THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

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Tel: 845-575-3052
Fax: 845-575-3176
E-mail: *hrvi@marist.edu*
Web: *www.hudsonrivervalley.net*

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c/o Hudson River Valley Institute
Marist College, 3399 North Road,
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From the Editors

As always with our non-themed issues, this edition of *The Hudson River Valley Review* spans centuries and topics, ranging from an eye-opening treatment of the Leisler Rebellion (a seventeenth-century political firestorm) to a dramatic account of one of the first environmental battles in the region—the effort to halt the Hudson River Expressway—in the 1960s. In between, there are fascinating articles about the formation of the Black Rock Forest Preserve and the Valley's charitable response to the Irish famine, as well as an in-depth look at the formation of incorporated villages and a travelogue from a perceptive Dutchman who sailed up the Hudson in the 1870s. There is also a Local History Forum on the New Netherland Museum and three book reviews. And we've added another feature—an annotated listing of New and Noteworthy books about our region—all of which means that this is one of the fattest *Reviews* to date. We hope you find it both informative and entertaining.

Reed Sparling
Christopher Pryslopski

The *Hudson River Valley Review* is pleased to introduce its new editorial board. Beginning with the Autumn 2006 issue, this board will be assisting the editors in identifying new and noteworthy work in Hudson River Valley regional studies, selecting manuscripts for review and publication, and planning future issues of the journal. We are very excited to welcome a distinguished board of scholars who will assist in our effort to study and interpret America's First River.

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Call for Essays

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

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 with endnotes, 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.

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Contributors

Nicole A. Buzzetto-More is an assistant professor and program coordinator in the School of Business and Technology at the University of Maryland Eastern Shore. She holds doctorate and masters degrees from Columbia University. Her recent papers can be found in the journals *Issues in Informing Science*, *Information Technology Education*, and the *Journal of Information Technology Education*. She is currently working on her first book on elearning to be published by the Informing Science Press in late 2006.

Firth Haring Fabend holds a doctorate in American Studies from New York University. She has published two historic studies: *A Dutch Family in the Middle Colonies: 1660-1800*, and *Zion on the Hudson,* a history of the Dutch in New York and New Jersey in the nineteenth century. She is a Fellow of the New Netherland Project and of The Holland Society of New York.

Edward T. Howe holds a doctorate in Economics from the State University at Albany and is a professor of economics at Siena College in Loudonville. His work has appeared in *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, *Public Administration Review*, and *Social Sciences Quarterly*. His research interests include state and local governmental issues, and industrial economic history.

Huib Leeuwenberg studied history (with special interest in the Middle Ages) at the University of Nijmegen. He worked as an archivist in the Communal Archives of Rotterdam and the State Archives of Utrecht. His special field of interest is church history.

Ronald D. Patkus is Associate Director of the Library and Head of Special Collections at Vassar College. He holds a doctorate in American History from Boston College. Among his publications is *An Administrative History of Vassar College, 1861-2003*, which he edited with Elizabeth Daniels.

Harvey J. Strum is professor of History and Political Science, and Chair of the Liberal Studies Department at Sage College. He holds a Ph.D. in history from Syracuse University, and has published articles on Irish famine relief in Brooklyn, New York City, Illinois, Rhode Island and South Carolina. He has most recently co-curated an exhibit on the "Jewish History & Community" in Schenectady.

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Regional History Forum

Book Reviews

On the cover: A hand-tinted engraving of the Catskill Mountain House, after W.H. Bartlett's *View from the Mountain House*, 1836. Private collection.

The Pro-Leislerian Farmers in Early New York: A "Mad Rabble" or "Gentlemen Standing Up for Their Rights?"

Firth Haring Fabend

> "It is a singular and melancholy fact, and one from which we may learn wisdom, that in the heat of those days, Leisler's connexions were his bitterest enemies. [Nicholas] Bayard and [Stephanus] van Cortland, who were of the Council that urged his execution, were his wife's nephews."[1]

So observed E.B. O'Callaghan, the nineteenth-century editor of documents relating to the extraordinary late seventeenth-century upheaval known as Leisler's Rebellion. What wisdom was it that O'Callaghan thought we might learn from the "singular and melancholy fact" that Leisler's own relatives condemned him to the gallows in 1691? What was so dangerous about Jacob Leisler, or his supporters, that his execution was necessary to satisfy his enemies?

