THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

HRVR19_2.iind 1 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

Editors
Reed Sparling, Editor in Chief, *Hudson Valley Magazine*
Christopher Pryslopski, Program Director, Hudson River Valley Institute, Marist College

Creative Director
Leslie Bates

Art Director
Richard Deon

Business Manager
Jean DeFino

The Hudson River Valley Review (ISSN 1546-3486) is published twice a year by the Hudson River Valley Institute at Marist College.

Thomas S. Wermuth, Director
James M. Johnson, Executive Director
Kristin Miller, Research Assistant
Rita Popot, Research Assistant

Hudson River Valley Institute Advisory Board
Todd Brinckerhoff, Chair
Peter Bienstock, Vice Chair
T. Jefferson Cunningham III
Barnabas McHenry
Denise Van Buren

Copyright ©2003 by the Hudson River Valley Institute

Post: The Hudson River Valley Review
c/o Hudson River Valley Institute
Marist College
3399 North Road
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

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

Subscription: The annual subscription rate is $20 a year (2 issues), $35 for two years (4 issues). A one-year institutional subscription is $30. Subscribers are urged to inform us promptly of a change of address.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Hudson River Valley Institute, Marist College, 3399 North Road, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

The Hudson River Valley Review was founded and published by Bard College, 1984-2002. Founding Editors, David C. Pierce and Richard C. Wiles

HRVR19_2.iind 2 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

Call for Essays

The Hudson River Valley Review is interested in considering essays on all aspects of the Hudson Valley—its intellectual, political, economic, social, and cultural history, its pre-history, 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 the 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 the forms are applied consistently and provide full information. Endnotes rather than footnotes are preferred. In matters of style and form, HRVR follows *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

HRVR19_2.iind 3 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

From the Editors

This issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review* covers a broad range of historical topics, from the birth of industry in the Hudson-Mohawk region and the portrayal of New York's Mohicans in literature to the stylistically eclectic wooden churches of Columbia County, which are depicted in hauntingly beautiful photographs. We also conclude William Gorgas's fascinating account of his 19th-century travels through an America rife with growing pains and offer a poem and a book review.

Reed Sparling
Christopher Pryslopski

Contributors

Warren F. Broderick is a senior archives and records management specialist at the New York State Archives. He is co-author of *Pottery Works* (1995) as well as numerous journal articles. He is editor of a new edition of Granville Hicks's *Small Town*, to be issued in fall 2004 by Fordham University Press.

Dr. Edward T. Howe 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.*

Arthur A Baker is an architect and photographer in East Taghkanic, Columbia County. Born and educated in England, he immigrated to America and served for years as assistant commissioner in charge of capital projects for the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation.

Judith Saunders has published feature articles, reviews, humor pieces, and poetry in a variety of periodicals. Most recently her poems have appeared in *Chronogram*, *Poetry Miscellany, The California Quarterly,* and *The Christian Science Monitor.*

Vernon Benjamin, an adjunct lecturer in history at Marist College, is writing a history of the Hudson River Valley for Overlook Press.

HRVR19_2.iind 4 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

Vol. 19, No. 2, Septemberer 2002

Poetry

Book Review

On the cover: "Landscape Scene from The Last of the Mohicans" by Thomas Cole. Courtesy of the Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown. Photograph by Richard Walker.

HRVR19_2.iind 5 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

HRVR19_2.iind 6 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

New York State's Mohicans in Literature

Warren F. Broderick

The treatment of New York State's Native Americans in fiction, poetry, and drama follows the dual stereotype found in these literary genres—and in popular thought in general—across the United States from the beginning of American settlement.[1] Native Americans depicted in these works could be classified as either brutish, evil, ignoble savages, or their honorable, sagacious, noble counterparts. The majority are portrayed as bloodthirsty, ignorant, and evil. American history (especially King Philip's War, the Colonial wars between Great Britain and France, and the American Revolution) demonstrated that Native Americans were capable of unspeakable barbarism. Well-publicized incidents of cruelty, such as the killing of Jane McCrea and the Cherry Valley "massacre"—however isolated they were from a larger historical perspective—justified this portrayal.

The noble savage was not invented by James Fenimore Cooper, as some believe, but was present in American literature (along with its ignoble counterpart) from colonial times. Many works included at least one such character. Literature, after all, reflected history, and American readers were aware of a few truly noble savages, such as Pocahantas, Massasoit, and Squanto.

The noble savage, considered an exception to the norm, served as a convenient foil to the ignoble savage in literary themes and plots. Noble savages were distinguished by their sagacity, even temperament, generosity, and other virtues lacking in most of their brethren. More important, noble savages were intelligent and thoughtful enough to recognize that their race was doomed to extinction from manifest destiny, a concept that justified the onrush of expanding white settlement across the nation and the seizure of Native American lands. Despite possessing these ennobling qualities, even the noblest of savages is often depicted as inferior to his white counterparts.

The majority of Native American literary characters seem unreal to the modern reader. In fact, the "wooden Indians" of literature provide little information on the lives of any real Indians, being for the most part repetitions of the dual stereotypes. Few white authors possessed firsthand knowledge of the tribes depicted in their works; thus ignorance, as well as racial bias, perpetuated the stereotypes. For some reason, however, the literary treatment of New York State's Native

HRVR19_2.iind 1 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

Americans tends to be more realistic than that in American literature as a whole. The most realistic depictions are found in novels or short stories; the far fewer works of poetry and drama tend to be more sentimental and melodramatic.

Very few works dealing with New York's Native Americans could be considered great literature from a technical standpoint. They are often verbose and sometimes confusing, filled with bombastic rhetoric and stilted dialogue. Actual speech by Indians (and by frontiersmen and African-American characters as well) is contrived, reflecting the biases of the era. Nonetheless, certain works—particularly a few novels and short stories—possess considerable merit in their portrayal of Native American characters, and they deserve special attention. In addition, New York's authors strove, often at great lengths, to present a detailed, if not always accurate, historical background, including information on Native American history and lore.

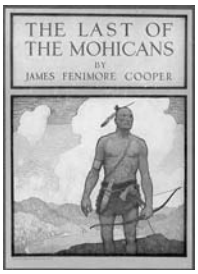
The stereotypical portrayal of New York's Native Americans continued into the twentieth century, but to what degree these views arose from lingering racial bias is impossible to determine. Beginning in the middle of the last century, a number of authors began to present more sympathetic (if not more realistic) portrayals of Native American characters.

Most poetry and prose dealing with Native Americans in New York concerns the Iroquois, in part because of the fame of the Six Nations and their Confederacy and certain renowned Iroquois leaders such as Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), Sagoyewatha (Red Jacket), and Ganiodieu (Cornplanter). The Mohicans, Munsees, Wappingers, and other Algonquian nations are often shown as more peace-loving and civilized than other tribes. Mohicans appear in twenty-some works and play significant roles in some of the novels, short stories, poems, and dramatic works published between 1825 and 2002.

James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) closely adhered to the dual stereotype of Native American portrayals found in earlier literature and in the popular culture of his time. Cooper borrowed extensively from other writers, especially from John Heckewelder's 1819 work, *Account of the History, Manner, and Customs of the Indian Nations*. A number of literary critics and biographers have noticed how artificial or stereotypical Cooper's Indian characters seem to be. His most significant contributions were the development of the memorable character of the frontiersman and the popularization of historical fiction, in particular with American colonial, Revolutionary, or frontier themes.

Cooper's five "Leatherstocking Tales" form a chronological series but were not published in that order. The first chronologically was *The Deerslayer; or, the First Warpath* (1841), where he introduces the young frontiersman Nathaniel

HRVR19_2.iind 2 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



"Natty" Bumppo in a 1740s adventure set along the Upper Susquehanna River. In this novel we are also introduced to one of Cooper's most famous noble savages, Chingachgook, the great Delaware chief. Cooper presents Chingachgook's son, Uncas, in the next Leatherstocking novel, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). Uncas is not actually a Mohican but is of New England Mohegan ancestry. Cooper, unlike Heckewelder, saw the Mohicans, Delawares, Leni-Lenape, and all the Algonquian tribes from New England as factions of one large Native American race. In the preface to the first edition of *The Last of the Mohicans*, Cooper makes a complicated and largely unsuccessful attempt to explain these related tribes; he states that "Mohegan" is merely an anglicized corruption of "Mohican." In his preface to the 1831 edition, he simplifies matters by referring to these tribes as "the same people, or tribes of the same stock." For his purposes, any tribal distinctions were irrelevant. Thus the noble Chingachgook and his son are Mohicans in the context of Cooper's confused concept of Native American history. In the third chapter, Chingachgook admits that his people "parted with their land" in the Hudson Valley after the "Dutch landed, and gave my people the fire-water."

French author George Sand was the first to recognize that Chingachgook was a "great imaginary figure . . . an ally of the whites and a sort of convert to Christianity" who allowed Cooper, "without too great an affront to the pride of his country, to plead the cause of the Indians."[2] The Indians who were the objects of Cooper's sincere concern were western, for he believed that eastern Indians were virtually extinct. Not only had the Mohicans and Delawares vanished, but so had the Iroquois, with the exception of "a few half-civilized beings of the Oneidas, on the reservations of their people in New York." At the book's conclusion Tamenund, the wise Delaware elder, is resigned that "the pale-faces are the masters of the earth, and the time of the red-men has not yet come again.… I have lived to see the last warrior of the wise race of the Mohicans." While Cooper may have held out hope that western Indians might see better days, he was no advocate for the Indians of the Northeast, who he sincerely believed had already disappeared as early as the 1820s.

Four short stories featuring Mohicans appeared in print between 1825 and 1884. In addition, an intriguing legend of the lower Hudson Valley forms the basis of Francis Herbert's "The Cascade of Melsingah" (1828). The Indians involved are Wappingers and Wesquaesgeeks. While referred to by the author as "Mohegans" (inferring in error they are Mohicans), these tribes, though closely related, are not

HRVR19_2.iind 3 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

really Mohicans. Thus this highly interesting story is not covered here.

The anonymous "Ben Pie, or The Indian Murderer: A Tale Founded on Facts" (1825) tells the story of a "real Indian," a Mohican from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and later Stockbridge, Wisconsin.[3] The story is set on Papscanee Island in Rensselaer County, a sacred Mohican place of great antiquity, and relates how an American officer, Colonel Philip Staats, saves Pie from Indian avengers in return for Ben having saved the colonel's life during the Revolutionary War. The story contains information, most certainly with factual basis, on both the Mohicans and Iroquois, and on local history and scenery, even though it has been superficially fictionalized. It recalls interesting interrelationships between Native Americans and white settlers that are not found in similar works of American literature.

Some years later, Mary Maria Chase, a resident of East Chatham in Columbia County, published a fictional account of her visit to the site of a Mohican village in the hamlet of Brainard, in southern Rensselaer County. "Kaunameek" (1847) describes the local scenery in great detail.[4] Information she gleaned on the settlement came not only from the published writings of the missionary David Brainerd but also from local residents and from "a half dozen dwarfish, ugly, dark-browed people" who "paid occasional visits to our part of the country, and who … were the last poor remnants of the Housatonic Indians." The "poor enfeebled Housatonics" probably told Chase the legend of nearby Rattlesnake Mountain that is related in her story. It involves an elderly Indian woman who lived on top of the mountain. She overcomes her fear of serpents to spare the "king of the rattlesnakes" when he visits her cabin. When she spares the old snake and welcomes him into her cabin, a sweet melody appears from out of nowhere and the "old crone" realizes that she has pleased her gods.

Nathaniel B. Sylvester, well-known folklorist and author of county histories, included four Indian tales in his 1884 work *Indian Legends of Saratoga and the Upper Hudson Valley*. Sylvester, like Charles Fenno Hoffman before him, spent much time in the Adirondacks and other rural areas of upstate eastern New York, collecting interesting folklore on Native Americans and early settlers. Two of Sylvester's Indian tales are significant because they feature Mohicans. The first of these two tales, essentially unaltered, is retold by Joseph Bruchac in his 1992 work, *Turtle Meat and Other Stories*.[5]

In "The Spirit Bride of the Tsa-sa-was-sa," a band of Mohicans from the present town of Nassau in Rensselaer County (where the Tsatsawassa Creek flows) settles near the present Yaddo estate in Saratoga Springs.[6] At that time the Mohicans and Mohawks were still at war, and this area was disputed territory. In

HRVR19_2.iind 4 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

a sudden attack, the Mohawks "like ravenous wolves … scalped and tomahawked" the defenseless Mohican women "without mercy." A beautiful young Mohican woman named A-wo-nunsk flees by canoe across a lake pursued by a Mohawk warrior. Before her Mohican husband, We-qua-gan, can raise his bow to kill the Mohawk warrior, the pursuer kills A-wo-nunsk. As a result, the Mohican gods place a curse on the lake; the sun never shines there, and no Indian, Mohican, or Mohawk dare visit the lake except We-qua-gan. For years thereafter, even as an old man, We-qua-gan returns to lament on the spot where his young wife was murdered. On his final pilgrimage, he sees his wife's spirit before he falls dead upon the shore. Light shines again on the lake, and the curse is forever broken.

"The Legend of Diamond Rock," which also appears in this volume, had previously been published in another of Sylvester's works in 1877. This tale is set in Lansingburgh, at a prominent rock outcropping that once had its surface covered with shining quartz crystals.[7] Sylvester had first heard this legend from an aged Indian he met in the Adirondacks in 1858. While the story's characters are said to be the ancestors of the Mohawks, before the great Iroquois Confederacy was formed, they may have indeed been Mohicans, seeing that the Mohican villages, Unuwat's and Monemius's, were both located in sight of Diamond Rock. In the story, Mo-ne-ta, the daughter of the venerated sachem Ho-ha-do-ra, keeps a vigil fire for "five hundred moons" atop the rock, while one of her sons, Ta-en-da-ra, searches for his brother, O-nas-qua, who has been taken captive by a rival nation. When Ta-en-da-ra finally arrives carrying his brother's bones, he celebrates at the rock with Mo-ne-ta, but the Great Spirit does not approve of their jubilation. They are struck dead by a bolt of lightning, and ever since, Diamond Rock has gleamed from "Mo-ne-ta's tears." Sylvester collected such folklore with very serious interest, and the basis of this and the previous "Indian tale" may indeed be genuine Native American legends. Regardless, his presentation of this material in short fiction is highly noteworthy.

Ann Sophia Stephens (1813-1886), a well-known author of popular fiction (as well as a magazine editor), penned five nineteenth-century novels that are significant in part because of their Native American female protagonists. Three of these were published as dime novels; two others, while later reissued as dime novels, were first published in serial format in literary magazines in the 1830s. Her second novel, *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter*, appeared in serial form in *The Ladies' Companion* between February and April 1839.[8] This novel is best known today because Irwin P. Beadle selected it for issuance as his first dime novel in 1860. More significant, its heroine is the Mohican woman Malaeska. This novel is also important because it deals at such any early date with the con-

HRVR19_2.iind 5 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

troversial subject of interracial marriage between whites and Indians.

Malaeska, a young Mohican woman living just west of Catskill, is secretly married to a white hunter named William Danforth, and she is rearing their child. One day, probably in the early 1660s, her husband is mortally injured in a dispute with a member of her tribe, forcing the Mohican band to remove to Iroquois territory in the interior of New York State. Fearing the dangers the Mohicans might face from the Iroquois, the dying William urges Malaeska to take their son to New York City to be raised by his family. When the initial shock of having a mixed-blood grandchild is past, his family agrees to raise the boy as if he were white and allows Malaeska to remain with him as a nanny, forbidding her to tell the boy she is his mother. A while later, she attempts to return her son to the former Mohican territory, but she is unsuccessful and is forced to flee the city alone. Malaeska finally locates her tribe in central New York, but her execution is ordered by the tribal elders on the grounds of her deserting the Mohicans to live with white men in a time of peril.

Malaeska's life is spared by a Mohican warrior who holds strong feelings for her and recognizes the hardships she has endured. She returns to Catskill and lives in a hut on the site of the former Mohican village. In the meantime, her son, now known as Arthur Jones, has moved to Catskill village and is engaged to marry a young white woman. They occasionally visit Malaeska, not knowing her real identity. Finally, she is compelled to tell her son about his ancestry and birth. Arthur cannot accept his mixed-blood heritage and leaps to his death. Malaeska struggles to rescue her son's body but dies from the exertion. Tragedy has befallen all those involved, the victims of an "unnatural marriage." *Malaeska* is a highly sentimental, melodramatic novel, and while it may not constitute great literature, its story is truly remarkable, presenting possibly the greatest of all American tragedies. Few subsequent authors of American fiction would address such a controversial subject, and do it so openly.

One of the more popular of the longer works from the dime novel era (from 1860 to 1910-1915) was David Murdoch's *The Dutch Dominie of the Catskills; or, the Times of the Bloody Brandt* (1861).[9] This lengthy, romantic adventure is set in 1777 to 1778 in the Catskill-Kingston area, and includes ample information on local scenery and Hudson Valley Dutch folklore. Indians are depicted as ignoble savages who "descended upon the peaceable" settlers "like a hungry . . . wolf on the fold." While Joseph Brant sometimes spared his white settler friends, he is depicted here as cunning and bloodthirsty as he leads the attack and burning of Esopus. Even more ignoble are Kiskataam and Shandaagen, two local Indians (understood to be Mohawks of Mohican descent) who kidnap young Margaret

HRVR19_2.iind 6 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

Clinton (even though she is believed to be the daughter of the British colonial governor) and Elsie Schuyler, daughter of the local Dutch dominie. The women are rescued from their captors by Brant and his army, not wishing harm to come to any Loyalists. In the end, Brant and his party are driven back to central New York and peace is restored to the Hudson Valley.

In one particularly interesting chapter entitled "The Last Indian Battle of the Hudson," an elderly Dutchman recalls at length a fight between Mohawks and Mohicans that supposedly took place on a nearby island (referred to in the tale as Wanton Island, possibly Rogers Island) in 1760. The last military conflict between these two tribes took place over a century earlier, in 1628, and other details in the novel are likely erroneous as well. Nonetheless, the inclusion of this chapter demonstrates Murdoch's deep interest in the Native American and Dutch legacy of the area.[10]

T[homas] C. Harbaugh's *The Hidden Lodge; or, The Little Hunter of the Adirondacks* (1878), a little-known dime novel, is a wildly ridiculous adventure set in the Adirondacks in the early 1800s.[11] The hero, Paul Burleigh (known as "Piney Paul"), is a seventeen-year-old woodsman who lives in a rugged, inaccessible area along with Nokomis, the "last of his race" (known as the Upas), and a few Mohicans. The villain, Cecil Crane, leads an expedition to locate a sixteen-year-old girl named Cicely who had been kidnapped by Indians in New York City as a baby. His real plan is to kill the girl and steal her inheritance. He is joined by two crusty hunters, Tarsus Nightwell and Simon Oldfoot, and Red Loon, said to be one of the last of the Mohicans. Nokomis and Red Loon speak with many "Ughs" and are depicted as noble savages with "brawny chests" who possess superhuman strength as well as sagacity and woodcraft. Into the mix appear two other Mohicans: Ocotoc, known as the "Ogre," who is described as being "old, misshapen and dwarfish;" and his "Amazon-like" teenage daughter, Pelosee, who is depicted as a witch-like siren and who develops a crush on Piney Paul, whom she helps survive the "pit of wolves." Cicely, named Little Arrow by her captors, has been under the care of the young Mohican warrior Red Eagle, who is "a veritable Indian Apollo":

> His form was symmetrical, his clothes close fitting; and, after the backwoods manner, fashionable; his scalp-lock oiled, like the hair of the dandy. In face he was, for one of his race, remarkably handsome; his eyes were large, lustrous, and full of expression.

HRVR19_2.iind 7 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

Subsequent pages contain a series of wild adventures that can barely be followed, and in the end the villains (including another band of Mohicans who pursue Nokomis) are all killed and Piney Paul marries Little Arrow. "The wild mountains lost their little hunter, and Right, triumphing in the wilderness, thrived in the city" (where she presumably receives her inheritance) "to the delight of honest people."

The sentimental and melodramatic *Hawkeye: A Sequel to the Deerslayer of James Fenimore Cooper* (1897) by Nancy Huston Banks (who wrote under the pseudonym George H. Preston) is modeled closely after Cooper and set in the years immediately following the original book to supply a "missing link" in the Cooper chronology.[12] The author's treatment of Native Americans closely mimics Cooper's, but because the book is far less well-written, these stereotypes are more readily apparent. Hawkeye, who speaks in unbelievable "frontierese," is joined by Chingachgook in a series of hair-raising adventures involving captures, escapes, and rescues of innocent young white folks from evil Mingos (Mohawks) and Hurons. The action takes place all over upstate New York; the heroes even find time to pay a visit to Niagara Falls. Hawkeye is portrayed as a truly "remarkable," almost godlike person. One of the young women he rescues comments that "he combines more wisdom with his humble capacity" and that "his words are simple and ungrammatical but his thoughts are lofty and uplifting."

Likewise, Chingachgook behaves nobly; he has a "true heart" and "is the equal of any redskin alive." While the white captives feel uneasy about Chingachgook's desire to collect the scalps of his enemies, Hawkeye insists this is merely the "red man's way." In fact, the entire race of Delawares is said to be "an upright nation." "Though a much scandalized people, they stand by every promise made to a frind [sic]." The most ignoble savages are the Hurons aligned with the French; they are compared to wild animals. The French are evil for inciting the Hurons' "bloody instincts and fierce passions" into "all sorts of deviltries." Hawkeye and his partner possess no less hatred for the Iroquois, longtime enemies of the Delawares whose shaky allegiance to the British cannot be trusted.

Hawkeye has not become an Indian hater like Hurry Harry and some other frontiersmen, and while he killed many Hurons and Mingos, "there was not a vengeful feeling against his foes." His "wonderful sense of justice . . . recognized the naturalness… of their passionate expressions" as part of their "red natur [sic]." The author discusses the issue of "red gifts versus white" a number of times. Hawkeye once tells Chingachgook: "I don't find fault with red natur because you have taken… scalps. Your gifts are that way." Later he informs a fair young white captive that Wish-ta-Wish (Chingachgook's wife) will value "the horrid lookin'

HRVR19_2.iind 8 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

things [scalps] more than she would all the jewels in the settlemints" because "it's red natur, gals, and we can't go agin it. They look on a scalp as a mark of victory and a badge or honor."

Mohicans do not appear in another literary work until 1914. Robert Chambers (1865-1933) was one of the most prolific American novelists of the period, producing 87 books between 1894 and 1931. Long dismissed by critics, Chambers' work, in particular his supernatural fiction, is now attracting more serious interest. He belonged to an affluent family that resided both in New York City and on an estate in Broadalbin, Saratoga County. Much of his time was devoted to studying the early history of New York, with which he became quite conversant. Six of his novels, including his successful "Cardigan" series, dealt with New York's Revolutionary history and include Native American characters. They tend to be lengthy, wordy, and melodramatic romantic-adventure stories. Indians allied with the British are generally depicted as ignoble savages, while the Oneidas, Mohicans, and other nations aligned with the Americans are portrayed as noble savages.

