheat. He had two horses, three hogs, and a cow that produced 150 pounds of butter and cheese. In contrast, Jacob J. Hasbrouck ran a much larger operation: he had 180 acres of land and raised 530 bushels of crops. His livestock included 20 cattle, 18 hogs, four sheep, and four horses, with the milk cows producing 720 pounds of butter and cheese.

Simon Rose farmed 50 improved acres and tripled his output from 105 to 353 bushels as his operations became more diversified during the decade between

the 1845 and 1855 census reports. In 1855, Rose's farm had a cash value of \$2,000 according to the agricultural census, but he was not listed as a landowner on the population census, and so was apparently farming leased land, as Daniel DuBois also seems to have been doing. From the data on the 1855 census, John W. DuBois appears to have been one of Hasbrouck's wealthier employers. He was a landowner with a house valued at \$1,000 and a 150-acre farm worth \$7,000, on which nearly 800 bushels of output were produced.

At the beginning of the first account book, John Hasbrouck recorded the period that he had agreed to work for Daniel DuBois, and then noted any days that he had lost. In May 1830, he noted that he had been hired for six months at a rate of \$9 per month. For the subsequent five months, the rate was only \$6 per month, but during the following summer, his wage increased to \$10 per month. As might be expected (and as we find elsewhere in the account book), Hasbrouck was more highly compensated during the farming season than in the winter months. In the first account book, Hasbrouck eventually changed from recording his work agreement together with the days lost to recording the number of days that he actually worked, as would be more typical for an accounting record based upon transaction analysis.

In the early years of the first account book, Hasbrouck reversed the correct arrangement of the debit and credit pages, and omitted the transaction dates that would typically accompany entries. After he started working for Jacob J. Hasbrouck in 1832, he changed to the correct format and began to include dates. This suggests that he may have shown the book to Jacob J., or someone else, who called his attention to the error. As a result, John Hasbrouck crossed out some of the pages previously done incorrectly and rewrote them in the proper format. After this point, he consistently labeled the left- and right-hand pages with the abbreviations for debit and credit, headed pages with the year, and noted the first name of the employer on the debit page and the last name on the credit page. In account books of the period, the word "to" commonly prefaced debit entries, while the "by" preceded credit entries. Hasbrouck had apparently learned that these words were appropriate in account books, but was unclear on their conventional usage. Sometimes he used one word exclusively to preface both debits and credits; at other times he used the two words interchangeably.

The primary units of account in Hasbrouck's books are the New York currency units of pounds, shillings, and pence. Similarly, the account books kept by the family of Josiah Hasbrouck used New York currency as the units of measure into the 1840s.³⁶ Currency denominated in pounds and shillings was emitted by New York as late as 1792, when passage of the Mint Act made the dollar the prin-

Daniel DuBois Dr 1837
 Harvest Work that year 1837
 By 1 Day in Grain and Boarding
 By 2 Days in Grain
 By 22 Days in Hay and oats
 By 5 Day in Hay and oats Boarding

t.	11.0
0.	16.0
7.	11.0
2.	5.0
<hr/>	
	11.6.0
<hr/>	
	26.51 pence

Figure 4

cipal unit of currency in the new American nation, yet these New Paltz bookkeepers continued to cling to the more traditional units of measure. The New York currency units may have continued to circulate, although Hasbrouck included a number of conversions from pounds to dollars, which suggests that the dollar was then the predominant currency. During the earliest years of the account book, Hasbrouck labeled the monetary columns for pounds, shillings, and pence, abbreviating pounds as "lb." rather than using the pound sign (£). In subsequent years, he omitted the use of column headings. Federal dollars and cents also appear in the ledger, both in the descriptions of entries and in several places where values have been converted from one currency to the other.

In the earlier account book, John Hasbrouck prepared schedules summarizing the harvest work done for Daniel DuBois annually from 1836 through 1839. The schedule for 1837 (Figure 4) shows that Hasbrouck recorded a total of 30 days work for which he earned 11 pounds and eight shillings. This has been converted to the equivalent of \$28.50 in Federal dollars, using the traditional conversion ratio of \$2.50 per pound. In these schedules, Hasbrouck recorded his work for 1836 and 1837 at a rate of nine shillings per day for work in grain, and seven shillings per day for work in hay and oats. The schedules for 1838 and 1839 use rates of eight shil-

lings per day for work in grain and six shillings per day for work in hay and oats. In Figure 4, as well as throughout both of the account books, Hasbrouck valued his work at an additional two shillings per day whenever there is the additional notation “boarding.” The nature of the premium related to boarding isn’t obvious. Was Hasbrouck receiving board (in the form of meals or accommodations) from employers on the days when the notation appears, and not on other days? If so, we would expect to see the board recorded on the credit pages of the ledger as one element of the compensation Hasbrouck received—but we don’t. Could Hasbrouck have been imputing a greater value to his labor on the days he received board, even though he did not show the board as an offsetting credit? Might he have been working longer hours, providing his own board, or undertaking additional responsibilities on these days? This aspect of his bookkeeping remains unclear.

Figure 5 shows a page from the later account book concerning Hasbrouck’s account with Daniel DuBois in 1839. On the left, or debit, side of the account, Hasbrouck listed the number of days worked each week, but with no indication of the type of work done. On this page, the differential between earnings recorded at a rate of four shillings (\$.50) per day and at six shillings (\$.75) per day, when the notation indicated “work Bo,” is clearly illustrated. During the week of May 31, a different wage rate appears, when “3 Days work Bo” only comes to 15 shillings, or five shillings per day. The daily wage rates used on this page are lower than the rates used in the earlier account book, where Hasbrouck listed the days he worked during the harvest.

Figure 5 also illustrates the calculation of monthly totals for the value of the labor Hasbrouck supplied to DuBois. Throughout the account books, totals were usually computed accurately. However, errors appear on this page in totaling the April and May entries, which should be £6 instead of £5, and £2/17 rather than £3/6, respectively. The asynchronous nature of the exchange of labor for cash and commodities is also apparent in Figure 5. Hasbrouck’s work was concentrated in the spring, when fields were planted, while much of his payment was received during July and August, even though no work was recorded in the account book during those months. In addition to the cash received, Hasbrouck was compensated with goods such as wheat, buckwheat, rye flour, potatoes, corn, mutton, pork, mackerel, wool, and soap. Many of these items were likely produced on DuBois’s farm. Hasbrouck rarely recorded monetary value for the commodities he received during the earlier years of his account books. However, toward the end of 1839 he began to assign monetary values to several products, and by 1844, all the credits for goods received were assigned a monetary value (with the exception of “a horse to go to hyde park” and “veal of the four quarter”). Elsewhere in the account

~~the~~ ^{the} eleven day of march in the year of our lord one thousand
 March the 11. 1841
 then I and Daniel Dubois
 have settled our accounts
 in full of all this Book
 up to this date ~~March~~ march the 11. 1841
 John Hustrout March the 11. 1841
 up to this date
 I John Hustrout

Figure 6

July	Bonding philip J Lefevre	2 Days	0	4	0
August ^{the}	Bonding of Charles Dubois	4 days	0	8	0
24	Do Charles Dubois	6 days	0	12	0
	Do philip Johnson	4 days	0	12	0
30	Do C Dubois	6 days	0	12	0
	Do J Lefevre	6 days	0	12	0
September	Do Charles Dubois	6 days	0	12	0
6	Do philip Johnson	5 days	0	10	1
13	Do Charles Dubois	5 days	0	10	1
13	Do philip Johnson	5 days	0	10	1
20	Do Charles Dubois	6 days	1	12	0
20	Do philip Johnson	6 days	1	12	0
20	Do israel	3 days	1	6	0
27	Do philip Johnson	6 days	0	12	0
30	Do philip Johnson	4 days	1	4	0
October ^{the}	Do philip Johnson	3 days	2	6	0
3	menan collar twenty five cents		1	14	1

Figure 7

books, Hasbrouck's compensation included additional types of goods and services, including butter, loads of wood, bed slats, leather, and having his shoes mended.

Payment based on production rather than days worked appears on a page recording work done in March 1840, when the amount due for chopping wood was recorded at "3 and 6 cents a cord" (although actually calculated at £0/3/6 a cord). In the same month an entry has been recorded for "Charles wurts work 9½ Days 5 Chilling per Day," with the total of £2/7/6 added in with the earnings for the days John Hasbrouck worked in March. Apparently, he was to be compensated for 9½ days that Charles Wurtz had worked for Daniel DuBois. Wurtz may have been indebted to Hasbrouck, who was to be compensated by DuBois for the proceeds of Wurtz's labor. In colonial and early America, bookkeeping barter frequently facilitated such three-way exchanges. In another form of exchange, there are several notations in Hasbrouck's earlier account book for "cow by the bull," but with no monetary value assigned to this service.

Although monthly earnings totals appear regularly on the debit pages of the account book, no attempt has been made to reconcile these earnings with the value of the compensation received. A numerical reconciliation would not have been possible unless all the goods received were assigned a monetary value. However, on three dates Hasbrouck did include a carefully worded statement indicating that the account with Daniel Dubois had been settled in full. The first such statement is dated March 11, 1841 (Figure 6). Since no work was recorded for January and February of 1841, the reconciliation must reflect the work done and compensation received for the years 1839 and 1840. Subsequent statements that the account was settled in full appear on December 26, 1845, and March 24, 1851. For both of the periods ending on these dates, the value that Hasbrouck recorded for his labor exceeded the value recorded for the compensation received, with the differences likely attributable to the worth of the commodities recorded without a monetary value.

In 1845, Hasbrouck charged the account of Daniel DuBois for the cost of boarding various people from July through October (Figure 7). The names of the boarders can be found in the *Black History of New Paltz*.³⁷ Hasbrouck was likely boarding them while they worked for Daniel DuBois during the harvest season. Some people, like Philip J. LeFevre, boarded for only a couple of days; others, like Charles DuBois and Philip Johnson, boarded for much of August and September. This is the only period when a sizable amount (£7/14/0 or \$19.25) is recorded for providing board, although a few other entries for board appear elsewhere in the book. Board is recorded at two shillings per day, which corresponds to the premium for board that Hasbrouck recorded for his own work.

		DuBois Dubois Cr		1847	
April	8	By 1 quarter of rye flour	0	5	4
	12	By 2 bushels of potatoes	0	9	0
	19	By Cash one dollar	0	8	0
	23	By 2 bushel of corn in the ear	0	6	10
May	11	By 1/2 bushel of Sault	0	2	6
	13	By Spelling book	0	1	0
	13	By 1/2 primer a primer book	0	6	0
	15	By Cash 1 or dollar or dollar	0	8	0
	17	puting my cow and caf in the pastor at 14 shilling per month			
June	4	By 2 bushel of potatoes	0	8	0
	5	By Cash and wash machine	0	12	0
	15	By Cash Five dollars	2	0	0
July	16	By Cash four Shilling	0	4	0
	19	By 7 1/2 pound of vel			
	24	By Cash one dollar	0	8	0
	31	By 1/2 a barrel of rye flour	1	1	0

Remember the cross cross

Figure 8

Several interesting features appear in the credit page from 1847 (Figure 8). On May 13, Hasbrouck received a spelling book and a primer, which may have been for his daughter, Margaret, or son Phillip, who were then about ten and eight years of age, respectively. On May 17, an entry was recorded for “puting my cow and caf in the pastor at 14 shilling per month,” but with no monetary value or time span recorded. The entries dated June 15 and July 16 indicate that Hasbrouck received cash denominated in both Federal dollars and New York shillings. In the note at the bottom of the page, he reminds himself to “Remember the cross cross.” This probably refers to the procedure of crossing out pages when an account was settled in full, a practice that appears to have been common.³⁸ Hasbrouck began using this procedure in 1846 but did not apply it consistently.