The danger, I will suggest here, was that in Leisler's uprising, a new elite that had begun to emerge after the second English takeover of New Netherland in the 1670s heard the rumblings of an egalitarianism that they foresaw would change their world. In the complex nexus of religious, political, and socioeconomic factors that underlay the uprising, it may have been the latter that generated the most heat and the most fear among those with the most to lose.

In Jacob Leisler's mind, socioeconomic factors were hardly in the forefront. Leisler protested to his dying moments on the gallows that his "maine end, totall Intent & endeavors . . . [were only] to maintaine against popery or any Schism or heresy . . . the interest of our Sovereign[s] . . . and the reformed Protestant Churches in those parts." What he had done, he insisted, "was for king William & Queen Mary, for the defence of the protestant religion & the Good of the Country."[2]

This begs the question, however. Leisler's enemies, for the most part, were

also Protestants with no fondness for Roman Catholicism. In fact, despite conflicts over points of doctrine and differing styles of worship, both factions were affiliated with the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, the French Reformed Church (Huguenot), or English Dissenting churches, all with common origins in Reformation Europe. And despite all the rhetoric and mutual name-calling, there is no doubt that both sides shared an allegiance to William and Mary, and valued their constitutional rights and liberties as English subjects. The Dutch also retained a clear memory of and appreciation for Dutch political institutions, Dutch historical models, Dutch tolerance, and Dutch liberties and rights going back to the fourteenth century at least. (The Huguenots, in their turn, remembered the Edict of Nantes, lately revoked.) Moreover, Nicholas Bayard, the main spokesman for those who opposed Jacob Leisler so strenuously, hardly ever referred to religion as the issue that divided them. Leisler was, in Bayard's words, a drunkard, the chief malefactor of the rebellion, a tyrant, a rough rascal, a traitor, a rebel, a usurper "Lording and domineering in all Causes"—epithets that have political and socioeconomic connotations, but not religious ones.[3]

Bayard's language became even more vitriolic when he focused on Leisler's followers—or rather on his "abettors" and "accomplices," his "crew" and his "creatures"—as this master of invective called them. Leisler's supporters were, in Bayard's terms, "all men of meane birth sordid educacon & desperate ffortunes." The "lesser & meaner part of the people," they were disorderly, malicious, of "mad and franticq humor," a "mad Rabble" of "byassed & Disaffected men" whose "Religion . . . was as unaccomptable & obscure as their birth & fortunes." Bayard also chose the language and imagery of economics, rather than of religion or politics, to characterize himself and his anti-Leislerian friends. They were the "strictest Protestants," to be sure, but they were also "men of sence, Reputation and Estate," "men of greatest probity & best figure amongst us." "Their majesties' most affectionate subjects," they were men of the "best sort," "some of the most Considerable persons of the Province," "gentlemen" all.

Yet it is—and was then—no secret that most of these elegant, proud, and wealthy anti-Leislerians were but a generation removed, if that, from the middling ranks of society. Nor was it a secret that some had attained their high estate in part through advantageous marriages to wealthy Dutch women, and in part by seeking the favor and patronage of English governors. That the anti-Leislerians attacked Leisler and his supporters with rhetoric so heavily laced with economic and class slurs suggests a vulnerability—as if those opposed to Leisler felt their newfound economic position was threatened in some way by his adherents. Just as Leisler, for whom the situation was "about" religion, almost always used religious

epithets to attack his opponents, so Bayard reviled Leisler's supporters with economic invective, suggesting that, for Bayard, the situation was "about" economic issues. Leisler thundered and fumed at Papist devils, Papist dogs, Papist murderers, false Protestants, Popish trumpets, false Priests of Baal, and false Popish grandees. Bayard and company cast stones of another type at "poor, ignorant, and senseless folk," a "hotheaded and meane sort of people," a "rude crew," the "meanest and most abject Common people" in the Province of New York.