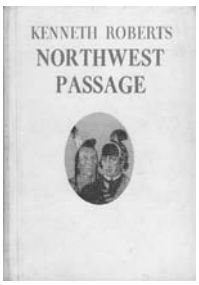
The Hidden Children (1914) is particularly interesting because of Chambers' lengthy portrayal of the heroic Mohican Mayaro, who joins the American forces in the lower Hudson Valley as a scout and leads them safely through dangerous country to take part in the Sullivan-Clinton campaign in the Southern Tier.[13] He becomes very friendly with a white scout, Euan Loskiel; as a result, Loskiel learns more and more about the proud heritage of the Mohicans and other tribes that sided with the American cause. Mayaro continues to impress the soldiers in his care with his bravery, fortitude, and remarkable knowledge. Soon, they trust him implicitly. A major proclaims that Mayaro "is a great chief among his people—great in war, wise in council and debate . . . is welcome in this army at the headquarters of this regiment. He is now one of us." Other Native Americans in the party include Stockbridge Indians, Oneidas, and a Wyandotte. The party survives many perilous situations, not without loss of life, and eventually joins the main American force in time to participate in the capture of Catherine's Town.

A work of some 600 pages (and full of complicated subplots of romance and intrigue), *The Hidden Children* stands out for its detailed portrayal of the Mohican sagamore and his Indian companions. Mayaro believes strongly that the Mohicans are still a free nation, even if they have been defeated and to some degree assimilated by the Mohawks during the previous century. He remains faithful to his heritage and has no use for any of the Iroquois who have aligned themselves with the British. Once, in a lengthy encampment scene, Mayaro and his Indian brethren discuss at length the similarities and differences of their reli-

HRVR19_2.iind 9 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

gion, dress, and customs. Regardless of how accurately Chambers provides the details, this scene is virtually without equal in New York State fiction up to that date and not seen again until Mohican characters appear in more recent novels. Painted for battle in the Mohican tradition, Mayaro is not portrayed as hideous (as many previous authors would have done), but as majestic and elegant. As he rides proudly into Albany with the victorious forces at the novel's conclusion, he "truly presented a superb figure." Chambers provides no indication that Mayaro will fade out of existence like other noble savages before him, or that he represents that last of his race.

Kenneth Roberts penned some of the best novels about the colonial and Revolutionary era produced in the last century. New York's Native Americans appear in two of these works, and while they are not major characters, their portrayal is quite noteworthy. Roberts abandoned the worn-out stereotypes and depicted Indians as individuals with distinct personalities.

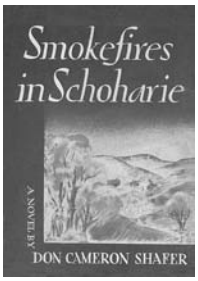


In *Northwest Passage* (1937), the first part of the novel deals with Robert Rogers' expedition to destroy the St. Francis Indian village in Canada.[14] The two principal Native American characters are John Konkapot Jr. and "Jacob" Nawnawampeteoonk (known as "Captain Jacobs"), two Mohicans from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, who serve Rogers' Rangers as guides and spies. Initially, Konkapot appears as a pathetic figure, in a state of intoxication, but as the book progresses his value to Rogers becomes more and more apparent. Because of the manner in which he was painted for battle, Captain Jacobs first appears nightmarish to the narrator, who is surprised to see Rogers treat the Indian as formally as he would any British officer. Rogers has great faith in the intelligence information gathered by the Mohicans, and they are said to be as brave and faithful in combat as "civilized people." On the other hand, the Mohawks who assist Rogers "are accustomed to do as they will … disobey orders if they find those orders displeasing." Captain Jacobs is also helpful in dealing with the Mohawks, with whom he has good relations. When the party arrives at the St. Francis village (which has been well scouted in advance by the Mohicans), Rogers and his men spare the elderly, children, and women from death. Prior to their release, Captain Jacobs (under Rogers' orders) instructs them to inform their tribe that raids on white settlements—which their men have conducted for years—would no longer be tolerated.

Don Cameron Shafer's *Smokefires in Schoharie* (1938) concerns the early Palatine Lutheran settlers in the Schoharie Valley, from their arrival in the 1740s

HRVR19_2.iind 10 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

through the American Revolution, as seen through the eyes of one of the author's ancestors.[15] The Mohawks and the early settlers live on reasonably friendly terms, with most of the tension between them arising from the marked differences in their cultures. The Lutheran minister, for example, finds it difficult to understand the Indians' sexual and marital practices. Still, once each group learns the other's language and customs, they become fairly good friends. The Mohawks laugh at the peculiar habits of the Germans as often as the settlers are amused by strange Indian ways. The Mohawks have no objection to the settlement of a small area of their territory so long as the number of settlers is relatively small. The elderly Mohican sachem Etowankaun, a frequent visitor from Stockbridge, warns the Mohawks that the whites will take more and more of their land. He relates how the whites seized nearly all of the traditional Mohican territory, even though the Indians were always friendly and accommodating. At the book's conclusion, Etowankaun's prophecy becomes true: His own grave is symbolically plowed over by a white farmer, and the Mohawks realize they were "fools" to sell so much land to the settlers.



Shafer's treatment of the pre-Revolutionary period is especially noteworthy for its depiction of the worsening relationship between whites and Indians. His portrayal of the Iroquois changes as they turn against the settlers and side with the British and Tories. Even in times of peace, the reader is reminded, "it must not be forgotten that they were wild men . . . not wholly to be trusted." The cruelties once reserved for their traditional Indian enemies (such as the Hurons) are now turned against their former white neighbors. Except for a few of the elderly who are too old or weak to care, the rest of the "Schoharie Indians" are forced to side with the forces of Brant and Walter Butler. The accounts of the raids on Cobleskill and Cherry Valley are not unlike those in most other literary works; the author more or less justifies the destruction of Iroquois villages committed by American forces in the Sullivan-Clinton campaign.

Allena Champlin Best issued two novels for young people under the pseudonym "Erick Berry" that were set in Dutch New Netherlands. Both include Native American characters. *Hudson Frontier* (1942) is set in Fort Orange in 1690.[16] The local Mohicans are said to be "peaceful and friendly," as are the Mohawks with whom the white settlers are engaged in the fur trade. One of these Mohawks, Antlered Deer, is a strong ally of the settlers. He assists the

HRVR19_2.iind 11 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

book's hero in locating a lost companion in the woods. The search party discovers that a corrupt Albany official has been conducting illegal trading with the Caughnawaga, or "Praying Mohawks," barbaric "dogs" who served the French "in their cruelest raids on Iroquois territory" and who would kill Antlered Deer on sight.

Seven Beaver Skins (1948) is also set in the Albany area (although 30 years earlier) and involves the adventures of Kasper de Selle, a young Dutch fur trader.[17] In her foreword, Best provides some historical background, including distinguishing between the Mohawks, commonly known as the "Maguas," and the Mohicans, mistakenly referred to as the "Mohegans." Because this novel covers the period when the Mohicans were still flourishing in the Hudson River Valley, they figure prominently. One of the Dutch settlers notes that since the Maguas have acquired more guns in trade, they have begun to drive the Mohicans out of the area. The Maguas strike the hero as "rougher" and more "fierce looking" than the Mohicans, and were "cannibals too from all accounts." Fortunately, the Dutch were on good terms with both Indian nations.

As de Selle journeys up the Mohawk Valley, he has the opportunity to visit several Mohawk villages, which impress him greatly. The author not only provides a detailed description of a typical village and its longhouses, but also describes Mohawk customs, games, and trading practices. Aquinachoo, an elderly Mohawk sachem, leads a delegation downriver to a peace council with the Mohicans. Great tension prevails at the council, and both the Mohawks and their Dutch friends are apprehensive about the intentions of the Mohicans. Rightfully so: the Mohicans, in apparent retaliation over previous Mohawk hostilities, ambush and murder most of the Mohawk delegation. (The Dutch traders barely escape unharmed.)[18] With escalating conflict between these two Indian nations, the peaceful times experienced by the Dutch are in jeopardy. Regardless of the inaccuracy of the details, *Seven Beaver Skins* is nonetheless noteworthy for being one of the few literary works dealing with Mohican-Mohawk relations.

Alfred B. Street's poem, "The Indian Mound Near Albany," (1846) recalls the Mohicans who inhabited the Valley long ago.[19] Street, who would soon become director of the New York State Library, was living in Albany when this work was first published. Apparently he was the discoverer of the mound that "towered up" before him. It is not clear whether the earthwork was on the east or west side of the Hudson River. Nor can the "narrow creek" and "green island channels" be

HRVR19_2.iind 12 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

identified with certainty. (It may very well have been Papscanee Creek.) But the Indians are clearly Mohicans:

> Now, as along a reach the vessel glides,
> Within some narrow creek the bark canoe
> Quick vanishes; as points the prow in shore
> The Indian hunter, with half-shrinking form,
> Stands gazing, holding idly his long bow;
> And as the yacht around some headland turns,
> Midst the low rounded wigwams near the brink
> Are movements of tumultuous tawny life.

Arnold Hill Bellows' *The Legend of Utsayantha, and Other Folk-lore of the Catskills* (1945) is a small, attractively illustrated volume containing a number of interesting poems concerning the Mohicans.[20] Utsayantha was a legendary Mohican princess who lived along a lake near Stamford that now bears her name. The book contains a glossary of names and ample historical footnotes, the result of the author's in-depth research into Native American history and lore. In a footnote to his poem "Teunis, Last of the Mohicans," Bellows clearly makes the distinction between the Mohicans and the Mohegans of New England, correcting the error perpetuated by Cooper and numerous others. The poem concludes:

> On the stormy nights of winter,
> When the wild winds shook the forest,
> And the snowflakes whirled and sifted
> Round Mahican wigwams, flitting
> Like the silent ghosts at midnight,
> In their lodges safely sheltered,
> Round the blazing firebrands gathered
> All the children as they listened
> To this Indian tradition,
> To this tale of Utsayantha,
> Full of fact and fancy woven,
> Full of noble deeds and daring,
> Full of savage wiles and cunning,
> Full of cherished dreams and shattered.

HRVR19_2.iind 13 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

In his foreword, Bellows offers a description of Native American folklore—"a judicious combination of myth and history"—that is commendably accurate and virtually unique. Both the author and a local school principal advocate the use of this work in schools "as worthwhile literary material for English classes and as valuable background material for social studies classes."

A variety of works, both biographical and fictional, have dealt with the bravery and self-sacrifice of the Mohawk maiden Kateri (Catherine) Tekakwitha (1656-1680), who lived at the Mohawk Valley village of Ganadawage. Despite poor health (the result of contracting smallpox), she became renowned for her piety and devotion to Christianity. She lived during the era when a number of Mohawks, including the famous Chief Kryn, were converted by the Roman Catholic "Black Robes" and relocated to Canada. Kateri was the first Native American to be beatified (1980) by the Catholic Church.

Details of Kateri's life have become a puzzling mix of fact and folklore. Fictional works have tended to be highly moralistic in tone, praising her for her devotion to Christianity in a world where most Indians worshiped pagan gods. The first of these is the play *The Lily of the Mohawks (Kateri Tekakwitha): An Historical Romance Drama of the American Indian* (1932) by Edward La More. Other works on Kateri include Robert Holland's poem "Song of Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks" (1942) and at least five novels. These are *Kateri of the Mohawks* (Marie Cecilia Buehrle, 1954), *White Wampum: The Story of Kateri Tekakwitha* (Frances Taylor Patterson, 1934), *Drums of Destiny: Kateri Tekakwitha, 1656 to 1680* (Harold William Sandberg, 1950), *Star of the Mohawk: Kateri Tekakwitha* (Francis McDonald, 1958), and *Kateri Tekakwitha: Indian Maid* (Evelyn M. Brown, 1958). A substantially better work on the subject is Jack Casey's 1984 novel, *Lily of the Mohawks*.

Even the pagan Mohawks in these works are portrayed as far nobler than the Hurons, Mohicans, and members of other Algonquian nations who were their enemies. The Mohicans, in particular, are depicted as being treacherous and barbaric, rightfully feared enemies of the proud Mohawks. One suspects that this portrayal is not based on historical interpretation, but rather on the need to present ignoble savages in opposition to noble savages in a highly moralistic story. Most of the works provide some account of the August 18, 1669, battle along the Mohawk River between the Mohawks and a force of New England Indians and a few less-than-enthusiastic Mohicans. The actual battle ended with no clear winner; in the Kateri literature, however, the Mohawks are shown as the victors.

Mohicans do not appear again in literature until they are featured in historical novels of the modern era. Elizabeth (George) Speare's *The Prospering*

HRVR19_2.iind 14 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

(1967) is one of the few novels—and possibly the best—dealing with Mohicans at length.[21] While most of the work is set in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where many of New York's Mohicans were living between the 1730s and 1780s, a few scenes are set in Kaunameek, the same village described in the 1847 work by Mary Maria Chase. The novel's narrator is Elizabeth Williams, one of the children of Ephraim Williams Sr., who established the settlement of Stockbridge, where friendly Mohicans and white settlers lived side by side in admittedly uneasy peace through a period of social upheaval and military conflict. Elizabeth becomes very friendly with an Indian girl named Catherine (the daughter of "John" Konkapot) and comes to understand the problems faced by the Mohicans. Overall, *The Prospering* presents both a factual and deeply personal account of the Stockbridge Mohicans and their white neighbors.

Paul Bernard's *Genesee Castle* (1970) presents Native Americans in virtually the same stereotypes used in the previous century.[22] The hero, Philip Cochrane, participates in General Sullivan's campaign and engages in the destruction of Iroquois villages without any reservations. The Iroquois are generally shown to be barbarous enemies of the American soldiers and settlers. There are references to the atrocities (directed by the "furious Indian squaw" Queen Esther) at Wyoming the previous year. Even the Cayugas' late plea for mercy and peace with the Americans is ignored because their nation must "suffer" for their past actions. The only noble savages in the novel are the faithful Stockbridge Mohican scout Jehoiakim and the subservient Oneidas, who "offered their help in any way" the American army wished to utilize them.

Terry Elton's somewhat confusing *The Journey* (2002) tells the story of four people: Thomas Bradford, a wealthy merchant in the 1750s and '60s; Catharine Webster, his servant and later bride; and Brian Pearson and Nancy Donovan, two contemporary New Yorkers inhabited by the spirits of the colonial couple.[23] These spirits bring the action back in time to punish those responsible for Thomas and Catherine's untimely deaths. The novel's Indian characters are Mohicans who remain in the upper Hudson Valley in a small village somewhere near Albany.

Thomas and Catherine capture their murderers (who killed Thomas's father and attempted to steal his inheritance) and have them brought upriver by Soaring Eagle, a young Mohican chief. While Soaring Eagle is clearly depicted as noble in his actions and intelligence (he is admired alike by the Indians and whites he deals with), he is also capable of savagery, and sees that "Mohican justice is done" by torturing and killing the criminals. This retribution is in part a favor for Thomas, whom Soaring Eagle regards as his blood brother. One of the more interesting chapters in the book recalls the time in 1757 when Bradford and his father

HRVR19_2.iind 15 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

met Soaring Eagle and his band while trading in upstate New York. In another interesting scene near the book's conclusion, Soaring Eagle and some of his tribe are called to testify in New York at a trial of swindlers. While some object to these "savages" giving testimony at a judicial proceeding, Thomas accurately claims that the Mohicans "speak on the truth. It is their way. Lies and deceit are not acceptable in their world." *The Journey* occasionally gets its facts wrong. (For example, the author claims that the Mohicans were part of the Iroquois Confederacy.) Nevertheless, it is rather unique and quite interesting.

Paul Block's *Song of the Mohicans: A Sequel to James Fenimore Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans* (1995) is a lively adventure story that begins immediately after Cooper's novel ends.[24] The protagonists are Hawkeye and Chingachgook and a new character, the young and dauntless Astra Van Rensselaer, the beautiful daughter of Hendrick Van Rensselaer, a crusty and bigoted member of the patroon's family who lived just outside Albany. The action begins in the Lake George region and continues into the Mohawk Valley. Astra is determined to locate her brother, Peter, who had disappeared following the battle of Fort William Henry. Hawkeye and his partner are on a mission to meet with a mystical Oneida named Onowara to persuade the Oneidas not to form an alliance with the French. Onowara turns out to be a long lost older son of Chingachgook, and the complicated plot and hair-raising adventures render this modern work more confusing than the memorable work it seeks to imitate.

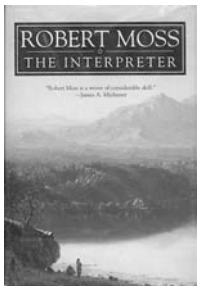
Block's treatment of Native Americans follows Cooper's model. The Iroquois are noble yet fierce ("a trustworthy and peaceable lot"), and range from the wise chief Skenandoa to young Oneidas who attempt to burn the heroes at the stake. For the most part, the French-aligned Canadian Indians are shown to be barbaric. The scenes in the Oneida camp, where various factions of that nation debate the French-English issue, are presented in detail and with sensitivity.

While Cooper's Mohicans, supposedly the last remnant of that nation from the Hudson Valley, were really two men of New England Mohegan, Block presents them instead as true Mohicans. Chingachgook recalls, for example, how his tribe had once been powerful in the Hudson Valley, and how they were named after the great river that had been central to their culture, the "Muhheconnuk." Furthermore, in his foreword Block properly notes that the Mohicans were not extinct, as Cooper had indicated, but lived in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Madison County, New York, and now "live on a reservation in Shawano County, Wisconsin, where they go by their official name: the Stockbridge Indians."

Robert Moss has authored a trilogy of recent novels focusing on Sir William Johnson and prominently featuring Native Americans. They are meticulously

HRVR19_2.iind 16 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

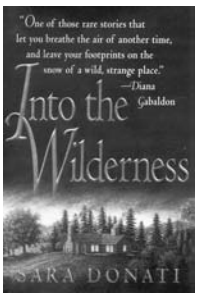
researched, with extensive notes (including references to specific sources accompanying each chapter). *The Firekeeper: A Narrative of the Eastern Frontier* (1995) is a rather complicated novel set between Johnson's arrival in America and the Battle of Lake George in 1755.[25] Fortunately, it includes a glossary and a list of Mohawk names with their English equivalents. Moss devotes considerable space to dreams, shamanism, and psychic healing, as well as Native American ceremonies, folklore, and daily village life. The book is also noteworthy because of the in-depth portraits of Johnson's first wife, Catherine Weisserberg, and the great Mohawk sachem, Hendrick "Forked Paths." Hendrick was born a Mohican, and the subjugation of the Mohicans by the Mohawks in the seventeenth century is recalled. Hendrick remembers how early white settlers had abused the peace-loving Mohicans and correctly notes that after their subjugation, a number of Mohicans came to live with and become assimilated by the fiercer Mohawks.



The Interpreter (1997) covers the years between 1709 and 1741 and introduces young Conrad Weiser, who later became the famous Pennsylvania Indian agent.[26] Hendrick "Forked Paths" also plays a major role in this book, as do, again, dreams and spirituality. Although the plot is sometimes difficult to follow, the book does a good job of highlighting the many problems the Iroquois faced during a period when the French and British were battling for their allegiance. This novel also covers the famous 1710 visit of the sachems (known as the "Four Kings") to London. At this early date, the Indians were already questioning the way that their sales of land to the Europeans were being conducted: "One would have thought that the depossession of the New England tribes—some of them already reduced to the condition of vaguing drunks and sellers of brooms—would have been an object lesson for the Mohawks."

Moss devotes some space to developing the characters of Sayenqueragtha, or "Vanishing Smoke," and "Nicholas" Etowankaun, two Mohicans by birth who became Mohawk sachems. Nicholas, who has led a "wandering life, confused by the bottle," is very knowledgeable about New England. In a highly interesting chapter, he accompanies Conrad Weiser on a secret mission to the New England coast to search for Captain Kidd's lost treasure. (Weiser had seen in a dream what he believed to be the treasure cave.) Weiser's gradual education in Native American ways, particularly relating to dreaming and shamanism, is one of the central themes of the book.

HRVR19_2.iind 17 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



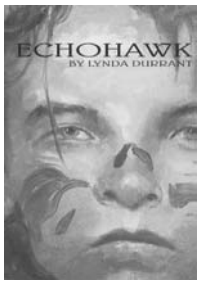
Sara Donati has also produced a trilogy about early settlers and their Native American neighbors in the upper reaches of the West Branch of the Sacandaga River in the southern Adirondacks. An Englishwoman, twenty-nine-year-old Elizabeth Middleton, settles there with her father and brother in 1792. The Native American neighbors include the mixed-blood Bonner family (Daniel, aged 70, and Nathaniel, his handsome frontiersman son) and a small band of Mohawk and Mohican descendants. In the first of these novels, *Into the Wilderness* (1998), the author is primarily concerned with Elizabeth's attraction to Nathaniel and her father's efforts to marry her off to Richard Todd, a local physician, in part to relieve his family's financial problems.[27] The area where they settle, called "Paradise," is part of lands forfeited by Loyalists, and Dr. Todd's principal interest seems to be the acquisition of as much land as possible, including that occupied by the Bonners and the Indians. In the end, the matter of land ownership is settled and both whites and Indians appear to resume normal lives as neighbors.

The Indians are generally viewed as harmless by their white neighbors, or, as Nathaniel bluntly states, they are a few of the remaining Indians that have not been "beaten into the dust" by the American Revolution. They are considered to be "good people" for neighbors but "not suitable company for a young unmarried woman [like Elizabeth] or good family." The heroine, however, spends a great deal of time with the motley band of Indians (who refer to themselves as the "Kahnyen'kettaka"), in part because of her attraction to Nathaniel but also because of her genuine admiration of the Indians. Those who impress her the most are "Chingachgook" (an elderly Mohican sachem), Falling Day (the Mohawk mother of Nathaniel's deceased wife), and Falling Day's daughter and son, Many-Doves and Otter. The Indians regularly visit Barktown, a small Mohawk village downriver that was rebuilt after being destroyed by General Clinton in 1779. Life at the village, including a winter festival and a spring strawberry ceremony, is described in impressive detail.

Lynda Durrant has written two excellent novels for young adults that are significant because Mohicans are their principal characters. Both are well researched and contain a glossary of names, a bibliography, and historical background material. *Echohawk* (1995) tells the story of Jonathan Spence, a white boy who is captured and adopted into a Mohican family in the Hudson River Valley in 1738.[28] As Echohawk (as he is named by his captors) is assimilated into Mohican culture, we read about the Indians' daily life, folklore, religion, and spirituality. Also touched upon is the relationship between the Mohicans and other Indian

HRVR19_2.iind 18 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

tribes, especially the powerful Mohawks, who superseded them as the dominant nation in eastern New York. In spite of his birth and the fact that the Mohicans had been subjugated and decimated by disease a century before, Echohawk believes that the Hudson Valley is still Mohican country. But his father, Glickihagan, wants Echohawk and his younger Mohican brother, Bamiamneo, to attend a white school. He believes that Indians should learn English and become better acquainted with the encroaching white society.