In 1847, John Hasbrouck started working for John DuBois, who was a more prosperous farmer than most of his other employers. For this account (Figure 9),

it is clear that he made sure to figure out what he was owed at the end of the year. Hasbrouck kept the account with John DuBois in pounds, shillings, and pence, but at year end, the total debits were converted to \$84 and the credits to \$79.79. The difference Hasbrouck noted as “Due me four dollar and twenty one cents.”

Epilogue and conclusions

The second account book ends in 1863, when John Hasbrouck was 57. If he kept other ledgers, they have not been discovered. However, several documents preserved with the later account book reveal isolated facts about his life after that date. In 1873, he paid a premium of \$3.90 to the Westchester Fire Insurance Company for coverage of \$650. Property tax receipts for the period from 1868 through 1878 show tax payments that ranged between \$7.23 and \$11.50. John Hasbrouck died in 1879, and the 1880 census lists the remaining family members under the surname of Murphy rather than Hasbrouck.³⁹ In 1881, the fire insurance premium had increased to \$4.50 and the coverage had been reduced to \$600. The estate of John Hasbrouck appears in an 1884 listing of taxable inhabitants of New Paltz with six acres and \$150 worth of real property.

Hasbrouck's children eventually moved off the farm, which was apparently sold.⁴⁰ Margaret Hasbrouck Clou, the eldest daughter, appears in the 1870 census as a live-in cook in the household of a wealthy family outside of the New Paltz area; she may also have served as cook for future Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes during his term as governor of New York.⁴¹ She eventually returned to New Paltz, and at the age of 55 purchased land on Huguenot Street, where she built a house that is still standing today. The 1900 census showed her living there with her brother Philip and sister Sarah J. The Dutch Reformed Church on Huguenot Street was one of the places where she worked as a cook; according to anecdotal evidence, she also provided housekeeping and child-care services. Her father's later account book ultimately survived among the belongings of one of the white families for which Margaret worked. Her brother Philip (also know as Flip Murphy) was one of the characters who appeared in the reminiscences of local historian Peter Harp in 1972. He recollected Murphy's sparkling wit and humor, and his talent as a light-footed performer who played several musical instruments. Murphy also worked as a farm laborer and, according to Harp, had a fondness for cock-fights and drinking. Upon her death, Margaret had some money in the bank, but Flip eventually died in the poorhouse.

Harp recollected the phrase, seemingly from the lyrics of one of Murphy's songs: “We buy land and got stones, Meat and got bones.” This rhyme may reflect the frustrations of the newly freed black community as it tried to make its way

in a difficult economic and social environment. It also alludes to the fact that marginal farmland was often targeted for blacks and poor whites in some rural areas.⁴² It is not clear whether John Hasbrouck was given his land by his former master or purchased it with money earned by working for—or on behalf of—his former master. Whatever the quality of the land that Hasbrouck obtained, he had only six acres, and he needed to supplement the output of his own farm with the proceeds of his work as a day laborer, harvesting crops, butchering animals, and chopping wood for his neighbors.

John Hasbrouck's account books only document part of his economic activity, since he recorded only the work he did for other farmers, not work done on his own farm. This is consistent with the purpose of accounting as practiced by individuals and small businesses in colonial and early America, where accounts were kept primarily to measure indebtedness between parties. The asynchronous exchange of goods and services was prevalent during this period, and accounting records helped the parties to a transaction maintain a mutual sense of trust and obligation. Hasbrouck's periodic notations that certain accounts had been settled in full indicates that he was satisfied that the value of the goods and cash he had received represented fair compensation for his labor as a free man.

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Endnotes

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- 25 See Roth, "The Society of Negroes Unsettled," 41-43 for additional information on the assessment of slaves for tax purposes and on the variation of prices at which they traded.
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- 40 For helping us fill in much of the background on John Hasbrouck's children, we are indebted to Carol Johnson and Marion Ryan of Haviland-Heidgerd Historical Collection at the Elting Memorial Library in New Paltz, and to Ellen James, author the unpublished manuscript, "Extraordinary Ordinary Lives: Two African American families in New Paltz, New York in the Generation After Slavery."
- 41 Peter Harp (1972) seems to have confused Margaret Hasbrouck and her sister Elmira, who had been hospitalized for mental illness.
- 42 E. James, "Extraordinary Ordinary Lives: Two African American Families in New Paltz, New York in the Generation After Slavery," Unpublished manuscript; Roth, "The Society of Negroes Unsettled,"; Williams-Myers, *Long Hammering*, 118.

Algonquians in Context: The End of the Spirituality of the Natural World

Vernon Benjamin

“When we have a sermon, sometimes ten or twelve of them, more or less, will attend, each having a long tobacco pipe, made by himself, in his mouth, and will stand awhile and look, and afterwards ask me what I was doing. . . . I tell them that I admonish the Christians, that they must not steal, nor commit lewdness, nor get drunk, nor commit murder, and that they too ought not to do these things They say I do well to teach the Christians; but immediately add, *Diatennon jawij Assyreoni, hagiowisk*, that is, ‘Why do so many Christians do these things?’”

— Dominie Johannes Megapölenis
Rensselaerswyck, 1644

“. . .the chronic practice of describing man as a tool-using animal conceals some of the very facts that must be exposed and reevaluated. Why, for example, if tools were so important to human development, did it take man at least half a million years . . . to shape anything but the crudest stone tools? Why is it that the lowest existing peoples . . . have elaborate ceremonials, a complicated kinship organization, and a finely differentiated language, capable of expressing every aspect of their experience?”

— Lewis Mumford, 1966

“An ecosystem is a discrete community of plants and animals, together with the nonliving environment, occupying a certain space and time, having a flow-through of energy and raw materials in its operation, and composed of subsystems. For convenience of analysis, an ecosystem can be separated into its physical and biological components, although one should bear in mind that in nature the two are completely intermeshed in complex interactions. And from the standpoint of cultural ecology, there is a third component: the metaphysical or spiritual.”

— Calvin Martin, 1974

The intricate details of the first European steps in the Hudson Valley were momentous, fearsome, audacious, and even heroically comic in some of the telling. Yet, large though their ambitions were, little did these few dozen men from a small country far away know that the handsome harbor they entered and the valley behind it lay on the edge of a continent vaster and more resourceful than anything heretofore known to civilized man. The *St. Pieter*, *Fortuyn*, *Tijger*, *Nachtegael*, and other immediate successors to Henry Hudson's *Halve Maen*¹ crossed the Upper Bay to Manhattan Island as if entering the very maw of Tchi Manito, the Indian godhead or Great Spirit, a force of nature so ubiquitous its spirituality was everywhere in this vast new land.

The fierce competition between Adriaen Block, the first of the Dutch traders and also the region's principal cartographer, and Thijs Mossel, a trader for a rival group of Amsterdam merchants, operatic in its Old World blusterings, was made all the more humorous by the fact that they were arguing over a store thousands of miles wide filled with millions of animals worth harvesting. There was more, vastly more than enough for all, despite the arguing, and still some disgruntled players rose up and stole a ship for themselves, sailing off to the West Indies after leaving enough trinkets for their countrymen to trade. One ship burned accidentally at its Manhattan mooring, another was built virtually on the spot from the immense bounty of natural resources at hand; traders came and were killed in misunderstandings with the Indians, and still the trade continued unaffected by these little dramas.² Yet for all their intensity in pursuit of the pelts given up by the Indians for mere trinkets, the details of this New World, like the trees of the forest, hid an even larger reality that diminished these men and the grand ego of a world they came from. Huddled with their flagons of warm beer in the crude enclaves they created, first at Manhattan and later at Fort Orange, the Europeans who were so intensely focused on the profits of the pelt trade did not see the integrated, natural reality that loomed all around them. They walked through their roughly hewn doorways into a landscape of trees the Indians had scorched and burned to make maizefields, or that they themselves had hacked at and felled with crude and inefficient axes.³ The entire fractured landscape was served up as a fitting metaphor for the broken world they were creating. They were not "discovering" a New World: they were dismembering an old one.

There was little sense of sanctity for the land to the Europeans of Galileo's time. They arrived with the trappings of a history that was centuries in the making, their appearance in America coinciding with the dissolution of the medieval world view brought about by the Reformation. Now was a time for man to willingly embrace the mysteries of an unknown world with the new tools of



Detail from Olin Dows' mural in the Rhinebeck Post Office.

science, time, and capitalism, each of them aspects of practical utility in the new Protestant ethos. The Dutch in particular were masters of the utile, having forged a nation literally from the sea. The original sense of geopiety that characterized man's relationship to the land under the old order was now gone, its origins abstracted into practicality, and in this foreign context the land was reduced to mere troublesome scenery. Adriaen van der Donck (1620-1655), of all the Dutch the most intellectual and learned, could remark at how the great falls at Cohoes might have inspired a Roman or a Greek in inspirational verse, but he could never evoke that poetry himself. Perhaps they had had it in an earlier time, but for now the Europeans lacked an essential innocence of spirit by which the Indians had assimilated with the natural world. They were in a completely alien landscape; an amazing one, remarkable at times, yet ultimately nothing more than a background for the larger drama of their own ego, a background to be altered, mangled, or ignored at will. All became abstracted in the headstrong pursuit of the guilder, and the ultimate abstraction was of the people themselves, into *wilden menschen*, "wild men," not like the "Turks, Mamelukes, and Barbarians" of the Old World, whom the Dutch called "Heathen," but further removed from the human reality; a part of the landscape was all. More sympathetic than most, van der Donck justified the name *wilden* for those "who are not born of Christian parents" because of their strange religion, marriage practices, and laws "so singular as to deserve the name of wild regulations."¹⁴ Given such a worldview and context, it is not surprising that the process of dehumanization that unfolded constituted not simply a sad and inevitable commentary on the meaning (and meanness) of European colonialism, but on the morality of the men who drove the process as well. Why did so many "Christians" do these things? The question never occurred to them.

The lifestyle patterns of both Munsee and Mahican Indians living in the Hudson Valley at the time of contact (1609) reflected characteristics far more advanced than any earlier cultures. The needs of these two Algonquian cultures were as basic as their predecessors', but by now they had manifested spiritual as well as material aspects. Exactly when a teleological dimension came to exist, or how, is unknown, but the process must have developed slowly over centuries.⁵ As with the Paleo-Indian, awe, wonder, and fear toward aspects of the natural world had to have been common to later cultures, and were gradually translated, however crudely at first, into spiritual dimensions and religious forms, although the evidence of such manifestations in the Hudson Valley is poor prior to Late Woodland time.⁶

By the time of Columbus's discovery of America, the religious outlooks of the Hudson Valley Algonquians were relatively sophisticated. Mahicans believed that the soul went westward upon leaving the body, where black otter and bearskins were worn and the souls of their forebears were there to joyously greet them. They felt death was evil, "the offspring of the Devil," and could not understand the odd Western notion that God had control over death as well as life.⁷ Advanced societal organization evolved with population growth and the needs of people living closer together and sharing common expectations and anxieties. A richer array of natural resources reduced the time needed for subsistence activities.⁸ The people's store of common events, stories, heroic actions, and tragedies grew naturally and enriched the fabric of their lives and heritage. Eventually collective knowledge was memorized and periodic conferences evolved for those charged as keepers of the memory to recite the stories and expose the heritage to the youth, who were expected to remember it and pass it along in their day. The strung beads kept by



FELICIA RITTERS

Detail from Olin Dows' mural in the Rhinebeck Post Office.

the headman were used as mnemonic devices to recall and relate this oral tradition;⁹ it is ironic as well as significant that these beads, very early in the Dutch period, became abstracted into *sewan*, a new form of currency.¹⁰

