

THE
HUDSON
RIVER
VALLEY
REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

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From the Editors

The historical net in this issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review* has been cast especially wide, spanning from the early eighteenth century right up to the twenty-first. The range of topics—from linguistics and engineering to urban geography—is also unusually broad. Taken together, these articles comprise a fascinating tapestry that truly represents the diversity of thought and activity that has always been a distinguishing characteristic of life in the Hudson Valley. Such diversity is what continues to make the region a center for creativity and makes *The Hudson River Valley Review* so much fun to edit—and, we hope, fun and informative to read.

Reed Sparling

Christopher Pryslopsi

Letter To the Editors

One note regarding Christopher Pryslopsi's intriguing article on the Orange County Government Center. The description of Goshen's main street as "...an historic island in a growing sea of suburban sprawl with endless stretches of red lights, turning lanes, and big-box retail centers" is quite simply well-over-the-top hyperbole—and not justifiable by any real review of the full Goshen area landscape. As a leading anti-sprawl advocate, I know it when I see it. This hyperbole blemishes the article, regurgitates popular PR/media terminology, and certainly is not based on research or analysis.

Back to Rudolph's design: for now I will stay out of the debate on the merits of this example of modernist architecture or its functional use as a public facility. It is unique, but many of us have our own practical frustrations with the building. Its one element that particularly frustrates me, and many others, is that most of the stairwells were not designed or built wide enough to accommodate two people side-by-side. So when someone goes up or down the stairs, they typically have to wait, or go flat against the wall, to allow another person to go down or up. This just isn't practical in a heavily used public building.

David Church, Commissioner

Orange County Planning Department, Goshen

Call for Essays

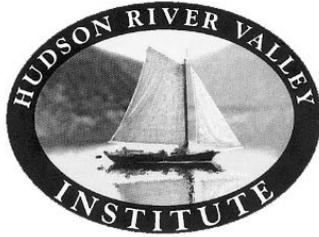
The Hudson River Valley Review is anxious to consider essays on all aspects of the Hudson Valley—its intellectual, political, economic, social, and cultural history, its prehistory, architecture, literature, art, and music—as well as essays on the ideas and ideologies of regionalism itself.

Submission of Essays and Other Materials

HRVR prefers that essays and other written materials be submitted as two double-spaced typescripts, generally no more than thirty pages long, along with a computer disk with a clear indication of the operating system, the name and version of the word-processing program, and the names of documents on the disk. Illustrations or photographs that are germane to the writing should accompany the hard copy. Otherwise, the submission of visual materials should be cleared with the editors beforehand. Illustrations and photographs are the responsibility of the authors. No materials will be returned unless a stamped, self-addressed envelope is provided. No responsibility is assumed for their loss. An e-mail address should be included whenever possible.

Under some circumstances, HRVR will accept materials submitted as an e-mail attachment (hrvi@marist.edu). It will not, however, open any attachment that has not been announced and cleared beforehand.

Since HRVR is interdisciplinary in its approach to the region and to regionalism, it will honor the forms of citation appropriate to a particular discipline, provided these are applied consistently and supply full information. Endnotes rather than footnotes are preferred. In matters of style and form, HRVR follows *The Chicago Manual of Style*.



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The mission of the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area Program is to recognize, preserve, protect and interpret the nationally significant cultural and natural resources of the Hudson River Valley for the benefit of the Nation.

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On the cover: *West Point Looking South* by George Catlin; circa 1828
Courtesy of West Point Museum Art Collection, United States Military Academy



Cadets building a pontoon bridge on the Hudson

The Hudson River Valley's Influence on Engineering Education in the United States

Bruce Keith & James Forest

There is a poetic power in the Highland setting where West Point reposes and in the river that the post commands. It perhaps derives from the incongruous path the Hudson has chosen—rising some three hundred miles from the sea in a tiny, high Adirondack lake and behaving for much of its course as a river should until, just above West Point, it leaves its valley and slices east through the granite Highlands in a narrow, twisting, picturesque forge of its own making. —Theodore Crackel¹

At the point of this western forge in the Hudson River Valley lies the United States Military Academy. While not as old as the forge itself, the academy has become synonymous with this geological formation commonly referred to as West Point. In the eighteenth century, the Hudson River was of strategic importance to the emerging nation. Those who controlled the river controlled the transportation of supplies and communication networks to the central and southern colonies. West Point was one of the few places along the river where this vital inroad into the colonies could be defended from external interests.

West Point emerged from being essentially a military post to a military academy in an effort to provide the young nation with sufficient expertise in the engineering of fortification and gunnery.² Before the creation of the Military Academy, few colonists were educated or experienced in the field of engineering. During the Revolutionary War, for example, the Continental Army suffered from a critical lack of engineers. George Washington, as its commander, was forced to rely exclusively on foreign engineers to support it. In 1778, he issued a formal call for a school of engineering.³ Similarly, John Adams remarked in 1776 that “Engineers are very scarce, rare, and dear. . .we want many and seem to have none. I think it is high time we should have an Academy of this education.”⁴ In response to these

concerns, Congress established the Army Corps of Engineers in 1794. That same year, at the recommendation of President George Washington, Congress also legislated provisions for a school of artilleryists and engineers. Concluding that the service of engineers was not limited to the construction of military fortifications, James McHenry, then Secretary of War, argued in 1800 for a school of engineering that could satisfy the needs of both the Army and the nation.⁵ In 1802, President Thomas Jefferson formally established the United States Military Academy, to be located in the Hudson River Valley.

With the establishment of the Military Academy, West Point became the 29th school of higher education in the United States.⁶ While a college education in the late eighteenth century typically prepared graduates for leadership roles in the ministry, Jonathan Williams, the first superintendent of West Point and head of the Army Corps of Engineers, set out to create a national institute of science oriented toward the study of mathematics and engineering.⁷ In 1813, Williams appointed Alden Partridge, USMA Class of 1806, as the country's first professor of engineering. Thus, West Point is credited as being the first engineering school in the United States⁸, the first to appoint a professor of engineering, and the first to establish a curriculum focused on mathematics and engineering.

The War of 1812 revealed a lack of technical expertise in military engineering, an indication that the fledgling Military Academy had not yet developed effective programs to address those needs.⁹ Following the war, President James Madison and Secretary of State James Monroe sought to strengthen the resolve of the Military Academy for the sole purpose of enhancing the state of engineering education. In 1815, Monroe sent Major Sylvanus Thayer (an 1807 graduate



Major Sylvanus Thayer

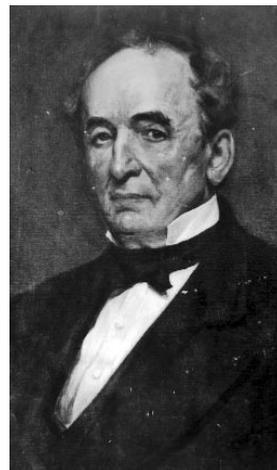
of Dartmouth College and an 1808 graduate of the Military Academy) to France for two years of study at the Ecole Polytechnic, with the intention of learning about its organization and engineering curriculum.¹⁰ Upon his return in 1817, Thayer established the first engineering library in the country at West Point, he personally contributing more than 1,000 books collected during his travel abroad.¹¹

In 1817, with Thayer's appointment as the Military Academy's third superintendent, West Point began to define the curricular scope of engineering education in the United States. Thayer designed a rigorous engineering program with a curriculum centered on the study of mathematics, science, and civil

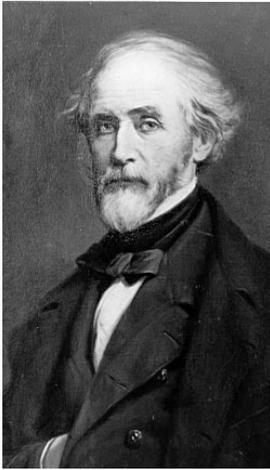
engineering. He is credited with placing students into four classes, establishing a uniformity and order to the curriculum, instituting annual entrance examinations, and developing a system of evaluation, daily recitation, and discipline based on a standard of high achievement.¹² Thayer's pedagogical approach to learning was a dramatic shift from the apprenticeship model, which had come to characterize the acquisition of knowledge in the technical, legal, and medical fields during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Certainly prior to 1840—and to a great extent up to 1870—West Point and engineering education were synonymous with one another.¹³ The Military Academy's influence in engineering education is notable in the number of faculty and graduates who either established programs elsewhere or contributed to the growth and development of the curriculum. Sylvanus Thayer left the academy in 1833 to create the Thayer School of Engineering at Dartmouth.¹⁴ Alden Partridge established Norwich University in Vermont in 1819 and the Virginia Military Institute in 1839. William Norton (USMA 1831) left West Point in 1833 to become professor of civil engineering at New York University. He later served as a professor at Brown, and in 1847 accepted an appointment to become the first dean of engineering at Yale University. Richard Smith (USMA 1834) left West Point in 1856 for a position as professor of mathematics, engineering, and drawing at the Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute. In 1863, he became president of Girard College in Philadelphia. Henry Eustis (USMA 1842) left West Point in 1849 to become professor of engineering in the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University, eventually serving as its dean. William Guy Peck (USMA 1844) left the Military Academy in 1855 to serve as a professor of mathematics and mechanics at the University of Michigan, and later Columbia University. William Trowbridge (USMA 1848) resigned his position at West Point in 1856 to become professor of engineering at Yale University; in 1877, he served as professor of engineering at Columbia University. Indeed, among the five founding faculty members of the Columbia School of Mines in 1864, two were from West Point: Francis Vinton (USMA 1833) and Peck.¹⁵

Many of the professors on West Point's faculty wrote important textbooks. Charles Davies' *Descriptive Geometry* (published in 1826) and Dennis Mahan's *Elementary Course of Civil Engineering* (1837) set the standard for work in the fields of mathematics



Charles Davies



Denis Hart Mahan

and engineering.¹⁶ Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute relied extensively on textbooks written by West Point faculty. Griggs, Jewell, and Ressler show that these texts included Davies' translations of Legendre's *Geometry* (1839) and Bourdon's *Algebra* (1839), as well as his own *Surveying* (1815) and *Descriptive Geometry*; Church's *Analytic Geometry* (1828) and *Calculus* (1828); and Mahan's *Industrial Drawing* (1824) and *Elementary Course of Civil Engineering*. *Analytical Mechanics* (1826) and *Acoustics and Optics* (1839) by William Bartlett (USMA 1826) and *Elementary Treatise on Mechanics* (1859) by William Guy Peck were also used widely.¹⁷

Other West Point graduates of the nineteenth century accepted appointments as presidents of colleges and universities. Robert E. Lee (USMA 1829) served as president of Washington and Lee University. Rosewell Park (USMA 1831) served as the first president of Racine College in Wisconsin. Benjamin Ewell (USMA 1832) became president of the College of William and Mary. Josia Gorgas (USMA 1841) served as the president of the University of Alabama. Henry Coppee (USMA 1845) became president of Lehigh University. Oliver Howard (USMA 1854) was the founder and first president of Howard University. Alexander Webb (USMA 1855) succeeded Horace Webster as president of the City University of New York. Benjamin Sloan (USMA 1860) served as the president of the University of South Carolina. Edward Holden (USMA 1870) served as president of the University of California-Berkeley. Lyman Hall (USMA 1881) served as president of the Georgia Institute of Technology.

Academe was but one avenue through which the Military Academy influenced engineering education in the United States. Many of the railroads, canals, and bridges constructed throughout the nation during the nineteenth century were built by West Point graduates. Indeed, as Grayson suggests, most engineers who engaged in public works projects before 1840 earned diplomas from the Military Academy.¹⁸ In addition to establishing and serving as the first president of the National Academy of Science, Alexander Bache (USMA 1825) founded the Smithsonian Institution. Robert E. Lee designed the natural dredging process for the Mississippi River that may have saved St. Louis as a port.¹⁹ Herman Haupt (USMA 1835) served as an engineer for the railroads and invented the pneumatic drill and a bridge truss that bears his name. Montgomery Meigs (USMA 1836) was the construction engineer for the dome and wing extension project of the



Cadets in a classroom, 1897

United States Capitol. George McClellan (USMA 1846) planned the route for the transcontinental railroad. Thomas Casey (USMA 1852) was the construction engineer for the Washington Monument. Notably, Meigs' and Casey's engineering work received such acclaim that they were both elected members of the National Academy of Science.

Throughout the nineteenth century, leaders in higher educational reform acknowledged their debt to the Military Academy. George Ticknor, an educational reformer and president of Harvard in the early nineteenth century, wondered publicly why West Point was superior to Harvard in the seriousness and effectiveness of its examinations, in the scheduling of vacations, and in attention to the business at hand.²⁰ Somewhat later, in 1850, Francis Wayland, then president of Brown, charged that, "The single Academy at West Point has done more toward the construction of railroads than all our...colleges united."²¹ Wayland called for an integrated curriculum based on scientific reasoning and mathematics, which would be applicable to the challenges of a modern society.²² Indeed, as Ambrose contends, "every engineering school in the United States founded during the nineteenth century copied West Point, and most found their first professors and presidents among the Academy graduates."²³ Speaking at the centennial celebra-



Cadets Studying in Barracks, 1903

tion of the Military Academy in 1902, William Rainey Harper, first president of the University of Chicago, summarized West Point's impact on higher education:

What, now, is West Point's message to the educational world? This is a question not to be answered in a five-minute speech, and...yet it is possible to state in few words the great ideas for which the Military Academy has stood... The first of these is concentration of effort.... It's definite purpose has never been lost sight of. Another of these characteristics has been the degree of thoroughness demanded in the work. A third characteristic has been the spirit of subordination, of obedience, engendered in the student.... Such training has evidently produced satisfactory results in all these cases.... I venture to ask...[whether it] would not be well for every boy to have at one stage or another of his development, a period of discipline at all events similar to that which is called military.²⁴

Without question, throughout much of the nineteenth century, engineering education was directly influenced and shaped by those with ties to the Hudson River Valley.

The Institutional Expansion and Professional Growth of Engineering Education

The intellectual foundation created by West Point during the nineteenth century provided the impetus for engineering education in the twentieth. As the nation expanded and universities were established to focus directly on the profession, the influences of faculty at other universities became more pronounced. The expansion of engineering education throughout the United States was greatly enhanced by the Congressional enactment of the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862, which stimulated the rapid extension of engineering education. Between 1862 and 1876, sixty-three engineering schools were established, many with an undergraduate engineering curriculum that mirrored the one at West Point. From 1876 to 1890, the demand for higher education grew rapidly, leading to the founding of new and larger colleges and universities; several of these, including Stanford (1891) and the universities in Pittsburgh (1879), South Dakota (1883), Arizona (1885), Wyoming (1886), Idaho (1889), and Chicago (1892), created ambitious engineering programs. Many of these schools relied on texts that were produced by faculty at West Point. Dennis Mahan's civil engineering textbooks provided a comprehensive review of basics and fundamentals, and his seminal work on bridge design and the construction of roads, canals, and railroads influenced engineering education for decades. Likewise, Herman Haupt's *General Theory of Bridge Construction* remained a widely heralded volume for decades after its publication.²⁵

The emphasis on graduate education, first begun at Johns Hopkins University in 1876, dramatically expanded to colleges throughout the country.²⁶ As the Civil War drew to a close, there were fewer than two dozen engineering schools in the country.²⁷ By 1870, engineering programs existed at seventy schools, an expansion unparalleled in American higher education.²⁸ Prior to 1862, upwards of three-quarters of the engineers produced in the country were graduates of the United States Military Academy. Between 1862 and 1876, 1,866 persons received engineering degrees across the nation; less than 500 of them were West Pointers. By the dawn of the twentieth century, the expansion of enrollments in engineering programs at land grant and private research universities dwarfed those at the Military Academy. In 1900, there were approximately 10,300 students enrolled in engineering programs throughout the country; by 1906, enrollments had increased to more than 27,600.²⁹ By comparison, the Military Academy graduated fifty-four cadets in 1900, another fifty-four during its centennial year in 1902, and seventy-eight in 1906. In 1906, fewer than 350 cadets were enrolled at West Point.³⁰ The limitations on enrollments there prevented growth comparable to

those seen nationally.

Increasingly after World War Two, the focus of innovation and change in science and engineering education shifted to the research universities, particularly those with large programs of graduate education and sponsored research (e.g., MIT, Michigan, Berkeley, Cal Tech, Cornell, and Illinois). The dramatic expansion of engineering programs throughout the country, and the tremendous growth in the enrollments of engineering students when combined with the Military Academy's sole focus on undergraduate education, gradually lessened West Point's overall impact on engineering education.³¹ Moreover, unlike their predecessors in the nineteenth century, the Military Academy's engineering faculty ceased to produce textbooks that were widely adopted by other engineering programs.³²

Beyond the classroom, engineering education is intricately linked to the application of large-scale engineering projects, where intellectual curiosity must be combined with problem-solving ingenuity. Here, West Point continued to contribute many leaders to complicated engineering projects throughout the twentieth century. George Goethals (USMA 1892) served as the chief engineer for the construction of the Panama Canal from 1904 through 1914.³³ The Alaskan Highway, which runs through Canada, was designed and built by William Hoge (USMA 1916). Leslie Groves (USMA 1918) was director of the Manhattan Project, which gave the world nuclear energy. Previously, Groves (along with Clarence Renshaw, USMA 1929) had been assigned to build the Pentagon. Hugh Casey (USMA 1918) directed the development of the New York City Transit Authority. Ralph Tudor (USMA 1923) served as the senior engineer for the design and construction of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. Harvey Jones (USMA 1945), along with William Potter (USMA 1928) managed the planning and construction of Walt Disney World in Orlando Florida. James Lammie (USMA 1953) served as the executive director for the construction of Atlanta's electric rapid transit system. James Endler (USMA 1953) managed the construction of the World Trade Center complex in New York City and designed Disney's EPCOT Center in Orlando. Ralph Locurcio (USMA 1965) led the planning and reconstruction of Kuwait's infrastructure as commander of the Kuwait Emergency Recovery Office.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has a distinguished history of influencing a variety of cutting-edge civil, mechanical, and nuclear engineering projects throughout the world. Forty-one of the fifty-two persons appointed as its chief since its inception in 1775 have been Military Academy graduates. Two others were affiliated with the military post at West Point prior to its establishment as an engineering school. Of historical significance, its second chief, Colonel Rufus Putnam, constructed the fortifications around the post at West Point in 1777

that prevented the British from gaining control of the Hudson River during the Revolutionary War. George Gillespie (USMA 1862) constructed the canal at the Cascades of the Columbia River. William Marshall (USMA 1868) constructed the Illinois and Mississippi Canal. Dan Kingman (USMA 1875) initiated planning for federal cost-sharing with private hydroelectric-power investors for a lock and dam built below Chattanooga, Tennessee. Edgar Jadwin (USMA 1890) oversaw the Mississippi River flood control project adopted by Congress in 1928. Lytle Brown (USMA 1898) directed the construction of the Wilson Dam hydroelectric project in



George Gillespie

1919-1920. Raymond Wheeler (USMA 1911) initiated construction of the Missouri River dam projects and oversaw the clearing of the Suez Canal in 1956-1957. Samuel Sturgis (USMA 1918) was the senior engineer for the nation's air forces in 1946-1948 and the Missouri River Division Engineer in 1949-1951.

Arguably one of the nation's greatest engineering feats ever—the moon landing—and successive space exploration projects involved several West Point graduates. Lew Allen (USMA 1946) was, as a Major General in 1971, responsible for the procurement, launching, and on-orbit operation of the United States' Apollo space effort. Frank Borman (USMA 1950) commanded the first circumlunar flight on Gemini 7 and later flew the Apollo 8 craft. Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin (USMA 1951) participated in the first manned lunar landing. Edward White (USMA 1952), the first American to walk in space, died in an Apollo spacecraft fire in 1967. Michael Collins (USMA 1952) commanded the space module in the first manned lunar landing and also directed the Air and Space Museum. More recently, Michael "Rich" Clifford (USMA 1974) commanded a NASA mission to operate a fluid transfer experiment and laser detector. Charles "Sam" Gemar (USMA 1979) served on a NASA mission to deploy the Upper Atmosphere Research Satellite. Jeffrey Williams (USMA 1980) served on a shuttle mission devoted to the construction of the International Space Station. Don Peterson (USMA 1955), James Adamson (USMA 1969), William McArthur (USMA 1973), and Douglas Wheelock (USMA 1983) also participated in space shuttle missions.

Taking Stock: Looking Back Toward the Future

West Point has shown itself to be an indelible institution, one that has effectively weathered changes in higher education over the past two centuries. In many respects, its influence is analogous to that of a tree. Initially, the tree stands alone in a field and serves as the most direct source of shade. Over time, saplings from the tree begin to take root. As they mature, the second- and third-generation trees begin to rival the size and dominance of the original tree. In time, the first tree is but one in a forest of trees, largely indistinguishable from the others that now surround it. The Military Academy was the first—and for nearly twenty-five years, the only—engineering school in the country. Its principal charge was to provide engineers for the military and the nation. This it accomplished, as witnessed by the successes of its graduates and faculty in both the military and civil sectors of our society. In time, though, the Military Academy's success was replicated at other colleges and universities. Initially, these more recent entrants into higher education looked to the Military Academy for sustenance and support, most notably in their reliance on a curricular model without equal and academy graduates to staff their engineering schools, as well as their use of textbooks written by USMA faculty. Eventually, as with the growth and development of any successive lineage, these schools forged innovative paths that rivaled that of their ancestor. By the dawn of the twentieth century, West Point was merely one of nearly 100 engineering schools in the country.

Yet West Point's graduates continue to populate and govern many of the nation's most notable engineering programs, and through the recent design of interactive software programs and faculty teaching workshops, they have continued to expand the parameters of engineering education. But the Military Academy's greatest impact on the state of engineering education is perhaps not so much what its graduates and faculty have accomplished during the last two centuries, but the indelible and symbiotic relationship it maintains with other engineering schools across the nation. Somewhat analogous to an elder statesman, West Point today benefits from the strength of the field it helped to establish. While no longer solely dominating the direction of engineering education as it did during the nineteenth century, it is one participant in a community of learners seeking to anticipate and effectively respond to the challenges of a changing world.

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Notes

- 1 Theodore J. Crackel. *West Point: A Bicentennial History*. (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 2002), p. xi.
- 2 Crackel, *West Point*, p. 36.
- 3 Lawrence P. Grayson. *The Making of an Engineer: An illustrated History of Engineering Education in the United States and Canada*. (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1993), p. 18.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Grayson, p. 22.
- 6 Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965:32-36), shows that 28 colleges in the United States predated the establishment of the Military Academy. These include Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), Columbia (1754), Pennsylvania (1755), Brown (1765), Rutgers (1766), Dartmouth (1769), Washington-MD (1782), Washington and Lee-VA (1782), Hampden-Sidney-VA (1783), Transylvania (1783), Dickinson (1784), St. John's (1784), Georgia (1785), Charleston (1785), Franklin and Marshall (1787), North Carolina (1789), Vermont (1791), Williams (1793), Bowdoin (1794), Tusculum—TN (1794), Tennessee (1794) Union-NY (1795), Middlebury (1800), Ohio (1802), Washington and Jefferson—PA (1802).
- 7 Frederick Rudolph. *The American College and University*. (New York: Knopf, 1962), p. 228.
- 8 The American Society of Civil Engineers designated West Point as “the oldest extant institute in the United States to offer formal academic instruction in the field of civil engineering.”
- 9 William B. Streett. “The Military Influence on American Engineering Education.” *Cornell Engineering Quarterly*. Winter 1993, p. 4.
- 10 Streett, p. 4.
- 11 James R. Endler, *Other Leaders, Other Heros: West Point's Legacy to America Beyond the Field of Battle*. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), pp. 4-5.
- 12 Stephen E. Ambrose. *Duty, Honor, Country: A History of West Point*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), pp. 72-74; Endler, pp. 9-11.
- 13 Ambrose, pp. 120-24; James L. Morrison, Jr., *The Best School in the World*. (Kent, OH: Kent State University, 1986), pp. 110-11; Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968), p. 220.
- 14 Grayson.
- 15 George S. Emmerson. *Engineering Education: A Social History*. (New York: Crane, Russak, and Company, 1973), pp. 152, 237.
- 16 William L. Ross and William A. Ross, “Early Influences of the U.S. Military Academy on Engineering and Engineering Graphics Education in the United States.” *Engineering Design and Graphics Journal*. 56(1):25, 26; Ambrose, p. 92.
- 17 Francis E. Griggs, Thomas Jewell, and Stephen J. Ressler, “Early Engineering Education in the United States Prior to 1850,” Proceedings of the 2001 Civil Engineering Conference and Exposition, American Society of Civil Engineers, Houston, Oct 10-13, 2001.