Life at the Warners' school is filled with tension because the students boarding together include whites as well as Indians who come from tribes that have at some time hated each other. The well-meaning but misguided Warners fail to understand that Echohawk no longer sees himself as an English boy, and believe he could become a great missionary to "bring these wretched savages out of the darkness." When school is finished, Glickihagan decides to move west to Ohio with his boys. He reminiscences on important places in his life, especially Schodack, where he was born, and recalls when Henry Hudson first met the Mohicans, who were then a strong and populous tribe.

In her subsequent novel, *Turtle Clan Journey* (1999), Glickihagan faces the loss of Echohawk to bounty hunters who can receive a ransom for returning whites from Indian "captivity," even against their will.[29] Echohawk is returned to Albany, to live with an aunt who attempts to "civilize" him. He manages to escape, and he and his Mohican family proceed west to the Ohio territory along with some Munsees and Delawares (two Indian nations that appear in few works of New York State literature). Echohawk becomes an especially good friend of a young Munsee named Red Fox. On one occasion, they are captured by Onondagas. The duo wonders if the Iroquois still practice torture and cannibalism; as Mohicans, they find such practices abhorrent. They manage to escape and reach Ohio as the book concludes. The author notes that Glickihagan and Bamiamneo were the names of actual Mohicans.

Notes

1. See also Warren F. Broderick, "Fiction Based on 'Well Authenticated Facts:' Documenting the Birth of the American Novel," *Hudson Valley Regional Review* 4 (September, 1987), 1-37.
2. Quoted in George Dekker and John P. McWilliams, *Fenimore Cooper: The Critical Heritage* (London, 1973), 267-268.
3. [anon.] "Ben Pie, or The Indian Murderer: A Tale Founded on Facts," *The Minerva* 3 (1825), 113-117; Rural Repository 2, (1825), 33-35, 41-43; see also Warren F. Broderick, "Ben Pie, a Native American Tale," *Hudson Valley Regional Review* 17 (March, 2000), 24-52.

HRVR19_2.iind 19 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

4. Mary M[aria] Chase, "Kaunameek," *The Columbian Magazine 8* (November, 1847), 217-221; see also Mary Maria Chase, *Mary M. Chase and Her Writings*, ed. Henry Fowler (Boston, 1855); see also Shirley Dunn, *The Mohican World 1680-1750* (Fleischmanns, NY, 2000), 192 et. seq.
5. Joseph Bruchac, *Turtle Meat and Other Stories* (Duluth, MN, 1992), 105-108.
6. Nathaniel B. Sylvester, "The Spirit Bride of the Tsa-sa-was-sa," *Indian Legends of Saratoga and of the Upper Hudson Valley* (Troy, NY, 1884), 28-34.
7. Nathaniel B. Sylvester, "The Legend of Diamond Rock," *Historical Sketches of Northern New York and the Adirondack Wilderness* (Troy, NY, 1877), 206-220; reprinted in *Indian Legends of Saratoga and of the Upper Hudson Valley* (Troy, NY, 1884), 35-47.
8. Ann Sophia [Witherspoon] Stephens, "Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter," *The Ladies' Companion and Literary Expository* X (February-April, 1839), 188-195, 239-245, 258-269.
9. David Murdoch, *The Dutch Dominie of the Catskills; or, the Times of the Bloody Brandt* (New York, 1861); reissued as *The Royalist's Daughter and the Rebels: or, The Dutch Dominie of the Catskills. A Tale of the Revolution* (New York, 1865).
10. Shirley Dunn, *The Mohicans and Their Land 1609-1730* (Fleischmanns, NY, 1994), 99; Benjamin Brink, *The Early History of Saugerties, 1660-1825* (Kingston, NY, 1902), 10-12.
11. T[homas] C. Harbaugh, *The Hidden Lodge; or, The Little Hunter of the Adirondacks*, April 9, 1878 [16 pp., in 3 columns] [Half Dime Library; 2 subsequent editions: Pocket Library, no. 114 as *Piney Paul, the Mountain Boy; or, The Little Arrow of the Adirondacks* (March 17, 1886) and Half Dime Library, no. 1167 (November, 1905)]; reissued, with relatively minor revisions, as *The Mountain Cat* (London, 1882) [Jackson's Novels, no. 4].
12. Nancy Huston Banks, ["George H. Preston," pseud.] *Hawkeye: A Sequel to the Deerslayer of James Fenimore Cooper* (Cincinnati, 1897).
13. Robert Chambers, *The Hidden Children* (New York, 1914).
14. Kenneth Roberts, *Northwest Passage* (Garden City, NY, 1937).
15. Don Cameron Shafer, *Smokefires in Schoharie* (New York, 1938).
16. Allena Champlin Best ["Erick Berry," pseud.], *Hudson Frontier* (New York, 1942).
17. Allena Champlin Best ["Erick Berry," pseud.], *Seven Beaver Skins: A Story of the Dutch in New Amsterdam* (Philadelphia, 1948).
18. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (New York, 1959), vol. 8, 137-145.
19. Alfred B. Street, "The Indian Mound Near Albany," *Graham's American Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art 28* (February, 1846), 67.
20. Arnold Hill Bellows, *The Legend of Utsayantha, and Other Folk-lore of the Catskills* (Margaretville, NY, 1945).
21. Elizabeth Speare, *The Prospering* (Boston, 1967).
22. Paul Bernard, *Genesee Castle* (Philadelphia, 1970).
23. Terry Elton, *The Journey* (Tarentum, PA, 2002).
24. Paul Block, *Song of the Mohicans: A Sequel to James Fenimore Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans* (New York, 1995).
25. Robert Moss, *The Firekeeper: A Narrative of the Eastern Frontier* (New York, 1995).
26. Robert Moss, *The Interpreter* (New York, 1997).
27. Sara Donati, *Into the Wilderness* (New York, 1998).
28. Lynda Durrant, *Echohawk* (New York, 1996).
29. Lynda Durrant, *Turtle Clan Journey* (New York, 1999).

HRVR19_2.iind 20 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

Wooden Churches—Columbia County Legacy

Arthur A Baker

Columbia County is endowed with a rich heritage of wooden church architecture that covers the full design spectrum, from the simple vernacular shelter to imposing Gothic Revival structures. In microcosm, it exhibits the influences of the nation's changing architectural styles, and the growth of the varied religious denominations. Collectively, the churches reflect a remarkably creative, diverse range of building design and form.

The idea of documenting the county's wooden church architecture became embedded in my mind several years ago, after making the decision to permanently relocate to Columbia County from New York City. Once the concept of a book* that would document all of the old wooden churches, rather than just a few of exceptional architectural merit, took root, then I was confronted with a series of decisions relating to its format and content.

As a photographer, I have always had a deep appreciation of documentary photography, in particular, the work of both Walker Evans and Bernd and Hilla Becher. I decided to photograph the churches from a single consistent frontal point of view, in a black and white format to encapsulate the essence of each structure. As an architect, I have chosen to present, wherever feasible, the images in a sequence that emphasizes the church massing and silhouette rather than its religious identity, location, period, or architectural style. This approach facilitates the comparative critical analysis of the similarities and diversities of the church typology.

Through the process of locating and photographing the churches, I developed not only a great understanding of their aesthetic value, but also an increased appreciation of the important manner in which they engage the county's other

**Text and photographs from* Wooden Churches: Columbia County Legacy*, by Arthur A Baker, published by the Columbia County Historical Society. Copyright ©2003 by Arthur A Baker. A review of the book will appear in an upcoming issue. The actual book is laid out as a series of diptychs to highlight the similarities between various church buildings.* The Review *has chosen single images to display the great range of architectural styles.*

HRVR19_2.iind 21 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

historic buildings and the unique natural landscape. I continue to be delighted by the imagination and ingenuity displayed by the master builders who constructed the churches, for the majority were not designed by architects. There is a recognizable honesty and straightforwardness about most of the buildings that imbues them with an enduring strength and integrity, which engenders a visceral and emotional response.

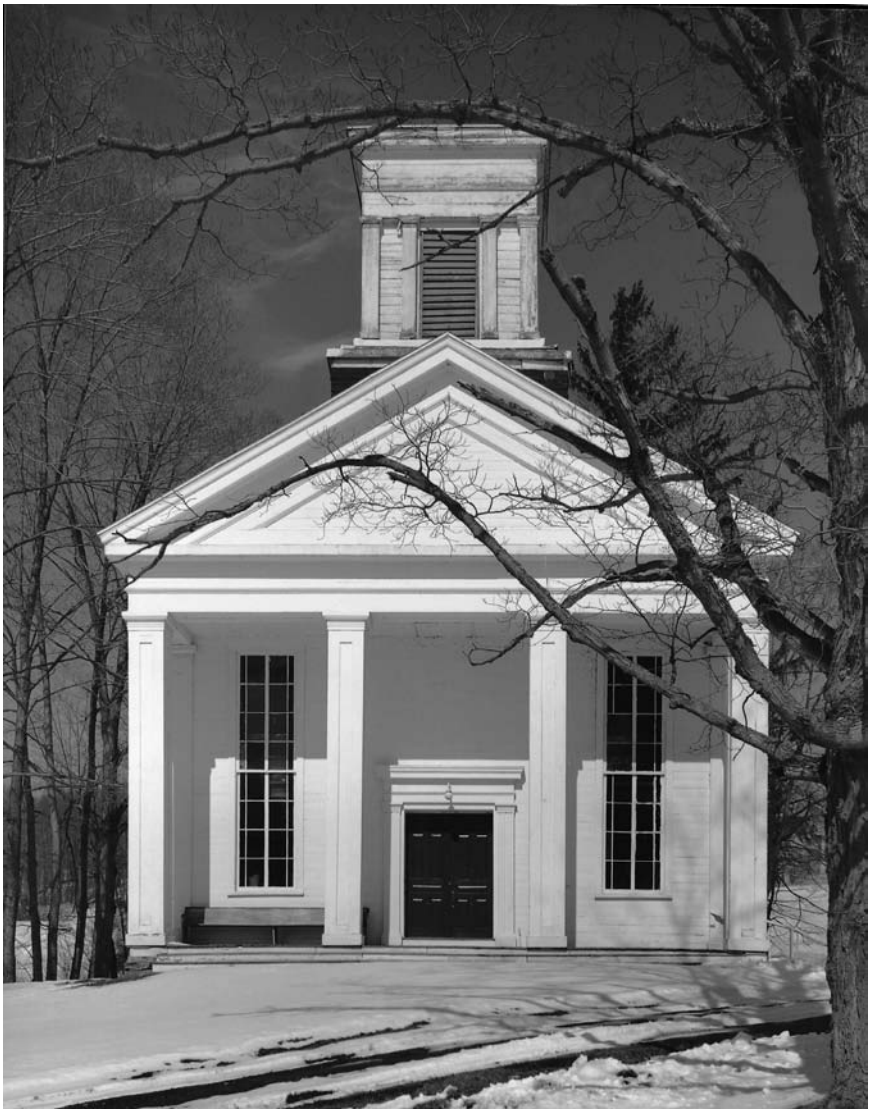
In 1609 Captain Henry Hudson's ship, the *Half Moon*, anchored off what is now Columbia County's shoreline and its crew became the first Europeans to trade with the Mohican Indian inhabitants. Columbia County was officially established in 1786, but before that date its citizens played a decisive role in this nation's political history. Both Chancellor Robert R. Livingston and his cousin, Philip Livingston, members of the area's most prominent family, served as delegates to the Continental Congress; in 1776, Philip was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Robert R. Livingston administered the first oath of office to President George Washington in 1789. Remarkably, the first U.S. census conducted in 1790 revealed that roughly one in one hundred and forty of the nation's population lived in the county. Successive waves of settlers and immigrants, commencing with the Dutch in the 1650s, have left an indelible mark on the county through their development of its agriculture, industry, and architecture, including the wooden churches, all of which now form part of the present delicately balanced natural, historic, and cultural heritage.

Because this past growth has always retained a human scale, it was readily absorbed into the scenic landscape. Now we are entering a new era when our region's environment, as well as its unique historic and scenic landscape, is being severely threatened by proposals for the construction of over-scaled industrial and commercial projects that could scar the landscape for generations to come. It is the author's hope that enlightened thinking will prevail, and result in the adoption of the necessary planning principles and compromises that will permit the past and the future to coexist and will allow for rational, appropriately scaled, and environmentally sensitive future development.

The wooden churches form an integral part of Columbia County's visual heritage, which is part of the continuum between past, present, and the future. The preservation and restoration of this legacy is of paramount importance; presently most of the churches are on the brink of survival; others are seriously deteriorating. All need increased support. Over the years, many churches have either been sold or acquired by other religious faiths, historical societies, or private individuals. (An occupied building is always preferable to an abandoned one.)

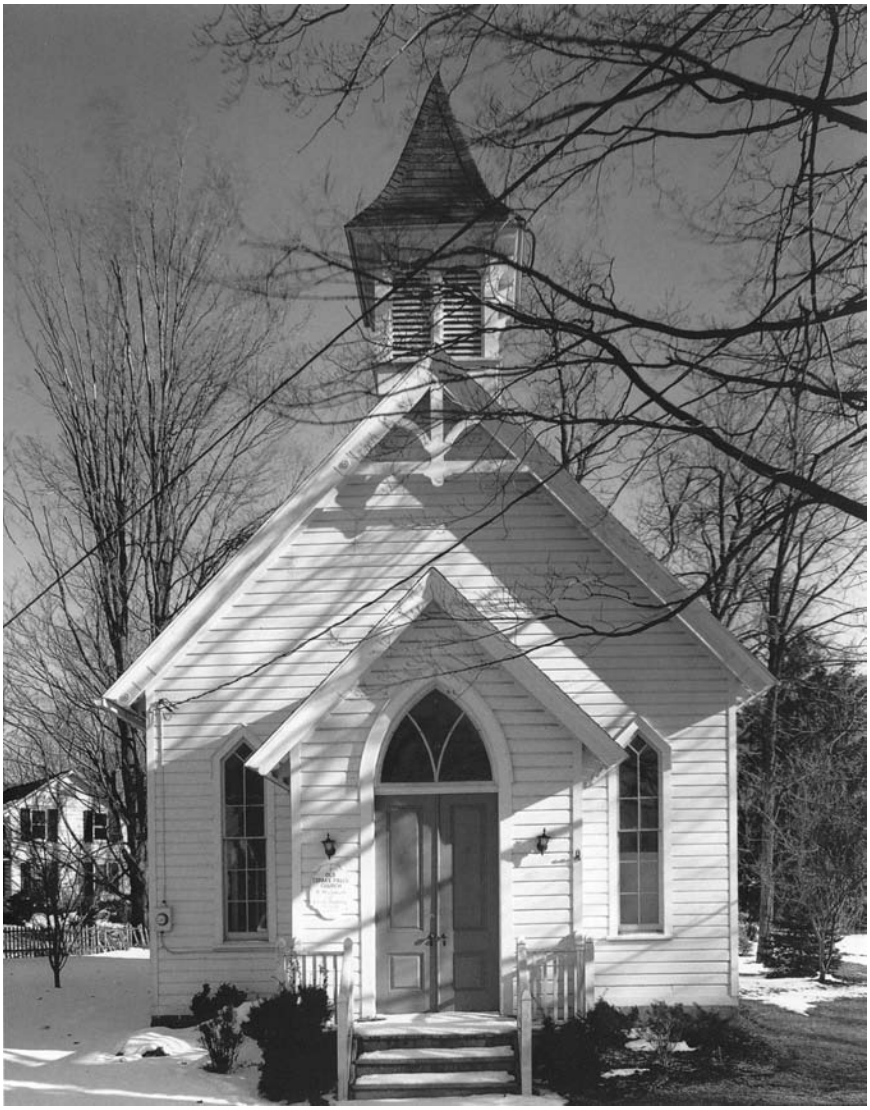
continued on page 39

HRVR19_2.iind 22 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



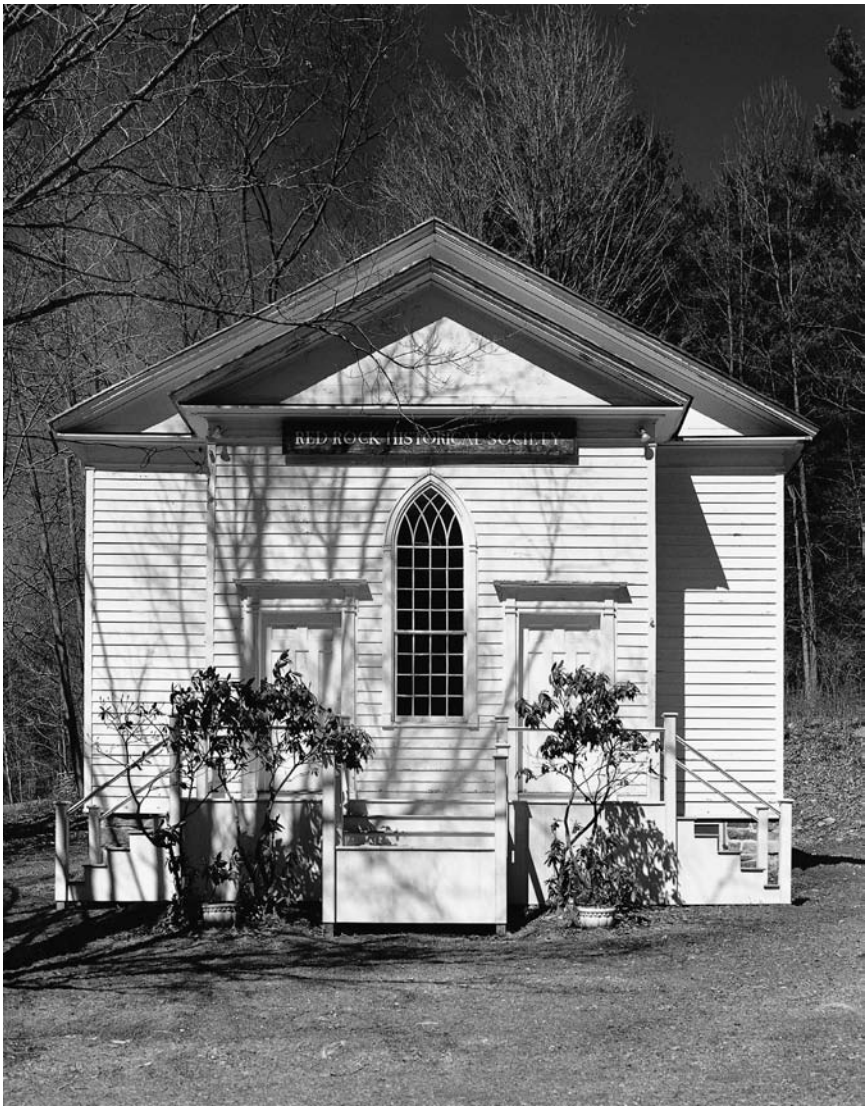
North Hillsdale: United Methodist Church; built 1838

HRVR19_2.iind 23 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



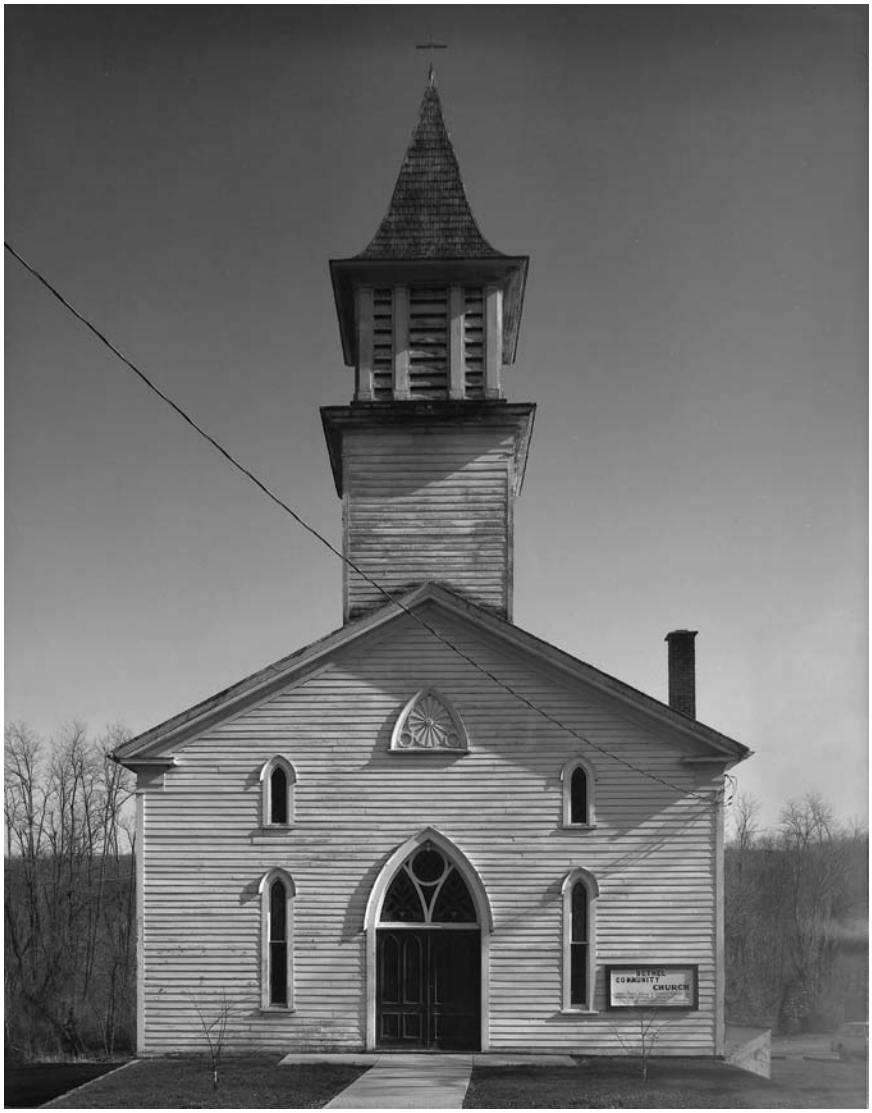
Copake Falls: Old Copake Falls Methodist Church; built 1892