The transformation of the practical and immediate into the spiritual and imaginative lay ultimately in the native's relationship to the ecosystem and its creatures and forces,¹¹ for the spiritual world of the Algonquian cultures was identical with the world around them. Such was not the case for these new arrivals. The European stepped into a physical world that was mute, incapable of dialogue or communication, but the same world to the native American was vibrant with an active spirituality in which the cognizance of humans was shared by bears, turtles, wolves, even the rocks around them. Trees had thought, language, magic powers. The sun was an "elder brother," the earth, moon, wind, and other aspects of nature cherished also as relatives.¹² The beaver was the mythical earth brother who lived in a separate nation and could not be taken by hunters without its own amiable consent. This was religion, a pantheism perhaps, but unknown to the Western world.¹³ Natives knew the difference between man and animal:

" . . . they were not fuzzy in their systematic thought. However, they were capable of more than systematizing. They also conceived of a world in which plants, animals, pictures, words, actions, as well as humans, storms, and sunlight had the potential of power and life. All entities in the Indian world view were potentially equivalent. A word could stand for the thing it spoke of; a human in animal skin could be the animal."¹⁴

Native perceptions of reality included an array of supernatural beings of varying benefit or danger whose existence was essential to native survival in the ecosystem. Nanahboozho, the son of the West Wind (Mudjekeewis), was the Mahican legendary hero (Gluscap to the Micmacs) and "first" Algonquian in the mythic sense. A Tchi Manito was common to all Algonquian cultures, as was an evil spirit (Mahtantu to the Lenape, Windigo to other Algonquians) that put the thorns on bushes and made flies, mosquitoes, reptiles, and useless plants.¹⁵ Munsees called their beneficent godhead Kishelēmukong ("Our Creator"), placed him in the twelfth layer of the heavenly realm, and had an array of manētuwāk ("spirits") or lesser gods that served as spirit helpers. Manētuwāk "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" guarded the four directions and the seasons. The Mësingw or Living Solid Face (always depicted with a face painted half black and half red, signifying the opposite nature of things) took care of animals, provided hunters with food, and rode the forest on the back of a deer; this deity was extremely

important in Minisink rituals and burials.¹⁶ Some deities held both good and bad functions, a sophisticated concept that reflected a dual nature of reality. Thunder beings (Pèthakhuweyok), which looked like huge birds with animal heads, were responsible for watering the crops but were also unpredictable and dangerous. The manētutètak (or wèmahtèkënis), “little people” like the Mahican pukwujinnee, stood a foot tall, helped those lost in the woods (especially children), and had the power to grant great stamina or longevity to any who saw them, but could also injure those who did wrong. Snow Boy endangered children with frostbite but also gave hunters the means to track animals and cross water in winter. Doll Beings (Ohtas) were important manitous for some Munsee families (not all), who had to dance with or “feed” their Doll once a year or face dire consequences. Munsees also had Wehixamukes, a trickster hero known to the English as Crazy Jack or “the Delaware Sampson,” who was substantially the same legendary figure as the Mahican Moskim or Tschimammus: foolishness was an aspect of his personality.¹⁷

As this abbreviated assemblage of minor Munsee deities suggests, the average Indian in the Hudson Valley before contact faced a complex array of mental choices, many of them potentially life-threatening, in reconciling their lives with the natural environment. A psychologist might ponder theories on the origin of modern consciousness in the right- and left-brain activities these choices might engender, yet in reality the complexity was simplified by communal familiarity with the mythologies, basic beliefs in dreams and visions, and by the existence of personal guardians who assisted the natives. “The vision,” C. A. Weslager noted, “was the point of contact, a line of communication between the supernatural world and the sphere of everyday life.”¹⁸ For some, these visions were singular, epiphanic, and life-defining; for others, they were matters of a particular moment, yet all were intuitive perceptions of sympathetic relationships that existed between the physical and the metaphysical worlds.

Communal integrations of these mythological aspects of Native American culture with the ecosystem occurred in various rituals that coincided with the planting of corn, summer growth, the fall harvest, winter hunts, and the like. The rituals might be expressed as a dance ceremony lasting from one to a dozen days. Among Munsees, special occasions called for a buffalo dance, bread dance, woman dance, and others; a war dance was called kinte-kaying (according to Rutenber). The August corn celebration seized the men, as one Dutchman observed, in “a universal torment,” in which they “run like men possessed, regarding neither hedges nor ditches, and like mad dogs resting no where except from sheer inability.” The most important ritual was occasioned by the fall harvest, in

Munsee culture a Gamwing, or “Big House” ceremony, in which the universe and the earth were depicted over a twelve-day duration. (Twelve was a special number for the Munsee and corresponded with the twelve carapaces of the turtle’s shell. It was the age at which a boy became a man or, if it was his fate, had the vision that defined his future course; the shaman or *kitzinacka*, for example, was determined at this age.) The Big House ceremony began with ceremonial attendants (*ash-kah-suk*), who swept the floor twelve times with turkey wings, to clear the path to heaven. They also painted the carved faces (*Mesingw*), passed the twelve prayer sticks, kept fires going and otherwise assisted the ceremony participants. The ceremonial hut contained twelve faces carved on posts, not to be worshipped as the idols of pagans or revered as in Christian rituals, but as witnesses who carried the prayers to the Creator. Men and women participated, all painted for the occasion, but they were segregated and remained silent; a tortoise shell rattle was used by those reciting a vision. The twelfth night, called *ah-tay-hoom-ween*, was reserved for women to recite their visions.¹⁹

One common myth that helps to explain the sympathetic attitude natives had toward animals has all these creatures identical in ancient time, looking and speaking like humans. Another states that with the advent of hunting man diverted from nature and began killing too many animals, who retaliated by sending the flies and mosquitoes to create diseases—but the plants took pity on the humans and provided them with remedies.²⁰ (This myth is particularly relevant in our context because the mass harvesting of beaver pelts signaled the demise of the Indian spiritual world.) Now, whenever a man faced an animal, the process of subduing the animal’s spirit was more important than the taking of the carcass: an apology was made, or the animal might even be berated for allowing the man to position himself for the kill.²¹ The actions of groups and individuals on the hunt, the aspect of the native alone in the woods, the various harvest festivals that brought bands together in seasonal sharing and thanksgivings, and the most rudimentary aspects of daily life were all ways of acting in consort with the fellow (mythic as well as physical) creatures of the wild.²²

This familiarity made the natives acute observers of the environment. Their traps, for example, were highly effective because they were based on detailed observation of animal habits. The average Algonquian woman was expert on the astronomical world²³ and integrated that world into the community mythos, where (in Mahican myth) a treasure-box of storms and sunshine was presided over by an old squaw, *Minnewawa*, who made the day and night and cut up the old moons to make the stars. She gave light to the fireflies to help the little men of the woods (*pukwujinnee*) raise Morning Star into the sky. She also climbed the

Ontiora to hang the moons, and when hunting was over, she let her people know by tipping the crescent moon up “so that a bow could be hung upon it.”²⁴

Native perspicacity extended to all aspects of the natural world in ways that are frequently marvels of detail. A common Algonquian tale about the origin of tobacco pits Nanahboozho against a giant who guarded tobacco in one of the mountain cloves.²⁵ Nanahboozho steals the tobacco and in the ensuing struggle pushes the giant off the mountain, transforms him into a grasshopper, and derisively names him Pukaneh, after the “dirty” saliva of both the chewed tobacco and a grasshopper’s defensive mechanism of expectorating a sticky brown substance that smells like nicotine.²⁶ An attention to detail also allows the native temperament to view the world’s broader perspectives in intimate terms, as in the Indian summer legend. Nanahboozho gives us those hazy days of late autumn when he returns each year to see how things are going, slumps across a few mountains, and has a big smoke.²⁷

This integration of native life and spirituality with the ecosystem eventually proved so profound that survival as a people depended upon it. The decimation of the local beaver population within a few decades after Henry Hudson’s arrival graphically demonstrated the symbiotic relationship between man, his spiritual world, and the environment. When the mythical earth brother gave “amiable consent” to its own virtual extinction, the virtual extinction of the original people was the logical and unforgivable corollary. This was a process of abstraction similar to that which the Europeans themselves had undergone in the Reformation, yet in the New World, because the choice was not conscious, the results were calamitous. Indians literally became apostates in the practice of the pelt trade, displacing their traditional respect for an animal brother in a blind embrace of shiny replacements. With the loss of the old worldview went the old taboos. The interior wilden landscape, like the bogs and ponds of the real world left uncompleted in their evolutionary process by the loss of an essential component (the beaver), was now transformed into the ghastly wreck of a collapsed mythology. A bizarre new reality rendered the old native ways and cures ineffective,²⁸ affirming the destruction of the natural world in the destruction of the people themselves. Huge mortalities from sickness and epidemic added a symbolic and palpable horror to the situation. When the mythical earth brother became as commonplace a commodity as a skinned, scraped, smelly pelt, an essential moral relationship between man and beast was destroyed. The native universe, like Galileo’s at the same time, was irrevocably changed: a terrible beauty was born.²⁹

Endnotes

- 1 The first demonstrable effort to explore the Hudson Valley for merchantable commodities began in May of 1611 when the *St. Pieter* under skipper Cornelis Rijser was chartered by Arnout Vogels (1580?-1620), an Amsterdam merchant with an interest in furs, and two merchant brothers, Leonard and Francoys Pelgrom. Simon Hart, *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company: Amsterdam Notarial Records of the First Dutch Voyages to the Hudson*, Amsterdam, Holland (1959), tr. Sibrandina Geertruid Hart-Runeman, 20. On January 17, 1612, also apparently under Vogel's authority, Adriaen Block purchased in Amsterdam a 55-last spiegelship called the *Fortuyn* (with a "long beak head, high rising aft, and flat stern"), sailed to "Virginia," and returned "a better voyage even than last year." (Virginia and "Terneuff" were Dutch euphemisms for New Netherland.) Francoys Pelgrom (1574-1616) to his wife in Brno (Prague), July 20, 1612, quoted in Hart, 21, 73-74; Van Cleaf Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations: The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623-1639*, Baltimore (1969), 6, n. 15. Bachman, 6, n. 13, says that Vogels was "likely" part of the group in 1612. Johannes de Laet (1582-1649), a respected historian and director of the West India Company, asserted that a ship sponsored by Amsterdam merchants did visit in 1610. This might have been the 100-last *Hoope*, which sailed to the West Indies and traded along the coast under Vogels' authority, but Vogels also traded in Canada with French partners and no direct evidence places the *Hoope* in Hudson Valley waters. Laet, "From the 'New World,'" in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland, New York* (1909), 28; this was repeated in Holland's 1660 "Deduction" on its disputes with the English, DCHSNY, II, 133; see Bachman, 4; Hart, 15-17. The *Tijger*, under Block's command, and the *Nachtengal* under Mossel sailed here in the fall of 1613; Hart, 25, Bachman, 7; Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*, Ithaca (1986), 40-41.
- 2 The *Tijger* burned one night at its mooring at Manhattan, so Block had a small jacht, the *Onrust*, built from the plentiful forest resources. Meanwhile, crew members from the *Tijger*, disgruntled that Block was trying to resolve his bitter differences with Mossel, took the *Nachtgael* in a bloodless coup. Pieter Franssen (or Fransz) came over with the *Vos* ("Fox") in early 1614 but was killed in an unknown trading incident; Jan de Wit succeeded him as skipper and simply continued the trade. Hart, 29-30, 97-98.
- 3 The axes used by the early Dutch weighed more than four pounds each, had brittle iron heads that frequently cracked in the cold, and were fitted with a thin steel blade in need of frequent sharpening. A smaller, lighter felling ax was not introduced until the 18th century. See Charles F. Carroll, "The Forest Society of New England," in Brooke Hindle, ed., *America's Wooden Age: Aspects of its Early Technology*, Tarrytown (1975), 18-19.
- 4 Adriaen van der Donck, *A Description of the New Netherlands*, ed. Thomas F. O'Donnell, Syracuse (1968; originally published in 1655), 20. On the distinction between pagan, heathen, and savage, see Christopher Vecsey, "American Indian Environmental Religions," in Christopher Vecsey and Robert W. Venables, eds., *American Indian Environments: Ecological Issues in Native American History*, Syracuse (1980), 37. Although Robert Juet, an Englishman, had used the word, the term "Indian" was not common in the Dutch Hudson Valley. The French called the original native inhabitants sauvages, peaux-rouges ("redskins"), or, when polite, indigènes ("natives"). The Dutch called the natives wilden menschen ("wild men"), shortened to the wilden. The English called the Virginians "savages" and translated the Dutch term the same. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages A.D. 500-1600*, New York (1971), 428; Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer, *The Goede Vrouw of Mana-ha-ta: At Home and in Society 1609-1760*, New York (1898), 2; Alice P. Kenney, *Stubborn for Liberty: The Dutch in New York*, Syracuse (1975), 25; *A Description of the New Netherlands*, 73-74; Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744*, New York (1984), 49 (n. 6), 50.
- 5 New York Algonquian artifactual remains are sparse on this subject, but the lesson of Owasco spiritual development may provide a clue. James A. Tuck has suggested that the presence of miniature pots and pipes at Owasco sites prefigure later Iroquois "dream-guessing," a soul-enriching practice;