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- 19 Griggs, Jewell, and Ressler.
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- 21 Cited in Rudolph, p. 238.
- 22 Rudolph, pp. 119-20.
- 23 Ambrose, p. 91.
- 24 William R. Harper. "American Universities and Colleges, in *The Centennial of the United States Military Academy. Volume I: Addresses and Histories*. (West Point, NY: United States Military Academy, 1902), pp. 113-116.
- 25 James G. McGivern, *First Hundred Years of Engineering Education in the United States: 1807-1907* (Spokane, WA: Gonzaga University Press, 1960), p. 38; Emmerson, pp. 236-37.
- 26 Lawrence R. Veysey. *The Emergence of the American University*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965).
- 27 Grayson, pp. 40-41.
- 28 Grayson, p. 43.
- 29 McGivern, p. 155.
- 30 United States Military Academy. *Register of Graduates* (West Point: United States Military Academy, 1976).
- 31 McGivern, p. 201, acknowledges that Dartmouth's Thayer School of Engineering was structured similarly to West Point. It was established with a gift from Sylvanus Thayer, who stipulated the requirements for admission, the curriculum, and the first director of the school. Robert Fletcher (USMA 1865) was appointed director of the Thayer School in 1871 and held the position for 47 years, retiring in 1918.
- 32 West Point's engineering faculty in the 20th century were not engaged in activities comparable in scope to those of their 19th-century predecessors. Walter Scott Dillard, *The United States Military Academy, 1865-1900: The Uncertain Years* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1972), portrays an image of the Military Academy's faculty as insular; Roger Hurless Nye, *The United States Military Academy in an Era of Educational Reform, 1900-1925* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1968) and George S. Pappas, *To The Point: The United States Military Academy, 1802-1902*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993, p. 388-89) show that from 1904 through 1959 West Point's engineering curriculum remained largely intact and unchanged. Pappas suggests that West Point replaced Thayer's prominent civilian "old guard" professors with military officers who would fall directly under the command of the Superintendent. Moreover, Pappas argues that Congress further reduced the Military Academy's influence on engineering education by removing the Chief of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers as the academy's legislative liaison, a position in effect since the establishment of West Point. The governing authority of the Military Academy became increasingly more insular, and with this trend, less influential in shaping the direction of engineering education beyond its fortified walls.
- 33 The American Society of Civil Engineers lists Goethals and the Panama Canal project as one of a handful of landmark projects completed by persons from the United States. For more information, see the ASEE Web site, www.asce.org/history.

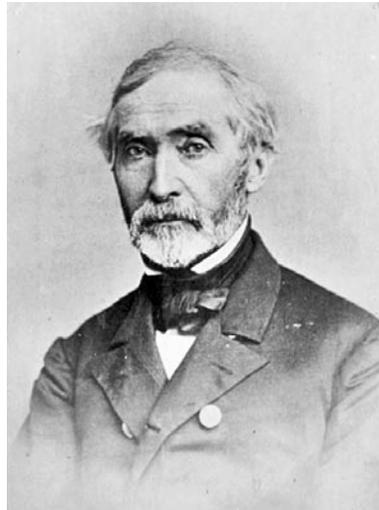
Dennis Hart Mahan and the Early Development of Engineering Education

Col. Kip P. Nygren

Born less than a month after the United States Military Academy was founded, Dennis Hart Mahan arrived at West Point in the summer of 1820 to begin his plebe year. The following year, he began teaching fourth-class mathematics as an acting assistant professor, and except for a four-year period in Europe to further his education, he continued to teach at the Military Academy until his death fifty years later.

During that half-century span, West Point was the premier engineering institution in the nation, and Dennis Hart Mahan was the embodiment of the Military Academy for both its graduates and the general public. He was America's preeminent engineering professor and a prolific author of many of the textbooks used in a growing number of engineering programs at other colleges. A national figure in science and engineering, he was one of the fifty original incorporators of the National Academy of Science in 1863, one of only six honorary charter members of the American Society of Civil Engineers when it was formed in 1853, and the recipient of honorary degrees from Princeton, Brown, Columbia, and Dartmouth. Mahan was a larger-than-life academic figure with the credibility, academic experience, body of written work, and disciples spread throughout higher education to influence the direction of engineering education well into the following century.

As if these achievements were not enough, Mahan was also the major figure in the development of military art and



COURTESY UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT

Dennis Hart Mahan

science in the U.S. Army. He wrote the majority of the Army texts on military tactics and fortifications used during both the Mexican and Civil Wars. (Much to Mahan's chagrin, even the Confederate government published his military books.) Many of the major national figures during and immediately after the Civil War—including Ulysses Grant—had been his pupils. As a further indicator of Mahan's innate brilliance, his son, Alfred Thayer Mahan, became the most influential naval theorist of the early twentieth century.

Though only five feet six inches tall—small even by the standards of the early nineteenth century—Mahan was a brilliant and diligent student. In November 1821, he was appointed an acting assistant professor. He taught a section of plebe mathematics every morning, an assignment that continued until his graduation in 1824. As an instructor, Mahan had several privileges: a special room, an extra ten dollars a month, excusal from most military duties and inspections, and authority to wear a distinctive uniform.

The extra teaching burden and the need to make up work his classmates received during the formal instruction he missed required Mahan to labor even harder. In the 1824 graduation class, he was the top cadet in every subject except French (where he ranked third) and conduct (ninth). A good indicator of the quality of his intellect was the Academic Board's recommendation that Mahan alone be appointed to the Corps of Engineers. Most significant for his future was the impression Mahan made on Superintendent Sylvanus Thayer. Even at this early stage, Thayer believed that he had discovered a budding star for his faculty upon which he could continue to expand his vision for West Point. He would continue to mentor and develop the qualities of this young teacher over the next forty-seven years.

Immediately after graduation, Mahan took up his first and only Army assignment other than teaching at West Point when he reported for duty in New York City to perform several engineering surveys. However, that July he received orders to report back to West Point to become an assistant professor of mathematics. After a year spent mainly in scholarly pursuits, Thayer appointed Mahan principal assistant professor of engineering. He worked closely with the other assistant engineering professor, Alexander Bache, who had just graduated. Thus began a lifelong friendship between two of the most important scientific and engineering leaders of nineteenth-century America.

During 1825, Mahan's health, always frail, deteriorated. In March of the following year, he was unable to teach for two weeks. He requested a leave of absence for a year to visit Europe and regain his health. The leave, which turned into a four-year professional visit to observe engineering practice and education,

included sixteen months at the French Military School of Application in Metz. This experience with certain aspects of the French educational system undoubtedly contributed to the formulation of Mahan's educational philosophy, as it had Thayer's a decade previous. "These aspects were: a small student body and small classes, a closely prescribed curriculum with a heavy mathematical bias, an arduous daily program of frequent grading and recitation, spirited competition for class standing, professors with prestige and considerable power where their courses were concerned, and a director of studies who supervised all aspects of instruction."¹

Mahan finished his studies in France and arrived back in New York on July 1, 1830. He was promptly assigned to West Point with duty as assistant professor of engineering. The current professor, David B. Douglass, resigned that September, after a dispute over a desired one-year leave of absence. Within a week of receiving Douglass's resignation, the chief of the engineers offered the professorship to Mahan. Thus began the longest tenure of a department head in the history of the Military Academy.

Mahan's extensive and momentous professional contributions during his long career can be categorized as shown below. Only the first two areas of contribution will be addressed in this article.

- Creating an engineering education program
- National leadership and influence in engineering education
- Creating a military art and science education program
- Serving as West Point leader and academy spokesman

At the time Mahan became the Professor of Engineering, no other college in the nation had yet graduated an engineer, although Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute had already initiated its engineering program. The distinction between military and civilian engineer was only recently becoming recognized and would be aided by the expansion of railroads for purely civilian purposes. With no other American engineering programs to use as a model, Mahan was forced to organize both military and civilian engineering in the best manner to support the mission of the Military Academy. "Though able men like Professors [Claudius] Crozet and Douglass had preceded, such were the advancing requirements of the engineering art that it may be said Mahan had to almost recreate his entire course of instruction."²

More than almost any other aspect of his service to West Point and the engineering profession, Mahan saw the writing of textbooks—and, therefore, the creation of the structure of engineering education—as his lifetime work. Initially, he used a lithograph press that he purchased for the academy while in France as a means of providing his students with the written information they needed to

study before class. During his entire tenure as professor, Mahan never stopped publishing and revising his long list of textbooks. During summers, he traveled to other colleges and engineering sites to gather the knowledge required to keep his engineering courses current. His textbook, *Course in Civil Engineering*, first published in 1837, sold more than 15,000 copies over its lifetime, with numerous updates and new editions from Mahan.

Over his fifty years as a teacher, Mahan saw the amount of engineering information, especially as applied to the military, literally explode. He understood that one could not teach students all the information they needed; therefore, he concentrated on the teaching of fundamentals and depth over breadth of topics covered. He believed that if a man really understood his principles, he would seldom have difficulty applying them. Mahan often reminded his son, Frederick: “My boy, remember one thing—the only really practical man is the one who is thoroughly grounded in his theory.”³

All departments at West Point taught cadets in accordance with Thayer’s basic concepts. Obviously, after teaching for many years, Mahan had developed his own interpretations of this philosophy. “His cardinal principle was that the studies of the cadets, to be thorough, must be restricted to but a few subjects, that the mind that may act healthfully and be developed by their study in its proper sense, and not merely the memory crammed.”⁴ Rather than promote superficiality, Mahan omitted material from his curriculum and would advocate extensive individual background readings for the further development of cadets and faculty alike. Today, we call this the independent learning process.

According to George Cullum, one of Mahan’s students, the professor was a master at in-class assessment techniques. “He had an almost intuitive perception of the exact amount of information possessed by each cadet on the subject matter of the lesson in hand, and by a few dexterous questions would quickly winnow the kernel of knowledge from the chaff of pretension.”⁵ Mahan had very high expectations of cadets and he would not tolerate inadequate preparation for class. The students demonstrated their understanding of the important concepts of the lesson either at the blackboard or through oral questioning. “He was stern and unyielding where duty was concerned. There was nothing involving the cadet’s responsibilities, which irritated professor Mahan more than neglect of studies and attendant slipshod performance in the section room.”⁶ By the time a class reached its final year, it was rare that a cadet was discharged for academic failure. It is an indication of Mahan’s serious attitude toward education that the only first class (senior) cadets separated from the Academy for academics from 1832 to 1870 were four recommended by him in his course.

Mahan's primary influence on both engineering education and practice was through the impact of his students as they came to develop other engineering programs. "Six of the nine [engineering] schools springing up later than the Military Academy and prior to the Civil War were launched in successful careers with West Pointers in key positions on their respective faculties. And of the total nineteen other [engineering] schools up to 1870, at least ten had direct West Point pedagogical affiliations."⁷ Another telling measure of Mahan's influence can be deduced from *West Point's Scientific 200: Celebration of the Bicentennial Biographies of 200 of West Point's Most Successful and Influential Mathematicians, Scientists, Engineers, and Technologists*. Of the graduates listed, eighty-eight were taught and inspired by Dennis Mahan. Sixty-six of these became professors, either at the Military Academy (thirty-nine) or at other universities (thirty-seven), and continued the model of engineering education they had learned from Mahan.⁸

Morrison's examination of the Register of Graduates found that of 1,449 graduates between 1833 and 1866, forty-three were college professors at Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Michigan, Lehigh, California, the University of the South, the University of Georgia, the Virginia Military Institute, the U.S. Naval Academy, Seton Hall, Louisiana State University, Missouri State University, the University of Rochester, and the University of Mississippi. An additional fifteen graduates served as heads of colleges and universities, including VMI, Girard College, the University of Alabama, Washington and Lee, Mississippi A&M, Norwich University, and the University of South Carolina, as well as the state military institutes of Maryland, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina.⁹ When one considers that West Point graduates—and Mahan's students in particular—became the foundation for a majority of U.S. engineering education programs, the reach of the curriculum and pedagogy of this exceptional professor is broad, indeed. "Technical education everywhere in the early United States showed the pervasive influence of West Point and the Thayer System."¹⁰ "Faculty and graduates of the Military Academy were sought by other colleges and universities, not only because of their knowledge of science, mathematics and engineering, but also because of their familiarity with Thayer's system of rigid discipline, departmentalized study, and intense academic pressure exerted on students."¹¹

It is clear that Mahan, as the senior member of West Point's Academic Board for more than thirty years, exerted a strong influence over the development of the curriculum. "From the surviving evidence it is a fair guess that three men—Mahan, [William] Bartlett, and [Albert] Church—dominated the Academic Board. One of these three headed every committee of the Board from 1833 through 1854, and bearing in mind that most of the substantive work of the Board

was accomplished through committees, the conclusion is irresistible that Mahan, Bartlett, and Church governed the academic side of West Point.”¹² Mahan was the clear leader of this group; some records even refer to him at the “Dean” of the Academic Board.¹³ Morrison concludes that, “The ubiquitous and gifted Dennis Hart Mahan was undoubtedly the pre-eminent figure of the entire group of professors and instructors.”¹⁴

During his years at the academy, Mahan was also the most prolific writer in defense of the institution as it trod through some troubled times, and he identified with West Point in a very personal manner. “Possessed of a brilliant intellect and a facile pen, Mahan employed both to add to the luster of the Military Academy and to the Army in a way none of his colleagues ever did.”¹⁵ “As the senior graduate who had not been retired, and the educator of all then in active service, Mahan naturally felt that the Army was in no small measure his own creation, and he was somewhat the foster-father of a numerous progeny of which he was justly proud; hence he was quick to shield worthy officers from unmerited reproach, or sound the praises of...his distinguished children well known to fame.”¹⁶

While Mahan and his West Point colleagues led the academic program, they continued to revise the curriculum, write textbooks, and provide the Army and the nation with technically qualified military officers, engineers, and leaders. An example of their willingness to consider change was the experiment with a five-year curriculum from 1855 to 1860. Ultimately, this failed to produce the desired effects, but such an extensive attempt to overhaul the curriculum was not to be seen again until the First World War. The vitality of Professor Mahan remained at a high level, as evidenced by a letter he wrote to the superintendent in 1867, recommending changes to the role of the Academic Board. While not a new suggestion, Mahan proposed the creation of the position of Dean:

Fearing West Point was becoming a closed corporation ruled by professors and immune to outside influences, he proposed a Dean between the Supt and the Academic Board, while the Academic Board would only determine proficiency on the examinations. Prophetically, the old professor warned that the governmental structure of West Point has not vitality within itself and cannot have as under a certain set of men everything must be kept stationary, or retrograde.¹⁷

With the death of Mahan in 1871, and Thayer in 1872, the last links with the reality of Thayer’s system was cut. “The Thayer System which had once been a pragmatic approach to academic problems and national demands eventually assumed the status of holy dogma.”¹⁸ Not one of the successors to Mahan,

Bartlett, and Church over the next half-century and beyond had both the vision and the standing to make major changes to the venerated academic structure, as the future would demand.

Given the extensive, original, and important accomplishments of Dennis Hart Mahan over the longest tenure of any department head at the United States Military Academy, it is difficult to ascertain why he is not held in greater esteem in academy history. He is the single most important figure in the initial development of engineering education in this country, and he substantially advanced the development of military art and science for the U.S. Army. Probably no single member of the faculty and staff of West Point embodied the academy so well and so long as he did. In many ways, Mahan's accomplishments on behalf of the institution to which he dedicated his life rival—or even exceed—those of his mentor and idol, Sylvanus Thayer.

Notes

1. Thomas E. Griess, "Dennis Hart Mahan: West Point Professor and Advocate of Military Professionalism, 1830-1871" (Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1968), p. 131.
2. George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York from Establishment in 1802 to 1890 with Early History of the U.S. Military Academy*, 2 vols., vol. I (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1891), p. 320.
3. Frederick A. Mahan, "Professor Dennis Hart Mahan," *Professional Memoires, Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army and Engineer Department at Large IX* (1917): p. 74.
4. Griess, p. 181.
5. George W. Cullum, "Professor D. H. Mahan," *Army and Navy Journal IX* (1871).
6. Griess, p. 191.
7. R.E. Dupuy, *Sylvanus Thayer: Educator* (West Point: 1940), p. 10.
8. David C. Arney, *West Point's Scientific 200: Celebration of the Bicentennial Biographies of 200 of West Point's Most Successful and Influential Mathematicians, Scientists, Engineers, and Technologists* (Unpublished, 2002).
9. James L. Morrison, *The United States Military Academy, 1833-1866: Years of Progress and Turmoil* (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970), p. 175.
10. William B. Streett, "Military Enterprise and Engineering Education: The American Experience," *Cornell Engineering Quarterly* (1993), p. 10.
11. Ibid.
12. Morrison, p. 92.
13. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, p. 322.
14. Morrison, p. 80.
15. Ibid.
16. Cullum, *Biographical Register*, p. 322.
17. Morrison, p. 283.
18. Ibid.



Nathanael Greene



Anthony Wayne



Henry "Light-Horse Harry" Lee

PEN AND INK DRAWINGS REPRODUCED FROM *PICTORIAL FIELD BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION*,
IN TWO VOLUMES; BENSON J. LOSSING, HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK, 1850

Three Officers and a Lady: The Hudson Highlands and Georgia During the Revolution*

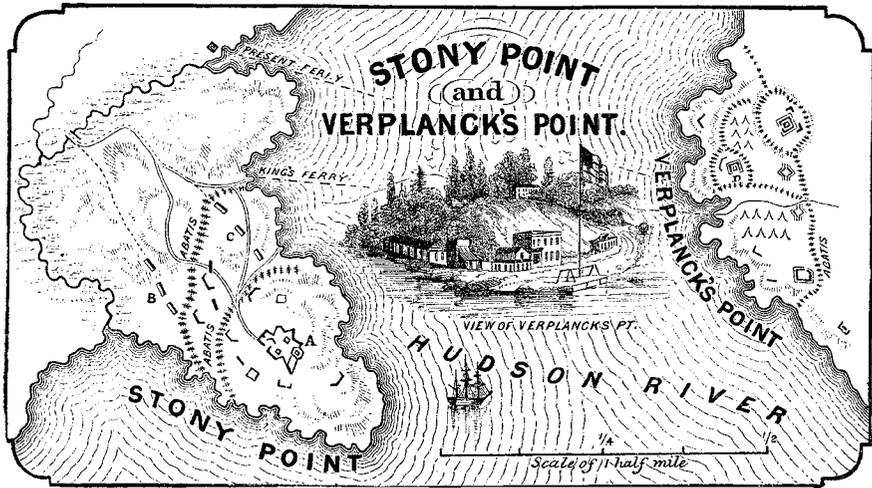
Edward J. Cashin

The three officers in our title are General Nathanael Greene, General Anthony Wayne, and Lieutenant Colonel Henry “Light-horse Harry” Lee. The lady is the beautiful and charming Catherine Greene, known to her friends as Caty (which we shall call her). A proper drama has a stage setting, and for the first act, the stage is the majestic Hudson River Valley, the historic pathway of nations, acknowledged by everyone as the key to the continent. For the second act, the stage is messy rather than majestic—the southern backcountry, ignored by many historians and a puzzle to most.

To give away the ending, the plot is that the campaign to win control of the Hudson Valley was determined in the southern backcountry.

We are today celebrating Wayne’s victory at Stony Point, and we will begin with the events of the year 1779. By then, the British thrust aimed at the Hudson Valley had been frustrated at Saratoga, and a British expeditionary force had overrun Georgia and restored royal rule to that state, the only state to revert to colonial status. General Sir Henry Clinton’s army occupied New York, and continued to have designs on the great waterway. In order to sever Washington’s lifeline across the Hudson at King’s Ferry, the British occupied and fortified Stony Point and Verplanck’s Point—at either side of the crossing—on June 1, 1779.

Washington hurried from his camp at Middlebrook, New Jersey, to meet the threat, moving by way of Smith’s Clove. Nathanael Greene, Washington’s trusted Quartermaster General, wrote to Caty on June 9: “We were yesterday down to West Point through all the Highlands. A rougher country nature never formed.” Washington made his headquarters at New Windsor and immediately began to plan an attack on Stony Point. He commissioned Major Henry Lee, with his mounted troop, to reconnoiter. Lee’s troops secured the area and Lee himself crept so close to the British fortifications that he could hear the sentries pacing along



the stone ramparts. Lee employed a civilian spy to get inside the fort and count the garrison. He reported 772 soldiers and eleven pieces of artillery.

On June 15, Washington ordered Anthony Wayne to march with his light infantry under absolute secrecy. The men had no idea of their destination as they marched from Fort Montgomery, around Bear Mountain, and through the ravines of the Dunderberg.

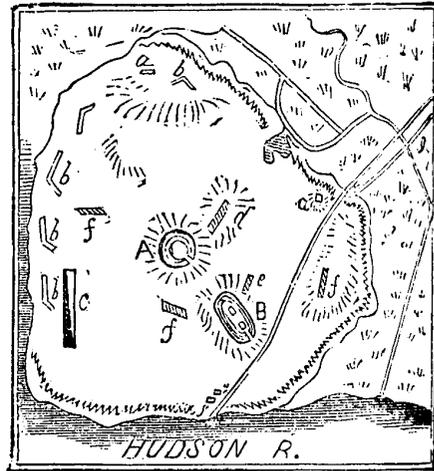
On the evening of June 17, Wayne halted at the Springsteel farm, two miles west of Stony Point, and gave strict orders that the fort would be taken by surprise and by bayonet, no shots fired. At eleven p.m., the men swarmed up both sides of the steep slopes and gained a quick victory. Wayne sent the message to Washington, "The fort and garrison with Col. Johnson are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men who are determined to be free."

Greene wrote to Caty, "Never did men or officers behave with more spirit. They deserve immortal honor." It did not matter that the Americans abandoned Stony Point two days after taking it. The victory was a great boost to morale, and Congress voted medals for Wayne and his principal officers.

On July 26, Washington called a council of officers to West Point to tell them that the enemy had reoccupied Stony Point and reinforced Verplanck's Point. He asked for advice on strategy. Greene wrote his opinion, "The North River I consider as the first object upon the Continent and the communication between the Eastern and Western States essential to the Independence of America." He cautioned against a risky offensive against New York.