HRVR19_2.iind 24 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



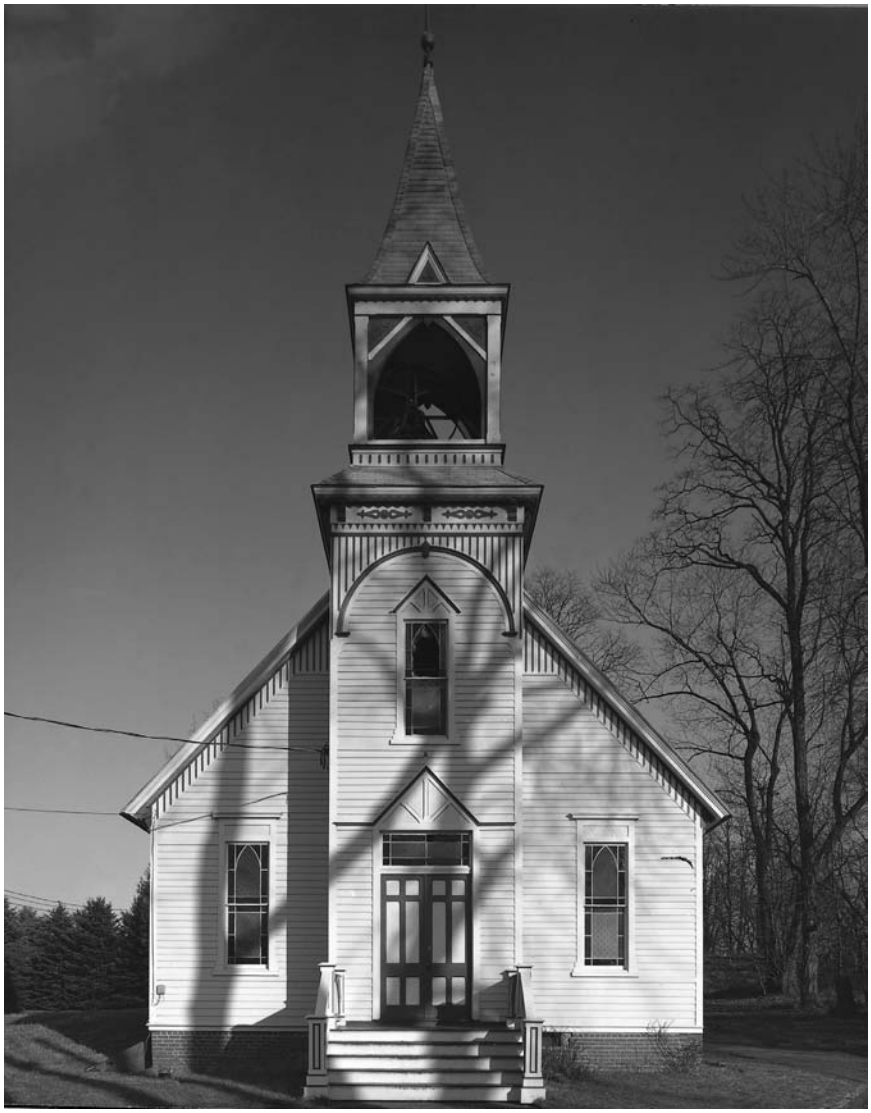
Red Rock: Methodist Episcopal Church; built 1829

HRVR19_2.iind 25 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



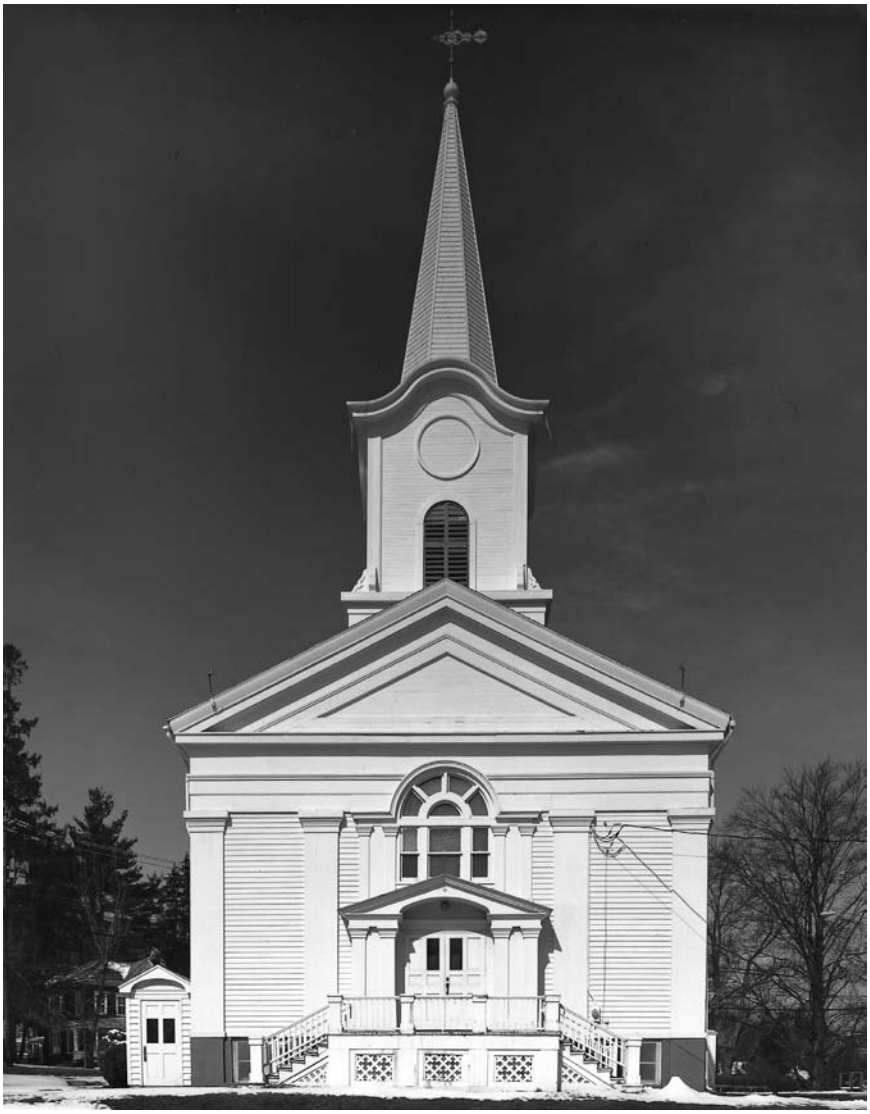
Mellenville: Bethel Community Church; built 1838

HRVR19_2.iind 26 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



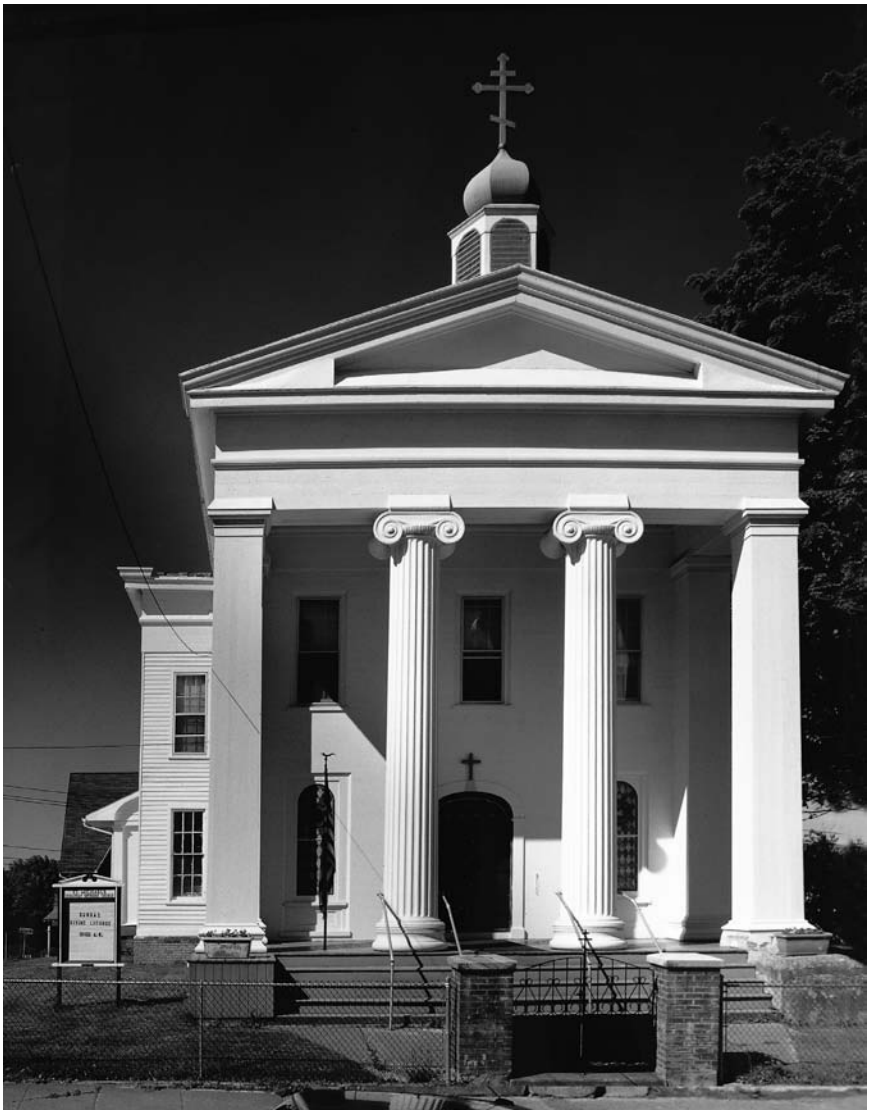
Stuyvesant Falls: United Methodist Church; built 1883

HRVR19_2.iind 27 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



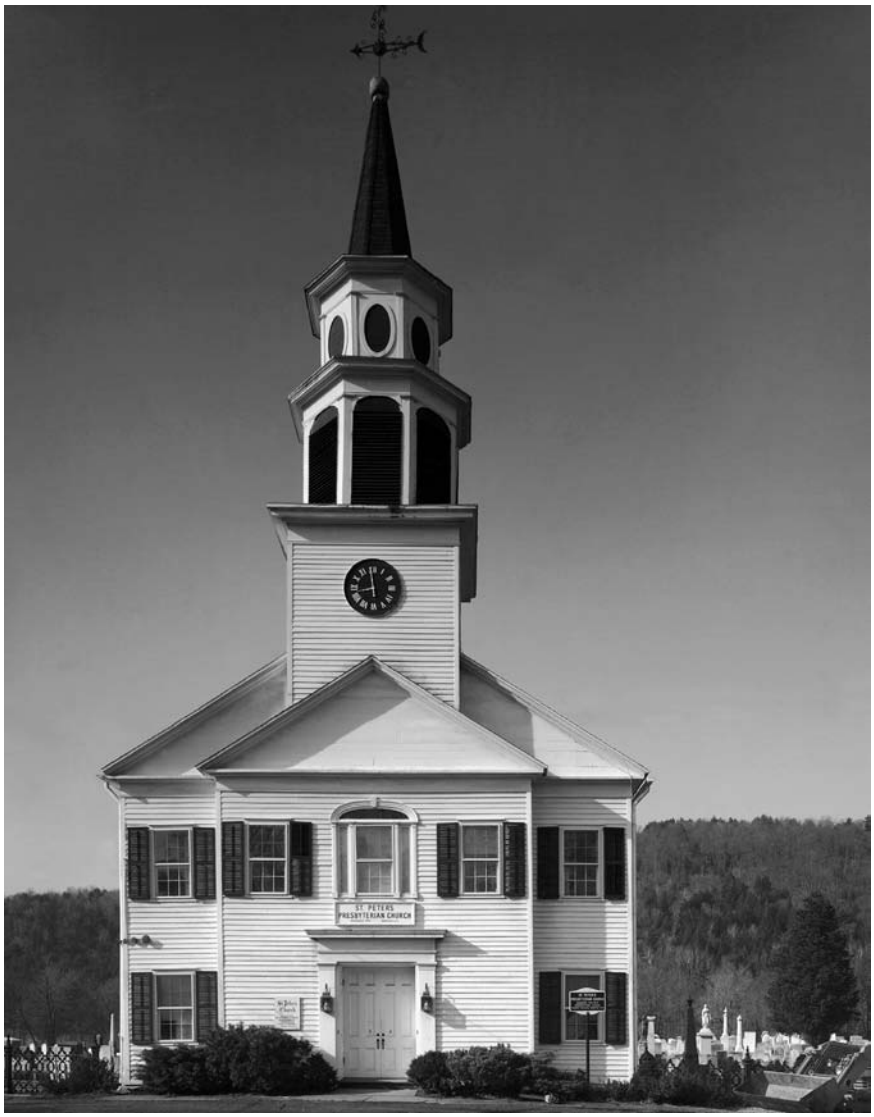
Hillsdale: United Methodist Church; built 1847

HRVR19_2.iind 28 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



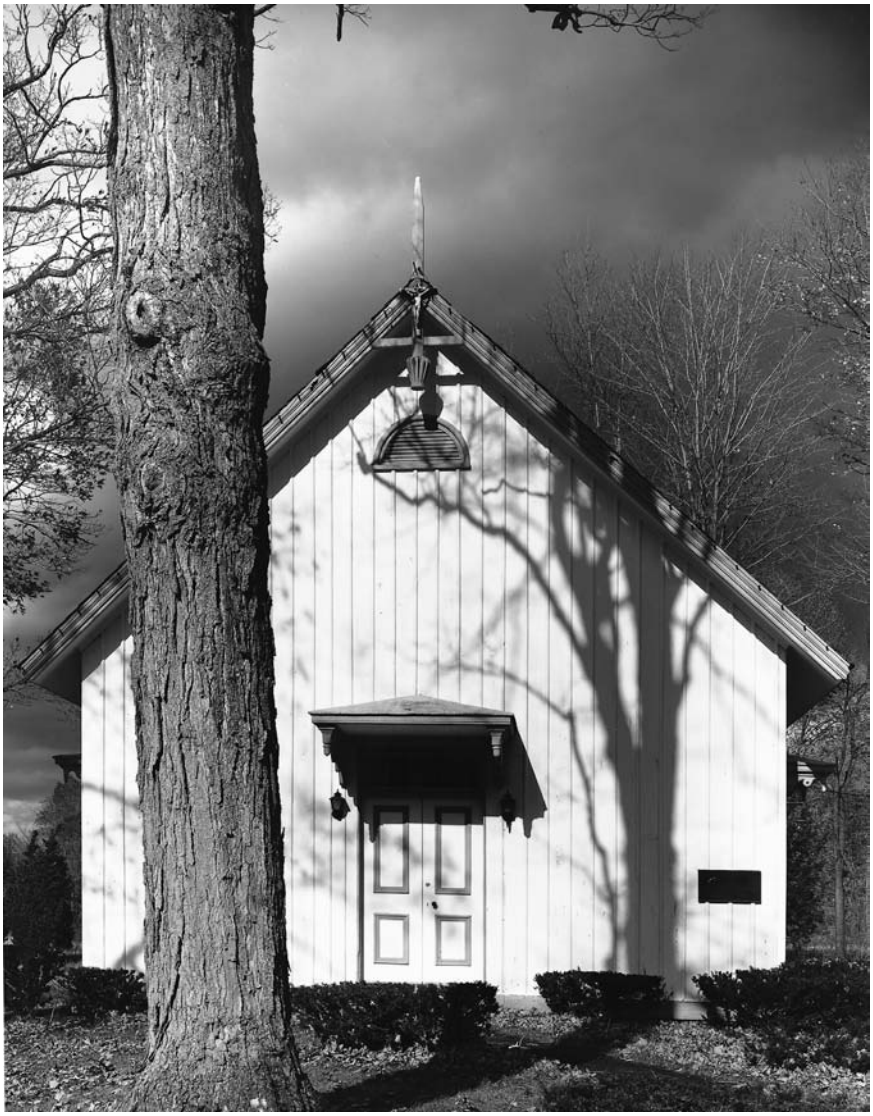
Hudson: Saint Michael's Ukranian Orthodox Church; built 1850

HRVR19_2.iind 29 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



Spencertown: Saint Peter's Presbyterian Church; built 1771

HRVR19_2.iind 30 12/15/03, 3:30 PM



Clermont: Clarkson Chapel; built 1860

HRVR19_2.iind 31 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

Stockport: Saint John's the Evangelist Church; built 1847

HRVR19_2.iind 32 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

Hillsdale: Baptist Church; built 1839

HRVR19_2.iind 33 12/15/03, 3:30 PM

Hudson: Emanuel Lutheran Church; built 1893

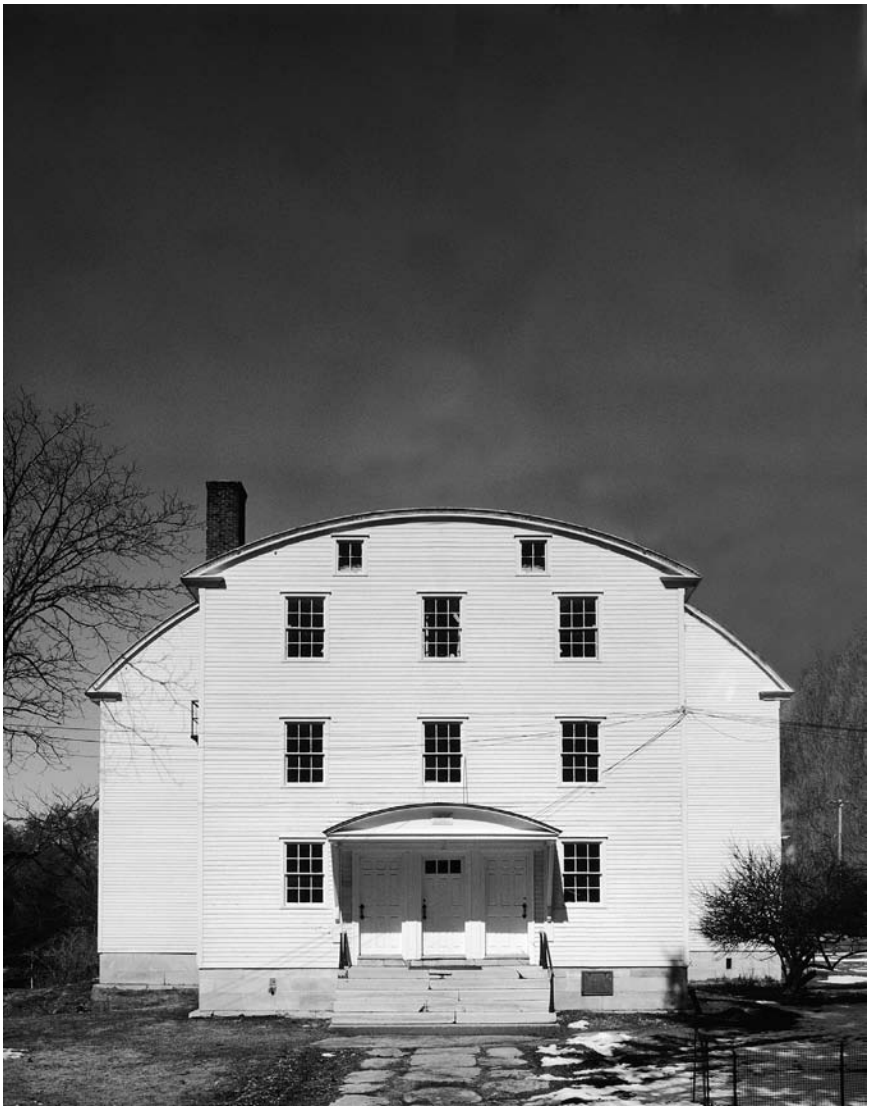
HRVR19_2.iind 34 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

West Copake: Reformed Church; built 1882

HRVR19_2.iind 35 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

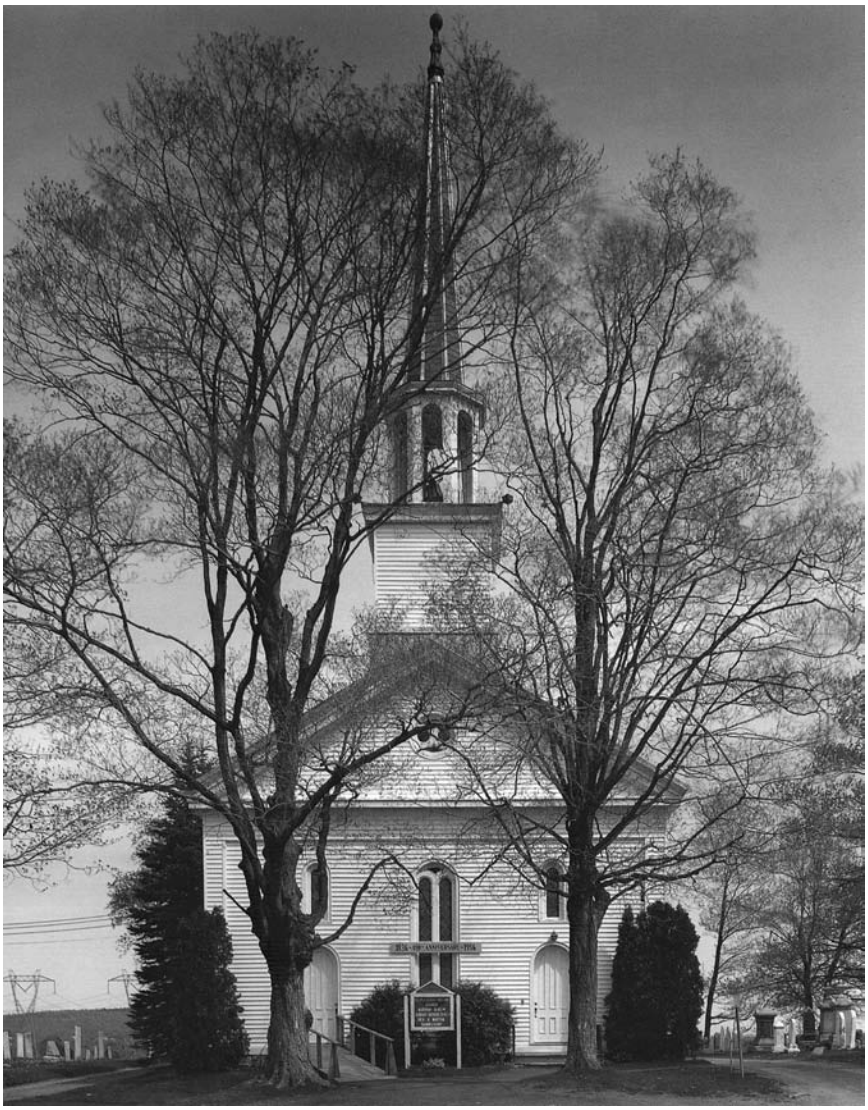
Hudson: Quaker Friends Meeting House; built 1832

HRVR19_2.iind 36 12/15/03, 3:31 PM



New Lebanon: Second Shaker Meeting House; built 1824

HRVR19_2.iind 37 12/15/03, 3:31 PM



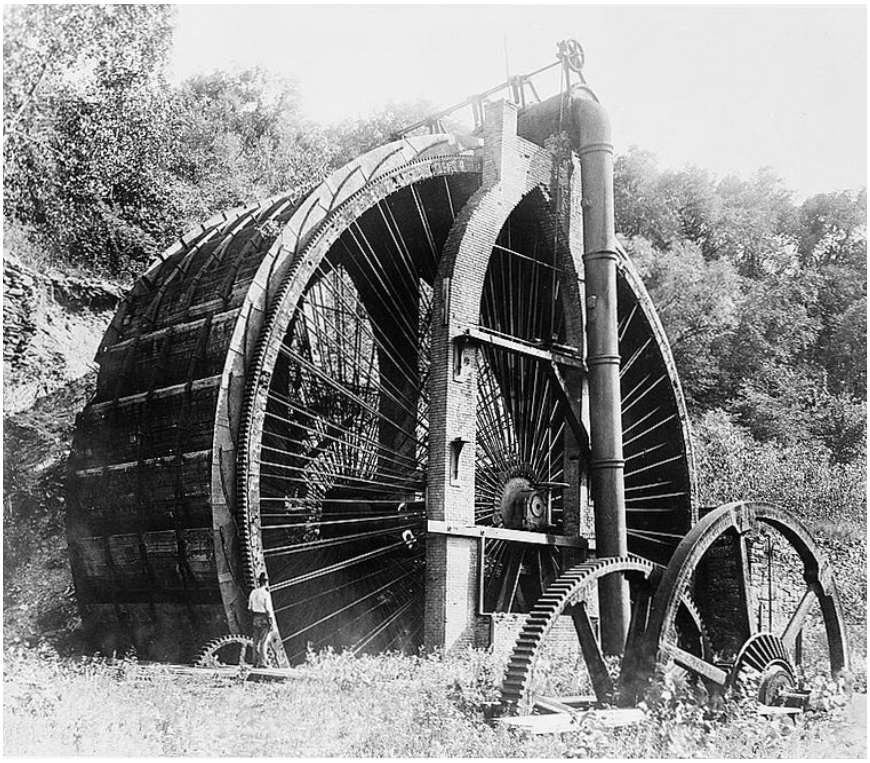
Greenport: Mount Pleasant Reformed Church; built 1869

HRVR19_2.iind 38 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

continued from page 22

Periodically the requirements of some parishes have changed, resulting in the construction of additions, or the adding of insulation and vinyl siding to exterior walls. This has been skillfully achieved in some cases, but unfortunately in others it has severely compromised the massing and important detailing that gave these buildings their original character and stature. The future outlook for the continuing restoration of the church buildings is cautiously optimistic. This assumption is based on the growing interest, appreciation, and pride being exhibited by both individuals and communities for their churches and historic buildings in general. This in turn has spurred the formation of new local historical societies and preservation groups, and an increased number of parishes that have received or are in the process of applying for National Register of Historic Places listing. An expanded restoration matching grant program would certainly facilitate and encourage greater restoration progress, and would in turn benefit and increase tourism, the state's second largest industry.