Historians have sometimes taken this language at face value and assumed that the Leislerians really were the "meanest Sort" around. But were they of such "Desperate fortune" that they hoped "to make up their Wants by the ruin & Plunder of his Majesties' Loyal Subjects?" Was their Religion "as unaccomptable & obscure as their birth & fortunes?" Indeed, were their birth and fortunes unaccountable and obscure?

The public record is a rich source of information about any number of obscure Leislerians. We will look here at several who were linked to one another by family ties, Protestantism (Dutch, French, and English), economic position, political inclinations, and the intellectual underpinnings of those inclinations. Furthermore, all in this group were linked to Orange County, an area west of the Hudson River whose seventeenth-century history has received scant attention. Yet the religious and political proclivities of its residents in the seventeenth century, as well as their socioeconomic status, may provide a clue to the question asked above: What was so threatening about Jacob Leisler that even his relatives wanted him dead?

The men we will look at are Daniel De Clark, a member of the Committee of Safety that, on June 8, 1689, appointed Leisler captain of the fort in New York and on August 16 appointed him commander in chief of New York Province; De Clark's stepson, Peter Haring; Guiliam Bertholf, the Pietist *voorlezer* (lay reader) and then minister who was to organize in 1694 the Reformed Church where De Clark and Haring were members and officers in Tappan, New York; Teunis Roelofsen van Houten, also a member of the Committee of Safety; and Cornelius Cooper, captain of the Orange County militia company that occupied the New York fort from 1689 to 1691.

Daniel De Clark had emigrated from Oostburg in Zeeland, where, judging from his refined handwriting, he appears to have received an education beyond the ordinary. His last name, meaning scribe, clerk, or accountant, suggests that he may even have come from a line of educated men. In 1685, De Clark, a widower, married Margrietje Haring, *nee* Cosyns, daughter of Cosyn Gerritsen van Putten, a New Amsterdam farmer and wheelwright. When she married De Clark,

Margrietie was the widow of Jan Pietersen Haring, a *schepen* (magistrate) in New Amsterdam and the leader of a group of families who had obtained a grant in 1683 for 16,000 acres in the Hackensack Valley (known as the Tappan Patent).

Tax records for the last decades of the seventeenth century indicate that De Clark owned a house and land in the Out Ward in Manhattan; other records show that both he and Margrietie were members of the New York Reformed Dutch Church. De Clark was solvent enough to continue to maintain his New York property long after he became the leader, as Pietersen's widow's husband, of the enterprising settlers who had cooperatively purchased the Tappan Patent, 16,000 acres in today's Rockland County, New York, and Bergen County, New Jersey. Settled in Tappan, De Clark was licensed as a brewer and served as an elder in the church, as justice of the peace for Orange County, and as a captain in the militia. Of the forty-odd householders in Orange County in 1702, he was among the three best off, owning (besides his share of the patent lands) four slaves and a fine brick house, which is still standing.[4]

Peter Haring, De Clark's stepson, was also one of the original Tappan patentees, having become so by inheritance when his father died shortly before settlement. Both Haring and his wife, Margaret Bogert, had been born in the 1660s into prospering farming families. Like his stepfather, Haring continued to own his New York lands until his death in 1750; also like De Clark, he was appointed a justice of the peace in Orange County. Beginning in 1701, Haring (whose patent share entitled him to nearly 1,000 acres in Tappan) was the county's representative to the New York Provincial Assembly. Here he and his brother, Cornelius, served over the course of thirty-six years. A colonel in the Orange County militia, Peter Haring was for decades the largest contributor to the church in Tappan, a fact suggesting his relative economic standing in the community.[5]

Guiliam Bertholf also came to America from Zeeland, in his day the heartland of Dutch Pietism, where he had been in the thick of the religious controversies of that time and place and a disciple of the fiery Pietist preacher and writer Jacobus Koelman. By occupation a baker, Bertholf was employed soon after arriving in New York in 1684 as *voorlezer* in Harlem and then as *voorlezer* and schoolmaster for two communities, Hackensack and Acquackanonk (Passaic), in Bergen County, New Jersey. Records reveal that Bertholf was an ardent supporter of Leisler. Indeed, anti-Leislerian New York Domine Rudolfus Varick complained to the Classis of Amsterdam that Bertholf had "violently urged [Leisler] on." This adverb was an inappropriate one, as all other sources reveal Bertholf to have had a calm, irenic spirit. Varick's choice of the word "violently" underlines the anxiety felt by the ruling powers at the prospect of the opposition rising in their midst.