Although Congress had overlooked Light-horse Harry's role at Stony Point, Washington did not. He unleashed Lee's mounted troop to do whatever damage

they could. On the Hudson across from Staten Island, a British garrison occupied a narrow finger of land called Paulus Hook. British warships anchored in the bay provided protection. On August 18, Lee staged a risky night assault on Paulus Hook and took the fort without firing a shot. Greene enthused to Caty, "Major Lee has performed a most gallant affair. He has surprised and taken the greater part of the garrison at Paulus Hook. The expedition is thought to be more gallant than Stony Point."



Works at Paulus Hook

On September 26, Washington at New Windsor informed Greene at West Point that a French army under Count d'Estaing approached. Greene should prepare barges for a joint attack on New York. Greene engaged carpenters at Fishkill to begin building boats. He wrote Caty on October 15, "We are in daily expectation of the arrival of Count d'Estaing and the moment he arrives offensive operations will commence against New York." Unknown to Greene—and to Washington—d'Estaing had decided to attack British-held Savannah rather than New York. After a prolonged siege, d'Estaing's French forces and General Benjamin Lincoln's Americans staged a grand assault on the British lines on October 8 but failed to break the lines. Polish volunteer Count Casimir Pulaski was among the dead. The battered French army could do no fighting in New York.



Medal awarded to Lee after raid on garrison at Paulus Hook

The British success in Georgia caused Sir Henry Clinton in New York to shift the focus of his operations from the Hudson Valley to the South. He recalled the garrisons from Stony Point and Verplanck's Point for a major expedition against Charleston, South Carolina. Washington learned of the French defeat at Savannah on November 15, more than a month after the battle. But not until Clinton's transports left New York on December 26 did he abandon his planned attack on New York, and only then did Greene stop building boats. While the British landed in Georgia and proceeded to besiege Charleston, Washington's army went into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, leaving a strong garrison at West Point.

Caty Greene joined her husband at West Point and went with him to Morristown. (Winter encampments were notoriously miserable for the foot soldiers, but the best times of the war for officers' wives.) Caty was especially close to Martha Washington and Lucy Knox, the vivacious wife of Major General Henry Knox, commander of the Continental Army's artillery. She had met both at the first winter encampment, at Valley Forge, in 1777. There, Caty and Nathanael had occupied a large house that quickly became a social rendezvous. She had learned French well enough to charm and make a lasting friend of Lafayette. She would later send her first son, George Washington Greene, to be educated in France under his care. Anthony Wayne was so smitten with Caty that he seemed to forget that he had a wife back in Philadelphia.

The second camp, at Middlebrook, in the winter of 1778 followed the example of the first. Washington had insisted that Caty join them and bring her three children. (She had intended to do so, anyhow.) She came by way of Peekskill and King's Ferry. The Greene's house again became an oasis of cheer in an otherwise grim winter. Wayne put in an early appearance, bringing his friend, Henry Lee. Caty's biographer wrote that "Light-Horse Harry" was a man of such dash and verve, and so splendidly uniformed—that Caty had picked him out as the kind of soldier little girls dream of." Caty, a consummate flirt, charmed him, too.

Greene's twenty-five-year-old wife loved dancing. As it happened, so did George Washington. And they particularly enjoyed dancing with each other. While encamped at Middlebrook, Washington bet Caty that he could outlast her on the dance floor. She took the bet. The good-natured Nathanael reported to a friend, "They danced upward of three hours without once sitting down."

So it is understandable that Caty wanted to accompany her husband to the camp at Morristown in 1779, even though she was seven months pregnant. The solicitous Nathanael ordered a quarter cask of Madeira "as Mrs. Greene has nothing to drink." In the midst of his demanding duties as quartermaster, he found

time to ask a subordinate to trace some of Caty's belongings that had gotten lost along the way: "Mrs. Greene is anxious about her band-box." Caty gave birth to Nathanael Ray Greene on January 31 and quickly recovered her health, her figure, and her role as social arbiter.

Since we are not above indulging in gossip, we will mention a scene Caty thought scandalous at one of her Morristown parties. It seemed that George Olney, a relative of Nathanael's, disapproved of drinking. He withdrew from the men's company and joined the ladies, showing his displeasure. The men took notice and suggested that they capture Olney away from the women and make him take a drink. Washington entered into the spirit of the moment and led the charge into the ladies' chambers. Olney, who seems not to have had much of a sense of humor, resisted. His wife, with even less a sense of humor, clung desperately to him. Washington playfully took her hand away from her husband. In a rage she screamed, "Let go of my hand, or I'll pull every hair out of your head!" That ended the gaiety. Caty was furious at Mrs. Olney for insulting her friend the commander and for ruining the party.

The return of Clinton's army from the South prompted a return of Washington's army to the Hudson Highlands. The British had taken Charleston, and resistance collapsed all over the Carolinas and Georgia. Leaving Lieutenant General Charles Cornwallis in command of an army of occupation, Clinton sailed back to New York. He had not abandoned his designs on West Point, even though in June 1780 he staged a diversionary raid into New Jersey that was repulsed by Greene and Wayne. Clinton's real strategy would soon become evident.

On August 14, Greene wrote Caty that he had resigned his commission as quartermaster. Since he was out of a job, he added: "let me conjure you by the bonds of affection—to contract your expenses as much as possible." He confessed that he was discouraged by his critics in Congress. He received a sympathetic letter from General Benedict Arnold, then in command of West Point, who nursed his own grievances against Congress. Greene responded with the news that Horatio Gates, Arnold's old rival at Saratoga, had been disastrously defeated by Cornwallis at Camden, South Carolina, on August 16. It was "a deadly wound to his glory," he wrote. At the time, Greene did not guess how Gates' defeat would affect him.

From September 17 to the 28th, Washington left the Highlands to confer with the Count de Rochambeau, who had landed in Rhode Island with 6,000 French reinforcements, about a joint attack on New York. Greene assumed command of the American army camped at Tappan. On September 25, Greene received a shocking report from Alexander Hamilton at Verplanck's Point: "There

has just unfolded at this place a scene of the blackest treason.” British Major John Andre had been captured in civilian clothes with proof of Arnold’s treason found on him. Arnold managed to escape aboard a British vessel. While Wayne’s troops guarded Andre at Tappan, Greene presided over his trial and conviction. Andre died bravely by hanging on October 2.

Three days later, Greene applied to Washington for command of West Point. Washington obliged. Greene made his lodgings at the Beverly Robinson house in Garrison and immediately sent for Caty to join him. He looked forward to a comfortable winter there.

He had just settled down to his new command when Washington named him to succeed Gates as Continental commander in the South. He could not even wait for the arrival of his wife. “My dear angel what I had been dreading has come to pass,” he wrote to her. “I had been pleasing myself with the prospect of spending the winter here with you.” He went as far as Fishkill hoping to meet her. “My longing eyes looked for you in all directions.” he wrote again. She did not come, and he left West Point on October 21.

Greene asked for Lee’s mounted troops (now referred to as Lee’s Legion) and Wayne’s Pennsylvania Light Infantry to go south with him. Washington agreed that Lee could go, but he could not spare Wayne. Greene made his way southward from Philadelphia by way of Annapolis, Mount Vernon (where he was entertained by Martha Washington), Richmond, Hillsborough, and Salisbury, finally reaching Gates’ camp at Charlotte, North Carolina, on December 2, 1780. Greene expressed shock at the condition of the troops in a letter to Caty. “I arrived on the 2nd of this month and been in search of the army I am to command, but without success, having found nothing but a few half-starved soldiers who are remarkable for nothing but poverty and distress.” He cautioned Caty not even to think of coming to join him.

The only organized body of troops between Greene and Cornwallis’ victorious army at Winnsboro, in the center of the South Carolina upcountry, was that of veteran Daniel Morgan, who had come out of retirement after Gates’ defeat at Camden. The British held the South with Cornwallis’ formidable army, and with a string of garrisons stretching from the coast to Augusta, Georgia. Greene had little confidence in his decimated army, but hoped to rely on partisan bands that acted independently of each other. Many of the partisans lived by indiscriminate plundering, and had formed the habit—distressing to Greene—of killing their prisoners.

Facing insurmountable odds, Greene searched for a strategy. A letter from one of the partisan leaders gave him his plan. Benjamin Few of Georgia asked

for help from the Continentals. He believed that the people of the Georgia back-country would resist the British if encouraged by the approach of an American army. Greene immediately seized upon the idea. On December 16, he wrote to Few: "In order to give support to your exertions and spirit up the people in that quarter I propose to send General Morgan with a large detachment from this army to act on the west side of the Catawba."

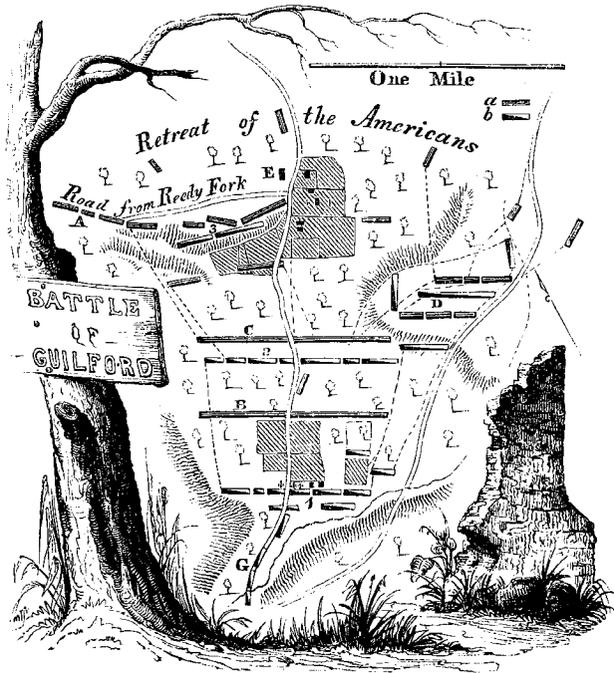
On the same day, Greene ordered Morgan to march into western South Carolina: "The object of this detachment is to give protection to that part of the country and spirit up the people." Morgan commanded 320 infantry from Maryland and Delaware, 200 Virginia militia, and ninety dragoons. Greene expected him to be joined by Georgia and South Carolina partisans, but a leading partisan, Thomas Sumter, felt slighted by not getting the command and refused to cooperate.

Greene's decision to send his only fighting force to the west, leaving no protection between him and Cornwallis, has been called "the most audacious and ingenious piece of military strategy of the war." Greene explained in a letter to Washington that "Cornwallis could not come at me or his posts at Ninety-Six and Augusta would be exposed."

Morgan accepted the assignment with relish. In his reply he suggested, "Could a diversion be made in my favour by the main army I should wish to march into Georgia." Greene encouraged him to move toward Augusta if he could do it. But Greene could not put on a diversion because his main army was a fiction.

Morgan's unexpected march west took Cornwallis by surprise. The British general countered by dispatching his best fighter, Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton, to oppose Morgan. The result was a smashing victory for the Americans at Cowpens on January 19, 1781. Morgan wrote Greene, "I should be exceedingly fond to make a descent into Georgia, but am so emaciated that I can't undertake it." He thought Andrew Pickens of South Carolina could do the job. In fact, Pickens would do just that, but not yet. Georgia had to wait because Cornwallis meant to destroy Greene's little army, and Greene needed all the help he could get.

Greene sent out calls for the militia of North Carolina and lower Virginia to join him as he retreated before Cornwallis. Fortunately, Harry Lee's Legion had arrived to act as a rear guard, burning bridges and delaying the enemy. Nearing the Virginia state line, Greene's army had swelled by the addition of 2,000 militia. He had 1,600 regulars, only 300 of whom were veterans. He finally turned to fight Cornwallis at Guilford Courthouse. After two hours of the hardest fighting in the Revolution, Greene withdrew from the field in good order.



Plan of the Battle of Guilford

Greene lost the battle, but won the campaign. Cornwallis had to withdraw to the sea for supplies. When Cornwallis then turned to Virginia, Greene made another crucial decision. Instead of opposing the enemy, he would let him go, then turn his attention to the British outposts. He told Harry Lee, “Cornwallis has gone North and the rest will be a war of posts.” He knew it would not be easy. In a letter to Congress he told how the outposts at Camden, Ninety-Six, and Augusta controlled the countryside around them, writing, “The enemy have got a firmer footing than is generally accepted.”

With Morgan incapacitated by rheumatism, Greene sent Andrew Pickens and Georgian Elijah Clarke to lay siege to Augusta. (Again, Thomas Sumter refused to have anything to do with the operation.) On May 12, Pickens wrote Greene that the Augusta garrison was too strong and could not be taken without the help of regulars. Greene turned to Lee: “You will march immediately for Augusta. Cooperate with Pickens.” Lee covered seventy-five miles in two days. Greene complimented him: “For rapid marches, you exceed Lord Cornwallis and everybody else.”

Lee, Andrew Pickens, and Elijah Clarke conducted a hard-fought two-week battle for the town of Augusta. Even hard-bitten fighter Harry Lee expressed amazement at the savagery of fighting. “They exceed the Goths and the Vandals

in their schemes of plunder, murder and iniquity, all this under the pretense of supporting the virtuous cause of America.” He warned Greene, “If you do not take on yourself to govern this state til civil government can be introduced, you will lose all the benefit from it.”

Greene accepted the responsibility. While the battle for Augusta was in progress, he wrote to Pickens, “The idea of exterminating Tories is not less barbarous than impolitick, and if persisted in, will keep this country in the greatest confusion and distress.” He warned that he would administer capital punishment to anyone guilty of “private murders.”

On June 5, a triumphant Lee notified Greene that “the capital of Georgia with a large extent of territory is recovered.” Greene had heard that peace negotiations had begun in Paris and that there was a possibility of losing Georgia to the negotiators. He sent one of his aides, Georgian Joseph Clay, to Augusta with orders to hold elections for a new government. “A legislature is necessary to give you existence not only in America, but in Europe much more than here,” he stated. He also wrote the Georgia delegates in Congress: “Georgia has been an object of my attention and I hope to afford her in future all the support that the peculiar situation in this department will admit.”

Meanwhile, Greene’s army had fought at Camden and Ninety-Six and lost both engagements, but in both cases the British abandoned their posts and withdrew from the backcountry. While Georgia was being restored to the union, Washington remained at Newburgh, planning to attack New York. He dutifully forwarded letters from Greene to Caty. Despite Greene’s protestations that the southern battlefields were no place for a lady, Caty decided to go south anyhow. The journey took two months, including a long visit to Martha Washington at Mount Vernon and balls in her honor in Fredericksburg and elsewhere.

One of the first actions of the newly elected governor of Georgia was to ask Greene, by now Georgia’s godfather, for troops to drive the British out of Savannah. Greene responded by sending Anthony Wayne, who had just arrived. “General Wayne marches tomorrow with a considerable body of horse to take command in your state,” he told the governor. Greene urged Wayne to “put a stop to that cruel custom of putting people to death after they have surrendered.”

A month later, Wayne reported, “The duty we have performed in Georgia was much more difficult than that of the children of Israel. They had only to make bricks without straw. We had to make Whigs out of Tories.” Wayne’s campaign to drive the British out of Savannah succeeded despite all odds. His victorious troops marched into the city on July 12, 1782.

So between them Harry Lee and Anthony Wayne had rescued Georgia. With

a touch of satisfaction, Greene wrote Georgia's governor, "Be assured I shall always be happy to afford Georgia every aid in my power. Her interest has always been near my heart and I shall be attentive to her future safety."

With the British evacuation of Charleston on December 14, 1782, the Revolution ended. It is fitting for our story that Anthony Wayne first marched into the port at the head of Lee's Legion. (Lee was away in Virginia.)

The last months of the war were relieved for Nathanael Greene—and for a number of other officers—by the presence of Caty. "I am now under petticoat government," Greene wrote a friend. Caty organized a gala ball to celebrate the liberation of Charleston; then she and Nathanael went to Savannah to receive the grateful plaudits of Georgians. Even better than plaudits, the state gave them the state's largest and richest confiscated plantation, Mulberry Grove. For good measure, the state presented Wayne with the neighboring plantation, Richmond.

Washington's long-planned attack on New York proved unnecessary because Cornwallis' army in Virginia proved a better objective for an allied operation. Washington won New York at Yorktown. Greene's campaign in the South won the war.

And so Nathanael Greene became a Georgia planter, and Anthony Wayne a Georgia Congressman. Wayne's wife never joined him, and Savannah gossips whispered about Wayne's frequent visits to Mulberry Grove.

Our story should conclude with that happy ending, but a few postscripts must be added. First: Nathanael Greene did not long enjoy his family and new life. He died in 1786 at the age of forty-four.

Second: Anthony Wayne, in his short term in Congress, managed to secure a handsome pension for Caty—over the objections of South Carolina Congressman Thomas Sumter.

Third: When Washington made his southern tour in 1791, he made a point never to stay at a private residence, but he stayed two days at Mulberry Grove with Caty Greene.

Fourth: Caty and a guest named Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin at Mulberry Grove in 1793. That invention fastened slavery upon the South and foreshadowed another war.

Fifth, and finally: Light-horse Harry Lee died in 1818 and was buried at Caty Greene's plantation in Georgia.

The exploits of Nathanael Greene, Anthony Wayne, Harry Lee—and especially those of George Washington—made Georgia more inclined to join with her sister states in a stronger federal union, and made New York more accepting of Georgia. It is ironic that Caty's Greene's cotton gin nearly tore that union apart.

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A
LIFE OF TRAVELS
AND
RESEARCHES
IN NORTH AMERICA AND SOUTH EUROPE,
OR
OUTLINES
OF
The Life, Travels and Researches
OF
C. S. RAFINESQUE, A. M. Ph. D.

Professor of historical and natural sciences, member of many learned Societies in Europe and America, author of many works, &c.

CONTAINING

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Je le serais jusqu' au tombeau*

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Title page from *A Life of Travels and Researches in North America and South Europe*, 1836, by Constantine Samuel Rafinesque.

A Mountain With an Unusual Name

Warren F. Broderick

One of the more unusual place names in the Hudson Valley is Mount Rafinesque, a 1,200-foot peak located in the northwest corner of the Town of Brunswick, in Rensselaer County. Sometimes known as Bald Mountain because of its rocky summit, Mount Rafinesque is a prominent landmark with scenic views in all directions. It was named after Constantine Rafinesque, a prominent nineteenth-century naturalist, both in his honor and because of his direct association with the mountain itself.

Rafinesque was one of the most important figures in the history of natural science in America. Of French and German descent, he was born in Constantinople, where his father was an affluent merchant and world traveler, in 1783. Rafinesque became intrigued by natural science at an early age; from 1802 to 1804, he lived in the United States, where he developed a keen interest in the plants, animals, and minerals of the New World. Following a ten-year residence in Sicily, he returned to America for good in 1815. Three years later, he was appointed professor of botany, natural history, and modern languages at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky, where he remained until 1826.

From that year until his death in 1840, Rafinesque resided in Philadelphia, making field trips throughout the Northeast as his health and schedule permitted. He wrote and published incessantly, and became famous in the American scientific community both for his brilliance and his various eccentricities. As biographer Bil Gilbert aptly notes, Rafinesque's "intellectual breadth—if not always depth—was enormous, perhaps unique." A true Renaissance man of science, Rafinesque noted in his later years that he had at various times been a "botanist, geologist, historian, poet, philosopher, philologist, economist, merchant, manufacturer, improver, professor, surveyor, draftsman, architect, engineer, author, and editor."¹

Rafinesque's passion for identifying new species and proposing new and untested scientific theories, as well as his sometime careless taxonomy, injured his contemporary reputation and occasionally overshadowed his keen insights. But the record of his albeit tainted accomplishments has been resurrected, not only

at Transylvania University but in the annals of the history of natural science in America. He is credited with identifying more than 100 new species of plants and animals, and he won recognition and scientific awards in Europe and America alike. Gilbert estimates that Rafinesque authored upward of a 1,000 books, poems, and articles, many of which are found in obscure journals or can no longer be located.²

Two of his works are especially significant. In 1836, he issued a nearly 250-page epic poem, *The World; or Instability*. One of the many diverse matters he addresses was an evolutionary theory predating Darwin's by more than twenty years. While he did not define natural selection in the precise Darwinian fashion, Rafinesque's "universal law of perpetual mutability" clearly recognized the concept of mutations in the development of natural species. Charles Boewe notes that Rafinesque's "conception of the inexhaustible creative force of nature was simply far broader than anyone else's" of his era:

"In endless shapes, mutations quick or slow,
The world revolves, and all above, below,
In various moulds and frames all things were cast,
But none forever can endure nor last.
Whatever took a form must change or mend;
Whatever once began, must have an end.

This change is then a law in time and space
Existing, and on matter ever acting,
To Modify, embellish all the Beings
That live to fill the wide extent of life."³

Another work of note is Rafinesque's rambling autobiography, *A Life of Travels and Researches in North America and South Europe*, also published in 1836, in which the author recalls his visit to the mountain that would later bear his name. During the journeys recounted in the book, Rafinesque came in contact with just about every important figure in all fields of natural science. His meeting with John James Audubon, during which the artist convinced the overly enthusiastic Rafinesque of the existence of the mythical "Devil-Jack Diamond fish," is legendary. But it is Rafinesque's chance meeting in 1826 with Troy's Amos Eaton that is particularly interesting.

An equally important figure in the history of natural science in America, Eaton (1776-1842) was a botanist and geologist, author of a number of textbooks and other works, and a principal in the founding of the Rensselaer School, the

predecessor of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, in 1824. The school's Senior Professor, Eaton took his students on yearly geological and botanical excursions along the Hudson River and Erie Canal. These expeditions are considered the first course-related scientific field trips conducted under the auspices of an American university. It was on one of these annual excursions that an important and chance meeting of scientists took place.

Rafinesque began touring the northeastern United States in the 1820s, studying both botany and geology, visiting major libraries, and consulting with other learned scientists. Returning from Buffalo to Philadelphia via Albany on one of his whirlwind expeditions, he met Eaton and his students on the Erie Canal near Rochester on May 28, 1826. Of this chance meeting Eaton later wrote:

“When we were at Rochester, the celebrated Rafinesque overtook us. He joined our party and is now with us, and is to continue on to Troy. I shall invite him to our house. He is a curious Frenchman. I am much pleased with him; though he has many queer notions.”⁴

Rafinesque joined Eaton and his students on their “floating laboratory,” studying in particular the geology along the canal route and visiting landmarks such as Cohoes Falls. He remained with Eaton in Troy for a while, learning for the first time about the Rensselaer School, the first university devoted exclusively to science in the United States, and of the progress of natural science in the Capital District. Rafinesque noted that students at the Rensselaer School “learn by giving themselves lessons to each other, [an] admirable plan not yet sufficiently known and adapted elsewhere.”⁵ Rafinesque never forgot his first meeting with Eaton and his subsequent visits to Troy. He wrote Eaton that summer:

“Please to remember me kindly to all the Pupils & Companions of our agreeable Canal Tour—I shall always remember this excursion with pleasure.”⁶



Constantine Samuel Rafinesque,
from his *A Life of Travels and
Researches in North America
and South Europe*, 1836

Eaton's opinions of the eccentric scientist's sometimes aristocratic attitude and radical scientific theories, expressed in earlier letters to his colleagues, were considerably tempered once the two had become friends and Eaton saw the sincerity of his colleague's work.⁷ Rafinesque found his stay in the Capital District rewarding and returned in 1827, visiting Eaton on his way to and from Boston. This trip included a visit to the Shaker Village at Mount Lebanon, where he became acquainted the religious community's botanist and gardener.

He visited the area again in 1830, following a tour of the Catskills. This time, he met with scientists in Albany, including botanist, chemist, and physician Lewis C. Beck (1798-1853) and artist and paleontologist James Eights (1798-1882). He also met with Eaton and Moses Hale (1780-1837), a medical doctor and the first secretary of the Rensselaer School, and delivered a series of lectures there. Unfortunately, the subjects of the lectures are not known.