HRVR19_2.iind 39 12/15/03, 3:31 PM



Water wheel of the Burden Iron Works

HRVR19_2.iind 40 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

The Hudson-Mohawk Region Industrializes: 1609–1860

Edward T. Howe

The Hudson-Mohawk region of Albany and Rensselaer counties was a notable participant in the early industrialization of America between 1609 and 1860. The advantages of geographic location, modes of transportation, plentiful water power, access to raw materials, skilled labor, energetic entrepreneurs, shrewd merchants, and a sound banking system virtually assured the industrial success of the region. This essay explores industrial activity prior to 1790; the initial development of major manufacturing activities, especially the iron and textile industries, between 1790 and 1825; and the more significant period of industrial expansion between 1825 and 1860 that was stimulated by the opening of the Erie and Champlain canals.

Early Settlements 1609–1790

After the exploratory voyage of Henry Hudson to the Hudson-Mohawk region in 1609, the Dutch East India Company created fur-trading posts at Fort Nassau (near Albany) in 1614 and Fort Orange (renamed Albany in 1664) in 1624. The Dutch West India Company, created in 1621 with monopoly trading privileges in the Western Hemisphere, decided that population growth through agricultural settlements could best protect its territorial claims throughout the colony of New Netherland. Patroons, or semifeudal lords, were to be given land grants if they established a settlement with 50 tenant leaseholders. In 1629, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer received one of these patroonships, the Manor of Rensselaerswyck. It covered what is now Albany, Rensselaer, and part of Columbia counties – in all about a million acres. A large portion of this territory had already been settled by farmer-traders when the British peacefully gained control of the entire colony in 1664. Population gains throughout the colony of New York over the next two decades led the British to create twelve counties (among them Albany County) in 1683. The Dongan Charter gave Albany the status of a city in 1686.[1]

Agricultural and commercial pursuits dominated the economy of the region in the seventeenth century. Farming settlements started to emerge after 1630 along both sides of the Hudson River. Farmers generally used their agricultural produce and processed goods for immediate needs, but they gradually came to

HRVR19_2.iind 41 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

realize that some of their output could be profitably sold. Albany, from the late seventeenth century onward, became an increasingly important commercial center with exports of furs, livestock, wheat, flour, and lumber to New York City. In turn, Albany primarily imported British manufactured goods, sugar, and rum.[2]

Colonial manufacturing activity in the Hudson-Mohawk region consisted of household production, crafts, brewing, and mills. Early settlers not only had to build their homes, but usually had to make their furnishings, implements, clothing, and methods of transport. Population growth in Albany enabled workers by the late seventeenth century to specialize as blacksmiths, shoemakers, carpenters, and other craftsmen. One of the earliest crafts in Albany was brickmaking, made possible by abundant supplies of straw and clay. Brickmaking began when Johan DeHulter started his business in 1656. Many others engaged in this activity over the years, including Abraham Staets in 1662 and Abraham H. Van Deusen and Hendrick G. Van Ness in 1736.[3] The manufacture of malt liquor—beer and ale—began in 1633, when the patroon authorized a brewery in Albany that held a monopoly position until 1647. Among the earliest brewers was Arent Van Curler, a founder of Schenectady, who started his business in 1661.[4]

Sawmills that turned timber into lumber and gristmills that converted wheat into flour could be found throughout the region, wherever there was abundant water. One of the first gristmills was built outside of Albany by Barent Pieterse Coeymans in 1636.[5] Others appeared as early as the 1640s in parts of what became Rensselaer County.[6] Water-powered mills were important for at least three reasons: they used primitive machinery to increase production notably beyond the level achievable through home manufacture; they created a product of uniform quality; and they substituted capital equipment for a scarce labor force.

Soon after the Revolutionary War, three other industries commenced operation in Albany. The manufacture of specialized iron products started with the opening of two small nail factories in 1787. One was operated by Garret Whitbeck, the other by Stevenson, Douw, and Ten Eyck; both produced a more durable alternative to wooden pegs. Peter Van Heusen and Jacob Van der Bilt established a soap and candle-making business the next year. The third enterprise, a tobacco, snuff, and cigar manufactory, was founded by James Caldwell by 1790.[7]

Although the Dutch had moved into portions of the future Rensselaer County in the seventeenth century, Troy was not settled until after the Revolution. Some early migrants, part of the "Yankee Invasion" of New Englanders that surged into New York State, purchased part of the Van der Heyden property and renamed it Troy in 1789.[8] Two years later, the state legislature split off part of Albany County and created Rensselaer County. Located near the junction of the Hudson and

HRVR19_2.iind 42 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

Mohawk rivers, Troy became a trading and commercial center. It specialized in handling wheat, lumber, potash, pearlash, and dairy products that came from the surrounding area, northern New York, and Vermont.

Industry Embraced 1790–1825

The beginnings of small-scale industrial production that had begun in Albany and scattered parts of Albany and Rensselaer counties in the colonial period centered on basic necessities. The expansion in market activity and technological developments after the Revolution enabled the region to produce a much wider range of manufactured goods that fulfilled nineteenth-century needs. The ability to embrace these productive endeavors primarily rested on further exploitation of the economic resources available in the region: the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, the many inland waterways, a skilled labor force, entrepreneurs and merchants willing to assume the risks of productive activity, and a sound banking system. Moreover, the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals near the end of this period would prove to be immensely beneficial to future growth. Utilizing these advantages, industrial activity developed in Troy and accelerated in Albany and other parts of the region. Accompanying the growth of manufacturing activity was an upsurge in population in both Troy and Albany. The number of Troy residents almost tripled (from 1,802 in 1800 to 5,264 by 1820), while the population of Albany more than tripled (from 3,506 people in 1790 to 12,541 by 1820).

The industrial history of Troy from 1790 to 1810 started with several mills and a brewery. In 1792, Mahlon Taylor built a sawmill, flour mill, and the first paper mill in northeastern New York, all on the Poestenkill. Other flour mills were soon built by Moses Vail around Ida Falls and Thomas Witbeck on the Wynantskill.[9] Another paper mill along the Wynantskill was built by David Buel around 1800.

The Wynantskill was also the site of the Albany Rolling and Slitting Mill, constructed by John Brinckerhoff in 1807. It used wrought iron to produce nail rods and hoop iron. This mill marked the beginning of the iron industry in Troy. Two years later, a similar facility was started nearby by John Converse and associates.[10]

Brewing and distilling operations in Troy began when Stephen J. Schuyler opened the first brewery in 1793. Another brewery was started by Charles Hurstfield and Thomas Trenor in 1809.[11] Meanwhile, the textile and glass industries also emerged in the region prior to 1810. The textile industry in New York State began in 1804 when William Mowry opened a cotton cloth operation in Washington County, just north of Rensselaer County.[12] Several carding

HRVR19_2.iind 43 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

machines and fulling mills were subsequently established throughout Rensselaer and Albany counties. Nevertheless, it was not until 1825 that the first cotton factory in Troy was built by Benjamin Marshall on the Poestenkill.[13] Woolen and linen mills were also established in the region, but cotton goods had the greatest economic value (measured in "value added"—final sales minus the value of the resources purchased).

Glass manufacturing started in 1785 when Leonard de Neufville, Jan Heefke, and Ferdinand Walfahert opened the Dowesbourgh (Guilderland) glass works in Albany County. Another facility, the Rensselaer Glass Factory in Sand Lake, was established in 1806.[14]

The limitations of federal and state census data preclude a comprehensive understanding of early manufacturing activity in the region from 1790 to 1860. However, Tench Coxe provided a notable revision of the manufacturing data for the 1810 federal census. His efforts confirmed that most cotton and woolen goods were still homemade in the region. Nevertheless, Albany and Rensselaer counties combined had three cotton mills, twenty carding machines, and twenty-four fulling mills in operation. In addition, both counties had seven naileries, fifty-nine tanneries, six distilleries, six breweries, and two glass works. Albany County itself had ten hatteries and two air furnaces for making iron products. Two paper mills and a ropewalk were in operation in Rensselaer County.[15]

The development of manufacturing activity in the region quickened and spread to more communities after 1810. Two hallmark developments occurred in the iron industry in Troy: the arrival of Henry Burden and the beginning of cast-iron stove production. The Converse rolling and slitting mill was bought by the Troy Iron and Nail Factory in 1813. Nine years later, Henry Burden became superintendent and proceeded to make the company a leading manufacturer of iron products through a series of patented inventions. He obtained his first patent, for a wrought iron nail and spike machine, in 1825.[16]

The stove industry started in Troy when the James and Cornell Stove Factory began casting the "Baltimore Cookstove" in 1815. The Troy Air Furnace, which began operating in 1818, quickly entered the business by casting stoves for the Starbuck and Gurley Company in 1821.[17]

Troy also became known for the manufacture of coaches and wagons. The business was largely in the hands of Orsamus Eaton, who started his firm in 1820, and Charles Veazie, who followed a few years afterward. Each was known for beautifully crafted stagecoaches and carriages.[18]

Lansingburgh (now North Troy) and Hoosick Falls had important manufacturing enterprises. The first significant business in Lansingburgh was the Fox

HRVR19_2.iind 44 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

Cracker Manufactory, which opened in 1806. In 1817, William Powers began making oil cloths, the forerunner of linoleum. A year later, William McMurray started producing brushes. Hoosick Falls had engaged in manufacturing activities since the late eighteenth century, with several mills in operation at various times. In 1823, Joseph Gordon opened his Caledonian cotton factory, which was the first facility of its kind in the region.[19]

Between 1800 and 1825 Albany broadened its manufacturing base. At the turn of the nineteenth century, it started casting stoves—preceding Troy by a few years. Warner Daniels was the first firm in the city to enter the business in 1808; many others followed, including that of Spencer Stafford in 1824.[20] Albany also manufactured stagecoaches. One of the earliest builders was James Goold, owner of the Albany Coach Manufactory, which started as early as 1813. Two other noteworthy businesses were the globe manufactory established by the Wilson brothers in 1820, and the piano manufacturing firm of James Gray, begun in 1825. A variety of other manufactured goods included blankets, carpets, cider, flannels, hollowware, leather products, linens, potash, and pearlash.[21]

North of Albany, Gibbonsville (now Watervliet) and Cohoes began to industrialize after 1800. One of the most notable manufacturing enterprises in the region began in Gibbonsville when Julius Hanks founded his bell and surveying instruments business in 1808. Another important venture commenced in 1814 when the Watervliet Arsenal started making armaments.[22] Cohoes, across from Troy at the junction of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, was the site of the Cohoes Manufacturing Company, founded in 1811. It initially made iron screws for woodworking, but was unable to carry out a plan to manufacture cotton, woolen, and linen goods. However, a cotton factory was built on the property in 1816 under new ownership. Other businesses that operated nearby were a factory that produced shovels and tools and a writing paper mill owned by Gerret Clute.[23]

Increased market activity near the end of the eighteenth century necessitated the formation of banks and highlighted the need for improvements in transportation. The need for financial institutions had become more acute as merchants, farmers, and manufacturers engaged in a more sophisticated web of market transactions. The first upstate bank, the Albany Bank, opened in 1792. Other banks established in this period included the Farmers' Bank in Troy, incorporated in 1801; the New York State Bank (1803); the Bank of Troy (1811); the Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank of Albany (1811); the Albany Savings Bank (1820); the Troy Savings Bank (1823); and the Commercial Bank of Albany (1825).[24] Banks were also chartered in many other area communities. The commercial banks performed several functions critical to economic development: they accepted

HRVR19_2.iind 45 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

deposits, discounted commercial paper, issued paper money, and made loans. These services facilitated business transactions for farmers and manufacturers and provided financial resources to encourage productive activity. Additionally, the general incorporation law of 1811 made it easier for manufacturers to raise funds through the issuance of stocks and bonds, particularly after 1825.

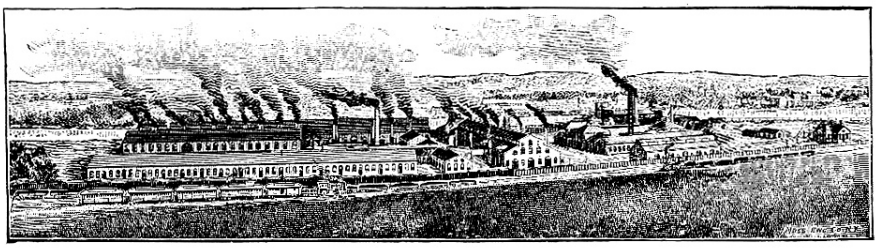
The Hudson River, inland waterways, and primitive trails were the main ways of transporting goods to market from the colonial period until the canal era. As central, western, and northern settlement proceeded after the Revolution, farmers encountered high transport costs over lengthening road networks that were generally in poor condition. Given limited governmental support for decent highways, private toll roads attempted to fulfill the need. The Albany and Schenectady Turnpike, opened in 1805, was the first toll road in the state. By 1815, it became possible to travel across the entire state over toll roads.[25] Unfortunately, these roads were generally unprofitable ventures that were plagued with maintenance problems. Consequently, toll roads did not significantly reduce transport costs for the growing volume of agricultural and manufacturing production.

State and local business and political leaders had long been interested in ensuring that growing trade throughout the state would not be diverted away from New York City. Following unsuccessful efforts by private firms, the state government began construction of the Erie and Champlain canals in 1817. Local merchants, such as George Tibbits of Troy, were especially supportive of these efforts. Tibbits argued that manufacturing and agricultural activity would benefit from the enlargement of domestic and foreign commerce.[26] Other proponents argued that the canals would assist manufacturing in the region by providing access to needed raw materials and enabling the sale of finished goods to distant markets through lower transportation costs. Bulk commodities such as iron products (including stoves), textiles, and malt liquor were expected to be among the greatest beneficiaries. Both the Champlain Canal, opened in 1823, and the Erie Canal, completed two years later, achieved these objectives. Over time, the trip from Buffalo to New York City declined from twenty to ten days, while the cost of moving freight over the same distance dropped dramatically, from $100 to $5 per ton.[27]

Industry Expansion 1825–1860

By 1825, a more diversified industrial base had been established in the region. However, many of the manufacturing firms were still small, primarily locally owned operations with output geared to local consumption. In contrast, the period from 1825 to 1860 was one of significant regional expansion as the area

HRVR19_2.iind 46 12/15/03, 3:31 PM



Burden Iron Works

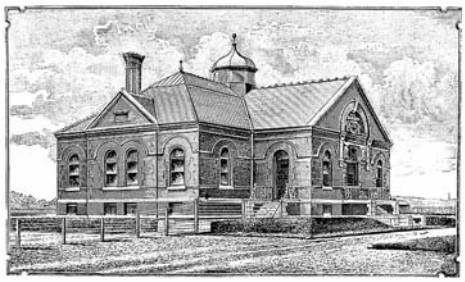
participated in the growth of manufacturing activity in the northeastern United States. Troy and Albany, strongly aided by the canals, remained at the center of regional growth. Other important participants were Cohoes, Watervliet, Green Island, and Hoosick Falls. Competitive pressures and technological changes prompted firms in several industries, especially those related to iron and textiles, to create factories of a larger scale in an attempt to meet national demands for output. A further broadening of the industrial base, especially in Troy and Albany, supplemented these developments. The industrial expansion of this period, as in the earlier era, was accompanied by significant population gains. The population of Troy grew from 11,551 in 1830 to 39,325 by 1860; the population of Albany expanded from 24,238 to 62,367 over the same time.

By 1860, Troy's major industries, according to value added, were primarily based on iron and textile products. Three firms dominated the iron industry: the Albany Iron Works, a descendant of the Brinckerhoff mill; the Burden Iron Works; and the Rensselaer Iron Works, begun as the Troy Vulcan Company in 1846. Each had extensive operations by the Civil War. For example, the Burden firm had two rolling mills, two forges, a spike factory, a nail factory, a foundry, pattern shops, twenty-four furnaces, and a water-wheel with a sixty-foot diameter.[28] At its peak, the firm employed about 1,500 workers. Henry Burden further enhanced his reputation as a technological leader with additional patents for a horseshoe nail machine (in 1830), hook-headed spikes for railroad tracks (1834 and 1836), a rotary concentric squeezer that removed impurities from wrought iron (1840), and a machine that could make horseshoes in one movement (1857).[29] By 1860, there were nine producers of iron products (excluding stoves) in Rensselaer County with $159,040 in value added and 831 workers. Separately, the two producers of nails and spikes had $111,500 in value added and employed 316 workers.

Beginning around 1830, stove production started to become a separate industry from iron production. Both industries obtained iron ore from Columbia and Dutchess counties via the Hudson River, while the Champlain Canal provided

HRVR19_2.iind 47 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

access to deposits in Clinton and Essex counties. Coke, an industrial fuel, came from Pennsylvania. Sand, limestone, and charcoal were purchased from local suppliers. Several area men made many technological and design improvements over the years. Among them was Philo P. Stewart of Troy, who patented his first successful cookstove in 1838. Stove designs won patent recognition by the federal government in 1842. A year later, Ezra Ripley of Troy received a patent for his elaborate artwork. Numerous stove makers came and went during the period, among them L. Stratton and Son (1828-1838) and Morrison and Manning (1836-1843).[30] In 1860, eight stove makers employing about 700 workers were in business in Rensselaer County, all of them in Troy. It was the second-largest industry in the city based on value added ($376,290).



Office of the Burden Iron Works

Although it started later than the iron and stove industries, the manufacture of collars, cuffs, and shirts had become the most important industry in Troy, based on value added of $521,910, by 1860. Unlike in the iron and stove industries, women constituted most of the labor force. Ebenezer Brown started selling home-made "string-collars" in 1829; in 1834, Orlando Montague and Austin Granger began manufacturing detachable linen collars and shirt bosoms ("dickeys") in a factory setting. Other competitors quickly entered the business: Lyman Bennett (also in 1834) and Wood Babcock (1838). The manufacture of linen cuffs did not begin until around 1845. Shirt manufacturing started when Lawrence Van Valkenburg opened the first factory in 1845. Six years later, George B. Cluett, Brother and Company opened a collar and cuff factory; several other producers followed. A sewing machine introduced by the Wheeler and Wilson Company in 1852 generated significant productivity gains. A steam-powered version enabled a worker to sew about twenty shirts daily—double the previous output—or to stitch up to 1,200 collars.[31] Twenty-one firms operated in 1860 in Rensselaer County, the majority in Troy, employing 4,755 workers.

HRVR19_2.iind 48 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

Other industries that rose to prominence in Troy during the period included cotton goods, papermaking, malt liquor, boots and shoes, and men's clothing. One of the major sites for producing cotton goods and paper was the Poestenkill Gorge. A major technological advance occurred in 1840, when Benjamin Marshall introduced a hydraulic power system that benefited his cotton works and other firms at the site. These included the Mount Ida manila paper mill and Tompkins knitting machine works (both started in 1846) and a factory that produced curry combs and hardware, built by Charles Kellogg about 1850. The Wynantskill also experienced further industrial development. Several paper mills were built over the years, including those of Alexander and William Orr (in 1837) and Robert Smart (1858). The Orrs claimed they were the first to print wallpaper designs on a cylinder (in 1837) and the first to make printing paper with rags and wood fiber in 1854.[32] By 1860 there were ten cotton goods producers and eight paper manufacturers in Rensselaer County with 644 and 101 workers, respectively. Cotton goods production ranked as the third most important industry in the county, with value added of $167,782.

Among the breweries in Troy were various firms run by the Read Brothers in the 1840s and James Lundy and his associates in the 1850s.[33] Six malt liquor firms were in business in Rensselaer County in 1860. (See Table 1.) The manufacture of men's clothing began about the middle of the nineteenth century, with thirty-three businesses in operation in Rensselaer County by 1860. (See Table 1.) Two of the earliest boot and shoe manufacturers in Troy were run by Timothy and Davis Packard, who started their business in 1828, and Jacob C. Wood, who owned a firm in 1841.[34] Fifty-five footwear manufacturers operated in Rensselaer County in 1860, mostly in Troy. (See Table 1.)

Troy produced a considerable diversity of manufactured goods that included belting, bolts and rivets, boxes, carriages, coffee and spices, cigars, doors and blinds, edge tools, fire brick, hosiery, ink, laundry machinery, scales, soaps and candles, stoneware, tin ware, and woolen goods.[35] Troy was also noted for the manufacture of church bells and surveying instruments. Julius Hanks moved to Troy from Gibbonsville in 1825 and was the first to produce these items. Twenty years later, William Gurley and Jonas Phelps began creating engineering and surveying instruments—a business that has endured to the present. In 1852, James Hitchcock left the Meneely firm in Watervliet and started manufacturing church bells with Eber Jones.[36]

Some of the rural towns outside Troy also had significant manufacturing businesses. Cotton and woolen factories appeared in Brunswick, Hoosick Falls, Pittstown, Schaghticoke, and Stephentown. Brunswick was also the site of a bit

HRVR19_2.iind 49 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

Table 1

Major Manufacturing Industries of Rensselaer County, Ranked by Value Added, 1860

Industry	*Number of Firms*	*Employees*	*Value Added*
Shirts, Collars, Cuffs etc.	21	4,755	$521,910
Stoves	8	711	376,290
Cotton Goods	10	644	167,782
Iron (Bar, Sheet, Rail, Castings)	9	831	159,040
Malt Liquor	6	75	129,517
Nails & Spikes	2	316	111,500
Boots and Shoes	55	580	106,180
Safes, Fireproof	1	100	105,250
Paper (Printing, Wrapping, Straw Board)	8	101	97,396
Men's Clothing	33	931	96,283

Source: U.S. Census Office, Manufactures of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 394-395.