Two years after Leisler's Rebellion ended, Bertholf returned to the Netherlands to be examined and ordained in the Reformed Church, a step that suggests he was no violent instigator, but a man with a calling who must have had facility in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and training in Reformed theology, doctrine, church history, homiletics, and oratory. Back in America, Bertholf organized a dozen or more Pietist congregations in the hinterland and has been called the "itinerating apostle" of New Jersey.[6]

The backgrounds of De Clark, Haring, and Bertholf were similar to that of Teunis Roelofsen van Houten and Cornelius Cooper: Both born in New Netherland in the 1650s; they were landowners, solid citizens, and elders in the church. A merchant in Tappan, Roelofsen was elected to the Committee of Safety that elevated Leisler in 1689. For his support, Leisler named him that same year as justice of the peace in Orange County. In 1703, he became a justice of the Court of Common Pleas in the county.[7]

Born in Manhattan in 1659, Cooper was a shareholder in the Tappan Patent, which entitled him to about 1,000 acres of land. He also owned other lands, some inherited and some purchased, in Bergen County; in the Kakiat Patent in Orange County; in Haverstraw (the De Hart Patent); and in New Castle, Delaware. High sheriff of Orange County, he was also a justice of the peace, a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and later a member of the New York General Assembly. In Leisler's Rebellion, Cornelius Cooper was captain of the troops that occupied the fort in 1689.

How representative were such men in the age of Leisler? They were far from unique. Hundreds of Leisler's supporters throughout New York and New Jersey shared a similar background, and as this brief glimpse indicates, such men were no abject mob. Some of them were by 1689 already third-generation Americans. They were landowners, their housing stock was excellent, their families large, their life expectancy long. They were prospering in America in a steady and satisfactory way, worshiping in churches they themselves had founded, serving as officers in their militias, and shouldering the main burden of administering their town and county governments. Some of them participated in a significant way in province-level political affairs. In a nutshell, they were respectable representatives of society's middling sort; they were, indeed, model citizens. In "Loyalty Vindicated," the anonymous pamphlet published in New York in 1698 (note 3), such men described themselves as having behaved in 1689 not as a mad rabble, but as "Gentlemen" standing up for "all bounds, and Laws of English Right and Government."[8]

If the harsh and defamatory language of Nicholas Bayard does not, then,

accurately describe the actual socioeconomic characteristics of the Leislerians, we might explore the idea that it reveals the anxiety of a small and recently established elite confronted by the political energy, intellectual ideas, and moral force of the numerous, discontented, and eager-to-advance class beneath it.

Historians with a social-class model in mind have attributed the Dutch farmers' motives in supporting Leisler in 1689 to a vague resentment at having been passed over in the new order that developed in New York after the English takeover. Randall Balmer has specifically attributed "class antagonisms" among the Dutch in the Leislerian period to the "emerging alliance" between upwardly mobile Dutch clergy and English merchants. But the internecine tension in the Dutch community at this time had little to do with New York politics per se. Rather, it was related to long-standing theological disputes that were in turn related to the Arminian controversies of the early decades of the seventeenth century in Reformation Europe. It also echoed the political situation in the Netherlands between the States Party and the Orange Party, and it was exacerbated by the differing worship styles of the strict Calvinists in the Netherlands and the more liberal Calvinists.[9] Nevertheless, if they were discontented in 1689, the Dutch farmers bore grievances that were real and particular—and they were not limited to the clergymen among them, or to the clergy's specific complaints. The important irritant was economic.