- Owasco face and antler carvings also may anticipate the Iroquois False Face Society or other social or curing organizations within that culture. Their lack in pre-Owasco archaeology suggests that more sophisticated Iroquois spiritual development began during the Owasco period. See Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America*, Ithaca (1993), 49-50.
- 6 On the antiquity of Munsee myths, see John Bierhorst, *Mythology of the Lenape: Guide and Texts*, Tucson (1995), 8, 30, 39; C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History*, New Brunswick, N.J. (1972), 92-93, 97. A turtle creation myth finds one of its oldest expressions in Munsee myth (Bierhorst, 28-29, 71, 12) and was among the earliest recorded by Europeans; see Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland*, 77-78.
 - 7 Nicolaes van Wassenaer, "First Settlement of New-York by the Dutch," in E.B. O'Callaghan, M.D., ed., *A Documentary History of the State of New York*, Albany (1850), III, 45-46.
 - 8 "One estimate of subsistence activity per day is two to four hours for primitive hunters." Christopher Vecsey, "American Indian Environmental Religions," 8.
 - 9 Shirley Dunn, *The Mohicans and Their Land 1609-1730*, Fleischmanns, N.Y. (1994), 32-36.
 - 10 Lewis Mumford considered the creation of money (and by extension the rise of capitalism) in the same historic context as the "abstraction" of reality that emanated from the Reformation—"and in money they achieved a calculus for all human activity"; *The Golden Day: A Study in American Literature and Culture*, New York (1968; 1926), 9. Sewan (which the English, borrowing from Narragansett Indians, called "wampum" after introduced to the currency by the Dutch) soon became that calculus in the Hudson Valley.
 - 11 Calvin Martin's definition of "ecosystem" introduces this section. "The European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe: An Ecological Interpretation," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 31 (January 1974), 5.
 - 12 "According to Lenape [Munsee] Indian belief, all things had spirits: animals, insects, trees, air, even rocks; therefore, everything had to be respected and cherished." Herbert C. Kraft and John T. Kraft, *The Indians of Lenapehoking*, South Orange, N. J. (1991), 30.
 - 13 Weslager, *The Delaware Indians*, 66, calls the native application of spiritual facets "a pantheistic concept in which the entire world was under the control of invisible beings." All aspects of the environment were equally endowed with spirituality by native Americans, but each aspect had its own characteristics that were unique in their various manifestations and quite specific to the natural world they represented.
 - 14 Vecsey, "American Indian Environmental Religions," 36, 16.
 - 15 E. M. Ruttenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River*, Albany (1872), II, 362-363, tells a tale about the origin of the Steppingstone Islands that once stretched from the bottom of the Hudson Valley and were used by the evil spirit to escape Indians who drove him from Long Island; furious, he stood at Cold Spring and hurled rocks all over Connecticut. In Ruttenber's time, one of those little islands was still called "Satan's Toe," a name used by James Fenimore Cooper in the title of his best novel depicting a Hudson Valley setting. See also Theodore Kazimiroff, *The Last Algonquin*, New York (1982), 179.
 - 16 One found in a Minisink burial site dated to A.D. 1380±55. Herbert C. Kraft, "Late Woodland Settlement Patterns in the Upper Delaware Valley," in Jay F. Custer, ed., *Late Woodland Cultures of the Middle Atlantic Region*, Cranbury, N. J. (1986), 115.
 - 17 See Bierhorst, *Mythology of the Lenape*, 8-10, 21-27; Nora Thompson Dean, "The Spiritual World of the Lenape or Delaware Indians," in Catherine Coleman Brawer, ed., *Many Trails: Indians of the Lower Hudson Valley*, Katonah (1983), 36; Kraft and Kraft, *The Indians of Lenapehoking*, 29-30; Herbert C. Kraft, *The Lenape or Delaware Indians*, South Orange, N. J. (1991), 46; Nicholas Shoumatoff, "The Algonkian Spirit," in Brawer, *Many Trails*, 37. Manëtu is a Unami (or southern) Delaware word; the -ou form was a New France contribution. Alexander F. Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words in American English: A Study in the Contact of the White Man and the Indian," in *Journal of American Folklore*,

- 15 (1992), 247.
- 18 The Delaware Indians, 68.
- 19 Richard C. Adams, *The Delaware Indians: A Brief History*, Saugerties (1995; 1906), 8; Ruttenber, I, 28-29, n. 2; Weslager, *The Delaware Indians*, 66, 69-71; Kraft and Kraft, *The Indians of Lenapehoking*, 31; Julian Harris Salomon, *Indians of the Lower Hudson Region: The Munsee*, New City (1982), 24, 27; Ives Goddard, "Delaware," in Bruce G. Trigger, ed. (William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed.) *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 15 Northeast*, Washington (1978), 220. Weslager's Figure 11 (p. 70) is a diagram of the places taken up by the participants and some of the ceremonial properties of the Big House Ceremony. On the kitzinacka, see Wassenaer, "From the 'Historisch Verhael,'" in Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland*, 68.
- 20 Dorothy M. Reid, *Tales of Nanabozho*, New York (1963), 85-88.
- 21 See, e.g., Reid, *Tales of Nanabozho*, 48. A missionary among the Delawares watched a native deliver a "curious invective" to a bear before dispatching it; the missionary asked if the bear understood his words, and the native responded, of course: "Did you not observe how ashamed he looked while I was upbraiding him?" The Poems of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, New York (n.d.), 126, n. 1. (Longfellow was quoting Rev. John Heckewelder, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, I, 240.)
- 22 In anthropological terms, Vecsey, 10-11, distinguishes three ways in which native Americans "integrated" their spiritual world into the real one: primary integration such as talking to animals they hunted or coinciding agricultural festivals with stages of plant growth; secondary integration, such as atomistic shamanism in hunting; and morphological or symbolic integration by referencing natural phenomenon into myths or rituals.
- 23 Vecsey, "American Indian Environmental Religions," 9. "The women there are the most skillful stargazers; there is scarcely one of them but can name all the stars; their rising, setting; the position of the Arctos, that is the Wain, is as well known to them as to us, and they name them by other names." Wassenaer, "From the 'Historisch Verhael,'" in Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland*, 69.
- 24 See Charles Hayes, ed., *From the Hudson to the World: Voices of the River*, n.p. (1978), 22, 31; Emelyn Elizabeth Gardner, *Folklore from the Schoharie Hills*, New York, N.Y. (1977; 1937), 18. Minnewawa spoke in thunderclaps.
- 25 Reid, *Tales of Nanabozho*, 83. Tobacco was used in sacred rites and blessings as well as for consumption; Delawares occasionally mixed it with sumac in a concoction called kinnikinnick. See Weslager, *The Delaware Indian*, 58.
- 26 This was an Ojibway tale, but common to all Algonquians. Egerton R. Young, *Algonquin Indian Tales*, New York (1903), 240-242. Naturalist Spider Barbour, who had a fascination with grasshoppers while growing up in Ohio, recalled the admonishments of adults: "Don't pick up those grasshoppers—they'll spit tobacco juice at you!" (Personal communication.)
- 27 Young, 255-256.
- 28 In all northeastern cultures, the principal health treatment was sweating, in a lodge or bath (pimēwakān in Munsee) built near a stream out of saplings covered with clay and heated with rocks carried in from a communal fire—literally an earthen oven. In another telling irony, the pimēwakān proved entirely the wrong remedy when the European smallpox struck, because the sweating prevented the pox pustules from drying. A description of the sweat lodge is found in Kraft, *The Lenape or Delaware Indians*, 14. See also Kraft and Kraft, *The Indians of Lenapehoking*, 33; Goddard, "Delaware," 219; Weslager, *The Delaware Indians*, 51; and Charles Wolley, *A Two Years' Journal in New York and Part of its Territories in America*, Harrison (1973; 1701), 54.
- 29 See Vecsey, "American Indian Environmental Religions," in Vecsey and Venables, eds., 29; Calvin Martin (to whom I am indebted for the apostasy concept), "The European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe: An Ecological Interpretation," *William and Mary Quarterly*, (January 1974), 25. William MacLeish sees the ruined beaver ponds as "the first signs of European corporate power." *The Day Before America*, New York (1994), 188.