HRVR19_2.iind 50 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

and auger factory, built in 1851 by Joseph Allen, and the Millville Company, built in 1854, which manufactured cable chains.[37] Hoosick Falls had three notable firms: the Tremont cotton factory, built by George and Lyman Benedict in 1831; a factory for producing an industrial cloth-shearing machine, started by Seth Parsons in the 1840s; and another factory that produced a combined mowing and harvesting machine (Walter A. Wood was granted a license in 1852).[38]

Table 1 shows the ten most important manufacturing industries in Rensselaer County in 1860 (ranked by value added). Textiles, iron, and related industries dominate the listing.

Meanwhile, Albany was also furthering its manufacturing activity. It continued to emerge as a major cast-iron stove producer through technological and design changes. One important inventor was Eliphalet Nott, longtime president of Union College, who developed base-burner heating stoves between 1826 and 1832 that used anthracite coal. D.G. Littlefield made an improved version of this popular stove in 1851. An important technological advance in stove manufacturing occurred when the Thomas Potts Company (in 1835), followed by Joel Rathbone and Company (1838), began using a cupola furnace rather than the traditional air-blast furnace. By using less coke to melt pig iron, the cupola furnace produced cheaper stove castings, which made stoves more affordable. Alonzo Blanchard was one of many who improved stove designs. He was the recipient of a patent for a decorative parlor stove in 1843.[39] By 1860, stove production was the second-largest industry in Albany County (measured by value added of $407,300), with seven firms employing 850 workers, all in the city of Albany.

The brewing industry also continued its previous growth. Several prominent firms in this era were the Fort Orange Brewery (begun in 1839); the Amsdell Brewery (1850); and Hedrick's Brewery (1852). One of the earlier firms, John Taylor's Sons, which started in 1822, became one of the largest brewers in the nation by 1850.[40] In 1860, the malt liquor industry was one of the most important in Albany County. Thirteen firms (all in the city of Albany) employed 241 workers; their value added was $228,216.

Other leading industries in the city in 1860 included fifteen furniture makers who crafted beds, cabinets, and chairs; five manufacturers of power threshers, dump-rakes, fodder-cutters, and other agricultural implements; and two alcohol producers that sold their output to liquor and drug companies.[41]

The growth of the major industries was supplemented by a further diversification of the manufacturing base. Among the earliest businesses was the marble and monument works of John Dixon, founded in 1826. In 1828, Jared Holt was producing lasts for making or repairing shoes. New business ventures in the next decade

HRVR19_2.iind 51 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

included a dye works established by Robert Martin in 1830; a brush factory owned by J. B. Armour in 1833; coffee and spice mills started in 1833 and 1836; and a paper box company begun by J. C. Dubuque in 1839. In 1847, John Hoy and E.D. Goodrich commenced the manufacture of tin-plate goods and japanned ware. George H. Thacher was making railroad car wheels in 1852, Daniel Doncaster was manufacturing wood machinery by 1858, and John A. Smyth was producing files and rasps as of 1859.[42] The city also had a number of drain tile factories, harness shops, boiler makers, machine shops, cooperages, and sawing and planing mills in connection with its vast commercial lumber business.

North of Albany, the Cohoes Company, founded in 1826, built a dam and three canals between 1831 and 1843 for the purpose of harnessing the waterfalls for industrial activity, particularly the manufacture of textiles. The most prominent cotton goods firm was the Harmony Manufacturing Company, built in 1837. Its successful operation resulted in the Ogden Mills and the Strong Mill opening competing firms in 1846. The Harmony mill, nevertheless, continued its growth and had at least 50,000 spindles and employed about 1,000 workers by 1857. In 1859, Harmony bought the Ogden Mills.[43] By 1860, there were two manufacturers of cotton goods in Cohoes and five in Albany County, with employment of 1,552 workers. It was the most important industry in the county, based on value added of $1,027,010.

The manufacture of knitted goods, or hosiery, in Cohoes began in 1832 with a factory built by Egbert Egberts and Timothy Bailey. Their success rested on a technological advance that replaced the hand-operated knitted frame with a waterpower-driven machine. In 1855, there were six firms in competition. Three mills were owned by Thomas Fowler, Charles Adams, and Timothy Bailey, while the other three were run by the Tivoli Hosiery Company, the Halcyon Knitting Mill, and the Mohawk River Mills. The latter firm was reportedly the largest in the world at the time, with eleven sets of machinery and 600 workers. By 1860, there were eight hosiery manufacturers in Albany County—all in Cohoes—that employed 1,660 workers with value added of $319,528. In addition to textiles, Cohoes also had firms producing bedsteads, wheels, tobacco, shoddy, paper, machines, and bobbins.[44]

Following the move of Julius Hanks to Troy, Andrew Meneely succeeded him in the production of bells, surveying instruments, and town clocks in West Troy (Watervliet) in 1826. Three other manufacturing businesses soon emerged in the village. Earthenware was made by Sanford S. Perry, beginning in 1831; the firm of Witbeck and Jones started producing carriages and wagons in 1839; and James Roy built a factory that manufactured woolen cloth and a separate facility that

HRVR19_2.iind 52 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

made hardware items around 1847.[45]

The Village of Green Island, between Cohoes and Watervliet, began to industrialize in 1836 with a sawmill and foundry. John Morrison and William Manning took over the foundry in 1838 and built the popular "Troy Airtight Stove." Other manufacturing concerns included the scale works of Sampson and Tibbits, in operation in the mid-1840s; the Eaton and Gilbert Company, which made railroad cars as of 1853; and the Marcus Filley Stove Company, which started in 1859.[46]

Although not a major industry if measured by value added, the manufacture of edge tools was very important in local construction activity. Carpenters and wagon makers had long relied on importers or blacksmiths for edge tools used in shaping wood—the chief building material—before the advent of American manufacturing in the early nineteenth century. Before Smyth started making files and rasps in Albany, the first area business of this kind was The Troy File Works, which began in 1831.[47] Other important edge tools produced in the region were planes, axes, and saws. Prior to 1825, only seven firms in Albany (starting with Enos Baldwin in 1807) specialized in making planes. Between 1833 and 1860, the Carter family controlled plane-making in Troy, while seventeen firms operated in Albany. Manufacturers of axes and saws appeared in Cohoes and Albany after 1825. Daniel Simmons opened his ax factory in Cohoes in 1834, followed by Miles White and Charles Olmstead in 1843. William Gregory started the Albany Saw Manufactory in 1850, with Robert Pruyn and Charles Lansing commencing operations in 1855.[48]

Table 2 shows the major manufacturing industries in Albany County, ranked by value added, as of 1860. Stoves, textile products, and malt liquor were predominant in the listing.

The major industries in the Hudson-Mohawk region achieved some prominence at the state and national levels by 1860. By then, New York was the leading producer in the nation of shirts, collars, and men's furnishings. Albany and Rensselaer counties together accounted for about two-thirds of the total output produced in the state and about one-third of the national output, as measured by value added. New York was also the leading stove producer in the nation. On a value-added basis, Albany and Rensselaer counties together produced about one-half of the stoves in the state and twenty percent nationwide. The manufacture of cotton goods was the leading industry in the country, but New York was not among the three leading states. Nevertheless, on a value-added basis Albany and Rensselaer counties together manufactured about fifty percent of the total state output. As for hosiery production, New York, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania

HRVR19_2.iind 53 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

Table 2

Major Manufacturing Industries of Albany County, Ranked by Value Added, 1860

Industry	*Number of Firms*	*Employees*	*Value Added*
Cotton Goods	5	1,552	$1,027,010
Stoves	7	850	407,300
Hosiery	8	1,660	319,528
Malt Liquor	13	241	228,216
Furniture (Beds, Cabinets, Chairs)	15	485	172,176
Agricultural Implements	5	111	154,191
Woolen Goods	5	343	141,482
Men's Clothing	46	1,314	125,127
Alcohol	2	60	91,125
Malt	9	98	84,540

Source: U.S. Census Office, Manufactures of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 353-354.

HRVR19_2.iind 54 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

were the leading states. Albany and Rensselaer counties together accounted for about fifty percent of the total output in the state (measured by value added) and about fifteen percent of the national output.[49]

A strong commercial rivalry between Troy and Albany began after the opening of the Erie Canal. This struggle seemingly entered a new phase when several railroads emanating from Albany and Troy during the 1830s and 1840s brought freight from distant points to the artificial waterway. The rivalry intensified from the 1840s onward with the realization that the canal would eventually cede its leadership in the handling of freight traffic to the railroads. Albany eventually won the battle for commercial supremacy in 1866, when a bridge across the Hudson River finally provided a direct link to rail lines leading to Boston and New York City. In succeeding decades, Troy concentrated on its manufacturing endeavors and its success more than compensated for any commercial losses.[50]

Conclusion

Although the roots of industrialization in the Hudson-Mohawk region can be traced to the seventeenth century, the significant phases of the process began with the "Yankee Invasion" into New York State after the American Revolution. Following the start of most of its major industries between 1790 and the completion of the Erie and Champlain canals in 1825, productive activity in the region accelerated up to 1860. Shirts, collars, and cuffs; iron products (including stoves); cotton goods; malt liquor; and hosiery were particularly important. Small-scale production of these products shifted to larger, more highly mechanized operations in an attempt to serve national markets.

The development of its major industries, supplemented by a relatively diverse industrial base, made the Hudson-Mohawk region a notable part of the early beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in America. By the start of the Civil War the stage was set for participation in the flowering of industrial activity in the region that would last up to 1890.

Notes

1. John J. McEneny, *Albany: Capital City on the Hudson* (Sun Valley, CA: American Historical Press, 1998), 8-10.
2. Ibid., 83, 85.
3. George R. Howell and Jonathan Tenney, *History of the County of Albany, N.Y., From 1609 to 1886* (New York: W.W. Munsell & Company, 1886), 582.
4. R. W. Groneman, "Breweries Once Flourished in Albany," *Albany Times Union*, Feb. 8, 1976, Capital and Report (Supplement), 36.
5. Howell and Tenney, 825.

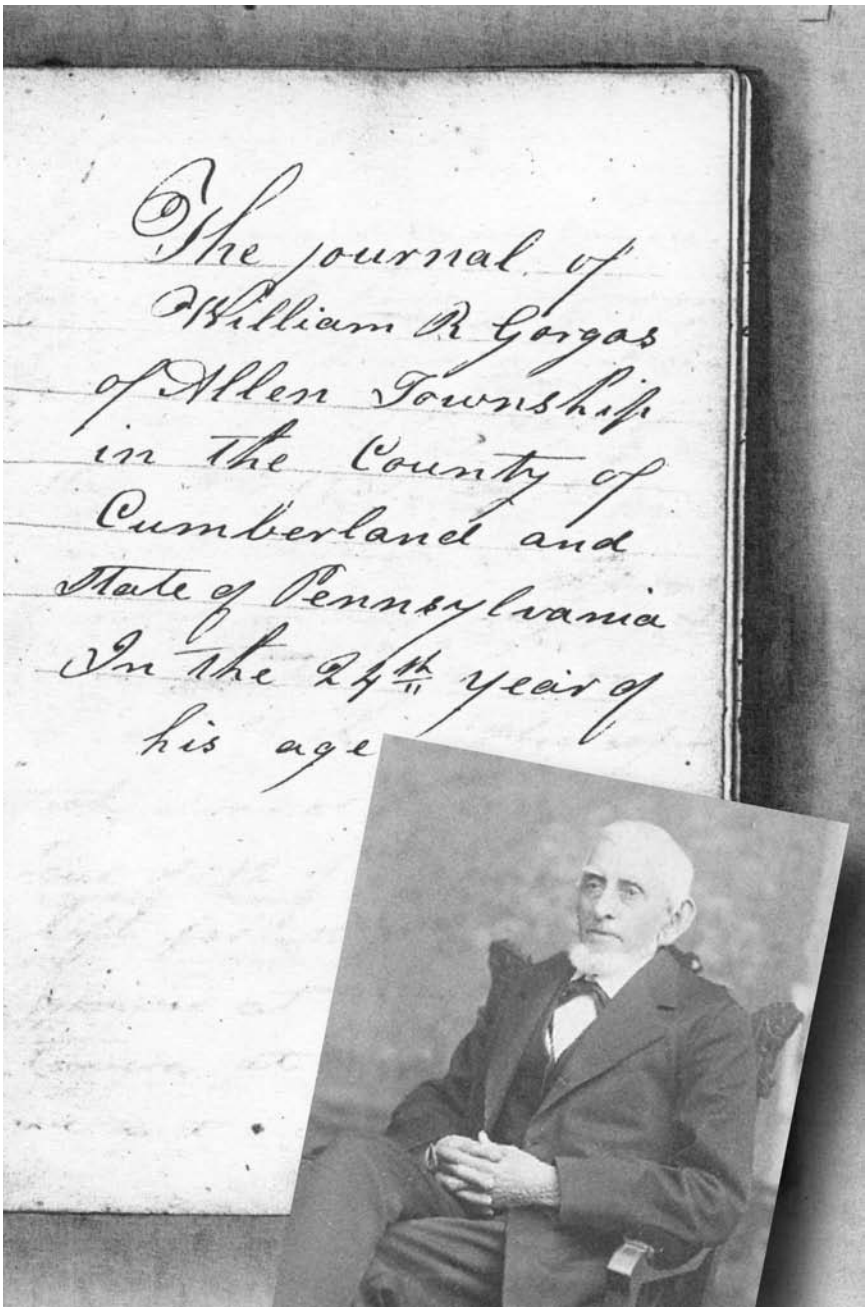
HRVR19_2.iind 55 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

6. John W. Fox, "Its Past Is Inextricably Tied to the History of America," *Albany Times Union*, July 11, 1976, B-10.
7. Howell and Tenney, 566, 572, 603.
8. Samuel Rezneck, *Profiles Out of the Past of Troy, New York, Since 1789* (Troy: Troy Chamber of Commerce, 1970), 1-2.
9. David Buel, Jr. *Troy for Fifty Years: A Lecture* (Troy: N. Tuttle, 1841), 13.
10. Arthur J. Weise, *Troy's One Hundred Years, 1789–1889* (Troy: William H. Young, 1891), 264, 267.
11. Ibid., 276.
12. New York State Department of Labor, *Report on the Growth of Industry in New York* (Albany: The Argus Company, 1904), 70.
13. Rezneck, 65.
14. Arthur J. Weise, *History of the Seventeen Towns of Rensselaer County From the Colonization of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck to the Present Time* (Troy: J.M. Francis and Tucker, 1880), 136.
15. Tench Coxe, *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America, For the Year 1810* (Philadelphia: A. Cornman, Jr., 1814), 32-38.
16. Rutherford Hayner, *Troy and Rensselaer County New York, A History*, vol. 2 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1925), 616.
17. Tammis K. Groft, *Cast with Style, Nineteenth-Century Cast Iron Stoves from the Albany Area* (Albany: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1984), 14.
18. Thomas Phelan and P. Thomas Carroll, *Hudson Mohawk Gateway, An Illustrated History* (Sun Valley, CA: American Historical Press, 2001), 49.
19. Weise, *History of the Seventeen Towns of Rensselaer County*, 40, 85.
20. Groft, 14.
21. Howell and Tenney, 555, 593, 600.
22. Arthur J. Weise, *The City of Troy and Its Vicinity* (Troy: Edward Green Company, 1886), 338.
23. Arthur H. Masten, *The History of Cohoes, New York, From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1877), 38-41.
24. Weise, *History of the Seventeen Towns of Rensselaer County*, 30; Howell and Tenney, 528–530.
25. Oliver W. Holmes, "The Turnpike Era," in *History of the State of New York*, vol. 5 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 263.
26. George Tibbits, "Essay on the Expediency and Practicability of Improving or Creating Home Markets For the Sale of Agricultural Productions and Raw Materials, By the Introduction and Growth of Artizans and Manufacturers" (Philadelphia: J. R. A. Skerrett, 1827), 3.
27. Ulysses P. Hedrick, A History of Agriculture in the State of New York (New York: New York State Agricultural Society, 1933), 247.
28. J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures From 1608 to 1860*, vol. 3, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Edward Young and Company, 1868), 253.
29. Weise, *Troy's One Hundred Years, 1789-1889*, 267-268.
30. Groft, 11, 46, 85, 118-119.
31. Weise, *The City of Troy and Its Vicinity*, 74, 75, 78, 273.
32. Phelan and Carroll, 43-44.
33. Weise, *Troy's One Hundred Years, 1789-1889*, 276-277.
34. Weise, *The City of Troy and Its Vicinity*, 38, 59.
35. Troy City Directory: 1860 (Troy: Adams, Sampson, and Company, 1860), passim.

HRVR19_2.iind 56 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

36. Weise, *The City of Troy and Its Vicinity*, 33, 104.
37. Weise, *History of the Seventeen Towns of Rensselaer County*, 105.
38. Ibid., 85.
39. Groft, 23, 31, 90, 94.
40. Howell and Tenney, 556-561.
41. Bishop, 240.
42. Howell and Tenney, 564, 575, 582, 594, 602, 606, 607.
43. Masten, 67, 80-81, 146.
44. Ibid., 61, 127-128.
45. Howell and Tenney, 991-992.
46. Green Island Bicentennial Commission, *Green Island Heritage and Bicentennial* (Green Island: The Commission, 1976), 16-20.
47. The Citizen's Association of Troy, *The Industrial Advantages of Troy, N.Y. and Environs* (Rochester: James P. McKinney, Publisher, 1895), 30.
48. Kenneth D. and Jane W. Roberts, *Planemakers and Other Edge Tool Enterprises In New York State in the Nineteenth Century* (Cooperstown: New York State Historical Association and Early American Industries Association, 1971), 2, 29, 37, 106, 117.
49. U.S. Office of the Census, *Manufactures of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), lxv, clxxxvii, 353-354, 394-395, 413, 415.
50. David M. Ellis, "Albany and Troy-Commercial Rivals," *New York History*, 24 (October 1943), 510.

HRVR19_2.iind 57 12/15/03, 3:31 PM



HRVR19_2.iind 58 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

The Journal of William (Rittenhouse) Gorgas of Allen Township in the County of Cumberland and State of Pennsylvania in the 24th year of his age

The final installment of William Gorgas' 1830 journal carries the twenty-four-year-old traveler through Ohio (including stops in Dayton and Cincinnati) and into West Virginia before he travels back to his home in Pennsylvania. In addition to describing in great detail the quality of the farmland, he comments insightfully on the various religious services he attends, as well as the amenities at the taverns where he spends the night.

The editorial apparatus is the same as that used for the previous transcripts. Spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation have been left intact. The manuscript as a whole is continuous; paragraph breaks have been added at intervals to facilitate reading. Questionable words have been followed by a question mark within brackets: [?]. Undecipherable words or phrases have been indicated by spaces and a question mark within square brackets: [__?__]. Occasionally, Gorgas left a blank space in his travelogue, presumably to fill in later, for instance with population figures. The numbers in brackets indicate the page numbers in the manuscript.

[1] The remainder of the journal of william R. Gorgas, of the travel through parts of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Virginia in the year 1830 being in the 24th year of my age, in company of Christian H. Bauman & John Fahnestock -beginning at upper Sandusky where we arrived on Saturday evening the 24th of July instant. As we approached the town we saw the remains of the camps which had been put up by the pedlars, etc. for the purpose of trading [2] with the Wiandot nation of Indians, who have here reserved for themselves 18 miles in length & 12 in breadth of first rate land, a discription of part of which may be found in my other book. Congress has granted them $9600 doll to be divided amongst themselves, between 5 & 6 hundred in number, the sum amounted to each about 9 dollars a

HRVR19_2.iind 59 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

head, the chiefs about 40. The 22nd, 23rd & 24th were the days that they drew, and we therefore were too late to see them.

As we approached farther, we found that the town contained only about [3] 7 houses (i.e.) one tavern, one store, the agents house, and Indian chief's house, together with a few others. The landlord's name is George Garrett appearingly a nice man, his accommodations are good. After some inquiry we found that there was 1800 acres of land here for public use whereon there can be one tavern & one store. This Garrett is married to an Indian female and therefore has the same priviledge as the Indians have. The country for some distance round is very level and if ever sold to the [4] United States it will according to my judgement make one of the greatest inland towns in the state as it is situated in a part of the country through there is and always will be a great deal of traveling done. This day we travelled 22 miles.

On Sunday the 25th rose at about 5 in the morning. After breakfast John borrowed a horse from the landlord, and went to Tiffin about 20 miles north in Seneca county to see Henry Cronise [?] a brother -in-law to Fundenburg [?] and Christian and I in company with a Mr. Clark an Indian and a genteel one too [5] went to their meeting, which is about 1/2 mile distant. The building is a fine one and will contain about 300 persons, it was built by the white Society of Methodists, and have a missionary preacher stationed here by name of Thompson. He preached and a young Indian by the name of Clark interpreted. The number here today I suppose 60, they sing very well, and were not noisy, some of them appeared serious. After his discourse was over an old Indian began and exhorted in his own tongue. The whole ceremony lasted [6] about 2 1/2 hours. When we returned in the afternoon, we walked out west for some distance, found the land still good and chiefly plains without timber and here killed the first black rattle-snake—walked this day 5 miles.

On Monday the 26th rose midling early and eat breakfast and rested as usual then went down the Sandusky river into the Indian settlement for the purpose of buying some horses, but they asked rather more than we could afford to give, we also found them very scarce. On our wayback [7] we passed the Missionary house, rather an old building two stories, but pleasantly situated on a high bank of the river, with some small buildings around it. Left this and came on to the tavern, took dinner and in the afternoon it rained some. We therefore remained about the house pretty much until just before supper we took a short walk to the oats field, tried the cradle and then returned and found that John had returned from Tiffin, walked this day about 5 miles.