If economics was the battlefield, that field had real metes and bounds. We have only to recall how men acquired land in seventeenth-century New York and New Jersey to understand this. Good land was becoming expensive by 1680, and small-to-middling farmers had to pool their resources to acquire even relatively small parcels, like the Tappan Patent. The newly arriving Huguenots had to rely on Jacob Leisler, who himself purchased 6,000 acres in today's New Rochelle and sold them to the fairly penurious settlers. But these farmers had reason to suspect that others would receive huge grants of land from the royal governors, much in the way that King Charles in 1664 bestowed New Jersey on the Duke of York, with the duke in turn giving the land to his favorites, Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley, a year later. When Governor Richard Nichols ruled that Dutch land claims be renewed under the so-called Duke's Laws in 1665, Dutch suspicions regarding the patterns of land tenure evolving around them were heightened. And time would prove their fears well grounded. In 1683, Robert Livingston—who had a talent for knowing what royal governors needed or wanted—paid $600 in trade goods for 2,000 acres on the Hudson River in today's Columbia County. In 1685, he purchased an additional 600 acres twenty miles away, with Governor Thomas Dongan throwing in for no clear reason the intervening 160,000 acres. The van

Rensselaers' claims were confirmed in 1685 for what eventually grew to be the one million acres of Rensselaerswyck. In 1686, Philipe Philipse, a son of Frederick Philipse, received a patent for what is today all of Putnam County in the Hudson Valley. In the post-Leislerian period, Anglicizers received—often as outright gifts from British governors—tracts of valuable wilderness so vast as to stagger the imagination. These huge grants, basically political favors, were a cause for resentment among men who had to scrimp and save for their plot of earth, and had to band together in groups, at that, to acquire it. As one historian of colonial New York put it, the "tremendous concentration of landed estates in the hands of a few boded ill for the future of a society whose many yeomen had come to view these great landlords with grave suspicions."[10]

Despite all of the name-calling, daily economic concerns, forming class interests, and social standing were not in themselves the final battlefield. The ultimate source of anxiety for Nicholas Bayard and the anti-Leislerians was a set of intellectual ideas undergirding the Leislerians' resentment at inequity and injustice. As Bayard put it in 1691, "many of the people of this province have been debauched with strange principles and tenetts Concerning government . . . [which] are not easily to be rooted out. [M]any here of Considerable fortune and knowne integrity to the Crown of england whose lives and fortunes have almost been Ship wracht ware uneasy thinking it [w]ill never afterwards be safe for them to live in this province [n]or can their lives or fortunes ever be secure if such men doe survive to head an ignorant Mobile."[11]

The strange principles and tenets concerning government that bound the farmers of New York and New Jersey to Leisler's cause were not so strange after all. They were the very ideas circulating in Europe in the 1680s concerning liberty of conscience, power and prerogatives, and natural rights—including the right of property. It has long been known that Guiliam Bertholf and his fellow Pietists conveyed the religious basis for these ideas to the people of New Netherland. But since this paper was first published in 1990, research indicates that a number of prominent New York Leislerians were part of the hive of political activity known as the Protestant International in Rotterdam in the 1680s, when that port city was a Voetian-Orangist stronghold.[12] Among the men who met in the salon of Quaker merchant Benjamin Furley (along with John Locke) were none other than Jacob Milborne, Leisler's main supporter and future son in law, and Samuel Edsall, Milborne's father in law.

The Samuel Edsall connection provides food for thought in the context of the Orange County Leislerians discussed above, for they had long been associated with him. It is suggested here that he is the figure who links them with the politi-

cal events of 1689, just as Bertholf is the religious link. Born in 1633/4 in Reading, England, Edsall was a hatter. He became a burgher of New Amsterdam in 1657; rose to affluence as a trader, merchant, and landed proprietor; and enjoyed a long career as magistrate and adviser to a number of administrations both in New York and New Jersey. He owned vast tracts of land, among which were 2,000 choice acres between the Hudson and Hackensack rivers (just a few miles south of the Tappan Patent). In 1680, he accompanied Jan Pietersen Haring, his exact contemporary in age, into the wilderness as translator in the negotiations with the Tappan Indians; the following year, he was a signatory on the deed to the land the Tappan patentees acquired.[13] Also that year, while sitting on the council of East Jersey Proprietary Governor Philip Carteret, Edsall angered the delegates to the General Assembly by siding with the Governor's attempts to whittle away at their traditional rights and privileges under the Concessions of 1665.[14] Prudent after this experience, Edsall was not to be on the wrong side of popular will again.