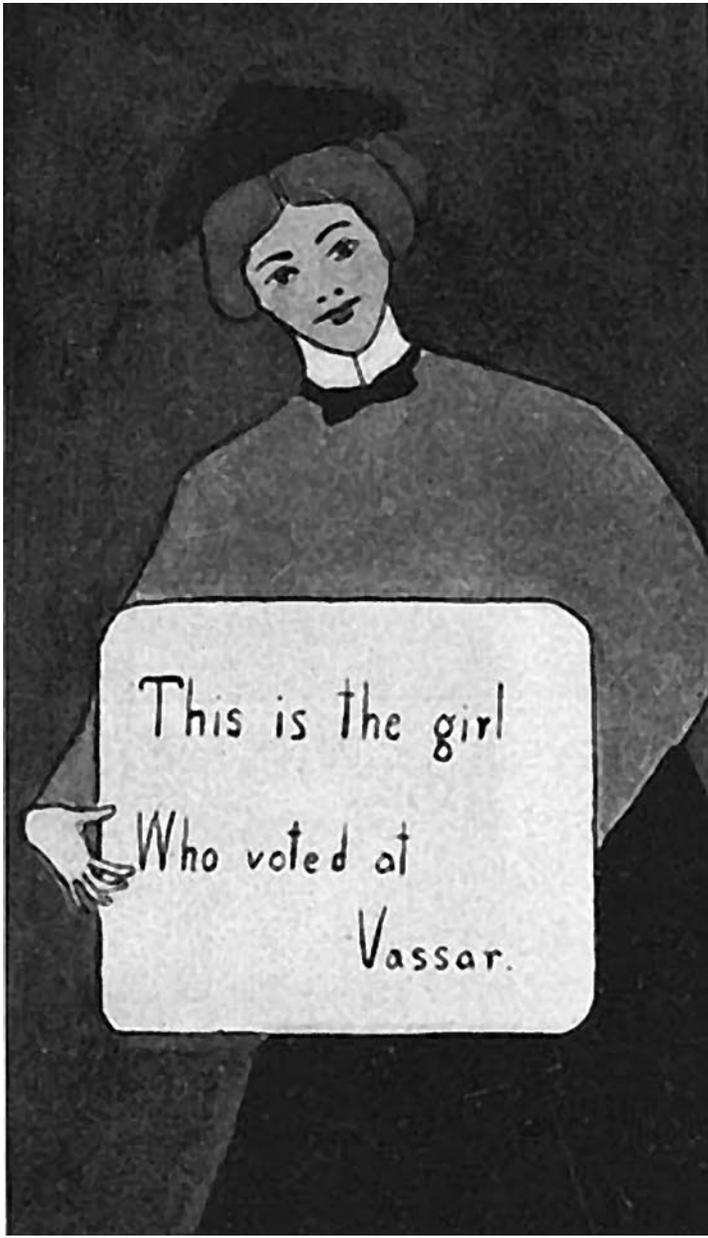


Illustration from an 1897 *Vassarion* article on the election of 1896

Woman Suffrage, Vassar College, and Laura Johnson Wylie

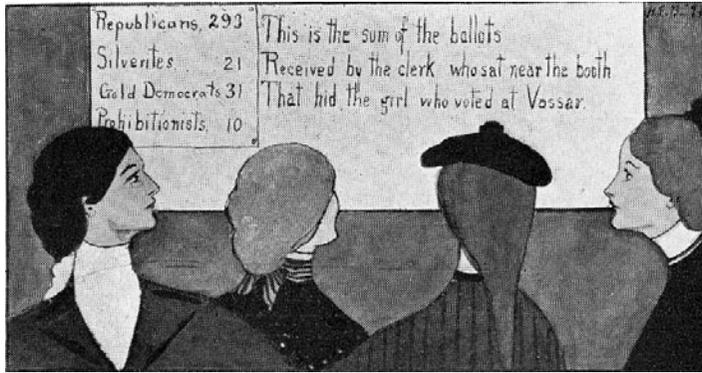
Eva C. Boice

The presidential election of 1896 was notable because of the battle over the currency standard. Republican candidate William McKinley, who favored maintaining the gold standard, was so confident of victory that he barely campaigned. His opponent, “silverite” William Jennings Bryan, delivered thrilling speeches, but they were not enough to counter the financial and industrial influence of the Northeast and Midwest that backed McKinley.

The election sparked interest throughout the nation, even in seemingly unlikely places such as Vassar College. Vassar opened in 1861, predicated on the idea that young women were capable of enduring the rigors of scholarship. Fears that women were too delicate for advanced education—or that education for women threatened the propagation of the human race—were dissipating, and Vassar was recognized for producing graduates of enormous promise. In 1896, its student population numbered 600. These young women hailed primarily from the Northeast and carried with them the Republican sympathies likely learned from their family environments. But as the nation had become more diverse, so, too, had the college. This had led to a continual exchange of divergent views, which was further encouraged by the contentious election of 1896.

Any type of formal suffrage activity was strictly forbidden on the Vassar campus—as it was at sister colleges—so students needed to develop a creative way to voice their opinions about the election that would meet the approval of the college administration. With the backing of their professors, they held a mock presidential election, complete with parades, stump speeches, songs, posters, and rallies. Students took on the roles of the various candidates and their supporters, appearing at events and speaking informatively and enthusiastically about the issues. The Vassar administration felt that it was part of the women’s education to make themselves aware, and it was perfectly comfortable with these activities.

Not surprisingly, the mock election resulted in a win for McKinley. However, “what the administration believed to be education was in reality much more. These young women gained a voice, through the newspaper coverage of their election, and came to realize what it was like to have the power of the vote...[T]he mock election of 1896 served as not only a voice for the many girls unable to speak



COURTESY OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS,
 VASSAR COLLEGE LIBRARIES

Illustration from an 1897 *Vassarion* article on the election of 1896

on the suffrage issue, but also as a catalyst for many others. They came to see that voting was not something that only men had the ability to do. Women had the initiative, the desire, and the ability to run a campaign, debate important political issues, and most of all vote for the candidate they thought would best meet their needs.”¹ This was a harbinger of what was to come—for students and faculty at Vassar, and for suffrage in the city, county, state, and nation.

In November 1917, male voters in New York gave their blessings to a state constitutional amendment granting suffrage to women. That this was an auspicious moment in the quest for woman suffrage is undeniable, particularly in light of the fact that a previous referendum, in 1915, had failed. After that defeat, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, guided by a “Winning Plan” devised by its president, Carrie Chapman Catt, had identified the state as a potentially successful site for a constitutional suffrage amendment, and strategists and money came pouring in. Local workers were mobilized and victory was realized. The obvious long-range goal was national suffrage, and Catt saw that her group’s previous efforts, organized on a state-by-state basis, had been slow and fruitless. The focus had to change to national enfranchisement for women. The 1917 referendum result in New York would open another influential door.

Woman suffrage in New York had immense implications nationally, for the state, the most populous at the time, also had the largest number of members in the House of Representatives. With the push for an amendment to the federal constitution, no proposal would leave the floor of Congress without the imprimatur of the New York delegation. Large numbers of women owned property in the state, resulting in limited suffrage rights in some localities. Higher education for women in New York was flourishing. For these reasons, woman suffrage in the state would leave an indelible mark on national policy.

But Nancy Cott points out that Carrie Catt emphatically warned suffrage speakers during the 1915 New York campaign to avoid “promising what women will do with the vote.”² There was additional concern after 1917 that national suffrage efforts on the part of New York’s women would wane now that state suffrage laws included them, and that women’s organizations would falter and lose their focus. An examination of pre- and post-amendment activities in Poughkeepsie contradicts these concerns.

A city of approximately 30,000 in the 1910s, Poughkeepsie was in an interesting position in several ways. Geographically located midway between New York City and Albany, it was mightily affected by both cities, but subsumed by neither. New York City had been a pro-suffrage stronghold for many years, while Albany was notoriously anti-suffrage. Culturally, Poughkeepsie natives availed themselves of New York theater, museums, and lyceums. They might also take vacations in the Adirondack Mountains; to get there, they passed through Albany. Residents of both larger cities spent weekends in Dutchess County, while conversely, many upper-middle and upper-class citizens kept permanent family homes in the area, but traveled to Albany or New York to work. While Poughkeepsie had its own economic base, was located on a major rail line, and saw a great deal of Hudson River traffic, the tentacles of banking, transportation, and commerce reached to and from those larger cities.

Poughkeepsie did not have a resoundingly successful woman suffrage movement in the late 19th century. From time to time, speakers would address the issue, or a petition campaign would take place. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union and various clubs, such as the Young Woman’s Christian Association and the Daughters of the American Revolution, kept the issue of suffrage alive limitedly, but not as a primary goal. However, in the 1910s, students and faculty at Vassar College helped create a successful local suffrage movement. “Vassar women’s supra-localities and cosmopolitan orientation provided the Poughkeepsie movement with resources and talented recruits unavailable to other suffrage organizations in the region...[W]omen professors and staff members remained there year after year...”³

Many college professors lived in the city of Poughkeepsie, eschewing the more convenient campus housing; among them were Lucy Salmon, known for her work with the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and Laura Johnson Wylie, whose philosophy and leadership style would become crucial to the local movement. It is no wonder that these women lived away from the campus, for suffrage activity at Vassar was still forbidden by order of its anti-suffrage president, James Monroe Taylor. However, the ban was occasionally circumvented,

as the need arose. One amusing incident occurred when Harriot Stanton Blatch, a Vassar graduate and daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and student Inez Millholland were denied permission to hold a meeting on campus in 1908. Aside from the obvious suffrage implications, the meeting's guest speakers—feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman (who advocated for economic independence for women) and labor union leader Rose Schneiderman—were known radicals in the movement for equality. As noted, Vassar students were always creative when it came to circumventing the anti-suffrage ban. This illegal meeting was held in a nearby cemetery, where nary a soul would protest the message of the speakers.⁴

(Two of the players in this campus conflict were casualties of the push for woman suffrage, but in very different ways. President Taylor would later rescind the ban on campus suffrage activities when presented with a petition signed by nearly every faculty member and student in 1912. Remaining personally anti-suffrage, he soon retired. Millholland, a brilliant and captivatingly beautiful woman, campaigned tirelessly for suffrage after completing her studies. But her health was precarious and doctors told her to stop her arduous travels. While in California in 1916, she collapsed as she gave a speech challenging Woodrow Wilson to support suffrage. Ten weeks later she died of pernicious anemia. An image of Millholland astride a white horse at the head of a pro-suffrage parade is an enduring part of her legacy. She literally gave her life to the movement.)

Drama such as the graveyard meeting was actually uncommon and unnecessary in the Poughkeepsie suffrage movement. Because many Vassar faculty and staff lived in the city, they developed an ongoing association with local women. Together they forged a number of organizations that would help to secure a successful local vote in the 1917 referendum and continue the work that suffrage implied beyond constitutional change.

Late in 1909, three Vassar professors, among them Wylie, and several local women formed the Equal Suffrage League. The organization's first event, held on January 12, 1910, featured Ethel Arnold, the British suffragette and author; Max Eastman, secretary and treasurer of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage of the State of New York; and Richard Connell, editor of the *Poughkeepsie Free Press*. Held at the Collingwood Opera House in the city, attendance was healthy for a midwinter night.

The Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle described the stage at the Collingwood as "prettily decorated with palms, ferns, bay trees...[S]eated upon it beside the speakers were Frank B. Lown, who presided...and Professor Lucy Salmon of Vassar. Mr. Lown said that he was satisfied that Vassar would become such a hotbed of woman suffrage, that when it was brought about in New York State, Poughkeepsie and

Vassar College would be looked to as the primary means of accomplishing this great reform.” The paper noted that Arnold’s speech was long and boring, and that Eastman stated that there were really no legal barriers to woman suffrage, merely emotional ones. The speaker that sent attendees reeling, however, was Connell who, according to the newspaper account, “had the temerity to take the floor and support the quotation from St. Augustine that domestic retirement and the constant care of family constitute the chief duties of a virtuous wife.” His comments received some applause, but the level of enthusiasm was not recorded. The program for the evening lists the names of seventy-four community members supporting the Equal Suffrage League, twenty-eight of whom were connected with Vassar College. Nonetheless, it is ironic that the first eighteen names listed were men who supported the group.⁵ One wonders if this was merely a courtesy to male supporters, or if, in 1910, emphasizing male support legitimized the existence of the league.

The Equal Suffrage League found a dynamic president that year in Laura Johnson Wylie. An 1877 graduate of Vassar, she received her Ph.D. from Yale in 1894. After teaching English at private secondary schools, she began her long tenure at Vassar in 1895, one year prior to the mock election. It is impossible to determine whether she was a faculty supporter of that election, but when examined in conjunction with the rest of her life, it makes sense that she would have been: It was precisely the kind of activity she would have encouraged. Wylie shared her life with Professor Gertrude Buck, and both women were extraordinarily community-minded. (Buck, also a member of Vassar’s English Department, was devoted to community theater.) Wylie became known in wide circles for her teaching, and her reorganization of Vassar’s English Department brought it renown. But her passion off-campus was woman suffrage and related community issues. Once suffrage was achieved, she created the instruments that gave lasting meaning to woman franchisement in Poughkeepsie.

The Collingwood Opera House was again the scene of a large Equal Suffrage League meeting, led by Wylie, on November 20, 1911. Peripheral suffrage issues that had been causing irritation to the movement—primarily property qualifications, the status of women laborers, and male fear of emasculation—were addressed. The keynote speaker was Inez Milholland, then active in woman suffrage in both London and New York City. The *Poughkeepsie Courier* reported that Milholland “spoke with passion and logic,” and notes her statement that “Women can and must cooperate with men in the humanizing of governmental processes.”⁶

Records and data are hard to find regarding the 1915 transition of the Equal Suffrage League to the Poughkeepsie Woman Suffrage Party. A Woman Suffrage

Party convention was held in the city on June 16, 1914, where the work of the Equal Suffrage League was reported and lauded. Oddly, not one name mentioned in attendance matches any name found on the 1910 list of Equal Suffrage League members. It is known that Vassar women continued their partnership with local organizations that addressed both civic and suffrage concerns. For example, between 1910 and 1917, six officers of the Young Women's Christian Association were Vassar faculty or staff members. And it would seem logical that, with the approach of a referendum granting suffrage to women in the state, the groups should, and would, combine rather than work at cross purposes. But where was Laura Wylie? In 1915, she was in the midst of writing the respected work, *Social Studies in English Literature*. But she likely continued her suffrage work as the referendum drew near, and probably even canvassed city wards seeking the amendment's approval. Its failure did not daunt her, as evidenced by a sentence in her obituary that appeared in the *Poughkeepsie Courier* in 1932: "A woman of indomitable energy, she was the local leader of the woman suffrage movement from 1910 to 1918."⁷ Not a leader: *the* leader.