HRVR19_2.iind 60 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

On Tuesday 27th rose at 5 in the morning sat about until after breakfast then walked down [8] to see the Indian Camp Ground, found that there remained from last year about 25 block tents some of which they were again fixing up for the present. As the meeting was to commence this day at 2 of the clock, left and went to the tavern, took dinner, rested as usual then repaired for the camp which was 1 mile distant. When we came there the second time the Indians were still engaged fixing up their tents and about 3 of the clock the horn blew for them to come into the congregation, and at the command they gathered in slowly. When together, after prayer being made, one of [9] the preachers got up and spoke to them through an interpreter stating the importance & necessity of being engaged in prayer to God for a portion of his divine spirit. Although few in number etc the meeting lasted until 4 in the afternoon when it was given out that there would be preaching at candlelight. When we again attended, and as before were slow in taking their seats, one of the preachers rose and (read) them the rules after another gave out a hymn, prayed and then spoke through an interpreter on these words (i.e) (on redeeming time) taken from the apostle Paul's writing, but not feeling so well, did [10] not enjoy the preaching so well as might be expected. Left about 1/2 past 9 of the clock, suppose there was about 60 Indians there, walked this day about 7 miles.

Wednesday the 28th rose at 5 and about 8 went to camp again and found that the Indians had 23 tents, whites 3. There was a young man spoke through an interpreter after which they gave a little intermission after which a man spoke english on these words (when two or three are gathered in my name I am in the midst) and at 12 of the clock bid adieu to the camp, went to Garretts, took dinner [11] and rested as usual. Then gave our valices to Mr. Merriman who keep tavern 10 miles south on the road to Bellfontaine and we took it a foot, walked about a mile or so and met a man who John asked whether he would sell his horse- when he told us by going about one mile round we would find three so we went round and and also bought. Then one from Squire Straw and two from Richard Lee after which we came on to Merriman's tavern after dark. The land is very [12] good and where there was timber it was shellbark & white oak, but only chiefly travelled this day 13 miles.

On Thursday 29th rose at 5 in the morning and tried to trade for a saddle which left us some time when we agreed to remain till after breakfast, rested as usual and then agreed for two saddles, bid farewell at 8 of the clock. Rode on at a tolerable rate for 8 1/2 miles to the Sciota river tavern when we watered then rode on for 7 miles further to Mr. Sharp's private or farmers house with whom we stopped for [13] dinner, and had our horses fed. Here I was unfortunate and tore

HRVR19_2.iind 61 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

my coat and gave it to a lady to mend, charge for mending nothing. The land through which we travelled is good timber, beech, maple, ash, shellbark, white oak etc. The water is not so good and but very few springs.

In the bounds of the Sciota & little Miama on the south of Sciota east of the Miama is all military land and is worth from 1 to 1.50 dollars per acre. This military land extends to the Ohio River. This is in the county of Harden, but we came through a corner of [14] Marion County. This is but thinly inhabited, sometimes we don't see a house for 7 miles. Travelled on through a similar country to Zanesfield a small town in Logan County, is not handsome in any way at all and contains I supppose 45 inhabitants, stopped at Genwoods tavern the only one in town. Arrived here in the evening had Mr. Lee for company. Travelled this day 32 miles.

Rose Friday the 30th at 5 in the morning, had our horses shod then looked at some of the German horses which he offered for sale, but we could not [15] agree, but when about starting, we found that John's horse had a sore back. Therefore traded saddles with him, after which bartered him for a trade, which after some conversation was agreed upon, and had that horse shod then left at about 10 of the clock. Roade on througn a fine country on the left particularly to west Liberty a small town in the same county containing about 200 inhabitants, buildings poor etc. The land is chiefly pararie or meadow, but some called bottom, after passing along about 1/2 mile we got [16] into Champaign County, the country from here to Urbana is very good & level pararie or bottom land, the corn looks well in fact everything does tolerably well. The water is good and has some very good water privileges particularly along the Mad river which is said to have about one in every mile nearby.

West Liberty is 8 miles and Urbana is 10 further. Urbana is handsomely situated and contains 1163 inhabitants, 63 of which are blacks, we stopped at Mr. Hunter's inn. The land [17] in this neighbourhood is worth from 5 to 25 dollars per acre. Wheat 40 cts, corn 12 1/2, rye 18 3/4, oats 12 1/2.

Left this at 1/2 past 3 of the clock and rode through the finest part of the country for a distance of 14 miles that I have yet seen, that is by taking all things into consideration. The land is nearly all pararie or by some called bottom land of an excellent quality, soil black earth, and under a kind of large gravel. The land lays very well to the [?] and is level. Almost every farmer has his beautiful stream of spring water running through his farm & [18] affords every advantage for a person to raise a good deal of stock which is said to be very profitable. Land is worth from 3 to 25 dollars per acre. Wheat is worth per bushel 40 cts, corn 12 1/2, oats 12 1/2, rye 20 cis.

HRVR19_2.iind 62 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

Just before we arrived at Springfield we crossed Buck creek, which is said to have many water privileges, some of which are not as yet taken up. We arrived at Mr. John Hunts tavern in Main Street, (which by some is called the National road leading from Zanesville to St. Louis) at 7 of the clock, put [19] up for the night, felt ourselves very tired. This town is handsomely situated on a gradual descent has upwards of 1100 inhabitants & is the county town for Clark. Travelled this day 32 miles.

On Saturday the 31st at 4 in the morning, found inclined for raining, which caused us to remain till after breakfast and in the meantime the landlord told us they raised from 40 to 60 bushels of corn to the acre & as high as 40 of wheat and [?] weed is only found in particular places, such as lowland with extraordinary [20] timber on it etc but immediately in this neighbourhood there is none. Here we left about 9 of the clock, rode through a part of the country which is called the ridge. Wherever the road runs the land is not so good a quality as the pararie land, but it is chiefly limestone & gravel. Water privileges I expect will answer, but small streams are not plenty. Came to Fairfield in Green county 13 miles distant. This place is handsomely situated in fine fertile country, [21] perfectly level, buildings poor etc. Landlords name Mr. Earl. The town contains about 150 inhabitants, land worth in this neighbourhood from 5 to 15 dollars per acre.

Left this for Dayton at 1/4 after 2 of the clock and rode on slowly through a tolerable fine country part of it hilly but soil in general good, for some depth then a gravel for some part, it is said, then clay. We arrived at Dayton at about 1/2 past 6 of the clock, put up at Mr. Hawks inn, after which we went to our friend Aughenbaughs, remained there [22] a while then came to the tavern went to [?]. This days travel 26 miles.

On Sunday the 1st of August rose midling early, went to the Miama river which nearly surrounds it and has the canal east of it. We also took a view of Dayton and I must say it is the best laid out of any town I saw since we left home. The streets are I suppose about 100 in width, some 120 in width, the buildings are tolerably good, one hotel is 100 feet in length. This place has a neat courthouse & Jail and contains about 2900 inhabitants.

Went to [23] Aughenbaughs took breakfast after which we went to Shakertown about 5 miles distant accompanied by Isaac Aughenbaugh. The land between places is somewhat rolling and even at Shakertown a very little so. when we got to this place we found three large buildings one of which is their church, the other two dwelling houses, together with several other small buildings. This is a handsome place, I was somewhat pleased with. After waiting about 1 1/2 hours the meeting commenced by singing then a man spoke on these words, He

HRVR19_2.iind 63 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

that [24] believes and is baptised shall be saved, but he that believes not shall be damned. Laid it out that it alone means the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost & noted that none but those that lived a life of celebacy could attain it, and as much as none other could enter the kingdom of Heaven & after which they prepared for dansing which was amusing. The men facing the women and danced in a square each, all done in regular order. After they had danced for sometime they commenced walking from the things of the world [25] during all this they sung with much energy & cogency and for sometime, when they quit singing and each took his hat again, and an old man got up & spoke a few words, and said that everyone should take it into deep consideration why circumcision was done on that part of the human system that it was, and what type it represented etc. After which we immediately returned, had our horses fed then rode out to Michael Coovers about 8 miles north west of this. we arrived there about sundown, found them all well [26] and happy to see us.

The land between the places is very good, some level and others rolling, timber generally poplar, white oak and various other kinds etc and Coovers place at first I did not like but after examining it I was very much pleased with it. The land is very rolling and rich. timber mostly poplar, ash, elm, white walnut, etc. His house is 37 by 20 feet frame & weatherboarded, double log barn. and an elegant spring close by the house. The place contains 716 acres on which is a log [27] still house, with two tenant houses, one sawmill and one oil mill in which there is one pair of chopping stone to be put. This was all bought for $3000 on half in hand the rest in 5 annual payments. He tells me wheat is worth at present 40 cts, corn from 17 to 18 cents, rye 25, oats 12 1/2. whisky is worth by the barrel 17 cts per gallon. He has undoubtedly bettered himself by coming out.

On Monday in the forenoon we went out and I shot 2 squirrels & Christ 1 and in the afternoon John & Augenbaugh came and [28] Coover. John took John's horse and we rode out see some places with which I was pleased. Some had fine springs particularly one has several springs which taken together would answer for one pair of stones all the season and for 6 in the spring. It has 3 [?] and 60 feet fall, but to this the water of another place adjoining this would have to be bough.

From here we went to a small town called Uniiontown which contains about 25 houses & 3 mills, one below the other. The land here is good but has no springs [29] along the Still Water river. We returned about 6 in the evening, travelled in these two days 25 miles.

On Tuesday the 3 of August we rose about 5 in the morning and intended to start immediately after breakfast but got into a talking humor and did not get away

HRVR19_2.iind 64 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

until after dinner. Came out pretty much the same road, and got to Dayton about 4 in the evening. Stopped again at Hunts and after seeing to our horses we went to our friend Augenbaughs who had the kindness of showing us part of the town and also [30] the water power belonging to this place. Along the feeder there would be seats for a great number of mills, and also along the canal. There might near this place be built from 15 to 20 mills at a rough guess. The water priviledge exceeds any other in the United States, that is by including the Mad river etc. Land can be bought for about 20 dollars some distance off. I still become more and more pleased with the place and the neighbourhood. This day travel about 10 miles.

On Wednesday the 4 of August we left for Cincinnati in company of Mr. Aughenbaugh. The country [31] we passed through is very good along the Miamia river. It generally lies very level, the soil is sandy, timber chiefly oaks, sycamore, ash, buckeye etc. Part of the way some is nearly all white oak which appears to be poorer land. The gravel is in some places 3 inches to 6 feet deep. As we passed along he informed us, and also pointed out to us a fort which is situated on a hill and commands a fine view of Dayton & Miamia river, it incloses about 40 acres of ground and is circularly made. He also informed that it was his [32] opinion that the present was the 4th race of mankind in this country. It is said that in some places 12, other 27 feet deep there has been found a clay soil below the gravel and about this soil implements of all kinds etc.- old stumps & wells dug & walled & and trees etc. Here is where the 1st race lived; the second that built the forts, the remains of which are here yet; the Indians the 3rd race & the present inhabitants the 4 race. We came on to East Alexander about 8 miles distant, where we saw a circular fort, a very large one & by all appearances [33] would enclose some hundred acres of land, near about the middle their appears to be a division. 4 miles further is Miamisburg, a small town containing about 800 inhabitants. It is not well laid out, houses chiefly frame some brick. It has the canal on the east & the river on the west, it has not the appearance of a business place. In town we stopped fed & took dinner with Mr. Gephart tavern. I tried how custard would agree & left here at 1/2 past 1 of the clock. Rode on through Franklin, a place containing about 700 inhabitants, is situated on the eastern [34] side of the Miamia river. The buildings are many of them poor, others again good, streets narrow. The land to [?] for a price is good but near this is very hilly and poor, but after leaving this we steered towards Lebanon and called with Mr. Deardorf.

The land in this neighborhood is good but rolling, some is very rich and more level. It varies considerably in places, some have springs, other have to dig from 15 to 30 feet deep. The corn looks tolerably well, soil a kind of sandy nature, some inclining towards a [35] clay soil & timber in general, white oak, ash of different

HRVR19_2.iind 65 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

kinds, sugar maple, buttonwood & some others. We came on to Mr. Hall's tavern situated in a fine & fertile country particularly for corn, on the Dayton road to Cincinnati, arrived there about dusk. This days travel about 30 miles.

On Thursday the 5th of August we rose at 5 in the morning and rode through the town of Monroe in the county of Butler, to Mr. John Vandy's an acquaintance of Mr. Aughenbaugh's. With him we took breakfast. [36] He owns an elegant plantation of 214 acres which he offers to dispose at $3000, tolerable good house & barn, the soil is good limestone land of black sand nature, timber white oaks, ash & sugar, walnuts etc. - looked at some of his horses, which were very fine ones and a good price. Left at about 10 then went to his brothers 2 miles distant for to see his horses but he was from home. Then went to Squire Williamson's to see a horse, but he held him too high. He & his [37] lady were so kind as to press on us to take dinner with them which we did and remained for some time. Land still good but a little out of order.

Left here at 3 of the clock rode on to Union village by some called Shakertown. This place is situated on an elevated land and contains about 20 fine & elegant houses nearly all brick together with some other small buildings. It contains 600 inhabitants all Shakers who are handsomely situated and have elegant gardens, orchards [38] and everything in style. Cattle of the very best Durham kind & one blacksmith shop also a shop for making buckets etc. They hold here 4800 acres of elegant land. This is Warren county, 1 1/2 miles southwest of this they have several more such houses and 1/2 miles further they have several more. The land is all very good, they have also a very fine church which is built on a two story plan. They live separate from the women & forbid marrying etc.

We left here about 5 of the clock & travelled 4 miles to Lebanon through a very fine part of the country. The soil is a [39] complete limestone of a very rich quality and lies very well to the sun, chiefly rolling land with some bottom or meadow land and worth from 6 to 25 dollars according to improvements. Timber ash, oaks, walnut, maple, elm, etc. Lebanon is in Warren county, the county seat. It appears not to be very handsome, particularly the situation, houses some are very good, it contains about 1800 inhabitants. Here we were going to stop at [?] but we were informed that he expired that morning. We were therefore directed to Mr. Furgason's tavern [40] where we arrived about dusk, took supper. John don't feel so well, but a little something better after eating. Travelled this day about 15 miles.

On Friday the 6th rose at 5 in the morning. Mr. Aughenbaugh & John went on to Cincinnati while I remained with Christian who wants to remain until his uncle came here and he & I started out into the country, eastward for to see for

HRVR19_2.iind 66 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

horses. We rode for the distance of 6 miles to Mr. [?] & also to Mssrs John & his brother Millan who we found to be very [41] nice Quakers. They both had horses but held them too high. The land out this direction is good in general but not so good I think as towards Shakertown. It is also more hilly but soil is said to be about one foot, the timber is oaks a ash, walnut, elm, gum, dogwood, ironwood etc. and worth from 8 to 15 dollars per acre.

We returned to Lebanon about 1/2 past 12 of the clock. Stopped again at Fergusons, had our horses fed & took dinner, and I more particularly looked at the town, but it does not please me, the situation [42] does not please and the buildings many of them are very poor, not much business done here and I believe has been decreasing since the bank broke. Here Christian saw his uncle who said he would be in Cincinnati on tomorrow & would then show us all of the city he could which was very pleasing to us as we were strangers. Mr. Ferguson's accommodations very good.

Left at 1/4 past 2 and travelled on slowly along and crossed Turtle creek twice, had good land for the distance of about 5 miles [?] [43] as usual, then we got on to a ridge and found the land rather poorer until we came to Montgomery town, Hamilton County, containing about 275 inhabitants. It has one good street, buildings are chiefly poor, the timber here is chiefly white oak, elm, ash, sugar etc, - from here to Mr. Chamberlain's tavern which is 3 miles from the town. The land appears rather better, there is limestone, the soil is sandy and clay commences from 12 to 18 inches from the surface, and is worth from 12 to 30 dollars per acre, the timber is chiefly beech, [44] oaks, white walnut, sugar, ash, elm, etc. We arrived at Mr. Chamberlain's tavern at dusk, put up for the night, found him a very clever man, accomodations good. Travelled this day 32 miles.

On Saturday the 7th rose at about 5 in the morning and immediately left for Cincinnati. The country is tolerably good but very rolling and near the city it is very hilly. Timber beech, ash, gum, locust etc. We arrived in the city about 1/2 past 8 of the clock. Stopped at Mr. Scudders tavern, corner of Main & street. Took [45] breakfast, after which we took a view of the horse which John had bought and we were pleased with the bargain. Then we walked down Main street to the river, where it looked very handsome, a fine sloping bank all paved or turned [?] with stone, from here we had a view of Covington opposite the city and east of the Licking river and also Newport on the west side of the Licking river. The first I suppose contains about 5 or 6 hundred inhabitants and the second about 4 or 5 hundred. From here we walked up the river for some distance then [46] came round to Scudders and bought a horse at auction and in the afternoon went &

HRVR19_2.iind 67 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

examined some horses which was all that was attended to. This day travelled 12 miles.

On Sunday 8th rose about 5 and sat about till 9 then John and Mr. Aughenbaugh & myself went down to see the Steam Doctor by name Mr. [?] in [__?__] street with whom they had some conversation and John agreed to remain & take a course as he was almost persuaded that he could effect a cure & after leaving this John & I immediately left for camp meeting [47] which was 7 miles from the city & 1 mile this side of Carthage on the Mill creek road, we found the roads very dusty and people in great numbers travelling to & fro. The land in places is good, and have some bottom land & near the camp the soil is a black spungy kind of land & in other places very hilly.

When we came near the place we found a small tavern, entertainment poor, our horses got a few ears of corn which was all they had. Then we went over to the camp, but on the way it was lined with [48] hucksters, who kept everything excepting strong drink and in the camp they had no guards & the people walked through the aisles, and were also among the females, but at the same time there was no disbehaviour that I saw. I suppose they occupied about 2 acres of ground and had about 140 tents, and to the best of my judgement must have been near about 5000 persons. One of the preachers stated that last year they had added to the church 700 persons and he hoped before they broke up they might add [49] equally as many this year.

We left here after [?] and rode slowly through the dust till we got to the city and in the evening Mr. Bauman, Christian & myself walked out to the water-works about 2 mile of the city, on a high hill. The reservoir is about 100 feet in length and 50 in breadth, & are about making another of about the same size. This supplies the whole city. The water is forced out of the Ohio river by steam power. There are along this hill a number of fine situations and good buildings. The [50] prospect of the city is very fine from this hill. After we returned I still had a very great pain in my head, and after I laid down on the settee and slept until bedtime. Travelled this day about 16 miles.

On Monday the 9 we rose at about 6 in the morning and attended to nothing until after breakfast & and on Tuesday we rose at our usual time and after a good deal of trouble and fixing we left Cincinnati at about 5 in the evening with 8 horses. John he remained in the city to take a course [51] of steam medicine & to give a short account of Cincinnati in the year 1814 it only had 8 thousand inhabitants and now has 30,000 inhabitants. It is a place of great business both wholesale and retail and they put up from 6 to 7 hundred buildings up per year

HRVR19_2.iind 68 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

and the market is extraordinary great, sometimes as high as 7 hundred market waggons there.

After having as before stated, we travelled on to Reading, a small village in Hamilton county containing about 200 inhabitants. Stopped at Mr. Voorheeds tavern. The land here is somewhat [52] hilly and the soil rather poorer than the others of [?]. Travelled this day 10 miles.

On Wednesday the 11th we rose at 5 and travelled on through a good part of the county. Corn etc looks well, land worth from 10 to 25 dol. per acre. We came on through Sharonville... 3 on to Palmyra a small village in Hamilton county 9 miles beyond Sharon. The land here is generally middling level and soil good, timber chiefly white & black oak, white walnut, ash, gum etc.

Left Mr. Steward tavern at 10 of the clock, travelled on through a good part of the [53] county to Lebanon, where we arrived at about 12 of the clock , stopped at Mr. Ferguson's, watered our horses & then travelled on to Wilmington about 20 miles from Lebanon. The land for some distance is very good, then it is rather poorer for a few miles, when it becomes very good again & continues on so to till Wilmington. The soil is good, land rolling & worth from 5 to 25 dollars per acre. Timber differs in places, but in general is in some places chiefly beech, ash, hickory, poplar etc., and in others oaks, ash, hickory, poplar etc. We arrived at Mr. Hales tavern [54] in Wilmington the county seat for Clinton county, containing 600 inhabitants. It has two main streets and has the advantage of extending as the surrounding country is very level. Travelled this day 40 miles.

On Thursday the 12th rose at 4 in the morning, left immediately, travelled through a tolerable fine country but rather thinly inhabited. The land is lime-stone, soil clay and sand mixed. Timber generally oaks, beech, ash, elm, dogwood, sugar etc.-to Mr. Paris's tavern 8 miles distant, here we stopped for breakfast. The land in this neighbourhood [55] sells from fifty cents to 3 dollars per acre.

Left here at 10 of the clock and passed through a tolerable good part of the country particularly in and near Rattlesnake creek and pararie. The soil along here is very good, in part of the pararie it has the appearance of an old rotten dry dung hill, about Washington the county seat of Fayette the land is not so very good. The town contains about 600 inhabitants, has one fine street, a tolerable size court house, about 20 feet square built of birch & no windows, several good buildings. [56] A few miles this side the land again gets better and these are some large pararies as rich as a garden, with grass & flowers, timber varies in places at some it is chiefly oaks and at others chiefly oaks mixed with hickory, elm, ash etc. To New Holland, a small town in the same county, containing about 50 inhabit-

HRVR19_2.iind 69 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

ants. Here we put up for the night with Bohrer, a very nice and obliging man. Travelled this day 32 miles.

On Friday the 13th rose at 4 in the morning [57] (land in this neighbourhood unimproved is worth [?] to 50 per acre and improved from 3 to 5 dollars per acre) and found that one of our horses was a little foundered. We therefore remained and took a bite to eat, then travelled on through a country which in the bottom was rich & good but on the rising ground the soil in places was thin, chiefly plains others again deep particularly at the Sciota river. We crossed it at Circleville, here they are about building an aqueduct across the river which is made of beautiful sandstone. There is also a great many hands at work at the canal here. [58]

Circleville is situated in a handsome place and is singularly laid out. The court house is built square and stands in the center of the town and is around a circle of about 90 yds in diameter which was once in ancient times a fort. From each square of the court house there is a street which makes 8 streets. They have a tolerable fine stone Jail and a few fine brick buildings. In this place we fed & took dinner with Mr. Gednes tavern.

Left there about 1 of the clock and travelled through a country which is called a cold [59] thin, and water not quite so scarce as what we have come through, timber chiefly white oak etc. At Mr. Griffith tavern we turned off to go to the other road & Mr. Sweyer [?] over took us & wanted to trade and in the meantime invite us to go with him which we did and found his house very spacious and situated on the Chillicothe road nine miles from Lancaster, with him we remained. Travelled this day 32 miles. The land is rolling and very well adapted for wheat and worth from 5 to 10 dollars per acre.

On Saturday the 14 we rose [60] in the morning and left at 5. Travelled a part of the country some of which is tolerable good and the woods in part overgrown with small swamp oaks and in some places it is very rough and hilly, the most so of any part that I saw in this state to nearly the Hocking River which is quite near to Lancaster, the county seat of Fairfield. This place contains about 2000 inhabitants and has one very handsome street. Court house stands in the centre and is small, the market house [61] midling large and has room above. Round this place the land is in part low and very rich, but 1 mile distance off it commences and is very hilly. The valleys are rich and the upland is tolerable good clay soil.