Considered by one historian who investigated his career as having a "better acquaintance with matters of government than was possessed by any of his colleagues [at the time of Leisler's Rebellion] or by Leisler himself," Edsall exercised, according to this writer, a "leading influence in the affairs of the Colony during that period."[15] He was a member of the Committee of Safety that chose Leisler captain of the fort in New York on June 8, 1689—the same committee on which Daniel De Clark and Teunis Roelofsen van Houten sat. Also on this committee were Jean Demarest and William Laurence, both with Orange County connections. (Demarest, of a Huguenot family, was a Haring in-law.) These same five men were among the ten who signed a "Commission to Capt. Leisler to be Commander in Chief" on August 16, 1689. Abraham Gouverneur, later to marry Leisler's daughter, was clerk of the Committee of Safety, and had Orange County connections as well. Johannes Blauvelt, Teunis Talman, and Peter Bogert—all Dutch farmers related by ties of blood and marriage with the above Orange County families—were among those who captured the fort and served there under Leisler. All knew Edsall.

It has been assumed that these obscure men were isolated in their Orange County wilderness from the main intellectual ideas of the times. To the contrary, they were quite abreast of them. The farmers of Tappan, like hundreds of their fellow Leislerians all over New York and New Jersey who listened on Sundays to the views of Guiliam Bertholf and his Pietist colleagues, were, through this religious connection, privy to the ideas that anticipated the Glorious Revolution in England, when the Dutch stadtholder William took over the throne of James II. Now it appears that through their connection to Samuel Edsall and Jacob

Milborne (and perhaps to other New York Leislerian merchants with business in the port city of Rotterdam) they were part of a transatlantic community of ideas that demanded, in the New World as well as in the Old, the triumph of Protestantism over Papism (if not toleration over persecution) and their traditional rights and privileges over royal tyranny.

The Glorious Revolution's immediate outcome in New York was not so glorious for Leisler, who was hanged and then for good measure beheaded, his property confiscated, and his family left nearly destitute. But his cause did not end there. It was carried over into the New York Assembly, where for thirty years his supporters clamored for redress of his wrongs and theirs—as we might expect on economic, and not religious, grounds. Property was the basis of it. And in the matter of property, the Leislerians had the last word. Leisler's estate was restored to his heirs, and even the sore thumb of royal land grants was eventually salved, though it would take a century.[16]

The Leislerians have been discounted by some historians because they were not "for English liberties" per se. But many of them, like Samuel Edsall, were English and thoroughly acquainted with the liberties of the "ancient constitution." The Dutch among them were men steeped in an understanding of Dutch liberties going back at least to the so-called "Joyous Entry of Brabant" in 1356, which established the right to overthrow a tyrant. And as mentioned, the Huguenots remembered all too well their recent liberties under the now-revoked Edict of Nantes. Further, through their connection to Bertholf and men like Edsall and Milborne, the farmers, artisans, and merchants of New York were acquainted, we know now, with the heady ideas circulating in Rotterdam in the 1680s, including the ideas of John Locke, who wrote his *Two Treatises of Government* in Holland during his expatriate years there (1683-1689), "to make good [King William's] title in the consent of the people . . . and to justify to the world the people of England, whose love of their just and natural rights . . . saved the nation when it was on the very brink of slavery and ruin." In other words, they were conversant with the notions that all men are equal and independent, that government emanates from the people and must seek the popular welfare, and that revolution against a tyrant, especially in the case of religious oppression, *vide* James II, is justified.[17]

Locke's views on the natural right of property, which built on those of the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius, must also have been known to them. "I ask," Locke mused as he theorized on the value added to land by labor, "whether in the wild woods and uncultivated waste of America, left to nature, without any improvement, tillage, or husbandry, a thousand acres yield the needy and wretched inhabitants as many conveniences of life as ten acres of equally fertile land do in

Devonshire, where they are well cultivated."[18] The farmers of New York and New Jersey in 1690 already knew that it was only a matter of time and sweat before the question was an academic one. In such ways these Leislerian farmers were not merely backwoods hearers of ideas filtered down to them through men like Bertholf and Edsall. Rather, in their progressive hopefulness, they were already acting on them—and on a continuum with the more successful revolutionaries who would be informed by Locke's ideas in later American history.