Rafinesque returned to the Capital Region for the final time in 1833, and the visit was an eventful one. He visited Eights and agriculturalist Jesse Buel (1778-1839) in Albany, delivered another series of lectures at the Rensselaer School, and also gave three gratis public lectures. For the first, delivered at the Lansingburgh Academy on August 6, he spoke on "The Study of Natural Science." His second lecture, delivered at the Waterford Lyceum the following day, dealt with the relationship of science to mankind. He stressed the importance of diverting one's immediate attention from "foreign objects," and instead suggested gaining



Mount Rafinesque, 1890s

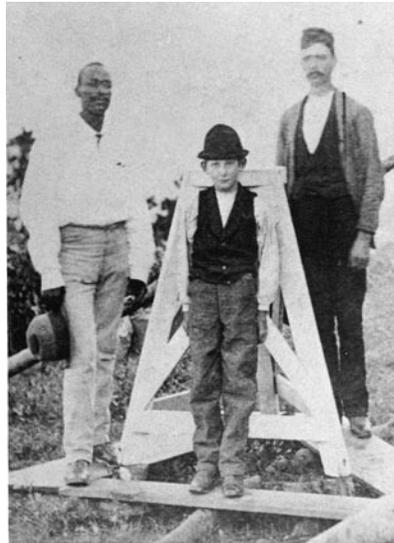
an intimate knowledge of the natural world nearby. He pointed out interesting places that could be studied “in a very short walk,” noting in particular Bald Mountain. “On the top of the mountain,” he stated, “I received the finest prospect which has ever been given me in the State of New-York: a range of fifty miles in circumference was open, presenting a diversity of country, and beauty of scenery, which gave me the most pleasing sensations.”

On the subject of botany, “Mr. Rafinesque introduced to our notice a variety of plants and flowers, which he has collected in the vicinity, and spoke of many others which grow spontaneously among us, which were both beautiful and valuable for their medicinal properties,” noted the *Waterford Atlas*. The newspaper added that the lecture was “altogether full of interest and novelty,” and made “a lasting impression on the mind of every hearer.” Rafinesque’s theory of the importance of studying nature in one’s own backyard as a microcosm of the larger natural world was both revolutionary and refreshing for its era.⁸

On August 9, Rafinesque spoke on “The Instability of Nature” at the Court House in Troy. His topic “will no doubt be greedily embraced by all who have a taste for true science and useful knowledge,” announced the *Daily Troy Press*. Rafinesque, the paper noted, “has a reputation for extensive acquirements in science...exceeded probably by no other in the country.”⁹

Rafinesque’s lecture dealt with a unique subject: that “instability” should be considered a “grand law of nature” unto itself. The lecture was received with acclaim by the audience and the *Daily Troy Press*, which was impressed by the “number of the audience which was assembled on the occasion...to hear a discourse of a purely scientific nature.” While Rafinesque’s position was “certainly novel,” it “was sustained with a great deal of plausibility and ingenuity.” His theory that instability, “or mutations observable in nature, were resolvable into a fixed law,” harkens his “universal law of perpetual mutability” that he would present three years later in his epic poem.¹⁰

While in the area, Rafinesque visited Alexander Walsh (1783-1849), a promi-



United States Geological Survey
Crew at Mount Rafinesque, 1870s

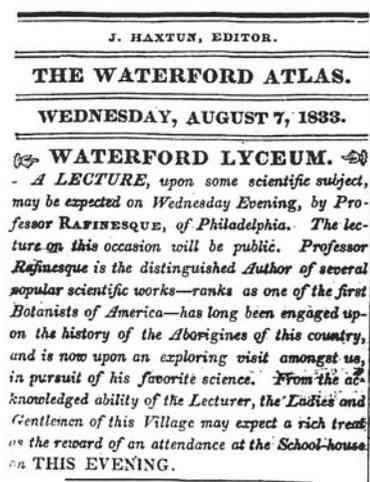
ment horticulturist who resided in Lansingburgh. Rafinesque stayed with him for a few days and “went to visit many remarkable places” near Lansingburgh. Rafinesque also met the Rev. Elijah Wiley, the minister of the local Baptist Church, who led the naturalist on a hike to the local landmark a few miles to the east, then known as Bald Mountain. Despite its prominence, the mountain had never been given a formal name; it was known at various times as Lansingburgh Mountain, Mount Washington, or more frequently Bald Mountain. Rafinesque later recalled his visit in *A Life of Travels and Researches in North America*:

“I ascended the Bald mt. 4 miles east of [Lansingburgh], which is not on the maps altho’ 1030 feet high; I surveyed it, and explored the plants and minerals of it. As there are many mts. of that name, Mr. W. proposed to change it to Mt. Rafinesque. It is an insulated mt. wild and wooded except on the summit. It is primitive and transitive like the mts. Taconick in the neighborhood. It is visible afar, and is 10 or 12 miles in circuit.”¹¹

From this time forward, the peak would be known as Mount Rafinesque, in honor of its distinguished visitor. On August 10, the Editor of the *Waterford Atlas* led the first expedition to the newly named summit, until then taken for granted by its neighbors but now given celebrity status by the colorful and distinguished scientist from Philadelphia. The editor of the *Atlas* and his companions, noted his paper, experienced the “most awfully grand and sublime...sight” they had

ever witnessed. It urged “every soul of suitable years...male and female...to make the experiment of this grand ascension” of the mountain. “Go simply attired, and the most delicate will be able to surmount every obstacle, and reach the summit in safety.”¹² Other expeditions, led by persons in Lansingburgh and Waterford, followed that summer and autumn. The *Atlas* commented that it “highly approved” renaming the local landmark as a “deserved compliment to the distinguished naturalist, Professor Rafinesque, who first directed public attention to it.”¹³

Rafinesque proposed, but never gave, a series of lectures on antiquities in Troy in 1835. He had prepared, according to Amos Eaton, a series of “40 articles for debate” that



Announcement of Rafinesque’s lecture to be given at the Waterford Lyceum; *Waterford Atlas*, August 7, 1833

apparently involved some controversy. Eaton argued for the lectures to be held: “Even those who are disposed to pronounce Mr. R. as an extravagant enthusiast,” he stressed, “all agree that he is a scholar of the first order, of vast reading and great classic learning. His nice discriminating talents have never been questioned.”¹⁴ For whatever reason (possibly related to his health problems and the time he needed to devote to a business venture), the lectures were never held. His travels in 1835 were restricted to rural Pennsylvania.

Constantine Rafinesque’s *A Life of Travels* has become a very scarce book and is little known outside the natural science and antiquarian book communities. Therefore, the story of the naming of Mt. Rafinesque has become lost to time. Until now, the only reference to this event was found in a short article in a Lansingburgh newspaper published in 1866.¹⁵ Fortunately, the principal summit of the mountain was acquired a few years ago by Hudson Valley Community College and had been preserved from future development.

Notes

1. Bil Gilbert, “An ‘Odd Fish’ Who Swam Against the Tide,” *Smithsonian* 29 (January, 1999), p. 113
2. Gilbert, p. 123
3. Charles Boewe, Introduction to Constantine Rafinesque, *The World; or Instability* [1836]. (Gainesville, FL: Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints, 1956), pp. xi-xii; Rafinesque, *The World...*, pp. 9-10, 12.
4. Letter, Amos Eaton to Anna B. Eaton, April 3, 1826 [dated in April but not completed and mailed until June 7], Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See also Amos Eaton’s journals in the Amos Eaton Papers, Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library.
5. Constantine Rafinesque, *A Life of Travels and Researches in North America and South Europe...* (Philadelphia: Printed For the Author, 1836), p. 83.
6. Letter, Constantine Rafinesque to Amos Eaton, July 30, 1826, Special Collections, Syracuse University Library.
7. Ronald L. Stuckey, “Opinions of Rafinesque Expressed by his Botanical Contemporaries,” in Charles Boewe, Editor, *Profiles of Rafinesque*. (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), pp. 161-163.
8. *Waterford Atlas*, August 14, 1833, p. 2.
9. *Daily Troy Press*, August 9, 1833, p. 2.
10. *Daily Troy Press*, August 10, 1833, p. 2.
11. Rafinesque, *A Life of Travels*, pp. 106-107.
12. *Waterford Atlas*, August 14, 1833, p. 2.
13. *Waterford Atlas*, September 11, 1833, p. 2.
14. *Troy Whig*, January, 20, 1835, p. 2.
15. *Lansingburgh Chronicle*, September 14, 1866, p. 2.

De La Contre Sierre Le 20 Jevier Lan de Christ 1719
 Je s'aigne & Confesse q'isont en ce lit malade j'usqu'au
 Corps mais saint de c'endement reconnoissant l'incertitude de cette
 Vie & la dernière heure de mes jours & quant il plaira à Dieu v'otre
 bon ame à soy reconnoissant avoir fait mon testament & v'edige par escrit
 ma dernière volonté selon quil seasuit je remercie Dieu premierement
 comme le pere de toute lumiere de ce que ayant adopté pour l'un de
 ses enfans en son fils notre Seigneur Jesus Christ il ma aussy donné
 par la grace de son saint esprit sa connoissance pour estre instruit en son
 eglise n'ayant retiré de l'idolatrie au jai esté né pour me mener en la lumiere
 de sa verité n'ayant fait la grace de avoir resu les saints sacrements
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 qui m'appartient & quil soit donné aux pauvres de leglise du nouveau
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 leglise tant quelle fera le service françois & sy elle tourne
 l'olendoise la dite Bible sera vendue pour les pauvres françois de la
 dite eglise du nouveau pals cest ma dernière volonté en quoi j
 Jay Signé & Celle en presence de temoins
 André le fèvre
 Daniel Du bois
 Jacob Hasbrouck
 Jue. ceux qui m'ont soigné. Est recompense
 Jean Thevenin

MSS COLLECTION, HUGUENOT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NEW PALTZ, NY

Will, Jean Tebanin, written in French, 1719. Jean Tebanin Papers 1700-1730.
 Mss Collection, Huguenot Historical Society, New Paltz

From Protestant International to Hudson Valley Provincial: A Case Study of Language Use and Ethnicity in New Paltz, 1678-1834

Eric J. Roth

In his last will and testament written at New Paltz in 1719, schoolmaster Jean Tebanin ordered that after his death, his “Bible be devoted to the service of the church for as long as the Word of God is preached or read in French, and if it turns into Dutch, the said Bible will be sold on behalf of the poor Frenchmen of the said church of New Paltz.”¹ Tebanin later reiterated this order in his second will, dated 1730. His suspicions were well grounded. Dutch had begun to be heard in the church as early as the 1720s, and by 1790, the French language ceases to be found in any community records.

Tebanin’s statement is particularly striking when viewed in the context of recent scholarship on language use in early New York.² One discussion, for instance, has focused on the deliberate attempts by the French and Dutch in New York City to preserve their mother tongues in the face of acculturation.³ In some cases, these preservation efforts led churchgoers to bitterly resist attempts to introduce English into worship services. One historian has even argued that some of the more conservative-minded members of Dutch Reformed congregations throughout New York and New Jersey came to regard the Dutch language as possessing sacred qualities.⁴ Seen in this light, Tebanin’s statement suggests that a similar phenomenon occurred at New Paltz.

This paper attempts to explore the subject of both French and Dutch language use among the town’s early families to determine the influence that emotional attachments to language and ethnicity might have had on the town’s cultural development. While this goal is accomplished through the analysis of the collection of surviving town papers found in the archival holdings of the Huguenot Historical Society, it is important to note one particularly elusive problem inherent in this approach: the difficulty of documenting those languages used in everyday speech, which may have differed from those used in the writ-

ten records. And while we will never know all of the details of how the spoken language changed over time, this paper shows how some writings are more useful than others for estimating the persistence of French and Dutch in everyday speech and the pace of acculturation.

Language use in any community, of course, bears a strong relationship to demographics. Before founding New Paltz in 1678, all of the first settlers had lived within the jurisdictions of at least two different major European powers (including France), with some having lived in as many as four. The New Paltz Huguenots, or Walloons as they are also called,⁵ participated in trade networks throughout Europe that historians have come to call “the Protestant International.”⁶ These networks, strengthened through marriages between Protestants across ethnic and linguistic lines, served to increase business opportunities and to facilitate international travel throughout Europe and the transatlantic world.

Once in America, these well-traveled settlers found themselves in a Dutch cultural area undergoing a slow and sometimes bitter process of Anglicization. Ethnically, the New Paltz community rapidly became an amalgam of French and Dutch. Inter-marriage with Dutch partners began in the second generation, and among third-generation inhabitants, the number of marriages between Huguenot and Dutch partners exceeded those between Huguenots. By the fourth generation, the two groups became so intertwined as to become practically indistinguishable from one another.⁷

In her 1982 Ph.D. dissertation on Dutch culture in the Hudson Valley, historian Sophia Gruys Hinshalwood analyzed surnames for the purpose of gauging the ethnic makeup of each town within the region.⁸ She found that seventy-one out of a total of ninety-four surnames (75.5%) in 1738 were French, Dutch, or German (although the German element was minimal in New Paltz). The remaining nineteen surnames represented families with English, Irish, or Scottish origins. Throughout this period, roughly ten to fifteen percent of the population was enslaved Africans.⁹ By 1790 much had changed: the population of New Paltz had grown to 2,309 inhabitants, of whom Hinshalwood identified 937 with English, Scottish, and Irish surnames (40.580%), 922 surnames of French, Dutch, and German extraction (39.931%) and 136 non-identifiable whites (5.890%). The community also included 314 non-whites (13.599%), who were probably all Africans. Despite this significant change in the town’s demography, however, Huguenot descendants managed to retain control over local wealth and real estate into the nineteenth century. This power was largely attained through the creation of a complicated proprietorship that favored family members over newcomers.¹⁰

From the town’s founding in 1678, government business was conducted in

English.¹¹ This is hardly surprising, since the British had controlled the colony of New York since 1664. French still occasionally appears in town records between 1708 and the 1740s, but is limited to a few receipts and land sales. The only official town document written in Dutch is the 1677 contract between the founders of New Paltz and the Esopus Indians. By 1750 official records were kept in English without exception.¹²

The records of the New Paltz Dutch Reformed Church show a more lasting use of both French and Dutch, with only minimal use of English until around 1800. Prior to 1720 all church records were kept in French. Records from the 1720s through the 1770s were kept primarily in Dutch, although some were written in French. There are also a few entries from the 1740s in English. A letter written in 1751 by the Elders and Deacons of the New Paltz church to the Classis of Amsterdam in reference to a dispute with the Kingston Dutch Reformed Church also contains important information about language use. The letter reports that:

Meanwhile [during the early eighteenth century] Dutch families came to take up residence, here and there, among us. About the year 1727 services of worship began to be held in the Dutch language. Because there were no more French ministers to be had, we employed also, provisionally some German ministers.¹³

True to schoolmaster Jean Tebanin's prediction, Dutch eventually replaced French altogether in church services and recordkeeping. In turn, English supplanted the Dutch, first appearing in worship services under the leadership of Rev. Stephen Goetschius, who preached there from 1775 to 1798.¹⁴ At least two successors, Rev. John H. Meier and Rev. Peter D. Frelich continued to conduct services in both Dutch and English. Rev. William R. Bogardus may have also occasionally preached in Dutch during his tenure from 1817 to 1831.¹⁵ Recordkeeping changed from Dutch to English in 1799.¹⁶ When the church called Rev. Wilhelmus Eltinge to preach in 1807, it asked that his sermons be equally divided between English and Dutch.¹⁷ Had he accepted the offer, Eltinge would have also served a neighboring church in New Hurley, which asked that he preach five-sixths of his sermons in English and the remaining sixth in Dutch.

From these records, it is clear that church and state stood in opposition during the eighteenth century, at least in terms of language use. The British Colonial government required that official documents be submitted in English while the New Paltz church encouraged retention of French and later, Dutch.

How did these opposing forces affect language use in other spheres of activity? The answer is mixed. Testamentary records, for example, show a pluralistic

use of language into the second half of the eighteenth century. An analysis of 110 wills from all of Ulster County dating from 1678 to 1740 finds sixty-one written in Dutch, ten in French, and thirty-nine in English.¹⁸ From 1740 to 1800, English becomes predominant. Of a total of 222 wills written in the county during this period, there were only twelve wills in Dutch, none in French, and 210 in English. (Table 1) The last Dutch testator in Ulster County was Johannis Van Wagenen of Wagendaal (located along the Rondout Creek in the present-day town of Rosendale), who wrote his will in 1788.

TABLE 1

Analysis of Language Use in Ulster County Wills, 1678-1788				
Dates	French	Dutch	English	Total
1678-1740	10	61	39	110
1741-1788	0	12	210	222
Total	10	73	249	332

MSS. COLLECTION, HUGUENOT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NEW PALTZ, NY.



Estate inventory, Solomon DuBois, written in Dutch, 1759. Hendricus DuBois Family Papers 1702-1927

Limiting our study to New Paltz shows that the town's residents followed a similar linguistic pattern as their counterparts in neighboring towns.¹⁹ Before 1741, the first two generations of New Paltz Huguenots wrote their wills predominantly in French and Dutch. This begins to change in the 1740s, however. Of sixteen wills composed between 1741 and 1760, eleven are in English, with only three in Dutch and two in French. The last French wills date from 1747, while the last Dutch instrument was written in 1759.

Analogous to the evidence found in testamentary records are educational documents (schoolmasters' contracts and student workbooks, called ciphering books), which show use of French until 1739 and Dutch into the 1760s. However, unlike the probate records, these school papers reveal no evidence of English being used until 1760, after which it rapidly becomes dominant.²⁰

Subtractio In Gelden

22) Men ontfangt 360 gulden
 10 stuys 970 gulden 12 stuys
 nog 200 gulden 8 stuys daar
 af. Betael men 795 gulden 12
 stuys vrange hoe veel is de rest

gulden	stuys	
360	10	523
970	12	795
200	8	3
1533	30	2533

Men moet betalen 560
 gulden 10 stl. nog 379 gulden
 12 stl. En 5497 gulden 15 stl.
 dar op Weert ontfangt 2406
 gulden 10 stuys 4 wiles vrange
 hoe veel blijft de rest

gulden	stl.	gulden	stl.	wils
560	10	3446	6	6
379	12	2406	10	4
5497	15	5933	4	4
3446	6			

23) I want ontfangt 564 gulden
 16 stuys 24 stl. 107 gulden 12
 stuys daarvan moet hij betalen
 540 gulden 16 stuys 200 gulden 15
 stl. En nog 203 gulden 14 stl.
 vrange hoe veel blijft nog in
 de Cas

gulden	stl.	gulden	stl.
564	16	540	12
107	12	274	15
203	14	283	14
10247	17	1105	13

Men ontfangt 5406 gulden
 13 stl. 4 wiles Moet daar van
 betalen 2760 gulden 17 stuys
 5 wiles vrange hoe veel blijft
 nog in de Cas

gulden	stl.	wils
5406	13	4 ontfangt
2760	17	5 betael
2637	16	5
5406	13	4

L	Gulden	stl.
S 63	37	30
B 90	30	36
R 64	30	34
P 63	17	30

Tot hoorly den
 31 Octoberket
 1734

L. Bevier

Page from ciphering book, Louis Bevier, 1734-1739. Louis Bevier Family Papers: The Elizabeth Wright Collection, (1721-1929)

By comparison, the patterns of language use found in community financial documents are significantly more varied. As to be expected, some early records show a predominance of French. Four account books by Jean Cottin, for example, were kept entirely in French from 1707-1721.²¹ But a more complex picture emerges when other papers are studied. For instance, financial correspondence and receipts reveal that both the Bevier and Deyo families conducted business in all three languages during the first half of the eighteenth century.²² Typically, when dealing with English merchants or government officials, the documents are in English; when dealing with their Dutch neighbors, they are in Dutch; and in dealing with other Huguenots, French. There are some differences between the two families, however. For instance, the Bevier family used French until the 1760s, while the Deyos had abandoned French in favor of Dutch and English by 1730. By contrast, financial papers kept by the DuBois family show a long-term preference for Dutch, as can be seen in the account books of Jannetie DuBois and her son, Hendricus, both of which show that they used Dutch exclusively from the 1770s to the 1790s.²³

However, account books kept by two immigrants arriving at New Paltz during the 1740s show the use of French as late as 1795.²⁴ In these books, in which the Hasbrouck family figures prominently, the use of Dutch first appears around 1777, when it began to be used interchangeably with French until eventually becoming predominant. Also found with these account books are various printed works in German, and a small booklet, *Memorandum van Jacob Hasenbrouk Syn Reckening Crediten-Debit aen Johan Jacob Roggen 1775*, which details payments for tailoring and shoemaking services during the Revolution. The booklet also contains family genealogical records from the 1750s to the 1780s written in both French and Dutch.

Insight into language use can also be gained through the study of the community's reading habits. Twenty-one estate inventories from 1770-1807 reveal an approximately equal number of Dutch and English books, and very few in any other language.²⁵ (Table 2) It must be noted, however, that this approach does contain some limitations. For instance, no language was specified for approximately one-fifth of the book listings. Further, one cannot always identify exact book titles, since many entries merely note "a parcel of Dutch books," "old spelling books," or are otherwise unclear. Regardless, it is telling that almost all of the collections sampled contain books in both English and Dutch, with only a very few containing books in only one language.

In looking at the categorical breakdown of these books, we can see a general pattern of religious books in Dutch and practical works in English. For example,

TABLE 2

Book Entries found in Estate Inventories (1770-1807), sorted by language						
Name	Date	English	Dutch	French	Unspecified	Total
L. Bevier	1770	5	4	0	0	9
J.M. Goetschius	1771, c.	0	1	0	1	2
L. Bevier	1773	8	21	4	17	50
R.J. Eltinge	1779	8	5	0	7	20
J. VerNooy	1780	6	2	3	0	1
J. Blanshan	1786	1	1	0	3	5
C. Bevier	1790	0	2	0	1	3
J. DuBois	1791	3	4	0	3	10
T. DuBois	1791	0	1	0	0	1
H. DuBois	1792	5	10	0	5	20
C. Jansen	1796	19	0	0	0	19
R.J. Elting	179-	2	1	0	11	14
M. Elting	1801	0	1	0	0	1
A. VerNooy	1801	2	2	0	1	5
G. Freer	1805	0	2	0	0	2
J. Hasbrouck	1806	1	2	0	1	4
H. DeWitt	1807	1	1	0	0	2
	<i>Totals</i>	61	60	4	33	168

the 1770 inventory of Louis Bevier of Marbletown lists nine books. Five of these are clearly in English, while four are in Dutch. The English works concern law, surveying, and coroner's work, while the three Dutch books are religious in nature. A similar library can be found in the household of Jacobus VerNooy of Rochester. His 1780 inventory lists two Dutch Bibles and eight English spelling books, along with "a parcel of old books," and "a parcel of Dutch & English books."

When there is only one book present, it is almost always a religious work in Dutch. For example, at the time of her death in 1791, Tjatie DuBois' only book was a collection of Dutch psalms.²⁶ Some English religious works are also listed in inventories, but these are usually found alongside listings of similar titles in Dutch, such as the case of Abraham VerNooy of Rochester, whose 1801 inventory shows that he owned five religious books, two of which were printed in English and two in Dutch. The language of the remaining work is not given.