Wylie and other suffragists used World War I to their advantage, combining war work with suffrage, keeping their cause in the public eye while showing themselves to be reliable and patriotic. Wylie wrote to a friend, "It has seemed impossible to plan ahead...and now with the war...there seems little chance that we can make definite plans."⁸ But plan they did. Florence Kelley, the progressive activist on women and child labor issues, agreed to visit Poughkeepsie to, as Wylie wrote to another friend, "talk on minimum wage matters."⁹ At this time, the anti-suffragists in Poughkeepsie were disorganized, and neither the war nor any slurs they threw at the suffragists appeared to have a deleterious affect on the movement. But the suffragists understood that a positive result on the next referendum, in 1917, depended on superb training and organization. For that reason, Poughkeepsie suffragists were trained in public speaking, responding to questions, and fund-raising. The Woman Suffrage Party headquarters was moved to a more prominent location in downtown Poughkeepsie, and as the election neared, its members worked tirelessly in each of the city's wards. Over half of the participating voters in the city of Poughkeepsie approved the state constitutional amendment granting enfranchisement to women. And while the referendum was a success for suffragists statewide, Poughkeepsie was the only major population center along the Hudson River north of New York City that lent its approval.

Poughkeepsie suffragists did not rest after this success. The following year, still under the leadership of Wylie, they reinvented themselves as the Women's City Club, which would serve as an auxiliary to the New York State Women's

Political Party. In 1919, guided by Wylie and Margaret Norrie of Staatsburg, the club was reorganized and renamed the Women's City and County Club. A club pamphlet issued that year states that the club's purpose was to "enlist women in the cause of good government." Women were now able to use their new powers for the "health, protection, and welfare of all citizens."¹⁰ This club, and many like it that blossomed around the same time, sought to help women obtain and practice their full rights. To that end, Wylie and the Women's City and County Club conducted civics classes routinely. For its first major project, the club commissioned a housing survey of the city of Poughkeepsie in 1919. Conducted by Helen Thompson of the Tenement House Department of New York City, hundreds of residences were examined for safety, primarily fire hazard and limited egress. The club rightfully recognized that economics was at the root of many of these safety concerns, and its nonpartisan members realized that further study needed to be done on jobs and wages.

Interest and enthusiasm regarding club activities ran high. The 1920 end-of-year report notes that eighteen meetings took place in a seven-month period. Wylie was elected president yearly until her resignation in 1928. Her obituary in the *Poughkeepsie Evening Star* stated that Wylie was "instrumental in obtaining a membership of 500 from the city and county. The club has become the best known of its kind in the country organized after the suffrage movement, and is interested in civic affairs of the city, county, state, and country."¹¹ Obviously, Wylie's leadership was pivotal to this success. This report also mentions for the first time an affiliation with the League of Women Voters. Throughout the decade of the 1920s, the Women's City and County Club turned over its rented rooms on Market Street, then later on Cannon Street, to the league for activities, but each organization kept separate dues and membership lists. Wylie was the league's Dutchess County chair. A letter from Dorothy Bourne, local league president, urged its recipients to join, pointing out that "We hope never to duplicate in any way the work of the city club, but rather to work together always."¹² In Poughkeepsie, the League of Women Voters may have had the name and national prominence, but the Women's City and County Club had the clout.

The club continued to prosper in the 1920s. Hilda Smith, who later headed the WPA Workers Education Project, came to town in 1921 to speak on the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Industrial Workers; the club gave a small scholarship to that program for several years. The League of Women Voters county convention was held that year at the clubrooms on Market Street. The Child Welfare Survey conducted by the league took center stage, its focus directed at health conditions in rural schools. Later, the Women's City and County Club invited members of

the local Board of Supervisors to attend a club meeting to hear a speaker discuss appropriations for child welfare concerns. Keeping local government aware of its agenda was always a job the club relished. And ever the educator, Wylie announced in an invitation to club members the opportunity to “make a first hand study of the local civic institutions in which they are interested.”¹³ Wylie knew that thorough preparation had to precede any actions the club might take.

The following year found the relationship between the Women’s City and County Club and the League of Women Voters growing. The Poughkeepsie league claimed there had been improper electioneering at the organization’s state convention, prompting an investigation headed by Eleanor Roosevelt, a member of both local groups. A local delegation attended the national conference of the League of Women Voters; that fall, the county convention featured Wylie, speaking on the value of education in civic work, and a visit from Maud Wood Park, president of the National League of Women Voters. *The Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle* described her talk: “Mrs. Park gave detailed accounts of the passage of the two federal measures for which the League has been persistently working; the Shepherd Towner Bill for Infancy and Maternity Care, and the bill granting independent citizenship to women.”¹⁴ That Park would come to Poughkeepsie and speak in the meeting rooms of the Women’s City and County Club suggests a known forum for intelligent discussion of the issues, a place where a national leader would be warmly welcomed and appreciated.

Nineteen twenty-three saw a focus on national issues, with Eleanor Roosevelt speaking to the club on the importance of getting women elected as delegates to the national conventions of both major political parties, undoubtedly with an eye to the 1924 presidential election. The Women’s City and County Club published a pamphlet that year urging the return of the direct primary in the state, and again lent its rooms to the League of Women Voters, who invited Ruth Morgan, the national chair of the league’s International Relations Committee, to speak on rule of law as opposed to rule of war at the county convention. The leadership of Laura Wylie was so successful that the local league needed to remind women of its independent financial need: for the first time, the convention program stated that a member of the Women’s City and County Club did not automatically belong to the League of Women Voters. Separate dues must be paid.¹⁵

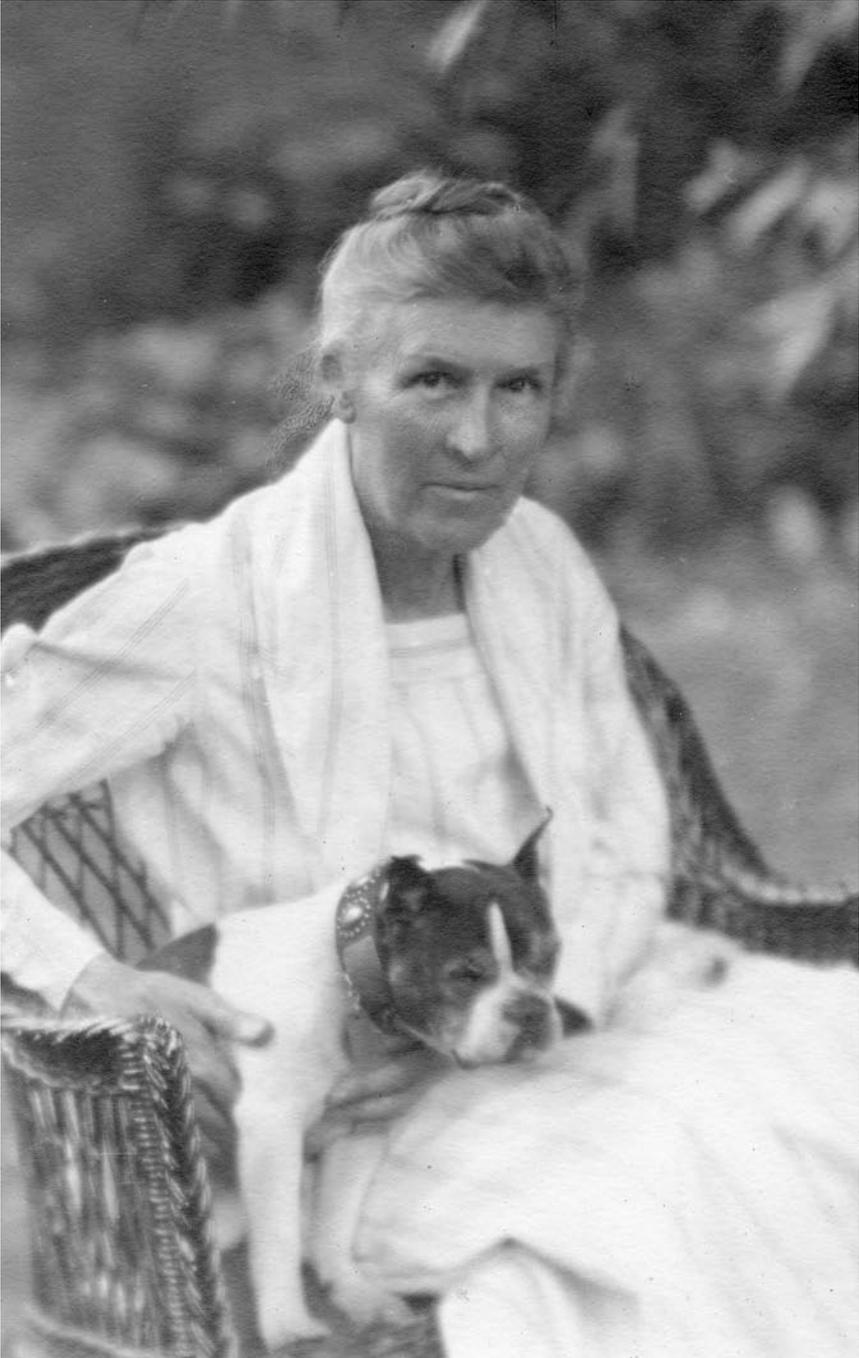
The influence of Laura Wylie and the Women’s City and County Club was portrayed in a feature story in the *Poughkeepsie Star* in 1925. Wylie is described as “inspired,” and the club as a “place where things may be talked out; it is alive.” It is a lengthy piece, which discusses the work of the club’s many committees, which included City Government, House (keeping of the rooms), Industrial



Laura Wylie's house at 112 Market Street, which now houses the offices of the Hudson River Sloop Clearwater.

Conditions, International Relations, Legislation, Law Enforcement, Membership, Public Health, and Schools.¹⁶ (Wylie, as president, might have had her hands full, were it not for her leadership style, which was described in 1932 as “emphatic... expressive...courtly and courteous...endlessly social...embodied warmth and trust.” People obviously wanted to do things with—and for—her.) The year before, Wylie had retired from Vassar, and now devoted herself full-time to her avocation. She did not leave teaching entirely: after her last commencement as a Vassar faculty member, she headed south to Bryn Mawr, where she taught literature at the Summer School for Industrial Workers.

The fall of 1925 marked the visit of the famed suffrage leader Carrie Chapman Catt to Poughkeepsie, to speak at the Dutchess County Convention of the League of Women Voters. Eight organizations, including the Women's City and County Club, were sponsors of the event. As much as she tried to remind a reporter for the *Poughkeepsie Evening Star and Enterprise* that she came to speak on China and international relations, Catt was pressed to admit that “History moves slowly. The main point in the evolution of society that was gained by suffrage was that women got a new tool to work with and there has not been enough time to show much what she can do.”¹⁷ Although woman suffrage had been law in New York State for eight years, women continually had to prove they were worthy of enfranchisement—even in Dutchess County, where women's organizations had proven effective both for them and for the common good.