No wonder the ruling elite in New York feared the "strange principles and tenetts Concerning government" of these troublesome men, and no wonder they wanted their leader dead, even if he was, for some, their relative.

End Notes

1. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., "Introductory," *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, 4 vols. (Albany, N.Y., 1849-1851), 2: n.p.; hereafter *Docs. Rel. N.Y.*
2. Ibid., 378, 379.
3. Attributed to Nicholas Bayard, "A Modest and Impartial Narrative of several Grievances and Great Oppressions That the Peaceable and most Considerable Inhabitants of . . . New-York . . . Lye Under, By the Extravagant and Arbitrary Proceedings of Jacob Leysler and his Accomplices," in *Narratives of the Insurrections, 1675-1690*, ed. Charles M. Andrews (New York, 1915), pp. 319-354, passim. Andrews notes that the account was neither modest nor impartial. See also "A Letter from a Gentleman of the City of New York, 1698," in ibid., 360-372, a letter thought to have been written at the request of Bayard and other anti-Leislerian members of the Privy Council; and "Loyalty Vindicated, 1698," ibid., 375-401, where the other side of the issues dividing New York in the rebellion are clarified.
4. *Marriages from 1639 to 1801 in the Reformed Dutch Church: New Amsterdam, New York City*, Collections of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 15 vols. (New York, 1940), vol. 9, 56. They married on February 7, 1685. A census of the New York Reformed Dutch Church membership in 1686 places them in the Out-ward for that year. George O. Zabriskie, "Daniel De Clark (De Klerck) of Tappan and His Descendants," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 96:4 (October 1965), 195. In all, twenty-two men sat on the Committee of Safety, with seven constituting a quorum. Correspondence with David W. Voorhees, July 19, 1999.
5. Information about Peter Haring is found in the records of the New York Reformed Dutch Church and the Tappan Reformed Church; the "Notes and Proceedings of the New York Legislative Assembly"; the Orange County Census of 1702; the records of the Board of Supervisors of Orange County (located in the George Budke Collection, New York Public Library); and documents relating to the Tappan Patent. For a fuller discussion of the Leislerian farmers of Tappan, see Firth Haring Fabend, *A Dutch Family in the Middle Colonies, 1660-1800* (New Brunswick, 1991).
6. Primary source materials on Bertholf (also spelled Bartholf) are the *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, 7 vols., ed. E.T. Corwin (Albany, N.Y., 1901-1914). (See Volume 7, index, for page references.) See also Joseph Anthony Loux, trans. and ed., *Boel's "Complaint" Against Frelinghuysen* (Rensselaer, N.Y., 1979). Secondary sources include James R. Tanis, *Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies: A Study in the Life and Theology of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen* (The Hague, 1967); James R. Tanis, "Reformed Pietism in Colonial America," in *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, ed. F. Ernest Stoeffler (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1976); James R. Tanis, "The American Dutch, Their Church, and the Revolution," in *A Bilateral*

Bicentennial: A History of Dutch-American Relations, 1782-1982, J.W. Shulte Nordholt and Robert T. Swierenga, eds. (New York and Amsterdam, 1982); Howard G. Hageman, "William Bertholf: Pioneer Domine of New Jersey," *Reformed Review*, 29 (Winter 1976), 73-80; Howard G. Hageman, "Colonial New Jersey's First Domine: I and II," *de Halve Maen* (October 1969, January 1970); Adrian Leiby, *The United Churches of Hackensack and Schraalenburgh, New Jersey, 1686-1822* (River Edge, N.J., 1976); David Cole, *History of the Reformed Church of Tappan, New York* (New York, 1894), 7-20; and Fabend, *A Dutch Family in the Middle Colonies*, chap. 7.

George O. Zabriskie obtained transcripts and translations of some of Bertholf's correspondence with the Classis of Walcheren that adds new information about him and corrects some older accounts, including that he was a baker, not a cooper. These papers can be found in the Bertholf folders at the New Jersey Historical Society and in the archives of the Gardner A. Sage Library, New Brunswick Theological Seminary.