Our sample is increased if we include thirty-nine works located in the Huguenot Historical Society's Rare Book Collection. While the usefulness of this collection to the study of language use is also limited, it does serve to confirm our results from the analysis of the estate inventories. Of these books, twenty-

seven are directly traceable to individuals residing in New Paltz or one of the neighboring towns. The rest were probably also owned by local individuals, but the possibility that some of the twelve untraceable books do not bear a localized provenance must be recognized.

Of these books, fifteen are in Dutch, eighteen are in English, three are in Latin, and one is in German. There are no books in French. All of the books with publication dates between 1741 and 1758 are in Dutch, while all books postdating 1759, with one exception, are in English. The large majority of the Dutch works (twelve of fifteen) are religious in nature, while the remaining three are comprised of two historical works and one dictionary. In contrast, subject analysis of the eighteen English books reveals a different breakdown. Only five of the English books are religious, while nine are of a professional or practical nature, such as architecture, law and government, or geography. The other four remaining English books relate to poetry, rhetoric and the study of Latin.

Another useful source is the Society's collection of over 400 Bibles, psalm books, hymnbooks, prayer books, books of sermons, and genealogical records extracted from family Bibles. Of the twenty-three Bibles published prior to 1715, seven are in French, fourteen are in Dutch, one is in English, and one is in Latin. From 1724 to 1749, all of the twenty-three works are in Dutch. From 1752 to 1796 (the date of the last foreign-language Bible), only eight are in Dutch, while twenty are in English. (Table 3)

TABLE 3

Analysis of Bible Publication Dates					
<i>Period</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
1582-1715	7	14	1	1 (<i>Latin</i>)	23
1724-1749	0	23	0	0	23
1752-1796	0	8	20	1 (<i>German</i>)	29
<i>Total</i>	7	45	21	2	75

These statistics suggest that there was a rapid dissolution of French reading in the region during the eighteenth century. The original Huguenot settlers brought French Bibles and other religious works to the New World, but by the 1720s, Dutch Bibles and books were clearly prominent until the 1750s, when English becomes dominant.

Genealogical registers found in family Bibles are also useful for studying language use and ethnicity, although historians tend to overlook their impor-

tance. Deeply personal, these documents served to celebrate both family and faith and may have also functioned as memorabilia for older family members. I do not believe that these registers were kept as a humdrum exercise, but were the products of private moments in the home after the births, deaths, or marriages of loved ones. In the absence of diaries or letters from this period (of which only a handful exist), and since there would have been no outside pressures affecting the languages chosen for these records, these genealogical registers provide one of the most valuable resources for determining which languages were spoken in the home, and for when families switched from one language to another.

For example, two pages of family records found in a Dutch Bible kept by the Bevier family show a clear transition from French to Dutch occurring in the 1770s, and from Dutch to English in the 1830s.²⁷ Family patriarch Louis Bevier, born in 1717, recorded the family data in French until his death in 1772. His daughter-in-law, Ann DeWitt, picked up the mantle in 1782, recording entries in Dutch until 1834, while simultaneously keeping her financial accounts in English. A similar case is the found in a family register kept in an account book by Wilhelmus Ostrander, a Dutch tavern keeper from the neighboring town of Shawangunk.²⁸ Like DeWitt, Ostrander wrote his family records in Dutch from 1795 to 1814



BIBLE AND RELIGIOUS BOOK COLLECTION, HUGUENOT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NEW PALTZ, (NY)

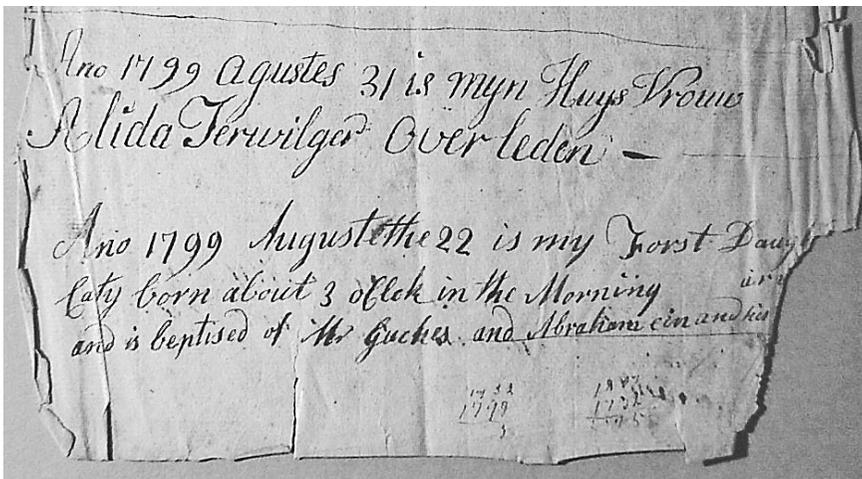
Family records 1782-1834, written in Dutch by Ann DeWitt Bevier and found in The Philip DuBois Bevier Family Bible, published in 1730

while simultaneously recording financial transactions in English.

Of forty-three family registers examined, twenty-eight show single-language use, while the remaining fifteen are mixed. Overall, French is used in a very small percentage of Bible records from 1674-1743, while Dutch is used heavily from 1699 to 1822. Use of English begins in 1722 and becomes the sole language by 1835.²⁹ The main transition from Dutch to English occurs between 1772 and 1802, although this is not universal, as eight registers show no clear date of conversion.³⁰ What is remarkable about these registers is that, on average, they show a considerably longer use of the ancestral language in comparison with other types of documents.

Despite the usefulness of these statistical analyses, a more complete picture is gained only by taking a closer look at language use among some of the Huguenot families over the course of several generations. These individual case studies help to illustrate the various ways that families and individuals used language to adapt to their changing practical needs and to reinforce their private beliefs.

The Deyo family arrived in America in 1675, and after spending a few years at Kingston, settled at New Paltz in 1678. Both the elderly Christian Deyo and his adult son, Pierre, were clearly multilingual at the time of their arrival. Attributed to Christian, for example, are testamentary records written in both Dutch and English in the 1670s and the 1680s.³¹ As mentioned earlier, Pierre conducted financial business in whatever language was most appropriate, whether French, Dutch, or English, until his death in 1711. Two of Pierre's sons wrote wills in



Detail from Family Records kept by Jonathan Deyo showing two entries from 1799, one in Dutch and the other in English. This register was found in the Christian Deyo Family Bible, published in Dutch in 1738

French in 1724 while simultaneously keeping financial papers in both Dutch and English. The records of the next generation show alternating use of Dutch and English until 1773. The Bible records of Pierre's great grandson, Christian Deyo, reveal a clear generational language shift occurring in 1799 when his son, Jonathan, recorded the birth of his first daughter in English. The previous records, kept by the father, are written in Dutch.

The Bevier family also remained multilingual throughout the eighteenth century. Louis Bevier conducted business in multiple languages until his death in 1721, and wrote two wills in Dutch. From the 1730s to the 1760s, later family members wrote their wills in English, their ciphering books in Dutch (until 1760), and letters and financial papers in French, Dutch, and English. They owned books written in all of these languages into the 1820s, and recorded family births, marriages, and deaths in French until 1772 and in Dutch to 1834.

Both of the first Hasbrouck immigrants to America, Jean and Abraham, were also multilingual. They wrote and received letters and receipts in French and Dutch and possessed official documents in English from the British government.³² Although Abraham does not appear to have written a will, Jean wrote his in Dutch in 1714. In it, he bequeathes to his daughter, Elizabeth, among other things, "three books, one Testament, the Practice of Devotion, and a book of Sermons written by Pieter DuMallin and printed in the French Language..."³³ Other surviving remnants of the estate of Jean Hasbrouck include a Bible with family records in French and a copy of the *Histoire des Martyrs*, published in French in 1582.

Following the prolific paper trail left by Jean Hasbrouck's sons and grandsons, we continue to see the use of French as late as the 1780s and Dutch into the early 1800s. Jean's sons conducted schoolwork in French under the tutelage of Jean Tebanin, and one later wrote his will in French in 1747. Jean's grandson, Jacob Hasbrouck, was clearly conversant in all three languages. He conducted business in French with Francois and Jacques Roggen, created a mass of paperwork concerning his extensive land holdings in the county in English, and received letters in Dutch. He possessed a Dutch Bible, printed in Dordrecht in 1741, in which he recorded family records in Dutch until 1759. Even more interesting are several loose pages kept with the Bible. These include copious sermon notes written in Dutch alongside Revolutionary War correspondence in English. Jacob's 1806 estate inventory lists "11 old Dutch books," an old Dutch Bible, three small books (language unspecified), and three volumes of "Divine Economy." The papers of Jacob's son, Josiah Hasbrouck (1755-1821), are overwhelmingly in English, although he had taken a Dutch wife and may have spoken Dutch at home.

In contrast with the other Huguenot founders of New Paltz, Hugo Freer does not appear to have known any English, as all surviving papers relating to him are written in French or Dutch.³⁴ Many of Hugo's children and grandchildren married Dutch spouses and came to speak and write predominantly Dutch. Hugo's son and namesake wrote his two wills in Dutch, and a great-grandson is listed as owning two Dutch books (no English books are listed) in 1804. But even more convincing evidence is found among the family's Bibles, of which all but one reveal a familial preference for Dutch.

The DuBois family remained multilingual, with evidence of French found into the 1760s and Dutch into the early nineteenth century. But like the Freers, they commonly intermarried with their Dutch neighbors and came to adopt Dutch as their primary language. By the 1730s, Dutch is clearly prevalent among family documents in all but governmental activities, including business, book reading, education, and family recordkeeping. Bible records are written almost exclusively in Dutch from the first decade of the eighteenth century to the second decade of the nineteenth.

The DuBois predilection for Dutch marriage partners and language use is particularly noticeable among the family members who settled to the south of the village, near the hamlet of Libertyville, then referred to by its Indian name of Nescotack.³⁵ Even more suggestive is the fact that this family was among the most vocal proponents of the traditional Dutch position in the *Coetus-Conferentie* dispute within the Dutch Reformed Church during the mid-eighteenth century. In this dispute, the *Conferentie* faction sought to maintain a strong allegiance with the Classis of Amsterdam, while their opponents, the *Coetus*, sought more local autonomy. At New Paltz, supporters of the *Conferentie* left the New Paltz church and established their own between New Paltz and Libertyville in 1766. The congregation, often referred to as the "Owl Church" in local histories, was short-lived, however, and disbanded in 1774.³⁶ The highly emotional nature of this dispute is apparent in several letters written by the New Paltz consistory to Hendricus DuBois during the 1760s urging him to conform to the policy set by the church, which supported the *Coetus* faction. In addition, local tradition states that Hendricus was

... a pertinacious and bitter man; for long after the church was reunited he went to the abandoned church alone on Sunday morning to worship. A tradition has come down that even after his death his ghost haunted that old church, and was seen there frequently in the night time.³⁷

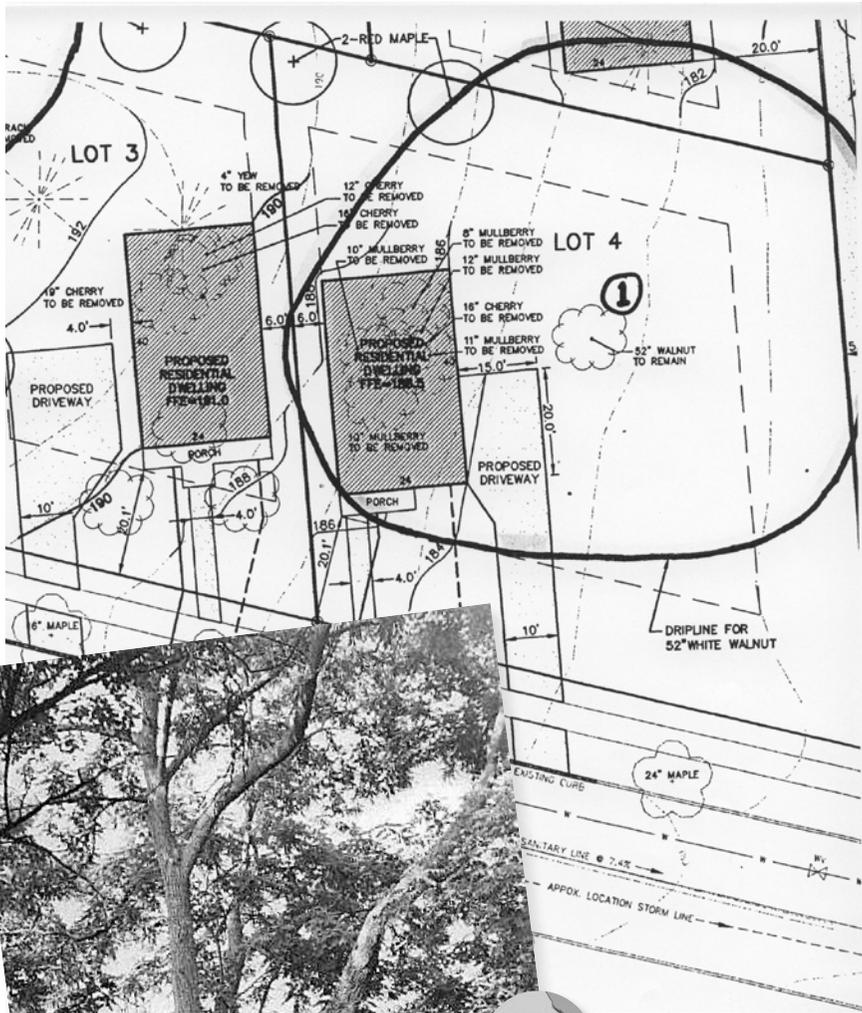
Taken together, both the statistical data and the family case studies demonstrate that French, Dutch, and English were all commonly written and spoken in New Paltz throughout the entire eighteenth century, and that over time, the New Paltz Huguenots went from being trilingual to bilingual to monolingual (although true monolingualism did not arrive until the end of the nineteenth century³⁸). This phenomenon suggests that factors such as ethnic mixture, religious beliefs, and generational or interpersonal conflicts all served to influence language choices. Put simply, families and individuals used different languages at different times for different reasons. However, even the most ardent proponents of French and Dutch culture could not withstand the dual forces of continued immigration and the nationalistic fervor that followed the American Revolution, both of which served to drastically hasten the adoption of English and the decline of French, and particularly Dutch. As elsewhere in America, acceptance of English mirrored the people's loyalty to the concept of independence from the Old World and their search for a national identity. This sentiment of early American nationalism can be perceived in the following phrase penned by a young New Paltz student in the 1790s: "Josiah DuBois is my name, America is my Nation, New Paltz is my dwelling place and Christ is my Salvation."³⁹ As this innocent statement shows, the cosmopolitan worldview of early European Protestantism, of which multilingualism was an important element, had been replaced by the more unified, yet provincial mindset of America at the end of the eighteenth century.

Notes

1. Wills, Jean Tebanin, 1719, 1739. Jean Tebanin Papers (1700-1730). Huguenot Historical Society Mss. Collections. Translation by Dr. Victor-Guy Aboulaffia, 2000.
2. Accounts of language use in various locations in the Hudson Valley and New Jersey can be found in a number of sources. Most revealing, if very technical, is Charles Gehring's Ph.D. dissertation, *The Dutch Language in Colonial New York: An Investigation of a Language in Decline and its Relationship to Social Change* (Indiana University, 1973). Other important essays can be found in Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Alice P. Kenney, *Stubborn for Liberty: The Dutch in New York* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1975); Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975); Gerald De Jong, "The Dutch Reformed Church in the American Colonies," *The Historical Series of the Reformed Church in America*, No. 5 (Philadelphia: Wm. B. Eardmans, 1975); and Adrian C. Leiby, "The Early Dutch and Swedish Settlers of New Jersey," *The New Jersey Historical Series*, vol. 10 (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964). Also of interest are a few works on specific localities: Benjamin Myer Brink, *The Early History of Saugerties* (Kingston: R.W. Anderson & Son, 1902); Alf Evers, *Woodstock: History of an American Town* (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 1989); Henry Noble MacCracken *Old Dutchess Forever!: The Story of an American County* (New York: Hastings House, 1956); and Walter V. Miller, *History of 18th Century Germantown* (Hudson: Ideal Printing Company, 1976).
3. Goodfriend, pp. 188-199.

4. Firth Haring Fabend, *Zion on the Hudson: Dutch New York and New Jersey in the Age of Revivals* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000), pp. 71-72.
5. The term Walloon was used by the Dutch to denote a French-speaking Protestant from the region encompassing northern France, the southern Netherlands, and present-day northern Belgium.
6. For an excellent discussion of the Protestant International, see J.F. Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, Vol. LII, No. 1 (January 1995), pp. 77-102.
7. Paula Wheeler Carlo, *The Huguenots of Colonial New Paltz and New Rochelle: A Social and Religious History* (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 2001), p. 167.
8. Sophia Gruys Hinshalwood, *The Dutch Culture Area of the Mid-Hudson Valley* (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1981). Population tables begin on page 182. Paula Carlo has argued that analyzing surnames to determine ethnicity is flawed since it does not take into account the ethnic mixing that results from exogamous marriages and it masks the ethnicity of the wife or mother. However, I feel that Hinshalwood's statistics are useful here since she grouped Dutch, French, and German names together and because intermarriage between French and Dutch with English-speakers remained relatively low into the nineteenth century.
9. Eric J. Roth, "The Society of Negroes Unsettled: A History of Slavery in New Paltz, N.Y.," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2003, pp. 27-57. Slave population in New Paltz is discussed on p. 28.
10. Carlo, p. 112.
11. Ibid, pp. 398-399.
12. By the term "official records," I am also including land papers such as deeds, mortgages, and bond obligations, even when they are found in the papers of individuals and families rather than among government records.
13. *Ecclesiastical Records State of New York* (Albany: James B. Lyon, Printers; 1905), vol. 5, p. 3209. On page 161 of her dissertation, Hinshalwood claims that French services gave way to Dutch in 1718, although she does not indicate her source. The evidence presented above would seem to place the date somewhat later.
14. Charles H. Stitt, "History of the Huguenot Church and the Settlement at New Paltz," *Collections of the Ulster County Historical Society* (Kingston: Hommel & Lounsbury, 1860-62), vol. 1, p. 209.
15. Ibid, pp. 184-209.
16. Vital Records, 1765-1836, New Paltz Reformed Church, New Paltz.
17. *New Paltz Reformed Church Records* (1683-1892). Mss. Collections, Huguenot Historical Society, New Paltz.
18. The wills used in this study are found in two sources: Gustave Anjou, *Ulster County, N.Y., Probate Records in the Office of the Surrogate, and in the County Clerk's Office at Kingston, N.Y.* (1906), 2 vols.; and *Probate Records—PHOTOCOPIES* (unpublished collection), Huguenot Historical Society Library, New Paltz.
19. The wills in this smaller sample primarily include individuals who were New Paltz residents, but a small number of testators included here owned land at New Paltz while residing in the neighboring towns of Kingston or Hurley. Some individuals made more than one will, sometimes in different languages. A very large majority of the testators before 1760 had French surnames, with only one Dutch and two English surnames. During the second half of the eighteenth century, there were many more Dutch and English residents, although few individuals without French surnames kept wills. Non-French names, however, begin to show regularly in estate inventories at this time.
20. *Ciphering Book Collection* (ca. 1700-1849). Mss. Collection, Huguenot Historical Society, New Paltz. Other ciphering books can be found in the Louis Bevier Family Papers: The Elizabeth Wright Collection (1721-1929) and the Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection (1672-1968). Additional information about education and schoolmasters can be found in Ralph LeFevre,

- The History of New Paltz and its Old Families* (Albany: Fort Orange Press, 1909), pp. 25-26; Carlo, pp. 114-117; and *New Paltz Dutch Reformed Church Records*.
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Photograph of Butternut tree, the largest in New York State. The map subdivision plan incorrectly shows the Butternut as a walnut. The drawn circle is the Butternut's "drip line"—the extent of the tree's coverage and root system

A Tree And Its Neighbors: Creating Community Open Space

Harvey K. Flad & Craig M. Dalton

Introduction

*People's experiences of the urban landscape intertwine
the sense of place and the politics of space.*

—Dolores Hayden; architect/urban historian, 1997

Robin Poritzky was working in her garden on a warm, sunny day in July 2000 when she heard loud noises coming from a vacant lot across the street from her house in the City of Poughkeepsie. Carrying the pitchfork that she had been using, she ran out of her backyard and confronted a group of men with chain saws. They had just cut down a ninety-five-foot-tall tamarack tree and were about to lay waste to the rest of the half-dozen specimen trees on the property. Central within the small grove of varying species was a gigantic butternut (*Juglans cineria*), or white walnut as it is sometimes called.

The foreman of the operation stood with chain saw in hand and looked up at the seventy-nine-foot-tall tree with a diameter of 188 inches and a crown well over 100 feet in circumference, wondering where he might begin his cut. Screaming at the top of her voice and holding the pitchfork in her hands, Poritzky challenged him to stop. Other neighbors, having heard the clamor, soon arrived and stood with her to guard the butternut tree from being cut down.

Meanwhile, local city Councilman Robert Bossi came by and harassed the women who were defending the tree. "Good things are happening here," he said. "Good things?" asked one of the neighbors. "Good things! There's going to be seven new families here," Bossi responded. He went on to explain that the developer had every right to cut down the trees since they were on private property, and that nine houses were slated to be built on the less than two acres of undeveloped land. The neighbors argued against the cutting of the trees and for preserving the small remnant of nature, the remains of a large historic farm now inside the city limits. Bossi countered that greenery was not important; rather, people were

important. In that moment of crisis, a neighborhood articulated its identity and response to a sense of place.

The trees on the property opposite Robin Poritzky's home and the houses of her neighbors had established a natural setting over a century that became a *place* in the cultural landscape of the city. Many neighbors noted that they had purchased their homes on the streets opposite the grove of trees because of the harmonious balance to the environment that the vegetated landscape offered in the midst of an urban landscape densely developed with relatively modest single-family dwellings. And while some of the evergreen trees on the property were taller, the butternut stood out—its presence commanded the space. It would turn out, as the neighbors discovered while they fought to save the tree, that not only had the butternut been listed as an endangered species, but that this particular tree was the New York State Champion Butternut. The Forbus butternut tree, as it became known, is at least ten percent—and perhaps as much as twenty-five percent—larger than any other tree of its species in the state.

This paper offers a social and political history of an urban neighborhood organizing itself to save a tree and its associated open space as an effort in declaring the importance of elements of the natural landscape in formulating a community's sense of place. The Forbus butternut tree in Poughkeepsie is both a symbol of place and of urban ecological inheritance; as a place-maker it is also a focus for community identity.

Land-use history

The 1.3 acres of contested urban open space is a fragment of the former Gregory farm. The nineteenth-century farm was located on the edge of the incorporated City of Poughkeepsie for close to a century. By the early twentieth century, the boundary of the city had extended eastward to include the farmlands, and by the mid-twentieth century the Lawlor family—who were the current owners—had sold off major parcels for housing subdivisions. Meanwhile, the city took ownership of a large portion to locate its high school, middle school, and football fields.

In 1982, the Gregory House and its remaining grounds were listed on the inventory of “Historic Resources of the City of Poughkeepsie—Dutchess County” by the Division for Historic Preservation of New York State for subsequent nomination to the federal National Register of Historic Places. The description is unusual, as it not only enumerates the significant architectural features of the building, but also specifically mentions the landscape, including the lawn and trees:



Photograph of historic Gregory-Lawlor mansion

“In about 1869, when this house was built, it was located on the eastern outskirts of the City of Poughkeepsie. Its first owner was Alexander Gregory, a farmer, whose family owned vast acreage in that area. In fact the **unusual (sic) large city lot, which comprises one third of a block, allows one to visualize its original rural setting.** The grassy lawn, natural plantings of trees, and shrubs complement this representative example of the Second Empire dwelling, with its intact interior featuring period chandeliers. Though other structures of its period and basic style remain in Poughkeepsie, this one achieves **outstanding significance for its siting,** excellent condition, intact nature, and as one of the two best examples of a Second Empire county dwelling.” (Emphasis added.)