Laura Johnson Wylie at home with her pet

Laura Wylie resigned the presidency of the Poughkeepsie Women's City and County Club in 1928, but the club was loath to let her go and named her honorary president, a post she held until her death on April 2, 1932. She left her home at 112 Market Street to a trust that proposed its use by the club rent-free for the next six months, but the personal loss to the club was enormous. Difficult times were upon the country, and the club was hard-pressed to collect dues from its members. And although Wylie left a \$10,000 bequest to promote ties between Vassar College and the community, that money was earmarked primarily to sustain the community theater project founded by Gertrude Buck. The Laura Wylie Memorial Associates was created, hoping to buy the Wylie home outright. Its goal was to create a civic center that would lease the house to the Women's City and County Club for a nominal fee. By 1933, that goal was realized, with the Poughkeepsie Savings Bank agreeing to hold a mortgage.

For several years, the plan seemed to work. The club used the home and the Memorial Association rented the upstairs rooms to boarders to defray expenses. The memorial association held a ceremony to dedicate the house on November 8, 1933, when a bas relief portrait of Wylie was unveiled. The club continued the work that had meant so much to Wylie, but ominous clouds appeared on the horizon as fund-raising faltered. Amelia Earhart was invited to speak to the community at large under the auspices of the club, but unbelievably, money was lost on the event. A booklet entitled "Our Miss Wylie" was written in 1934 and sold for \$2.50, with the club making 65 cents per copy. Pledges that were to assist in paying off the mortgage did not materialize. In a letter dated June 24, 1940, the Memorial Associates reported that the club had not been able to live up to the financial arrangement and had voted to separate itself from the project. The Women's City and County Club had lost the use of the home of its founder for the inability to pay for rent, heat, and electricity. The letter states that "While feeling deep regret for this decision we are glad to report that a new and most opportune use has been found for 112 Market Street as a continuing memorial for Miss Wylie through the willingness of [Vassar] college to accept the property as a direct memorial gift. It will be used, we assume, as a home for members of the faculty, who prefer, as Miss Wylie did, to live in closer touch with the town."¹⁸ Today, Wylie's home is the headquarters of the environmental organization Hudson River Sloop Clearwater. As a progressive activist, she would likely be pleased that the house continues to serve the public good.

The club carried on its community mission for the next 30 years, supported by the solid foundation laid by Laura J. Wylie. For a time, its shared space with the Young Women's Christian Association. The decade of the 1960s found the club

meeting monthly, usually at the Nelson House. The League of Women Voters slowly gained a foothold in Poughkeepsie; the early success of the Women's City and County Club seemed to be both a help and an impediment. But the fortunes of each group changed, as evidenced by a 1962 article in the *Poughkeepsie Journal* announcing that an anniversary celebration of the League of Women Voters in Poughkeepsie was to be held, ironically at Vassar College. The list of notable local invitees does not mention the Women's City and County Club. The growing local strength of the league, coupled with the new roles of women evolving in the 1960s, ultimately lead to redirection of the precious effort of Laura Wylie, as the club held sewing contests, listened to speakers, and discussed books. In 1968, the club that once boasted over 500 members celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with a few dozen members in attendance. It finally dissolved in the 1970s. (The Dutchess County League of Women Voters merged with the Ulster County unit and exists today as the Mid-Hudson League of Women Voters, meeting primarily in Kingston. It continues its mission of voter education.)

Laura Johnson Wylie did not seek the limelight. She did what came naturally. Shortly after her death, Vassar economics professor H.E. Mills remarked: "her main character was an ever present struggle for human freedom."¹⁹ When the Women's City and County Club raised money for a scholarship for summer students to be given in her name, Wylie wrote modestly, "The expression of their affectionate gratitude makes me feel both rich and humble, but most of all glad for their sense of what I have tried to do."²⁰ The acknowledgement of her work and its purpose by the club she founded was satisfying to her. Wylie made a monumental effort to sustain the "town and gown" relationship; she walked in both worlds, and left a legacy in each. At a memorial service honoring the life of Wylie, Eleanor Roosevelt spoke of this. "There burned a light within her that made her see the fine things in people," she said. "Her work in this community did much toward awakening city conscious [sic] in Poughkeepsie."²¹ Earlier, an editorial in the *Poughkeepsie Sunday Courier* stated that "she was a living flame. Through the City Club, which she founded, Poughkeepsie gained a new civic consciousness."²²

At the April 6, 1932 meeting of the Women's City and County Club, a two-page resolution was passed by club members in recognition of the work of Laura Johnson Wylie. It ends with this tribute: "Resolved that we, the members of the Women's City and County Club, do hereby express our sorrow in the death of Miss Wylie; that we dedicate ourselves anew to the high ideals and liberal views instilled into our minds by our beloved leader..."²³

Laura Wylie would have approved.

Notes

1. "1896: The Campaign at Vassar." <http://projects.vassar.edu/1896/vassar.html>. February 14, 2004
2. Wheeler, Marjorie Spruill (ed.). *Woman, One Vote* (Oregon: New Sage Press, 1995), 357.
3. Stevens, Doris (Carol O'Hare, ed.). *Jailed For Freedom* (Oregon: New Sage Press, 1995), 239.
4. McDonald, David Kevin. *Organizing Womanhood: Women's Culture and the Politics of Woman Suffrage in New York State, 1910-1917* (Women's Network Project, 1987), 239, 241.
5. "For and Against Votes for Women," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*. June 13, 1910.
6. "Equal Suffrage Meeting," *Poughkeepsie Courier*. November 21, 1911.
7. "Professor Wylie, City Club Founder, Brought "Town and Gown" Together," *Poughkeepsie Courier*. April 3, 1932.
8. "Laura Johnson Wylie, 1915-1917." Vassar Special Collections at Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.
9. "To The Women Voters of Poughkeepsie." "Laura Johnson Wylie, 1917." Vassar Special Collections at Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.
10. "The Women's City and County Club" Laura Johnson Wylie, 1921. Vassar Special Collections at Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.
11. "Laura J. Wylie, Professor Emeritus of English at Vassar Dies At Home," *Poughkeepsie Evening Star*. April 3, 1932.
12. Letter from Dorothy Bourne, President of the Poughkeepsie League of Women Voters, Adriance Memorial Library, Local History Room.
13. "Laura Johnson Wylie," 1920. Vassar Special Collections at Vassar College Library at Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.
14. "On Shepherd-Towner Bill," *Poughkeepsie Eagle-News*. October 9, 1922.
15. League of Women Voters Convention Program, September, 1924; Adriance Memorial Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.
16. "Women's City and County Club Soon to Close a Busy Season," *Poughkeepsie Star*. April 14, 1925.
17. "Suffrage Gave Women New Power, Mrs. Catt, Here, Says," *Poughkeepsie Evening Star and Enterprise*. October 3, 1925.
18. Letter "To the Donors of the Wylie Memorial Fund and Members of the Women's City and County Club." Laura Johnson Wylie; Vassar Special Collections at Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.
19. "Laura Johnson Wylie " *Vassar Quarterly; Fall 1932*. Vassar Special Collections at Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.
20. Letter from Laura Wylie to the Members of the Women's City and County Club; Vassar Special Collections at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.
21. "Vassar Honors Laura J. Wylie." *New York Times*; May 29, 1932.
22. "The Flame Remains." *Poughkeepsie Sunday Courier*. April 3, 1932.
23. Resolution of the Women's City and County Club; April 6, 1932; Adriance Memorial Library Local History Room.



Slaves' Garden at Philipsburg Manor. This conjectural garden demonstrates a herb and vegetable garden that would have served one or two slaves. Plants are grown in raised beds and the paths are paved with crushed oyster shells.

Regional History Forum

Each issue of The Hudson River Valley Review will include the Regional History Forum section. This section will highlight one or two historic sites in the valley, exploring their historical significance as well as information for visitors today. Although due attention will be paid to sites of national visibility, HRVR will also highlight sites of regional significance. This issue features Philipsburg Manor and the West Point Foundry site in Cold Spring. Please write us with suggestions for future Forum sections.

Philipsburg Manor

Philipsburg Manor is a nationally significant historic site located in Sleepy Hollow, Westchester County. Once a thriving seventeenth and eighteenth century milling and trading complex, it now presents a recreation of colonial American life with an emphasis on the history of slavery in the North and its impact on the cultural and economic development of the region. Operated by Historic Hudson Valley, it is the only historic site in New York with a major focus on the living-history aspect of 18th-century slavery.

Originally, Philipsburg Manor encompassed more than 52,000 acres, which was owned by the Anglo-Dutch Philipse family. The property was divided into smaller plots of farmland, which was worked by tenant farmers and enslaved Africans. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Adolph Philipse, then lord of the manor, had become one of the wealthiest men in New York and one of the largest slave owners in the Northern colonies.

During the power struggle in colonial New York in the seventeenth century, the Philipse family shifted from being Dutch to English. This ensured them a thriving business based on trade between the newly founded colonies and Europe. Their business also included involvement in the slave trade of the middle passage. They remained loyal to England during the American Revolution; because of that, much of their property was confiscated in 1779.

Adolph Philipse was a merchant by trade. He conducted his business from an office in New York, handling the shipment of goods—primarily dairy products and grains such as wheat and rye—that were processed at the Upper Mills, the industrial heart of the manor, before making their way downriver. The water-powered gristmill, located on the Pocantico River (a tributary of the Hudson), operated from spring through fall. On average, it produced up to 5,000 pounds of flour a day. Once reaching New York, the flour was shipped overseas, where it was traded for goods such as sugar and tobacco. Enslaved Africans were the heartbeat

of the manor's industry.

For a northern colony, New York had a large slave population. During the 17th and 18th centuries, nearly twenty percent of its residents were enslaved Africans. New York City was the second largest slave port in the colonies, and profits from the slave trade were highly lucrative. While many families in New York owned slaves, most possessed just one or two. The Philipse family was an exception: because of their wealth and property, they owned up to twenty-three enslaved men, women, and children. A list of slaves belonging to the estate of Adolph Philipse in 1750 listed six men fit for work and three who were unfit, as well as five women and eight children. From the names listed, historians were able to distinguish the master miller, named Ceaser, and the riverboat pilot, Dimond, as the two most important and skilled men working at the gristmill and wharf.

Ceaser was responsible for keeping the mill running ; in fact, he appears to have been the only man on the manor who understood the milling process. (Ironically, the person most valuable to the survival of the manor was a slave.) Dimond captained the Philipses' ship, which delivered goods to New York. Thus, he was also very valuable, although in a much different way: Because Dimond possessed freedom of movement, he could carry news, messages, and other information for his fellow enslaved Africans. This allowed much of the slave community to keep in touch with members of their families who had been displaced by the slave trade.

Most other slaves on the manor packed barrels of flour for shipment, or worked as blacksmiths, dockworkers, coopers, or carpenters. Others served as cooks, navigators, and deckhands. Enslaved women tended to the garden and livestock or worked in the dairy, where milk, butter, and cheeses were produced. They also spun wool and flax for garments and prepared medicines for the sick.

The slave community itself was not entirely powerless. Running away was one way that slaves tried to escape their captivity, but risks such as death, alienation from one's family, and physical punishment were the possible punishments if caught. Insurrections did occur, most notably in New York City in 1741. A historical play entitled *The Fire This Time: Cuffee's Trial*—about the slave insurrection of 1741—has occasionally been performed for visitors to Historic Hudson Valley sites. The play portrays the trial of a slave named Cuffee who participated in an uprising that led to the burning of the Philipse warehouse. The play is based on actual transcripts from the trial, which took place on May 29, 1741. Adolph Philipse's nephew, Frederick II, was one of two chief justices who presided over the case.

Today, Philipseburg Manor consists of a gristmill and wharf, recreated using traditional tools and techniques from the seventeenth century; the rebuilt Manor



Re-enactors celebrating “Pinkster” at Philipsburg Manor. The 17th-century Dutch holiday became an African-American celebration of spring involving music, dance, and food. This year’s festival is planned for Sunday, May 16.