7. For Teunis R. van Houten and Cornelius Cooper, see the sources in note 5 above and George H. Budke, comp., *Patents Granted for Lands in the Present County of Rockland, New York, with Biographical Notices of the Patentees*, 1928 (BC-67 of the Budke Collection, New York Public Library).

8. One historian who has looked closely at Leislerians describes them as "well integrated into the structure and culture of New York's civic, community, and family life." Ruth Piwonka, "Old Pewter/Bright Brass: A Suggested Explanation for Conservativism in Dutch Colonial Culture," *de Halve Maen* , 68 (Summer 1995), 43. Leisler's active supporters in New York, she goes on, "were leading members of their own merchant or craftsmen classes" and were probably more prosperous than the 1695 tax rolls indicate. This is because much of their property had been attainted in 1691, not to be restored until 1699 and after.

9. Randall H. Balmer, "The Social Roots of Dutch Pietism in the Middle Colonies," *Church History*, 53:2 (June 1984), 187, 188. See also Randall H. Balmer, "From Rebellion to Revivalism: The Fortunes of the Dutch Reformed Church in Colonial New York, 1689-1715," *de Halve Maen*, 56:2 (Fall 1981), and 57:2 (Winter 1982). For background on Pietism, Voetians, and Cocceians, see the sources in note 6 above.

10. Irving Mark, *Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775* (New York, 1940), chap. 1, passim. Stephanus van Cortland received an 86,000-acre manor in northern Westchester in 1697. On the west side of the Hudson in Orange and Ulster counties were the huge Evans' Patent (800 square miles, secured for twenty shillings quitrent per year and 500 pounds sterling to Governor Fletcher), and the Hardenburg Patent (two million acres). As noted, even anti-Leislerian clergymen got into the act. The Reverend Godfriedus Dellius of the Reformed Dutch Church claimed 840 square miles on the Mohawk River with four partners in 1696.

11. O'Callaghan, *Docs. Rel. N.Y.*, 2:392-393.

12. David William Voorhees, "'All Authority turned upside downe': The Ideological Origins of Leislerian Political Thought," paper presented at the regional meeting of the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Worcester, MA., June 1998. See also David William Voorhees, "The Milborne Family in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 129:3 (July 1998). For Protestant International, also called International Calvinism and Protestant Capitalist International, see M. Prestwick, ed., *International Calvinism, 1541-1565* (Oxford, 1985).

13. For Samuel Edsall, see Thomas Henry Edsall, "Something about Fish, Fisheries, and Fishermen, in New York in the Seventeenth Century," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 13:4 (October 1882), 181-200; and George E. McCracken, "Samuel Edsall of Reading, Berk, and Some Early Descendants," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 89:3 (July 1958), 129-145; and 89:4 (October 1958), 216-220.

14. John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609-1702, The Rebellious Proprietary* (Princeton, 1962), esp. chap. 6; and Richard P. McCormick, *New Jersey from Colony to State, 1609-1789*, rev. ed. (Newark, 1981), 28-29.

15. Thomas Henry Edsall, "Something about Fish, Fisheries, and Fishermen," 194.

16. In 1783, Cornelius Haring—Peter Haring's grandson and newly appointed Commissioner of Seized Estates in Bergen County—no doubt appreciated an historical irony when he confiscated for the state of New Jersey the extensive properties of William Bayard—a descendant of Nicholas Bayard. And in 1784, descendants of Leisler's Orange County supporters no doubt took satisfaction in seeing the Tappan lands of Frederick Philipse's descendants confiscated by the new government.

17. The role of ancient Dutch liberties is spelled out in Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590* (Cambridge, 1992), where the author estimates that there are more than 2,000 extant political treatises and pamphlets dealing with the historical justification for the Revolt. John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, ed. Thomas P. Peardon (New York, 1952), x. See also Jonathan I. Israel, "William III and Toleration," in Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke, eds., *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991), chap. 6.

18. Pearden, ed., *Second Treatise*, 23. For a recent reassessment of the influence of Locke's ideas on the Declaration of Independence, see Michael P. Zuckert, *The Natural Rights Republic* (Notre Dame, 1996), passim.

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