Developer’s plans

In 1999, the last surviving member of the Lawlor family died, and the executor of the estate offered the house and property for sale. Robin Poritzky and a few other neighbors were concerned about the possible loss of the historic house and grounds, and approached the executor to negotiate a sale. The price was \$140,000, but the executor did not want to hold a mortgage. Within a very short period of time, he sold it for \$120,000 in cash to Martin Maybaum.

Maybaum immediately began to gut the house of its period furnishings, some of the very interior features that were so important to the listing of the house on the historic register. At the same time, he presented a subdivision plan to the City of Poughkeepsie Planning Board, dividing the three large lots up into nine small house lots. (These would eventually be consolidated into six lots on subsequent development plans.)

The subdivided lots took no cognizance of the existing landscape. As drawn by the Chazen engineering firm, the footprints of houses and driveways were placed on top of existing trees or so close to some of the specimen trees (termed “mature” on the plans) that they were under the trees’ drip-lines. This would mean digging up the roots of the 100- to 200-year-old trees, effectively killing them. The engineer noted that most of the trees would have to be cut down in order to proceed with placing the many houses on the 1.3 acres. Subsequent plans submitted during spring 2000 continued to require the removal of most of the trees.

Indeed, having submitted his subdivision plans to the city, Maybaum then proceeded to cut down the offending forest. But the midsummer day that he and his loggers came with their power saws, the neighbors came out to defend the trees. They were privately owned trees on a privately held lot, but the neighborhood residents—citing historic precedence of continual use over a century as a neighborhood place—considered the trees and the lawn to be a community resource.

Gathering information

*It's pretty impressive. It's the biggest one on record. It's a rare tree...
Unfortunately, it's imminently threatened by this construction.*

—Lou Sebesta; Urban Forester,
New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, July 14, 2000

Poritzky and her close neighbors, Gina Burley-Fishwick and James and Christine Oppenheimer, realized that they needed a lot of detailed information about the property and the trees to present to the city planning board in order to stop, or at least slow down, the development process. Immediately following the confrontation with Maybaum and his loggers, they began telephoning various environmental organizations and others interested in urban ecology. One of the first to respond was Lou Sebesta, an urban forester who worked in the Hudson Valley region for the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation. He visited the site early the following week, and wrote a report on July 12, 2000, with detailed specifications of all the trees still standing on the site. He was immedi-

ately impressed with the size of the butternut tree—its height of seventy-nine feet, girth at four-and-a-half-feet, height of over fifteen feet, and canopy spread of more than 100 feet—so he went to his records book and declared it to be the largest butternut in New York State, indeed, the State Champion Butternut.

The fact that the butternut tree was the state's champion became an immediate news item, and one that the neighborhood group hoped would stop the developer from chopping it down. Although there is no state law that protects champion trees from the “ravages of the axe”—as Thomas Cole, the father of the Hudson River School of Art, wrote in 1835, as he lamented the destruction of the American wilderness—the title “champion tree” did produce a fair amount of public notice and concern. However, it did not influence the city planning board, nor did it force the city to enter a detailed process of environmental review on the subdivision plans.

The neighborhood group also discovered that the butternut is an endangered species. In fact, it was the first tree to be listed on the federal Endangered Species list by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Throughout the nation, in their former habitats of the southern Appalachians as well as in the Northeast, butternuts have succumbed to a cancerous growth. The Forbus butternut had a large canker; however, it had overcome the problem and was considered in very good health by arborists. This was of great interest to arboretums, which requested cuttings and nuts from which they could grow seedlings. Nuts and cuttings were also quickly sent to the National Arboretum in Washington.

The neighborhood group began to collect letters of support from a number of interested parties, including Scenic Hudson, Hudson River Sloop Clearwater, The Garden Conservancy, and the Northern Nut Growers Association, and they began to negotiate with the developer. Maybaum was interested in negotiating for some of the lots, although he did want to build a house or two on some of the subdivided lots. He agreed to sell the lot on which the butternut tree stood, and perhaps a few immediately surrounding the tree, to the neighbors. Now they had to come up with significant funds.

In order to get private donations, or public or private grants, they needed to become a not-for-profit, or 501-c-3 charitable, educational organization. This would be a lengthy process under New York State law. At this point, the Champion Tree Association, which had already become extremely interested in the Forbus butternut, suggested that they file as a chapter of their national organization. A dozen or so city residents became the Forbus Butternut Association and proceeded to raise funds and fight city hall.

Battles with developer and city planning board

*The name of our proper connection to the earth is “good work.”
Good work is always modestly scaled, for it cannot ignore either
the nature of individual places or the differences between places.*

—Wendell Berry; naturalist/author, 2002

Although the local neighbors, other city residents, local environmental organizations, and even regional and national growers and arborists were concerned about the fate of the butternut tree, the city’s planning process continued to accept the developer’s plans without much argument. Members of the Forbus Butternut Association worked feverishly to delay what many felt was inevitable. As Lou Sebesta said, “We cannot stop private development.”

Expert ecologists wrote letters, older residents recalled their pleasant memories playing on the grounds beneath the tree, while a citizen petition was signed by hundreds of residents and presented to the city. Nonetheless, the city was determined to move the development along without undergoing a full environmental impact assessment that could be necessitated under the State Environmental Quality Review Act. In order to pursue a more complete environmental impact analysis, the Forbus Butternut Association filed a lawsuit in September 2000, just two months after Poritzky’s initial confrontation.

John Lyons, an environmental lawyer from Rhinebeck, was hired to draw up the documents and file a petition for an Article 78 hearing by the New York State Supreme Court. Although negotiations with Maybaum continued as he considered selling one or more lots surrounding the tree to the association, he moved ahead with his plans to build, and in fact constructed a small pre-fabricated house on a concrete slab on a corner lot, adjacent to the lots that encompassed the butternut’s root system. The construction of this house led to the cutting down of two more specimen trees, including an 85-foot Ginkgo that urban forester Sebesta had determined to be in “excellent” health.

Of the original nine lots, three were combined into one parcel surrounding the butternut. One lot contained the newly built house, so six lots remained open for sale to the association. During the next two years, it raised more than \$60,000 from private loans, donations, and public grants to purchase five of the six available lots. About \$10,000 of that figure was raised through volunteer efforts by members of the association, including presenting their cause to the thousands of visitors at the Dutchess County Fair.

They also approached the City Common Council for funds. Poughkeepsie is proud of its history in urban tree management. In February 1978, the City Code

added a Municipal Tree Ordinance, which states, in part:

It is hereby found and declared that the City of Poughkeepsie, New York, is situated in an area covered with a wide variety of trees and shrubs that are a vital part of the heritage passed on to us by nature and our forefathers.

Trees are valued as a valuable asset, providing a healthier and more beautiful environment in which to live. They provide oxygen, shade, beauty and a contrast to the man-made setting. They help to prevent erosion, fill in streams, flash floods and air, noise and visual pollution.

Trees are economically beneficial in attracting new industry, residents and visitors. Healthy trees of the right size and species enhance the value and marketability of property and promote the stability of neighborhoods.

The ordinance also established a Shade Tree Commission, which, among other regulatory duties, hosts an annual Arbor Day celebration for schoolchildren. As New York State's oldest, continuously certified "Tree City," Poughkeepsie continues to budget for street and park tree maintenance and replacement.

In April 2002, then-mayor Collette Lafuente and five of the six members of the Common Council voted in favor of granting the association \$10,000 to purchase the property as a city park. Lafuente said, "I think we will be preserving a major part of Poughkeepsie's history. It will continue to be an asset to the neighborhood and the city." Common Council Chairman Tom O'Neill concurred: "I think, as a grassroots neighborhood organization, their request is deserving of a hearing." Councilman Robert Bossi—who had railed against Poritzky during her confrontation to stop the cutting of the trees in July 2000—lodged the lone vote against the resolution. He argued: "Believe it or not, they [the people of the neighborhood] have more important things to think about than the survival of the butternut tree."

The Mid-Hudson River Valley is currently undergoing significant population growth, especially by suburban commuters to New York City. Land use in Dutchess County is rapidly changing from rural agricultural to suburban sprawl, while residential growth is also occurring in the county's towns, villages, and two cities—Poughkeepsie and Beacon. The Dutchess County Legislature has taken some steps to attempt to control the haphazard land-use changes. Among these is the creation of a fund to purchase development rights to existing farmland and assist municipalities in the development of new parks. The county legislator representing the area of the city with the butternut property was successful in getting the legislature's open space fund to grant \$20,000 to the purchase of the

Maybaum property.

These local public efforts, along with successful lobbying by local politicians, environmentalists, and the state's own urban forester, resulted in a grant of \$32,750 from the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation from the Clean Water/Clean Air Bond Act. This grant was used to repay an earlier loan from the private Norcross Wildlife Foundation, and completed the \$60,000 necessary for the purchase of five of the six available lots. As the Forbus Butternut Association fund-raising letter prompted: "With your help, we can help raise monies to preserve this historic gem, further protect our beloved butternut tree and provide a green space for our children, residents and neighbors throughout the city...today and tomorrow."

Three years after a few neighbors stood defiantly in front of the grand and noble butternut tree, it had been saved and a pocket park established—all by sustained citizen action. The Forbus Butternut Association owns the tree and the land around it, while the property is open to public access. The association is responsible for lawn mowing, trash pickup, and other maintenance, while the Save-A-Tree non-profit ecological organization has taken on the responsibility of caring for the tree itself.

As a public park, albeit owned by a private not-for-profit, the land is used by the nearby schools for environmental education in art and science classes. Meanwhile, city residents pursue passive recreational activities during the seasons. The tree's shade is particularly welcome on hot summer days.

Conclusion

People demonstrate their sense of place when they apply their moral and aesthetic discernment to sites and locations.

—Yi-Fu Tuan; cultural/human geographer, 1977

Cities are cultural landscapes composed of a complex of social and natural elements and places that help to define the community's identity. A sensitivity to the natural features of place, according to the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, may derive from individual or collective "topophilia," or "love of landscape." In this view, it is both a physical and aesthetic necessity to relate to the physical features of the environment, even in urban areas. The history of urban park design, as in the writings and work of Andrew Jackson Downing, Calvert Vaux, and Frederick Law Olmsted, have been most important in this regard.

The geographer and historian David Lowenthal, meanwhile, recognizes the significance of human interaction with the landscape over time. Landscapes

develop a sense of place for a community through memory, imagination, and aesthetic perspective. However, land-use changes can destroy community relationships, so preserving significant elements of the past is important to maintaining and enhancing a city's (or neighborhood's) quality of life. As Lowenthal has written: "We need the past...to cope with present landscapes.... Without the past as tangible or remembered evidence we could not function.... Buffeted by change, we retain traces of our past to be sure of our enduring identity."

Former Mayor Collette Lafuente spoke out in favor of preserving the butternut tree as a neighborhood and city historical resource: "This is a neighborhood...where people would like to save a tree that has lived through the history of this country.... Frankly, I don't think the city of Poughkeepsie will look like we know what we are doing if we can't preserve a tree that is getting national attention."

As Dolores Hayden, author of *The Power of Place*, has also written, "People make attachments to places that are critical to their well-being or distress," and if they are despoiled or destroyed or dramatically changed, it can be reflected in significant psychological stress. "Something is being taken from us," lamented Robin Poritzky as she and her neighbors described the importance of the trees and small, open-space property in their city neighborhood. A harmony that they felt existed between the built and natural environments was about to be broken.

Hayden has argued for a social politics of urban space in which local communities identify specific places that confirm their histories and their lives. It is said that "all politics is local." In November 2003, Poughkeepsie's mayoral race pitted Robert Bossi, the city councilman who voted against funding the purchase of the butternut-tree property, against Nancy Cozean, former vice president of the Forbus Butternut Association, who was primarily responsible for gaining funding for the purchase. In her successful campaign, Cozean noted the role of historic houses and landscapes, and neighborhood beauty and "neighborliness," as "tangible assets" of community pride. "History," she added, "makes the city feel its worth." "We need to explore ways to balance progress with preservation," Cozean argued as she defeated Bossi.

Specific spaces, buildings, artifacts, or even notable natural features such as hills, streams, or trees can become the landmarks that symbolize the community's identity. For the residents of one small neighborhood in the City of Poughkeepsie, a gigantic, noble butternut tree and its surrounding property emerged as their *genius loci*. Sense of place became political and remains to define its community character.

This article was originally presented on the panel “Regreening the Metropolis: Pathways to More Ecological Cities” at the centennial meeting of the Association of American Geographers in Philadelphia on March 19, 2004. It was retitled “Nature and the Cultural Construction of an Urban Place” and presented at the conference “Senses of Place: Urban Narratives as Public Secrets” at the Pace Institute for Environmental and Regional Studies, Pace University, New York City, on April 16, 2004.

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Sarah Jay's Invitations to Dinner/Supper, 1787-1788

Louise V. North

At the John Jay Homestead State Historic Site in Katonah there is a small, unprepossessing sheaf of papers sewn together in the center with white thread. Measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches, the pages on the right side contain dates, lists of names, and the number of people invited; the pages on the left side are uncut and blank. On the first page, in a small, neat hand, is written *Invitations to Dinner/Supper 1787-1788*.¹ The handwriting is that of Sarah Livingston Jay, and the little sheaf of papers one of the most famous guest lists of the young United States. During the nineteenth century, it was touted as an early version of *The Blue Book* of New York's high society and was reproduced in such works as Rufus Griswold's *Republican Court; or, American Society in the Days of Washington* (1855) as an example of the brilliant social circle found in New York after the American Revolution.² A careful study of the lists, however, reveals that, far from being the social Who's Who of 1787-8, the invited guests were the foremost politicians, the movers and shakers, of the time. Although Sarah and her husband, John Jay, were indeed related to prominent families—e.g., the Van Cortlandts and the Livingstons—these lists demonstrate their lively participation in the political life of New York. The Jays were clearly getting people of different points of view together to talk with one another over a good dinner.

Sarah Livingston Jay (1756-1802) was the well-educated daughter of New Jersey Governor William Livingston and Susannah French. Raised in a politically active household, she married lawyer John Jay (1745-1829) in 1774, when she was seventeen and he twenty-eight. This was a love match rivaled only by that of John and Abigail Adams. The newlyweds were almost immediately caught up in the political tug of war between Great Britain and its American colony. When King George III slammed the door on any negotiations between the two, John Jay threw his unwavering support to the Americans. In the ensuing years, he devoted himself to serving his country, in more capacities than any other Founding Father: delegate to and president of the Continental Congress; one of the framers of New York's first Constitution as well as its first Chief Justice; minister plenipotentiary to Spain; peace commissioner for the Treaty of Paris, which ended



JOHN JAY HOMESTEAD SHS (NYSOPRHP)

John Jay. Engraving after
Pierre E. Simitière, 1779

the Revolutionary War;³ Secretary for Foreign Affairs for the government under the Articles of Confederation; one of the authors of *The Federalist*; first Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; negotiator for the “Jay Treaty;” and two-term governor of New York State. Jay believed that America’s strength and greatness would come in the unity of its citizens under a strong central government, not in a loose confederation of states. His patriotism and integrity were never doubted, even when some of his actions were disparaged. Throughout, Sarah supported him; entertained family, friends, and both national and international political figures; and furthered his political career. Her intel-

ligence, keen powers of observation, and skillful management of the household made her a valuable helpmeet. Totally devoted to her husband, she was a true partner in their life together.

In the 1780s, dissatisfaction with the Articles of Confederation had been increasing. Impeded by the power of the individual states, Congress was unable to raise funds, either by direct taxation or import duties to regulate commerce; pay its creditors; make the states comply with the terms of the Peace Treaty of 1783; safeguard American merchant ships and sailors from impressments by antagonistic nations; or negotiate creditably with foreign ministers. An economic depression, local uprisings (Shays’ Rebellion in Massachusetts), and threats of secession (New York) confirmed that the future of the new republic was in danger. Influential leaders called for a convention, to be attended by all of the states, to make “the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union.”

It is in this context that we should view Sarah Jay’s guest lists. During 1787, there were twenty-five parties (eleven were all-male) at the Jay house on lower Broadway in Manhattan. These gatherings were planned a couple of days in advance; most likely, Sarah wrote each guest a short note, which was then delivered by one of her servants. As Secretary for Foreign Affairs, it was incumbent upon Jay to entertain dignitaries, whether they came from Virginia or France. Louis-Guillaume Otto, the French chargé d’affaires, put it succinctly: “it is only after having toasted well that one succeeds here in inviting a confidential

conversation and inspiring good dispositions.”⁴ Some of the frequent guests, the Spanish Encargado de Negocios Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Dutch Minister Plenipotentiary Pieter J. van Berckel, and the British (but American-born) Consul-General Sir John Temple and his wife, Lady Elizabeth Bowdoin Temple, lived nearby.

To get a flavor of these gatherings, a look at some specific lists may be useful. On Friday, January 5, 1787, twenty-one guests (all male) were invited. Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress, has a small x next to his name, so perhaps he was unable to attend. However, other members of Congress did come: Samuel Meredith

from Pennsylvania; Dr. William Samuel Johnson from Connecticut (also president of Columbia College); Jay’s old friend, Rufus King from Massachusetts; John Kean from South Carolina; John Lawrence and Melancton Smith from New York.⁵ Secretary of War General Henry Knox; New York City’s Recorder, Col. Richard Varick; King’s father-in-law, John Alsop; and members of the Board of the Treasury—William Duer, Arthur Lee, Walter Livingston, and Samuel Osgood—completed the American contingent.⁶ Foreign interests were represented by Dutch minister van Berckel and his son, Franco; the French Vice-Consul, Antoine de la Forêt; and Louis-Guillaume Otto. What was discussed over dinner? Trade? The American debt? The Franco-American Consular Convention? One can only guess. Shortly after this gathering, Otto complained to his superior, Comte de Vergennes, that some members of Congress—as well as Jay himself—distrusted France. Pieter van Berckel had had a long, distinguished career in Holland when the Dutch Estates General appointed him minister in 1783. Anxious to see the credit of the United States established, he was probably delighted to be at the table with members of the Treasury Board. Congress had not met since mid-November 1786 for lack of a quorum, so business was transacted at the Jays. Would Sarah Jay herself have been present? Since there were no other ladies, it is doubtful.

In contrast to this political fare, a party three days later, on Monday, January 8, was devoted to family and friends, though even some of them had political interests and aspirations. Among the twenty-six guests were merchants Henry



JOHN JAY HOMESTEAD SHS (NYSOPRHP)

Sarah Livingston Jay.
Engraving after Daniel Huntington

Cruger; James Abraham DePeyster (John's cousin) and his wife and a daughter; Loyalist Daniel Ludlow and his family;⁷ John's brother, Frederick, with his wife, Margaret Barclay; and Dr. Benjamin Kissam Jr., professor of medicine at Columbia College and son of Benjamin Kissam, with whom John had studied law. The Livingstons were also well represented: Sarah's older sister, Susan; cousin Walter with his wife, Cornelia, and daughter, Maria; cousins Philip Peter, Elizabeth (who would soon marry Louis-Guillaume Otto), and Susan L. Kean (with her husband, John).

The next list has no date, only the notation "to sup" but, given its placement in the booklet, most likely it took place before January 18, 1787. Among the guests are again politicians, diplomats, and influential family members, one of whom was John Jay's oldest friend, Robert R. Livingston. The Chancellor of New York State, he had been Jay's law partner (1768-1771), a member of the Continental Congress, had worked with Jay on the first New York State Constitution, and had been the first Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Moreover, he was godfather to Jay's daughter, Maria. (Jay reciprocated for Livingston's daughter, Margaret.) Livingston was accompanied by his wife, Mary Stevens; his brothers, John and Edward (the latter known as Beau Ned); his widowed sister, Janet Montgomery; and another sister, Gertrude Lewis, with her husband, Morgan. Also in attendance was New York Mayor James Duane, whose wife, Maria, was a Livingston.

Several members of Congress were present: Col. William Few of Georgia; William Grayson and his wife, Eleanor Smallwood, of Virginia; William Hindman of Maryland; Samuel Meredith of Pennsylvania; and William L. Pierce and his wife, Charlotte Fenwick, of Georgia. So, too, was Baron Friederich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin von Steuben, the Prussian military officer who, using French and German mixed with some English "goddams," had reorganized the American troops to good effect during the Revolution. He was now an American citizen. His aide-de-camp, Major William North, was also invited; he was not only von Steuben's adopted son but also Mayor Duane's son-in-law. Nor should we fail to mention General Henry Knox and his wife, Lucy Flucker Knox, a renowned hostess in her own right.

At the table also sat the English-educated Spanish diplomat, Don Diego de Gardoqui. He and Jay had been in protracted negotiations—without coming to any satisfactory conclusion—about navigation rights on the Mississippi River and the territorial limits of Spain and the United States. To avoid war and disgrace, Jay had sought accommodation between the two countries, even suggesting a treaty that would close the Mississippi to American navigation for twenty-five to thirty years. The outcry, especially from the Southern states, forced Jay to retract

this idea. At the moment, the negotiations were at a standstill. Gardoqui saw his host as a self-centered man, “blindly in love with his wife.” He described Sarah Jay as a “vain” woman who dominated her husband: “nothing is done without her consent.”⁸ Gardoqui was talking of returning to Spain, but he, like Otto, felt that to “give dinners and above all to entertain with good wine” was to Spain’s benefit. No doubt that’s why he accepted John and Sarah’s hospitality so frequently.

The invitations continued to be written: for January 18 (twenty people) and 28 (seven gentlemen); February 22 (twenty-eight people) and 23 (twenty-two men); and March 5 (seventeen guests, mostly family). In the meantime, Congress passed a resolution on February 21 calling for a convention at Philadelphia for the “sole and express purpose of revising” the Articles of Confederation. Jay wrote to John Adams in England on that day that he was unsure what changes should be made but he did feel it would be better “to distribute the federal Sovereignty into its three proper Departments of executive, legislative and judicial...”⁹ Having thought and corresponded about how the Articles could be improved, Jay would have been an ideal candidate to send as a New York delegate to the convention. Anti-Federalist Governor George Clinton thought otherwise, appointing instead two of his confederates, Robert Yates and John Lansing, as well as Alexander Hamilton.

There are no party lists for the next four months; nonetheless, life remained hectic for the Jays. John continued to deal with matters that came to his office at Fraunces Tavern. Sarah went to visit her parents. In the middle of May, John may have gone to Fishkill for health reasons, and then to Rye to visit his brother, Peter. On May 27, Sarah wrote to him to say that he “would not be able to do any business in the official way these five or six weeks” because so many members of Congress were also delegates to the Convention at Philadelphia.

On May 25, 1787, the Constitutional Convention presided over by George Washington opened in Philadelphia. The convention immediately adopted (on May 30) a resolution “that a national Government ought to be established consisting of a supreme Legislative, Executive and Judiciary,” thereby abandoning the Articles of Confederation under which the United States had been operating. As George Mason from Virginia explained: “Under the existing confederacy, Congress represent the States not the people of the States; their acts operate on the States, not the individuals.”¹⁰ For the next months, all eyes were on Philadelphia.