House, which has been restored to its eighteenth century appearance; an eighteenth century barn (moved to the site) that houses livestock and traditional farm equipment; an activity center that is used to demonstrate and celebrate the diversity of African and European cultures in the Hudson River Valley; and a slave garden, where traditional crops and medicinal herbs are grown. Costumed interpreters demonstrate aspects of colonial life and talk about the issues that affected the various communities that lived on the estate. The interpretation at Philipsburg Manor was made possible by a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the encouragement of the community-based African American Advisory Board.

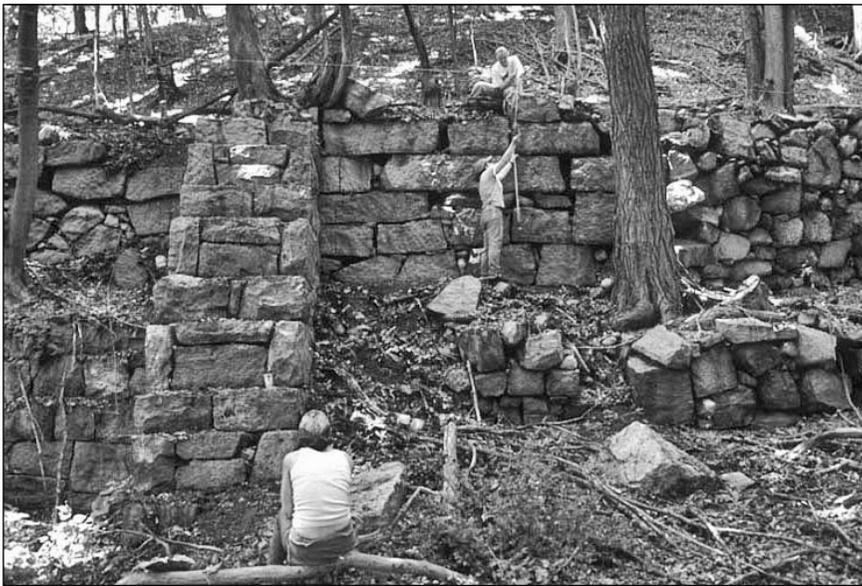
—Steven Foceri, *Hudson River Valley Institute*

Historic Philipsburg Manor is open to the public daily except Tuesdays from April 1 to October 31, with tours beginning at 10 a.m. The last tour begins at 4 p.m. Winter hours, from November 1 to December 15, are 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Tickets cost \$9 for adults and \$5 for children. Group rates and discounts are available.



LARRY MISHKAR, MICHIGAN TECH, 2002

Office of the West Point Foundry



LARRY MISHKAR, MICHIGAN TECH, 2002

Archaeologists from Michigan Technological University measure a historic retaining wall.

West Point Foundry Sites In Cold Spring

Located in Cold Spring just off Route 9D lies a piece of America's industrial history: the ruins of the West Point Foundry. Listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the 87-acre site is nestled in a wooded ravine and contains the ruins of the boring mill, blast furnace, and casting house, which sit beneath trees whose ancestors once fueled the fires that forged America's entrance in the Industrial Revolution. Now owned by the Scenic Hudson Land Trust, the West Point Foundry Preserve is open to the public and offers quiet woodland trails and scenic views of Foundry Brook Marsh. The interpretation of the site is being guided by ongoing research carried out by Michigan Technological University's industrial archaeology program.

Not far from the preserve is the Putnam County Historical Society & Foundry School Museum, housed in the Foundry School building itself. The society was founded in 1906 by leading citizens of Cold Spring and surrounding communities; today, it operates the museum with a board of trustees, a full-time staff of four, and the help of volunteers. Acting as ambassadors for history, the historical society promotes the educational programs of the museum, holding several community-wide events each year to raise awareness of Putnam County's rich history. Thanks to the efforts of the Putnam County Historical Society, Putnam County has been designated as one of the first eight Preserve America Communities in the United States, honored for its commitment to protecting its heritage.

Many of the artifacts filling the museum trace their roots back to 1817, when President James Madison established the West Point Foundry as one of four factories nationwide to manufacture heavy artillery. The Valley location provided the foundry with the resources needed to make it one of America's first vertically integrated industries: All of the raw materials—including iron ore, charcoal to fuel the furnaces, and timber to build ships to transport the finished goods—were available locally. Originally owned by Gouveneur Kemble, the foundry employed up to 1,000 workers. Housing was built for the employees and their families, mostly Irish immigrants. Kemble also constructed for his workers the first Catholic Church in the Hudson Valley. Restored, the small Greek Revival building sits majestically on a bluff above the Hudson.

The foundry, which remained in operation until 1884, was most famous for the production of the Parrott Gun. Developed by foundry superintendent Robert



SHANON RISK

Foundry tools on display at the Foundry School Museum



SHANON RISK

Cannon and other artifacts manufactured at the West Point Foundry

Parrott, the rifled gun—the first highly accurate cannon—was mass-produced during the Civil War and was critical to the Union victory. In addition to munitions, the foundry produced the nation's first steam engines (including the locomotive *Experiment*, which set a speed record of 80 miles per hour in 1832), the first iron ship (a cutter named *The Spencer*), as well as machinery for sugar mills in the Caribbean and hundreds of miles of cast-iron piping for the New York City water system.

Today, the Putnam County Historical Society's museum contains artifacts from the foundry, samples of goods produced there (including projectiles and a bench made for Washington Irving), and John Ferguson Weir's famous 1866 painting of the works, *The Gun Foundry*. (A companion painting, *Forging the Shaft*, is in the Metropolitan Museum.) Another room in the museum was the 19th-century schoolroom used by foundry apprentices and the children of foundry employees.

The museum's library is also an important resource, housing genealogical records and the fruits of an ongoing oral history program that is seeking to capture local stories told and retold from generation to generation. Exhibition space is available for temporary exhibits, either of artifacts owned by the museum that are not normally on display or that are on loan. The museum is currently planning a costume exhibit that will allow for the care and conservation of its important and extensive collection of historic apparel.

—Steven Foceri, *Hudson River Valley Institute*

The author gratefully acknowledges the insight and information provided by Shannon Risk, Executive Director, Putnam County Historical Society and Foundry School Museum.

The Putnam County Historical Society & Foundry School Museum, at 63 Chestnut Street in Cold Spring, is open Tuesday-Thursday from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. and Saturday-Sunday from 2 to 5 p.m. from March 9 through December 16. For more information, call 845-265-4010 or log onto www.pchs-fsm.org. Scenic Hudson's West Point Foundry Preserve is open dawn to dusk. Additional information about it may be found at www.scenichudson.org/land_pres/wpfp_research.htm. For more information about Scenic Hudson's efforts to protect the landscape of the Hudson River Valley, go to scenichudson.org.

Book Review

Martin Bruegel, *Farm, Shop, Landing: The Rise of a Market Society in the Hudson River Valley, 1780-1860*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, (2002). 305pp.

The period from 1780 to 1860 was one of profound change in the social, economic, and cultural life of the northeastern United States. In the late eighteenth century, most families lived on small farms located in rural agricultural communities. Families produced much of what they wore and ate, and traded with neighbors for goods they needed but could not produce because of limitations in labor and capital. Although farmers regularly sent surplus to commercial markets, much of the farm production in northeastern households was neither market directed nor coordinated, but was attuned to the local needs of families and communities.

The first several decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the beginnings of the so-called “market revolution,” during which formerly isolated regions of the nation were linked in an increasingly complex national market system. New developments in transportation—especially superior roads, turnpikes, and canals—and the growth in commercial markets allowed goods to move both faster and less expensively than was possible earlier. These new transportation networks brought manufactured goods, produced primarily in New England and at a price significantly less than what it cost to produce in the home, into the Hudson River Valley.

Martin Bruegel’s richly researched and tightly written book, *Farm, Shop, and Landing: The Rise of a Market Society in the Hudson River Valley, 1780-1860*, explores the changes and continuity in rural life by examining the region during this period of dynamic change. Based on thorough research in local archives and historical societies, and drawing on analytical theory from a variety of academic disciplines, Bruegel succeeds in describing the impact of the “market revolution” on this important region. However, the book is more than an economic history: Bruegel also examines the implications these changes had on household and community life, gender relations, and even the environment.

For many years, scholars of the early national period have engaged in a lively debate concerning this economic transformation. Although there is much disagreement among the various participants, studies reveal the extraordinary distances some farmers traveled to receive the most profitable returns for the sale of their produce and their enthusiastic response to the thriving market economy. However, the implications of these developments for families varied from region

to region, and the response of these households to new economic demands varied depending upon a variety of factors: the household's relationship to the market, whether one owned or leased land (the latter was very common in the Hudson Valley), and the types of production a family employed.

According to Bruegel, the implications of these economic changes for the region were profound. Hudson Valley residents in the eighteenth century lived in communities that emphasized neighborliness and interdependence. Bruegel argues that the "precariousness of existence...gave rise to relational strategies that ensured production and the distribution of losses among neighbors" (217). Strong bonds of community and social relations defined by interdependence were the results of an economy bordering on scarcity and insecurity. Although Hudson Valley residents participated in commercial relations, their economic decisions were just as often shaped by family and community concerns. Mutual obligations and reciprocal duties connected farmers, shopkeepers, and craftsmen in bonds of interdependence. Little cash exchanged hands between these families where "labor operated as the currency" (39). Further, their work habits and attitudes were shaped by a distinctly pre-industrial sense of time, labor, and leisure.

Major transportation and economic developments in the nineteenth century challenged the existing economic order while offering opportunities for the more entrepreneurial residents. The building of the Erie Canal brought grain and flour from the Genesee Valley and beyond into direct competition with mid-Valley farmers who had previously dominated that trade. The needs of the growing New York City market, coupled with the willingness of Hudson Valley farms to "modernize" their agricultural methods, encouraged many farm families (particularly the more affluent) to increase production and adopt more commercially oriented methods of sale and production. Artisans followed suit, "rationalizing" production and distribution methods.

The increased role of an activist state, particularly in chartering and promoting new transportation systems, also accelerated these commercial developments, allowing for the construction and maintenance of turnpikes and canals that might not have been built otherwise. The growing reliance on cash also impacted traditional community economic relations, as did the conscious cessation of traditional economic practices (such as assizes) that had limited unrestrained economic activities (67-68).

All of these developments had substantial implications for the mid-Hudson Valley. Many families enthusiastically responded to the growing demand for agricultural goods and increased their production. Many others altered their production and began producing market-oriented agricultural crops or manufactured

goods in order to make ends meet. New England manufactured goods began entering the Valley. As families purchased more items from shopkeepers, they bartered less with neighbors, decreasing the importance of the local trade systems that had once tied neighboring households into intricate webs of economic exchange.

Families entered the growing market more willingly in the 1830s and after. First and foremost was the increasing material benefits offered by market participation. The traditional limiting factor—the scarce resources of the insecure eighteenth century—was being replaced by the new economic opportunities of a market-based economy (125). Nevertheless, families continued to rely on traditional forms of community-based trade and productive systems even as market relations advanced. In this way, Bruegel argues that the new commercial productive systems existed alongside traditional family and community economic structures.

This is a strong contribution to the growing literature on the implications of the “market revolution” for northeastern communities. Bruegel’s research is deep, and his analysis and writing rich. He has culled an enormous amount of historical information from a wide array of sources, including account books, daybooks, personal correspondence, newspapers, and tax and census records. His argument is well developed and clear. On occasion, this reader felt that the author might be trying to accomplish too much in a relatively limited amount of space. Not only does he focus on social and economic relations, but also changing conceptions of time and work, gender relations, tenant-landlord struggles, and political ideology, and he is not as successful in each of these areas. Although always interesting, such a wide-ranging study is sometimes choppy. Nevertheless, this is a minor criticism of an important contribution to New York’s rural history.

—*Thomas S. Wermuth*

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