The parties began again on July 5. Sarah’s list has eighteen guests, mostly foreigners: van Berckel and his son, Franco, and daughter, Jacoba; de Gardoqui; Antoine de la Forêt, newly wed to Catherine Beaumanoir, who had just arrived

in New York; Louis-Guillaume Otto and his bride, Elizabeth Livingston; Sir John and Lady Elizabeth Temple. Pierce and Mary Butler, John and Susan Kean, and William and Charlotte Pierce rounded out the group. Although there may have been conversation about Madame de la Forêt's trip and marriage, surely the discussion centered on the deliberations at the convention. Gardoqui had been to Philadelphia to see what he might learn.

Sunday, July 15, found many gathered at the Jays, the guest of honor being naval hero John Paul Jones. The brash and restless Jones had traveled from France with Mademoiselle Beaumanoir, the Marquis de Lotbinière, and French Consul Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur. At this welcoming party were the ever-present de Gardoqui; Alexander Hamilton (who had left the Convention in disgust) and his wife, Elizabeth Schuyler; the Butler family; John and Dorothy Quincy Hancock of Massachusetts; Sarah's father, mother, and sister, Susan; cousin Henry White with his family; as well as friends General Matthew Clarkson and William Bingham, the Philadelphia merchant who had been the Jays' host in Martinique in 1779.

The Constitutional Convention recessed for ten days on July 27, 1787, and some of the delegates took the opportunity to visit New York. On August 2, they were invited to dine at the Jays. Among them were Arthur St. Clair of Pennsylvania, president of Congress; Hugh Williamson of North Carolina; Richard Henry Lee and his brother, Arthur; George Mason and his son, George Junior (whom the Jays had met in Paris); and Alexander Hamilton. No doubt the other guests—Jones, General Knox, and de Gardoqui—would have listened with interest to news from the convention.

Soon afterward, Sarah Jay fell ill and went to Elizabethtown, New Jersey; thanks to her mother's care, she had "a reprieve from the silent Tomb." Beginning on September 10, the Jays hosted eleven parties (six all-male) in quick succession. The guests were mostly Convention delegates. There seemed to be a sense of urgency to get people together. Governor George Clinton; his brother, James, with his son, "young" DeWitt; the Lees; the President of Congress; Mayor Duane; Elbridge Gerry; Gouverneur Morris; Gov. John Rutledge; and Robert R. Livingston came to dine and talk.

Indeed, there was urgency, for on September 17, delegates at the convention had agreed to a new Constitution that required ratification by nine out of the thirteen states. Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey quickly ratified, but this early enthusiastic support was soon followed by strong opposition. On October 22, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton dined with other politicians at the Jays. No ladies being present, the conversation probably concerned the Constitution. To counter Anti-Federalist attacks, Hamilton, Jay, and Madison joined together

to write the eighty-five letters known as *The Federalist*, a work of advocacy to persuade New Yorkers to ratify. The first, written by Hamilton, appeared on October 27, 1787. The next four were written by Jay.

At this point, Jay became seriously ill, and then Sarah (whose health was always a bit fragile) collapsed from taking care of him. There were no parties at the house on Broadway until the following year.

For 1788, there are eighteen guest lists (this time only four are all-male), though two have a large X through them, indicating that the planned parties did not take place. Again, there are both family and political parties. Thursday, January 10, found Colonel Aaron Burr, a member of the New York Assembly,¹¹ among the guests, in addition to Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Chancellor Livingston, and several members of Congress. Tuesday, February 12, seems to have been a welcoming dinner for the newly arrived French minister, the Marquis Eléonore François Elie de Moustier and his sister-in-law, the Marchioness de Bréhan. Thomas Jefferson had written privately to Jay: "I think it impossible to find a better woman, more amiable, more modest, more simple in her manners, dress, and way of thinking. She will deserve the friendship of Mrs. Jay, & the way to obtain hers is to receive her and treat her without the shadow of etiquette."¹² Mme. de Bréhan was a gifted amateur artist, but spoke little English. James Madison was delighted with her, going so far as to acquire a young slave in Virginia for her. However, New York ladies were less taken with her; she was in fact de Moustier's mistress, an illicit connection that was, as Madison put it, "universally known and offensive to American manners."

There were other members of the French delegation at the Jays that evening: Victor M. DuPont, son of economist Pierre S. DuPont de Nemours; Mr. and Mrs. de la Forêt; Mr. Otto (now a widower, his young wife having died in childbirth in December); and French Consul J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur with his daughter, América-Francès (known as Fanny). The well-educated de Crèvecoeur had chronicled his experiences of living and traveling in America in the best-seller *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782). Fanny was a striking beauty, with auburn hair and dark blue eyes.¹³ That this was an official reception is further indicated by the presence of the Dutch van Berckel, the Spanish de Gardoqui, the British



COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR

Pieter John van Berckel (1725-1800).
Engraving by Reiner Vinkeles

Sir John and Lady Temple, Chancellor Livingston, and the President of Congress (now Cyrus Griffin of Virginia) with his wife, Christiana, a Scottish woman of noble birth known as “Lady Griffin.”

There were only four dinners in February and March 1788, attended mostly by members of Congress and influential politicians. On April 8, Sarah Jay drew up a list for April 15 and another list on the 11th for the 17th, but both dinners had to be cancelled. On April 13, an angry mob gathered at New York Hospital on Broadway and Pearl Street, accusing the medical students of “body-snatching.” The arrival of Mayor Duane and other citizens defused the tension, but the students were taken to jail “for safe-keeping.” By the next morning, continuing rumors of grave robbing had risen to such a fever pitch that, despite assurances by the mayor and Governor Clinton that there would be an investigation into the accusations, the mob went to the jail, demanding that the students be given up to them. Sarah wrote to her mother:

“...just as were going to tea, Genl. Clarkson call’d in to know if we could lend him a sword, for says he the rioters are proceeding to the Jail & are determined to open the doors & liberate the prisoners as well as to tear in pieces the Doctors who are confin’d there...Mr. Jay ran up the stairs & handing Clarkson one sword, to my great concern arm’d himself with another, & went towards the Jail..Just as he was going up the steps of the jail, a stone thrown by one of the mob (for it was too dark to discern which) took him in the forehead & stunn’d him so that he fell...”¹⁴

Jay received two large holes in his forehead, and though initially there was great concern for his life, his injuries were limited to black eyes and pain in his neck and shoulders. Baron von Steuben was also wounded. The mob fled after the arrival of the militia, which fired into the crowd, killing several people. The situation remained tense, and the medical students were “hurried off into the country” until the uproar died away.¹⁵

A month passed before there was another party at the Jays. Abigail “Nabby” Smith, recently returned from Europe and settling in New York City, wrote her mother, Abigail Adams, about the occasion: “we dined at Mrs. Jay’s, in company with the whole *corps diplomatique*. Mr. Jay is a most pleasing man, plain in his manners, but kind, affectionate, and attentive; benevolence is stamped in every feature. Mrs. Jay dresses showily, but is very pleasing on a first acquaintance. The dinner was *à la Française*,¹⁶ and exhibited more of European taste than I expected to find.” The diplomatic contingent that evening included van Berckel and his daughter, Jacoba; the Comte de Moustier; Mme. de Bréhan and her son, Louis;

Mr. Otto; Sir John and Lady Temple; and the ever-present de Gardoqui.

Some days later, the party was all-male—mostly members of Congress. The 10th of June saw family and friends dining together before Jay traveled to Poughkeepsie as a delegate to New York’s Constitutional Convention. Prior to his injury, Jay had written an *Address to the People of the State of New York*, published April 15, 1788, in which he urged New Yorkers to ratify the Constitution. He compared the Articles of Confederation with the proposed Constitution, which, though not perfect, had



BY PERMISSION OF JAY J. SMITH

Alexander Hamilton

been created by the careful deliberation and compromise of the delegates, and which promised to serve the people better than the Articles had. However, it was far from clear whether New York would ratify. The Federalists, such as Robert R. Livingston, Alexander Hamilton, James Duane, Isaac Roosevelt, as well as Jay, faced formidable opposition from Anti-Federalists Governor Clinton, Robert Yates, John Lansing, and Melancton Smith. On July 26, 1788, New York voted thirty to twenty-seven to ratify the Constitution unconditionally. “This happy result, so little anticipated a few weeks before, was no doubt owing in part to the accession of New-Hampshire and Virginia.”¹⁷

In September 1788, there were three parties. On Tuesday the third, the usual mix of delegates, diplomats, and friends was joined by Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville, a French journalist working as an agent for a French syndicate speculating in American lands and debts. He would describe his experiences during his six-month stay in the United States in *Nouveau Voyage dans les Etats-Unis* (1791), calling Jay “a republican remarkable for his firmness and sang-froid and a writer distinguished for his pure style and close reasoning.”¹⁸ Brissot was also a militant abolitionist and a founder of the Société des Amis des Noirs, thus it is especially interesting to note that Theodore Sedgwick was also present. This Massachusetts legislator and jurist had defended runaway slave Elizabeth “Mumbet” Freeman in 1783, successfully arguing that Massachusetts’ 1780 Bill of Rights had declared all men to be “born free and equal.” Jay, a founder and first president of the New York Manumission Society as well as the African Free School, viewed slavery as inconsistent with the principles upon which the new nation was founded. Yet he was a slave owner and lived in the largest slave-owning state north of Maryland. Did the conversation this evening focus on slavery and the slave trade?

Still operating under the Articles of Confederation, Congress was barely able to conduct business, though it did set New York City as the site for the new government and March 4, 1789, for the first meeting of the new Congress. On October 10, 1788, Congress was able to muster enough delegates to transact some business before fading away. That was also the date of Sarah's last list.

The astute reader will have noticed the absence on these lists of several prominent patriots of the young republic: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and George Washington.¹⁹ There is a Mr. Franklin on the dinner list of September 13, 1787, but it was not Benjamin, whose poor health kept him in Philadelphia. Rather it was Samuel Franklin, a Quaker and founder of the New York Manumission Society. John and Abigail Adams returned to Massachusetts from Europe in mid-1788; Mrs. Adams came to stay with the Jays early in 1789. She was a sympathetic guest, for Sarah was pregnant and suffering from morning sickness. General Washington did not come to New York until late April 1789, having remained at Mount Vernon except to preside at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia.²⁰ Later that year, President Washington, now a neighbor, invited the Jays to join him at the theater (an amusement Washington greatly enjoyed) and, on another occasion, asked for a ride to church, his harness being damaged.

One question needs to be asked: Why did Sarah Jay make the lists only in these politically exciting years? Is it coincidence that there are no lists for other years, or were they destroyed? Jay himself, and later his two sons, carefully culled his voluminous collection of papers. Or perhaps John Jay's career changes from Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and then to New York's Governor made the lists unnecessary. Whatever the answer, the Jays continued to entertain. Mrs. Jay, like Martha Washington and Lucy Knox, had weekly "At Homes." Even when her husband, riding circuit as Chief Justice, was absent from home, she extended invitations, writing to him, "My endeavor has been to show my affection to you by attention to your friends."²¹

There is no doubt that the guests on the lists of 1787-1788 represented the complete spectrum of political thought and influence. They reflected the symbiotic relationship of politics and society. As van Berckel put it when he wrote (in the third person) to Congress: "He has been a Witness to the Efforts made by this Assembly, to establish the Government confided to them on a solid and permanent Basis." He and all of Sarah Jay's guests were indeed "Witnesses at the Creation."²²

I gratefully acknowledge the comments and suggestions received from Landa M. Freeman, Janet M. Wedge, Walter B. Stahr, and most of all, James H. North. Any errors, however, are my sole responsibility.

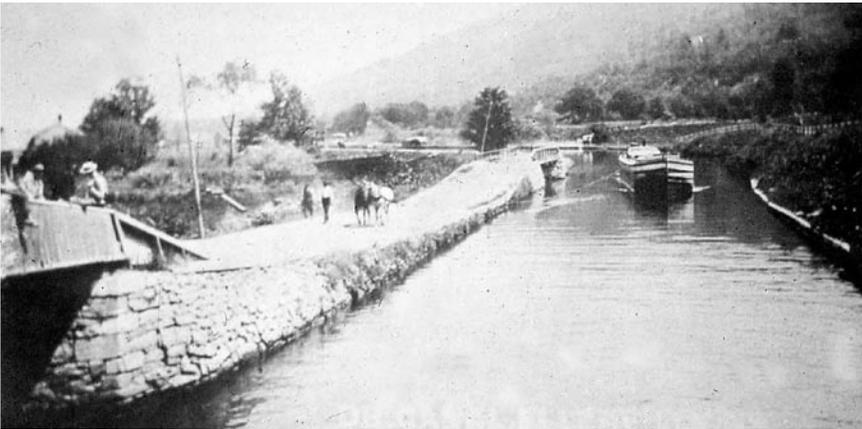
Notes

1. A later hand has added in pencil—incorrectly—1789. Random purple check marks were also added.
2. Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Queens of American Society* (Philadelphia, 1867) and Dixon Wecter, *The Saga of American Society: A Record of Social Aspiration 1607-1937* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), pp.199-204, contain many erroneous identifications. The recent *Encyclopedia of Women in American History*, Joyce Appleby editor (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2002), vol. I, mistakenly asserts that Sarah's dinner lists were a list of 160 families "considered particularly deserving of social notice."
3. John Adams wrote in his diary: "The French call me 'Le Washington de la Negociation', a very flattering compliment indeed, to which I have no right, but sincerely think it belongs to mr. Jay."
4. Otto to French Foreign Minister Comte de Vergennes, Nov. 28, 1785, in Mary A. Giunta, (editor), *The Emerging Nation: A Documentary History of the Foreign Relations of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, 1780-1789* (National Historical Publications and Records Commission, 1996), vol. III, p. 57.
5. Melancthon Smith (as Sarah Jay spelled it) had been a trustee for John Jay's father's estate.
6. William Duer's wife, John Kean's wife, and Walter Livingston were Sarah Jay's cousins.
7. The Jays, by and large, did not ostracize loyalists as long as they had not actively obstructed the American cause.
8. Quoted in Richard B. Morris, *Witnesses at the Creation: Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and the Constitution* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1985), p.152.
9. Giunta, III, 430.
10. Leonard W. Levy and Dennis J. Mahoney, editors. *The Framing and Ratification of the Constitution* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1987), p.12.
11. Upon their return from Europe, Jay had placed his nephew, Peter Jay Munro, in Burr's office to study law.
12. Letter from Paris by Thomas Jefferson to John Jay, [1786?], Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.
13. Fanny married Louis-Guillaume Otto in April 1790, and the family returned to France for good. Surviving the turmoil of the French Revolution, Otto served his country with distinction.
14. Sarah L. Jay to her mother, Susannah French Livingston, 17 April 1788, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University.
15. J.T. Headley, *The Great Riots of New York 1712-1873* (New York: E.B. Treat, 1873), pp. 55-65.
16. All the dishes were placed on the table instead of being served in courses.
17. William Jay, *The Life of John Jay* (New York: J&J. Harper, 1833), vol. I, p. 270.
18. J-P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America 1788*, translated by Mara Soceaunu Vamos and Durand Echeverria (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 124-5.
19. Earlier sources have mistakenly identified Benjamin Franklin and Washington as being among the guests.
20. It was in the summer of 1789 that Washington, now President of the United States, and Jay, as Acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs, met frequently to discuss foreign policy.
21. Letter, Sarah L. Jay to John Jay, Oct. 23, 1790, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.
22. Aug. 25, 1788, Giunta, III, pp. 828-9. Many years later, Richard B. Morris used the same word for the title of his excellent account of this time period, *Witnesses at the Creation: Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and the Constitution*.



COURTESY OF D&H CANAL MUSEUM

Towboy or hoggee walking along a mule team



COURTESY OF THE NEVERSINK VALLEY AREA MUSEUM

Canal boat



LOUIS V. MILLS

The Shawangunk Ridge as seen from the Towpath of the D&H Canal. The Canal ran for miles along the valley below the ridge, carrying anthracite coal from the Pennsylvania coalfields to the Rondout Basin on the Hudson River below Kingston

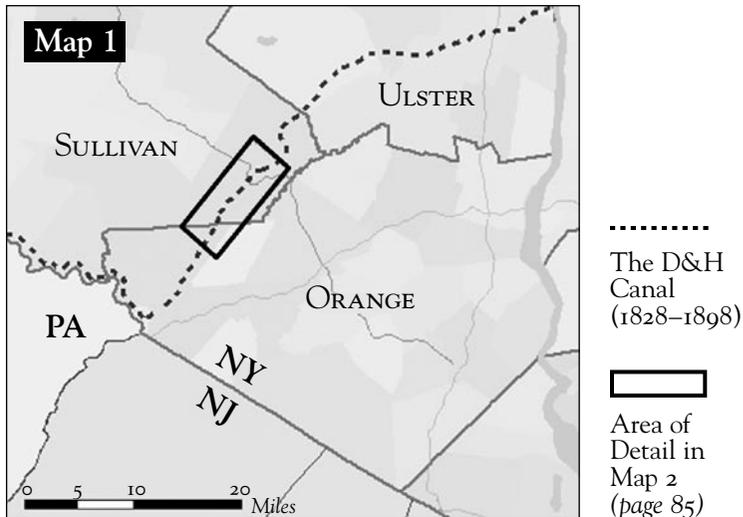
Regional History Forum

Each issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review* includes the *Regional History Forum* section. This section highlights 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 the Delaware & Hudson (D&H) Canal. Please write us with suggestions for future Forum sections.

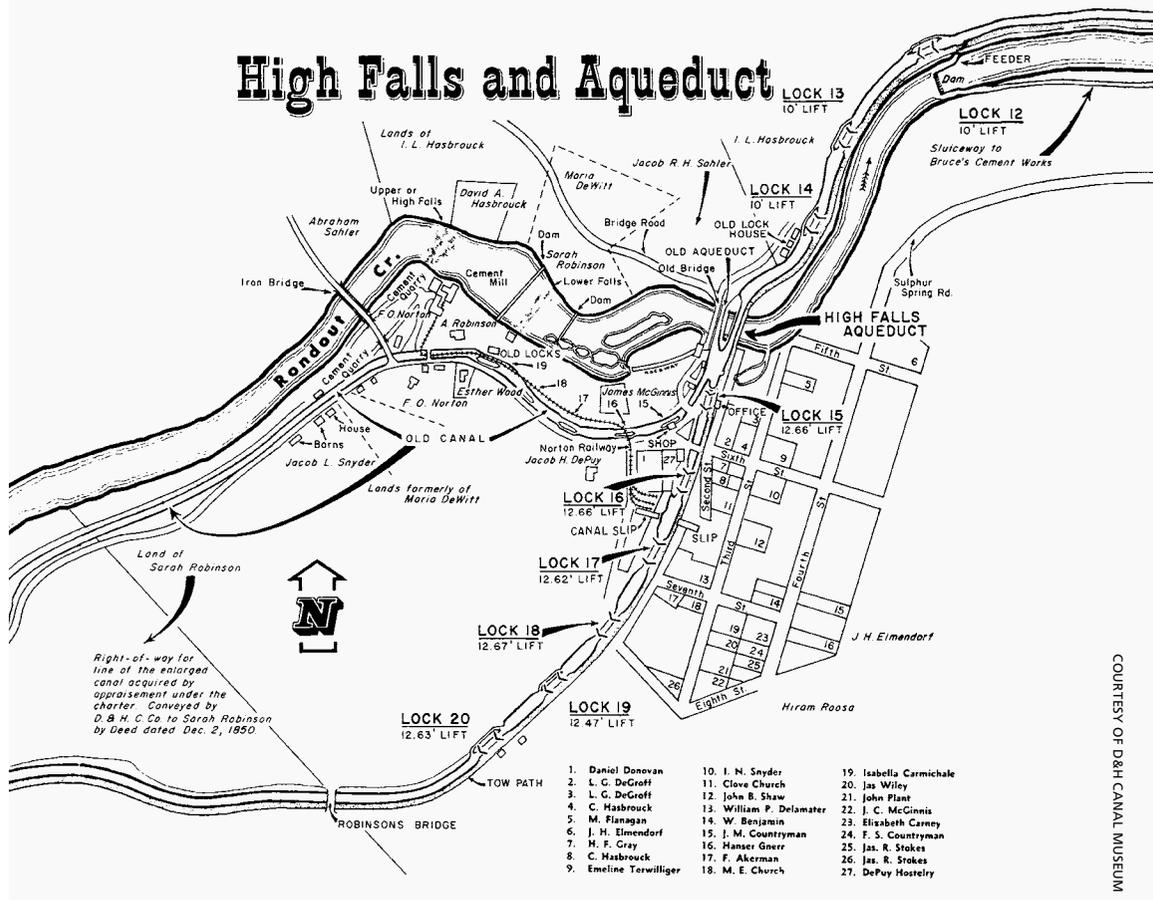
Traveling along the 1825/1828 Delaware & Hudson Canal Towpath

Louis V. Mills

In America, the year 1828 would be as good a date as any to signal the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. The first successful operation of a steam locomotive engine in America (the *Stourbridge Lion*¹) was still a year away, Andrew Jackson was replacing John Quincy Adams in the White House, and the Delaware & Hudson (D&H) Canal—108 miles long with 108 locks—was officially opened from Honesdale, Pennsylvania, to the Rondout Creek Basin beside the Hudson River below Kingston.



High Falls and Aqueduct



COURTESY OF D&H CANAL MUSEUM

Manville B. Wakefield's map of the D&H Canal in High Falls. It is part of the Wakefield Collection and was originally published in his book *Coal Boats to Tidewater*

The D&H Canal was built in less than three years without modern equipment and principally by newly arrived immigrants from Germany and Ireland. The cost was an astronomically high one million dollars.² The canal provided the essential link in a bulk transportation system that started at the anthracite coal mines near Carbondale, Pennsylvania, and ran to the Hudson River, where the coal and other products could be barged down to the burgeoning city of New York and other East Coast locations. The canal initially paralleled the Lackawaxen River, then crossed the Delaware River on an aqueduct constructed by John Roebling (who built the Brooklyn Bridge many years later). It ran south along the Delaware to Port Jervis, then northeast on the western side of the Shawangunk Ridge, finally terminating at the Rondout Basin.

The coal was brought from the mines to Honesdale over the 1,000-foot Moosic Mountain range on a twelve-mile gravity railroad. At five different locations along the route, the coal cars were hoisted by an endless chain driven by horses (and later by a stationary steam engine) to a higher elevation and then

allowed to coast downhill to the next lift. At Honesdale, the coal was transferred to canal boats.

Anyone interested in spending a few hours absorbing the ambiance of that era and the ingeniousness of the canal system should bicycle or walk westward from the Wurtsboro exit of Route 17 along a stretch of the canal towpath as it travels beside the Bashakill Wetlands on the Orange-Sullivan County border. You eventually arrive in Westbrookville, beside an eighteenth-century frontier



D&H CANAL MUSEUM

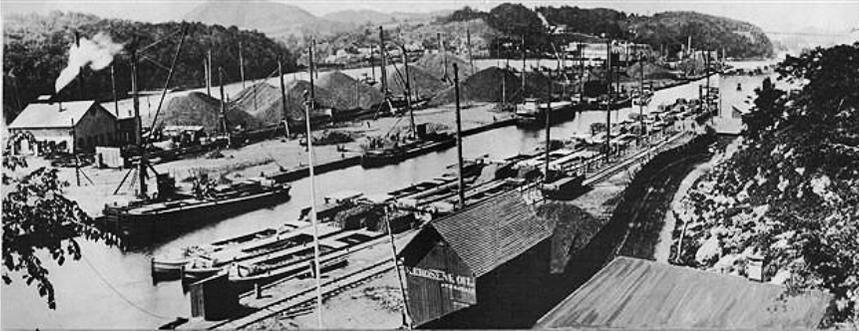
The paymaster's steam launch/yacht going through Lock 17 in High Falls. The paymaster sailed up the canal every month, paying off all of the company employees (such as locktenders and watchmen)

stone fort, and then proceed on to the D&H Canal Museum on the Neversink River in Cuddebackville. Here, the museum, which is housed in an original canal building, looks out on the extant stone abutments that carried the canal boats over the Neversink River on an aqueduct, another of the four along the waterway designed by Roebling. Just east of the abutments, an accurate replica of a canal boat still plies its way along a restored one-mile stretch of the canal.

As in the case of the famed Panama Canal, built over half a century later, changes in the elevation of the land through which the D&H Canal passed were adjusted through a lock system. Solid wooden gates at each end of the lock were opened or closed so water could be added or drained out, bringing about the changing level of the water in the lock. The water came from feeder canals that flowed down from rivers and streams above the canal. Wanaksink Lake, Yankee Lake, and Wolf Pond, all high on the hills in Sullivan County, are illustrative of water sources that were dammed for this purpose in the 1820s and 1830s.

Throughout its length, the canal had to adjust for 1,073 feet of elevation change. Since the canal generally ran near or parallel to rivers, which supplied the water for its operation, the locks were often clustered around waterfalls. In the Ulster County hamlet of High Falls, five locks constructed of precision-cut Shawangunk conglomerate, an indigenous stone, raised and lowered the canal boats sixty-three feet around the falls on the Rondout Creek. The stone was cut so perfectly that no mortar was used in the locks' construction.

A canal boat traveling toward Pennsylvania would enter a lock, then water would fill it, raising the vessel to a higher level. Conversely, boats making their way toward the Rondout Basin would be lowered by emptying the lock. Since this process took considerable time, there were basins near the locks where the



Barges and coal on Island Dock, located in the Rondout area of Kingston

canal boats could wait their turn. In the meanwhile, the canalers could purchase necessary supplies from nearby shops. At lock 51 in Cuddebackville, an enterprising lady sold rice pies for fifteen cents apiece. As a result, this became known as the “pie lock.”

This was the era of the family business and individual entrepreneurship, and each coal boat, usually pulled by a pair of mules (or a lead horse and a mule), was often owned by a single canaler and staffed by his wife and children. These families were frequently short of adequate funds, or even extra food supplies to fall back on in the event of delays. And delays did occur. Floods caused washouts along the canal walls, and winter freezes locked in late-traveling canal boats until the spring thaws. Even more dangerous, there were occasions when brigands from the nearby hills swooped down for an easy theft of coal or lumber from the stranded boats. In one instance, it was said that the raiders even took the canaler’s last dollar until he cried so hard that they took pity on him and gave it back.

Other more general problems affected the operation of the canal. Seagoing boats docking at the Rondout Basin brought infectious germs that swept through the canal workers and nearby residents. In the 1830s and 1840s, cholera epidemics raged throughout the canal region. Further west, above the Port Jervis section at the Delaware crossing, gunfights took place between the canalers, who originally floated their boats across the river behind a crudely built dam of rocks, and the Delaware River raftsmen, who floated their logs downstream to the Philadelphia market.³

These altercations were obviated in the early 1840s by the construction of the aforementioned Roebling Aqueduct, now a national historic monument. It is the oldest existing cable suspension bridge in the United States, and today carries cars, not canal boats, to the opposite shore. (It is well worth a visit.) The aque-

ducts were part of major improvements in both the dimensions and capacity of the canal.

At Eddyville, below Kingston, the canal boats exited Lock No. 1 at tidewater and unloaded their cargo along the banks of the Rondout Creek for transfer to the Hudson River barges. Their work completed, the canalers celebrated in nearby bars before hitching their mules to the “empties” for the return trip to Honesdale.



D&H CANAL MUSEUM

Both of the High Falls aqueducts over Rondout Creek. The 1825 stone one is in the background; the 1847 suspension aqueduct, designed by John Roebling, is in the foreground.

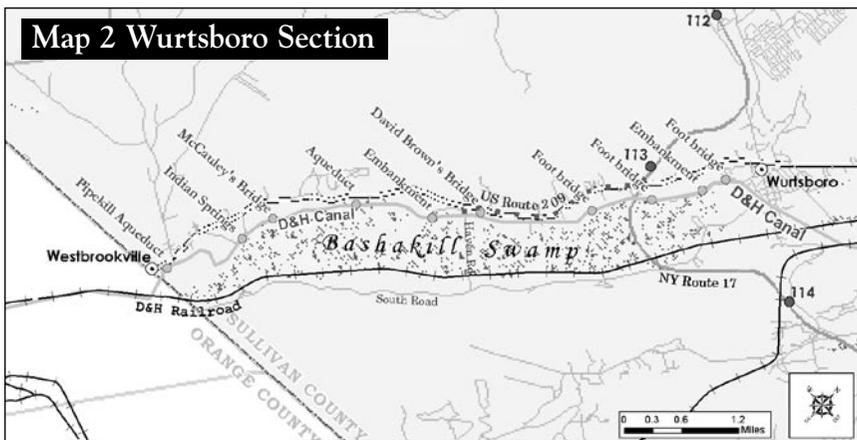
For more than 50 years, hundreds of thousands of tons of coal and other bulk products were shipped annually on the D&H Canal. Inevitably, however, it became a victim of the railroad boom of the late nineteenth century. The canal carried its last boat to tidewater in 1898, and then closed its books forever.

—Louis V. Mills

To experience life on the 1828 D&H Canal towpath...

Keep in mind, as you bicycle or walk along the towpath in the muffled silence of a hundred-year-old forest, that you are traveling at the same rate the canalers did. It took them at least a week—and often as long as ten days—to make the trip from Honesdale to Kingston.

Take Exit 113 (Wurtsboro/Ellenville) off Route 17. Drive west two miles



on Route 209 and turn south on Haven Road. Park at the designated NYS Bashakill Wetlands parking area. Walk or bicycle back to the intersection with Route 209 and follow the dirt road beside it, which runs atop the towpath for three miles to the Westbrookville crossroads and eighteenth-century fort. There are tremendous views all along this stretch, as well as many remnants from the canal, including lock abutments, stone embankments and retaining walls, feeder streams, and bridge structures. Continue on Route 209 for five additional miles to Cuddebackville and the D&H Canal/Neversink River Museum, or cross the wetlands at Westbrookville and return on South Road for three miles to Haven Road.

The town of Mamakating in Sullivan County announced in May 2004 that it had received a \$640,000 grant from New York State to complete the restoration of a six-mile stretch of the D&H Canal towpath as a walking and bicycling trail between Wurtsboro and Phillipsport. A volunteer committee in Cuddebackville hopes to achieve similar results on the Cuddebackville/Port Jervis section of the canal.

Additional Information on the Canal

Much of the background material for this essay came from a lifetime interest in the canal and its environs, and from people who have had a similar interest in its history. It would be impossible to list them all.

The authoritative text on the D&H Canal is the superb *Coal Boats to Tidewater* by Manville B. Wakefield (Grahamsville: Wakefield Press, 1965). The booklet *Stroll, Run, or Bike Along History* by the D&H Canal Transportation Council is excellent and should be available at any of the canal museums.

The historic markers along the canal and nearby roads offer many interesting facts, and the canal museums offer exhibits, publications, and additional hikes.

The Minisink Valley Historical Society

<http://www.minisink.org/delhud.html>

The Minisink Valley Historical Society operates in two locations, the Library Archives of the Port Jervis Library, 138 Pike Street, and Fort Decker, a stone house located on West Main Street in Port Jervis. It also maintains exhibits on the D&H Canal online.

Neversink Valley Area Museum

D&H Canal Park, 26 Hoag Road, Cuddebackville, NY 12729
www.neversinkmuseum.org/field_canal.html

D&H Canal Park and Museum is located along the banks of the beautiful Neversink River in Cuddebackville. The mission of the Museum is to preserve, document, and interpret the history of the Neversink River Valley of Orange County, from its beginnings to the present, through exhibitions, educational programs, and publications for children and adults; and the acquisition, preservation, and restoration of artifacts and historic sites.

In addition to its permanent exhibit, “Black Diamonds and the D&H Canal,” with videos, maps, and a working canal lock model, the museum has a 275-square-foot, full-size canal boat replica with hands-on activities for children. Other exhibits on the Neversink Valley area include a program on the Lenape Native Americans; “The Artistry of the Blacksmith,” with a working blacksmith shop; silent films made in the region; and an interactive exhibit on farming history. The Neversink Valley Area Museum is open April through October, Thursday–Sunday 12-4.

D&H Canal Historical Society

Mohonk Road/Route 6A, High Falls, NY 12440
www.canalmuseum.org

In the hamlet of High Falls in Ulster County, where a flight of five locks compensated for a drop of seventy feet in elevation, a museum and remnants of the old locks tell the story of the waterway, built largely by pick and shovel wielded by immigrants. With maps, colorful dioramas, enlarged photographs, artifacts, and working mod-



els, the Museum of the D&H Canal Historical Society, housed in the former St. John’s Episcopal Church, depicts life along the canal and its related industries.

The purpose of the D & H Canal Historical Society is to preserve, protect and perpetuate the unique history of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, particularly in Ulster County. The society fulfills its mission by: operating its museum in High Falls and maintaining the Five Locks Walk, a National Historic Landmark; preserving the canal locks and environs, and canal-related documents, printed material, pictures, and artifacts; educating its members and the general public

through lectures, tours, publications, and programs; conducting and facilitating ongoing research; and acquiring real and personal property to further these goals.

The D&H Canal Museum is housed in an outstanding example of a late nineteenth-century gothic chapel, which was the first (and only) Episcopal church built in the historic hamlet of High Falls. Parishioners of St. John's included many employees of the D&H Canal, including local lock tenders. The museum is open May through October on Mondays, and Thursday–Saturday from 11 a.m.–5 p.m., and on Sunday from 1–5 p.m.

The D&H Heritage Corridor Alliance

P.O. Box 176, Rosendale, NY 12472
<http://www.dhheritagecorridor.org>

The D&H Heritage Corridor Alliance is a non-profit organization dedicated to preserving the Delaware & Hudson Canal towpaths and the Ontario & Western Railway. Thirty-five miles of historic adventure, this route traces the Delaware & Hudson Canal, the New York Ontario & Western Railroad, and the scenic Rondout Creek. Experience the D&H Canal towpaths and locks, historic hamlets, monumental cement caves and kilns, the forested and pastoral route of the abandoned O&W Railroad, scenic woodlands and stream valleys, wetlands, and other natural resources along the way.

Louis V. Mills was assisted in the preparation of this essay by Dr. Louis V. Mills Jr., a professor of landscape architecture at Texas Tech University, and Kelly Dobbins, a planner with the Orange County Planning Department.

Notes

1. The *Stourbridge Lion*, weighing seven tons, was built in England and tested at ten miles per hour at Honesdale before a large audience. There was an explosion when the engine started, and the engineer lost an arm. The trial convinced the managers of the Gravity Railroad that the curved rail bed could not sustain the weight without extensive reinforcements. As a result, the *Stourbridge Lion* stood on a siding near the canal for fourteen years and then the boiler was hauled away to the D&H Canal shops in Carbondale to be used to supply steam for a stationary engine.
2. This was the greatest amount of money raised for a single project in the nation until then. The money was subscribed for in one day in 1825, following an exhibition of the burning of some anthracite coal at the Tontine Coffee Shop on Wall Street in New York City.
3. The Delaware River wire suspension aqueduct and three others were constructed in the 1840s to meet the emerging competition from the nearby NY & Erie Railroad that ran in a similar direction. Earlier, the canal boats, using ropes, were ferried across the Delaware River behind a "slackwater dam." The installation of the aqueducts saved a full day from the week- to ten-day-long trip to the Rondout Basin.

This essay is the opening shot for the Hudson River Valley Institute's (HRVI) Patriots' Weekend, 2005, which will commemorate the 225th anniversary of the foiling of the Benedict Arnold-John André Conspiracy. The events, to be held at Tappan and Sleepy Hollow/Tarrytown on October 1-2, will again be funded by the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area, in partnership with the Committee on the George Washington Masonic Historic Site at Tappan; the Tappantown Historical Society; the Historical Society, Inc. (serving Sleepy Hollow and Tarrytown); and the Brigade of the American Revolution. The Hudson River Valley Institute at Marist College will host a conference at the college on September 29 and will sponsor two lectures with the help of the Charlotte Cunneen-Hackett Charitable Trust and the M&T Bank Charitable Trust. The HRVI is indebted to John E. Walsh, who will be a speaker both at the Marist conference and at Tappan, for this essay.

John Paulding and the Ten Seconds That Saved the Revolution

John Evangelist Walsh

On a deserted country road just north of Tarrytown on a bright, cool September morning in 1780, two young men stand facing each other. No other moment in American history has been, or can ever be, so crucial. Depending on what happens next between these two strangers, America's Revolutionary War, its brave bid for freedom, will live or die.

For long the true facts about this brief encounter, deliberately distorted by one of the two participants, have been among both the best, and the least known in the country's annals. The following short narrative, the result of a fresh investigation of the original sources, attempts to recover the minute-by-minute story in which occur the most critical ten seconds in our history.

One of the two men is a husky six-footer dressed in a military uniform, and cradling a musket in his left arm. This is John Paulding, age twenty-two, a sergeant in the Westchester Volunteer Militia, part of General Washington's ragtag forces. The other man, slighter of build, is dressed in civilian clothes, and is unarmed. This is John André, age twenty-nine, adjutant general of the British

army, a major in rank, and at the moment operating in disguise as a spy (It was the vengeful André's later insinuating lies about his captor that so badly, and for so long, skewed the truth of the historic meeting.)

Holding out his hand, André shows a pass which identifies him as John Anderson, New York businessman. A small slip of paper, it is signed by the American General Benedict Arnold, commander of the American stronghold at West Point. If Paulding accepts the pass as genuine—there is no obvious reason that he shouldn't—and allows André to continue his journey, the four-year-old rebellion, split in two by the fall of West Point, will shortly afterward almost certainly collapse.

Only minutes before this, André on horseback had been galloping along at his leisure, certain that he'd soon be back in New York City, where the British commander, General Henry Clinton, eagerly waited his return with the plans for the taking of West Point. His clandestine meeting with the traitorous General Arnold, at midnight on the Hudson shore, had gone well. Now it was only a matter of launching the British forces upriver for an attack on the deliberately weakened and unprepared West Point fortifications. General Arnold, it is agreed, will surrender soon after the shooting starts.

Preoccupied as he rode along with thoughts of his reward for his pivotal role in the operation—a dukedom would be the least of it—André had been taken by surprise when three men emerged from the woods on either side of the road to block his path, muskets leveled. Sergeant Paulding, with a small detachment of two other militiamen, Isaac Van Wart and David Williams, had been assigned to watch the main north-south road above Tarrytown, stopping all suspicious persons.

After an initial, confused exchange, André produces the pass. Quickly scanning its few words, Sgt. Paulding appears to be impressed. "We have to be careful, sir," he says apologetically. "There are bad people all around here, Tories and traitors, and such. Please don't be offended."

André smiles. "Of course not," he replies affably as he turns back to his horse, putting a foot in the stirrup to draw himself up into the saddle. Two hours more, he thinks in silent relief. Another two hours riding through safe, open country, and it's all over.

Between André's handing the pass to Paulding, and what Paulding did next, hardly ten seconds passed. In that fleeting interval his soldierly instincts had been stirred (a combat veteran, he'd twice been captured by the British, and had twice escaped). Something was wrong, he felt... André's guarded demeanor, his nervous little laugh...something.

“Not yet, sir,” calls out Paulding as he motions to Van Wart and Williams. “Just a little routine search, if you don’t mind.”

The three march the complaining André into the woods. His overcoat is removed and searched, then his jacket, and his shirt. His shiny black leather boots are pulled off, then his pants. Nothing is found. The annoyed André, sitting on a log, reaches to retrieve his boots.

“Now the stockings,” softly orders Paulding.

Eyes cast down, André sits still, making no move to reach for his woolen, knee-length stockings. Paulding nods to Van Wart and Williams, who kneel and pull down both stockings. As they come off, out from the bottom of each falls a small sheaf of folded paper. Carried in the stockings under the soles of André’s feet, they’d been crumpled and wrinkled by his weight: six sheets of information about the number and disposition of the men and guns at West Point, all bearing the signature of Benedict Arnold.

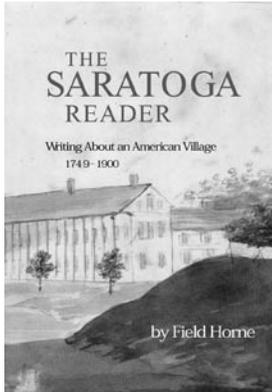
“Dress him and tie him up,” growls Paulding as he compares the Arnold signatures on pass and papers. “This man’s a spy!”

Ignoring André’s frantic offers of bribery, involving huge sums, the three take him to Dragoon headquarters at North Castle. Ten days later, on October 2, 1780, after a full military trial before a board of American generals that judged him to be “a spy from the enemy,” Major John André was executed by hanging.

*The full story of André’s capture, and of John Paulding’s part in it, his background and subsequent life, as well as those of Isaac Van Wart and David Williams, can be read in the author’s book, *The Execution of Major André* (St. Martin’s Press, 2001). In a review of the book, the Boston Globe said that “Walsh, who is that rarest of literary creatures, a first-rate historical detective and a gripping storyteller, provocatively burrows through centuries of revisionist history to reveal the real heroes and villains of the saga.”*

Book Review

Field Horne (ed.), *The Saratoga Reader: Writing About an American Village 1749-1900*. Kiskatom Publishing, Saratoga Springs (2004). 284 pp.



This is an extraordinary book about an extraordinary community. Could there be another village in this country, remote from the seaboard, concerning which 225 published and unpublished descriptions and narratives prior to 1900—exclusive of tour guides and promotional literature—are to be found? Such is the case here, albeit a prodigious effort at sleuthing over a twelve-year period was required of the editor, who then adroitly culled from the assembled mass the ninety-two brief selections presented to us. (This reviewer has contemplated organizing such a compendium for his own longer-settled neighborhood in northern Dutchess County, but has been deterred by the paucity of material.)

Saratoga Springs is, of course, *sui generis*: an offshoot of no other place, there is nothing comparable to its remarkable story. We know it today as a prosperous small city catering to recreation, tourism, education, and cultural life, with a well-developed civic engagement in historic preservation. Throughout 200 years, however, it has been a destination for those curious about the natural phenomena of the mineral springs; for those who believed their ailments would be cured by drinking or bathing in the waters; for those who wished to see and be seen by the *beau monde*; for those eager to indulge in illicit gambling, attend thoroughbred horse races, or participate in political conventions and other great gatherings; and, not surprisingly, for entrepreneurs, entertainers, and con artists ready to take advantage of golden opportunity. It is a small miracle in a country where change in fashion is rapid and the next new thing—or place—is paramount, that our two great nineteenth-century resorts, Newport and Saratoga Springs (both now slightly retooled), should feel secure in their identities and be flourishing.

In selections averaging a page or two, Field Horne allows us to follow chronologically the evolution of the place, starting with the howling wilderness described wonderfully in a 1791 account by Abigail Alsop of her journey by carriage overtaken by nightfall, struggling through “one mud-hole after another...every few minutes one wheel would pass over a log or stump so high as to almost overset us.... We had heard the voices of animals in the woods which some of us feared

might attack us.” It seems to be only an hour or two later that we are reading Henry James’ highly literary biopsy of “the dense, democratic, vulgar Saratoga of the current year” (1870).

Along the way we encounter a beguiling entry in the diary of former New York City Mayor Philip Hone describing an 1839 visit at which—noting “all the world is here”—he had a polite conversation with President Van Buren (whom he opposed), witnessed the rudeness of Governor DeWitt Clinton’s widow toward the president, and Van Buren’s quiet departure just prior to the tumultuous welcome for the national leader of the Whig party, Hone’s friend Henry Clay.

We are told that planters and other prosperous Southerners seeking a more comfortable summer climate (and often accompanied by slaves) were a major presence at Saratoga until 1861.

We learn that the annual thoroughbred races, now such a celebrated feature of the Saratoga season, began in 1863, and that the principal college crews raced on Saratoga Lake as early as 1874.

Our gastronomic education is advanced by reading of restaurateur Cary Moon’s innovation: his fried potatoes “are cut marvellously thin, being fried quite dry, and they serve to give a relish to the champagne, which is largely consumed at this place”—the origin, it is said, of the potato chip.

There is an amusing account of travel in an early passenger train, and of course there are accumulating descriptions of the ever more immense and elaborate hotels, which at the height of Saratoga’s popularity in the post-Civil War decades together housed some 10,000 guests a night. The United States Hotel, as rebuilt about 1873, offered nearly 1,000 rooms, two huge elevators, a dining room that could seat 1,000 at a time, and “piazzas” (verandas) stretching for 2,700 feet around the building. To taste the flavor of some of the writing in this book you are invited to nibble on this, from an Englishman’s 1838 published account of eating at the Congress Hall Hotel, then the spa’s most fashionable:

...The rapidity with which [breakfast] is despatched, is its most remarkable feature, the longest time taken by the slowest being never more than 15 minutes, some of the quickest getting through the meal in 5 minutes, and the average number occupying about 10. In the busy cities the reason assigned for this haste is the keen pursuit of business, and the eager desire to get to the counting-house or store; but here, with the entire day before them, and nothing whatever to do, they eat with just the same haste as at other places. The contest for the dishes is a perfect scramble; the noise and clatter of the waiters and their wares is absolutely deafening; no one gets precisely what

he wants, though everyone is searching after something. The quiet elegance of an English breakfast, is as great a contrast to the noisy rudeness of an American meal, as can well be conceived, even when both are taken in public hotels like these. Elegance of manners in such a scene as this is quite out of the question. People eat as if they were afraid that their plates were about to be snatched from them before they had done; mastication may be said to be almost entirely omitted; and in nine cases out of ten, persons do not remain in their chairs to finish the meal, short as it is, but rise with the last mouthful still unswallowed, and dispose of it gradually as they walk along.

The selections fall largely into one of two categories: travel narratives written for publication, usually by British or European commentators, and excerpts from personal correspondence and diaries of Americans. The critiques of American customs and character inherent in much of the former become more intense in the era of vulgar display and behavior known as the Gilded Age following the Civil War, and it also becomes somewhat redundant on these pages. These are, nevertheless, distinctive voices, and it is clear that seeing so many pronounced American “types” on parade from all across the land never failed to interest the scribbling observers. On the other hand, the personal writings provide something of an antacid, and also form the connective tissue in the structure of the book.

Most of the selections are by obscure—indeed, in several cases unknown—individuals, exceptions being Henry James, Washington Irving, Philip Hone, Harriet Martineau, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Peter Kalm, Elkanah Watson, and Frank Sullivan. There are grandees and servants, whites and blacks, farmers and politicians, professional writers and the unschooled, men and women, foreigners and the native-born. From this chorus of mixed voices spanning a century and a half emerges a wonderfully animating sense of the enduring, ever-renewing *genius loci* of Saratoga Springs.

An aspect of the book that deserves special commendation is its attractive design, splendid biographical headnotes for each selection, and meticulously prepared back matter: detailed endnotes (averaging one per page of text), a useful four-page glossary, a bibliography, and a full index. Only someone who has struggled to provide supporting material like this for so heterogeneous a work could fully appreciate the achievement. The people of Saratoga Springs, and all who take an interest in nineteenth-century American cultural history, are in debt to Field Horne.

—John Winthrop Aldrich

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