We stopped at Sweigart's tavern, fed and breakfasted, from here we travelled on a similar hilly country to west Rushville. This contains about 150 inhabitants situated on a high hill and on the other side of a small stream is situated East Rushville which contains about 250 [62] inhabitants, and is 10 miles this side of Lancaster. The land continues on pretty much as usual to Somerset the county

HRVR19_2.iind 70 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

seat for Perry which contains about 1800 inhabitants and is midling handsome situated to extend to the N & South, but not E or w. It has a handsome court house and fine other handsome brick buildings, we put up at B. [?]. Travelled this day 27 miles.

On Sunday the 15th rose at 5 and left at 6. Travelled through similar country very hilly, the land in the valley is very rich & corn looked tolerable [63] considering the seasons. The timber is white oak, walnut, elm & on the hills the corn don't look so well, soil clay & stone sand, timber white oak. Crossed Johnathans creek 9 miles east of Somerset & came on 3 miles further to Mr. Gillespies inn. Accommodations good, left here at 12 of the clock travelled on through a similar part of the country as before until we came within 4 miles of Zanesville where land became what we may call completely rolling, soil still clay. sandstone mixed with coal.

The [64] distance to Zanesville, the county seat for Muskindon, is 6 miles. This place is situated on the east bank of the Muskingdon river and is a handsome place. The streets are rather narrow but the buildings are generally of brick. The town contains about [__?__] inhabitants and has a great water power on the Liching & Muskindon. Within 3 miles there is about 30 run of stones, have 2 bridges over the river and 2 small villages on the opposite side one called West Zanesville, the other Putnam. Here in this [65] place commences the National road leading from Washington, the best and handsomest turnpike I ever saw, the stones are only about 5 ounces in weight, we travelled on this road 8 1/2 miles through a pretty hilly country land poor to Mr. Hughes tavern where we put up for the night. Travelled this day 26 1/2 miles.

On Monday the 16th rose at 5 in the morning and found it raining for the first time since July sometime. We therefore remained until after breakfast and passed through a small [66] town called Norwich about 3 1/2 miles, this place contains about 250 inhabitants and continued on through a similar country, as usual hilly and midling poor & occasionally mixed with stonecoal. The timber is chiefly white oak some mixed with elm, sugar etc. Passed through Concord 6 miles further which contains about 150 inhabitants. 6 1/2 miles further we came to Cambridge, but before we came to Cambridge we crossed the bridge over Salt Creek, the handsomest workmanship I believe I [67] ever saw. The piers are made of handsome sandstone and the framing part is all painted inside & outside.

Cambridge contains about 500 inhabitants, is situated on a kind of hill. Many of the buildings are poor, the court house is rather small, streets are narrow. It is the county seat for Guernsey county.

HRVR19_2.iind 71 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

From here we came on to Washington [?] miles. This is a very poor situation, the country is extremely poor and it contains I suppose about 300 inhabitants. After having watered we came on to [68] Middletown Guernsey county containing about 150 inhabitants. We put up at Mr. Moores tavern for the night. Travelled 30 miles this day.

On Tuesday the 17th rose at 4 and left at 5 travelled on through a hilly country but the soil is tolerable good. They raise good wheat, corn & oats & when the seasons are good, average from 15 to 25 bushel to the acre. The small village 6 miles distant is called Fairview situated on a hill, rather unlevel and not very handsome, it contains about 180 inhabitants. From [69] here we travelled through a similar country for 8 miles to Mr. Hoovers inn where we stopped for breakfast. Here we ascertained that stone coal was in abundance and delivered to Fairfield for 37 1/2 cents per bushel.

Left here after 11 o'clock travelled on through Morristown 1 mile distant. This place contains about 300 inhabitants, it is situated on an eminence. The country round it is as usual hilly, next to this 10 miles further is situated St. Clairsville the county seat of Belmont county. It contains about 800 inhabitants, it is quite uneven and has [70] but [__?__] chief street, and another that intersects at the court house. This is a tolerable good building, many of the private buildings are good, chiefly frame, some brick and has but one row of houses on each side of the streets The country is very rolling and continues on so for some miles until we came down of the hills to the [__?__] creek, when we found bottom land about 40 [?] in breadth and extends to the river. This land is very good, there is plenty of stone coal in this part of the [71] country.

Bridgeport is 10 miles from St. C and situated on the Ohio, contains about 75 inhabitants. Here we went about 1 mile down the river for to cross as the fare was but half price. We landed in Virginia about 5 of the clock. Came to Mr. [?] in Main street, put up with him for the night. Wheeling is a handsome place on the east side of the Ohio River, containing about 7000 inhabitants and is a place of great business. As for its beauty I have not yet much seen. Travelled this day 36 miles.

[72] On Wednesday the 18th rose at 5 and left at 6. Took a little view of Wheeling, it is not a handsome situated place by any means, but has the advantage of the Ohio river on the west. On the east it has a very large high hill and is on uneven ground, has 2 cotton & 2 woolen factories.

From this we went on through Ohio county towards Washington, Pa. through a fine but narrow valley up the Little Wheeling creek. Some places there is fine meadow bottoms, and other rolling land. The corn in the bottom looks very well, grain is [73] also very good, crops have been good this season. Land is worth from

HRVR19_2.iind 72 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

15 to 25 dollars per acre. The improvements are rather poor in general. In the mountains they have an abundance of good stone coal.

We came 12 miles to Mr. Rhodes tavern where we stopped for breakfast & left at 11 of the clock. On 4 miles through Alexanderville, a small town containing about 150 persons situated on a hill. Street is poor & crooked. This is in Washington county [?] near the Virginia line, from here to Claysville 6 miles the country is very hilly but the [74] soil is tolerable good particularly about Claysville. This place contains about 300 inhabitants and is situated on a rise in among the hills, buildings tolerable good. From here to Washington the county seat 10 miles the country as usual very rolling, in places not so much so. Timber oak, walnut, beech, elm, ash, mulberry. The wheat crops were very good, corn [?] not so good.

Washington is not very handsomely situated, the ground is rather uneven. Many of the buildings are good & contains about 2500 inhabitants. We stopped at Mr. Daggs tavern. He [75] keeps a good house, both for waggons & travellers. This day travel 32 miles.

On Thursday the 19th rose at 5 and left at 6. Travelled on through as usual a hilly country. The land is generally pretty good, in places limestone & in others slate and the hills can all be cultivated, the timber is generally oakes, sugar, walnut, cherry, locust & for 9 miles to Mr. Dunning's tavern where we stopped for breakfast at nearly 10 of the clock. Here the turnpike passes by that they are making to Williamsport. [76]

Left at about 12 travelled on through a similar country to Williamsport, a small village situated on the west side of the Monongahela river beneath a hill containing about 200 inhabitants. Has one tolerable street a some midling good buildings. Land worth about 10 dollars per acre - here we crossed and went up the river a few miles, some very good bottom land here. Then took up through between 2 hills, for some distance then crossed and got into tolerable good land but very hilly, some of which can't be cultivated. Arrived at Mr. Niccolls [77] tavern the west side of the Youghioghania river. The town of Robstown is on the opposite containing about 200 souls, some good buildings. The river is near about the size of Cono [?]. Travelled this day 28 miles.

On Friday the 20th rose at 5 and left after 6. Travelled on through a hilly country, soil generally slate. The land can nearly all be cultivated & produces midling well & worth from 5 to 15 dollars per acre, stone coal is in abundance. The people here attend to the raising of stock & we came 8 1/2 miles to Mr. Thompsons tavern where [78] we took breakfast. Left at about 11 travelled on through rather a better part of Westmoreland particularly when we came near Mount Pleasant which is 7 miles.

HRVR19_2.iind 73 12/15/03, 3:31 PM

Around this place they have limestone land which is very productive, of a very rolling nature. The town contains 666 persons, has two rows of houses, many of which are very good and built of brick, it is a place of considerable business for a small place. We stopped at Mr. [?], had my horse shod [79] and then left immediately. Travelled through a tolerable good land until we came near Chestnut Ridge when it commences to get poor. It is said to be 7 miles across it. On top of the ridge is a very fine tavern which we passed & on the east side we saw a few plantation of just midling land. We passed through a small town called Donegal containing about 50 inhabitants and continued on to Mr. Jones's tavern which is 12 miles east of Mt. Pleasant. Here we put up [80] for the night. The person who attended the bar was a young lady of very modest appearance & I am of the opinion that it must be a daughter. Accommodations good. This day travelled only 25 miles.

On Saturday the 21st rose at 5 and here Mr. Wolford & his son Peter also remained. The old gentleman was as full of his [?] as ever. They were travelling to Ohio. They left at 6 & we immediately after and travelled over Laurel hill which is 4 1/2 miles to the top & 2 1/2 down. When we [81] crossed over the line into Bedford county called the Glades, travelled through this for 5 miles & found it very rolling land, great for oats, kind of slate soil mixed with clay to Mr. D. Lava tavern where we stopped for breakfast. Accommodations good, plenty of chocolate. Left this at 1/2 past 11 & travelled on through hilly & poor country for 4 1/2 miles to Sommerset. This place is situated on a small hill, the street is tolerable wide, no pavements, and houses chiefly have rather an ancient appearance, log & frame [82] with a few brick. I don't consider it a handsome situation. The land immediately around is just midling good. This is the county seat for Somerset, it contains about 700 souls. From here it is 14 miles to the top of Allegheny which we travelled, found it a very hilly road. Land very poor, from the top 1 1/2 miles to the foot Mr. Graves tavern where we put up for the night. Travelled this day 31 1/2 miles.

On Sunday the 22nd rose at 4 and left before 5. Travelled on (in company of Mr. Lightner [83] from Lancaster county who is in a Dearborn) through a hilly country, being up one hill & down the other, having a fine valley on our left, said to be good land, but on the ridges where we passed it was poor. We came on to Mr. V. Wertz at the foot of dry ridge which is 16 miles. Here we stopped for breakfast, left here at 11 o'clock travelled to within 1/2 miles of Bedford [?] miles where we stopped with Mengel, had our horses fed.

I almost forgot, the country after breakfast began to get better, some limestone land etc. While our horses [84] were eating we went through Bedford, on to the springs 2 miles. The land is chiefly limestone of a midling good quality,

HRVR19_2.iind 74 12/15/03, 3:32 PM

as we passed up between two hills we first passed a stone grist mill then one of the cold springs and nearly on the opposite side of the stream which we got to by walking over a plank bridge. This is one elegant spring, it runs out of a limestone mountain, appearing as clear as crystal and most excellant water of rather a little softish nature.

A little further [85] are two buildings attached to each other 3 stories high & whole length of both about 240 feet, frame, boarded & painted white. Nearly in front they have a circular yard about 15 feet in diameter, a [?] out of the arm of which there spouts out the water about 7 feet high. South of this is another building about 120 feet in length similar to the other & to this is attached a hot bath house and on the opposite side of the stream is the spring which are so highly [86] recommended for dyspeptics as it contains sulpher. This has not much of a sulpherish taste, but the spring is small & handsome, it runs out of limestone rock & after looking to our satisfaction we again walked to the tavern and left immediately.

Travelled on through the town which contains about [__?__] inhabitants and is the county seat for Bedford. The situation is tolerable, the street are rather narrow and no pavement, buildings are midling good & an [87] elegant court house, but withal it is rather a poor place for so much visiting. The land immediately around is tolerable good, we travelled on across Duning creek though in parts the land was limestone, but chiefly slate, some had very good appearance and at other places we had mountains of slate which could not be cultivated, to Moody Run & town of same name 8 miles. This place contains 100 inhabitants. Came on 3 miles further to Mr. Margert's tavern where we put up for the night. [88] Travelled this day 34 miles.

On Monday the 23rd rose at 4 in the morning & left at about 5. Travelled on up one hill & down the other until we came up on the top of Sideling hill. Here there is an excellent tavern [?] at the forks of the road. At this place our friend Mr. Lightner stopped for breakfast. We went to the foot of the hill on the thru mountain road which is 12 1/2 miles. Stopped at a Mr. Harris's tavern for breakfast. Found the road midling rough till here.

Left here at about 11 of the [89] clock. Travelled on through a barren & unfruitful country up one hill and down another, land slate, timber chiefly pine till we came about 1 mile the other side of the Tuscarora mountain to a place called Fannettsburg in Path valley Franklin county. This place contains I suppose about 125 inhabitants. The country around it is good limestone land, we stopped at Mrs. Geths's tavern, entertainment good. Travelled this day 31 1/2 miles.

HRVR19_2.iind 75 12/15/03, 3:32 PM

On Tuesday 24th we rose at 4 in the morning and left about 5. The [90] landlord wanted to extort on us by charging an amazing bill, but I told him it was too much & then took something near the regular bill. Left as soon as possible, travelled over the two mountains to Strasburg 8 miles which contains about 250 inhabitants. Stopped at Mr, McKinsey, accommodation good. Travelled on through a level and good part of the country, part of the way the soil was yellow slate, the remainder limestone to Shippensburg ten miles. This place [91] contains [__?__] inhabitants. We stopped once, fed our horses at Nimmans tavern, then left and came to Heacy's tavern which Philips formerly kept. Remained all night, accommodations good, charges very liberal. Travelled this day 29 miles.

Wednesday the 25th rose at about 4 and left about 6. Travelled on to Carlisle where we stopped at Ulrich tavern for breakfast and left at about 11 of the clock. Came on to Mechanicsburg, remained there sometime. after which I took two of the [92] horses and came on home, arrived after dusk and they all appeared happy to see me. Travelled this day 28 miles.

Travelled in the whole Journey since we left home, being 13 weeks within a day, two thousand & thirty six & a hair miles. 2036 1/2

HRVR19_2.iind 76 12/15/03, 3:32 PM

Fishkill Sunset: Three Views*

Judith Saunders

Laid out beneath Mt. Beacon, Fishkill draws
Commuters! See its prime location close
A quiet line from east to west, parallel
to major routes and destinations,
to rows of tree-splotched hills just high enough to build
malls and shopping opportunities
a view with depth and carve convincing space
near two correctional facilities
to frame the famous Hudson sunset skies
– Manhattan only eighty miles south –
whose never over-painted hugeness fills
a rural calm with urban style
the eye with eerie beauty, long slow scrolls
(and easy access to the parkway)
of grays and golds unwinding in the air
crowned by its landmark steeple, bells…
above the village every evening. There
an eighteenth-century local prize
the Dutch Reformed Church spire, black
in the center of Main St. Square
and sharp and slender, spikes the streaky glow
redeeming the suburb's electric haze
of back-lit clouds, a stitch in time

* The three-way poem, a form invented by the British poet Charles Tomlinson (b. 1927), requires three readings: (a) the unitalicized lines, (b) the italicized lines, (c) the whole as printed.

HRVR19_2.iind 77 12/15/03, 3:32 PM

Book Review

Reeve Huston. *Land and Freedom: Rural Society, Popular Protest, and Party Politics in Antebellum New York*. Oxford University Press, New York (2000). 217 pp.; 12 pp. statistical appendix; 50 pp. notes.

The longevity of the medieval manorial system of land tenure and proprietary control that dominated eastern New York property history from its Dutch colonial origins almost to the Civil War is an anomaly of the American experience of daunting complexity. The history's Old World origins in the "rights and privileges" granted Amsterdam's merchant class in the struggle over colonization versus trade in seventeenth-century Holland; the virtually blasé manner in which the system was taken up by the obliging (and similar-minded) English after 1664; the strange (by modern standards, at least) acknowledgement of the landed aristocracy's right to rule in the eighteenth century and the translation of that acknowledgement into the new democracy's acceptance of the system even as it outlawed trappings like hereditary titles and primogeniture; and the obscure, lengthy, and at times bizarre manner of the manor system's ultimate demise in the nineteenth century each weigh heavily against modern historical interpretation, let alone a layman's comprehension. Yet Reeve Huston, while noting in passing a revival of interest in rural agricultural history in recent years, produces in *Land and Freedom: Rural Society, Popular Protest, and Party Politics in Antebellum New York* an exhaustive contribution to our understanding of the anomaly's terminal stages, "the largest and most sustained farmers' movement in American history before the 1870s."

This worthy winner of both the 1999 Dixon Ryan Fox Manuscript Prize of the New York State Historical Association and 2001 Theodore Saloutos Prize of the Agricultural History Society uses a simplified chapter structure to discourse on a remarkable range of political, social, and cultural aspects of the manor system's demise. Huston then extends that history by demonstrating the ways in which political leaders like William Seward transformed the anti-rent movement in later decades into the liberal Republican ideology of free labor and, by extension, "an endorsement of universal landownership." It almost seems that Kiliaen Van Rensselaer's ultimate apotheosis lies in the great homestead acts of the post-Civil War era. Huston makes no such claim, of course; instead, he shows how Seward, among others, used the rhetoric of the anti-rent movement to define

HRVR19_2.iind 78 12/15/03, 3:32 PM

and validate one aspect of the American historical experience, the creation of a practical democracy.

The complexity of this tale requires a structuring of the information that at first seems dissonant, but soon coheres under a common theme of movement toward freedom. In the early pages, Huston reminds us (all too frequently, it seems) of the largesse of landlords like Stephen Van Rensselaer and the deference shown his class by tenants and governments alike. Although he does not delve deeply into origins, there is enough material in the Federal period to evoke the class origins and give credence to the reality of deference that characterized the early American years. Nor, Huston shows, was the deference unwarranted. A brief appearance by Daniel Shays, the Massachusetts leader of a class-inspired debt and tax relief rebellion in the 1780s, suggests that a similar kind of radical re-imaging of land tenant rights was in the making here in New York, but the suggestion proves stillborn. Shays is dismissed in a footnote as quickly as he arrives (he lived for only a few years on a tenant farm in Rensselaerville), with Huston talking instead about a pattern of accommodation and conflict that came to typify New England settlers on post-Revolution New York's leasehold lands.

Accommodation and conflict might easily have served as the subtitle of this book, since the anti-rent movement history in the nineteenth century follows that pattern, both with the tenants and owners and the larger world as well. Huston mines the pattern to its fullest. Martin Van Buren, as much a Jeffersonian democrat as anyone in politics, had an unsuccessful "youthful foray" into the tenants' rights issue as a lawyer; years later, while serving as Andrew Jackson's secretary of state in 1828, Van Buren declined to become involved in an attempt to invalidate Van Rensselaer's title—and in fact advised against the effort. Little Van, who roomed at the same boarding house as Van Rensselaer while both were in Washington in 1824, had friends on both sides of the table whom he did not want to injure. (His advice may have been right; when tenants finally got their day before the State Assembly in 1844, a judiciary committee panel report rebutted challenges to the Rensselaer title and declared that any redress the tenants needed could come "directly from the proprietors of the manor.")

Huston's navigation through the intricate political intrigues of the 1840s is as fascinating as it is difficult to summarize. The suspense builds as the down-renters have one false hope dashed after another, until the slate is finally cleared in the constitution of 1848. Huston gives us a virtual tour of American society in this coming-of-age period—evangelicals and abolitionists and free-staters galore—and manages to do so with less recourse to anecdotage than one might think. After all, these were the days of calico and gingham, of bearded "Indians"

HRVR19_2.iind 79 12/15/03, 3:32 PM

and tin horns tooting throughout the countryside, of violence and challenges to basic authority. The colorful panoply was an essential ingredient of the first modern history of down-rentism, Henry Christman's *Tin Horns and Calico*—still the most evocative title on the subject—yet Huston, like David Maldwyn Ellis in his *Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region, 1790-1850*, sticks to the scholarly facts. Indeed, his statistical information not only fills a dozen pages in an appendix, but appears throughout in remarkable and distinct analyses of people's voting patterns and actions.

Huston focuses his statistics on the "hill country" tenants, especially Roxbury and Westerlo, instead of the Hudson Valley leaseholds, yet the book contains numerous references to Valley issues, and of course the Rensselaers were based in the Valley. The book is purposely not comprehensive; the eighteenth-century down-rent history, one of violence (and also exclusively a Hudson Valley history), is touched upon but basically ignored. One wishes that Huston had applied the same rigorous scholarship to William Prendergast and the uprisings of the colonial period. Similarly, one can discern the relationships between the down-rent movement and "the workings of Jacksonian politics," but Huston does not diverge far from his focused task for detailed background on the political maze he takes us through. Still, his method works, grandly it seems, and coherence on a very complicated subject emerges.

Vernon Benjamin

HRVR19_2.iind 80 12/15/03, 3:32 PM

We invite you to subscribe to

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

Several kinds of subscriptions are available:

- ❑ **Membership in the Hudson River Valley Institute Patriots Society includes a multiyear complimentary subscription; for more information please see the back of this form.**
- ❑ **A one-year subscription (two issues) is $20**
- ❑ **A two-year subscription (four issues) is $35**
- ❑ **A one-year institutional subscription (two issues) is $30**
- ❑ **A two-year institutional subscription (four issues) is $60**

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Email address _____

Please check the appropriate box above, fill out the information and return with your check or money order, payable to Marist College/HRVI, to:

Hudson River Valley Institute
Marist College
3399 North Rd.
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

For more information,
email hrvi@marist.edu,
visit www.hudsonrivervalley.net
or call (845) 575-3052

Back Issues

Many back issues of *The Hudson Valley Regional Review* are available at $10. postpaid—additional copies on the same order, $8. The following issues are no longer available: Vol. and No.: 6.2, 8.1, 8.2, 9.1, 11.2, 14.1, 16.1, and 17.2.

The Hudson River Valley Institute

The Hudson River Valley Institute serves scholars, historical societies, elementary and secondary school educators, the business community, environmental organizations, and the general public. While conducting its own research, the institute is also an information hub facilitating and disseminating information and research on the Hudson River Valley. To help accomplish this, the institute is taking advantage of Marist's recognized leadership in applying information technology to teaching and learning. Marist College is fully committed to having the Hudson River Valley Institute bring a new level of scholarship and public awareness to bear on the scenic, cultural, economic, and historic resources of the Valley.

Patriots Society

Help tell the story of the Hudson River Valley's rich history and culture by joining the Patriots Society and supporting the exciting work of the Hudson River Valley Institute at Marist College. Contributions ensure that the scholarly research, electronic archive, public programming, and educational initiatives of the Hudson River Valley Institute are carried on for generations to come. To inaugurate the Patriots Society and to extend the spirit of the Hudson River Valley Institute, each contributor will receive the following:

- Monthly electronic newsletter
- 1-year subscription to *The Hudson River Valley Review*
- Specially-commissioned poster by renowned Hudson Valley artist Don Nice
- Choice of Thomas Wermuth's *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors* or James Johnson's *Militiamen, Rangers and Redcoats*
- Invitation to Hudson River Valley Institute events

The Patriots Society is the Hudson River Valley Institute's first public initiative to obtain philanthropic support from individuals, businesses, and organizations committed to promoting the Hudson River Valley's unique National Heritage Area to the country and the world. Please join us today in supporting this important work.

I wish to support the Patriots Society of the Hudson River Valley Institute with the following contribution:

❑	$250	Minute Man
❑	$500	Patriot
❑	$1,000	Sybil Ludington Sponsor Includes 3-year subscription to *The Hudson River Valley Review*
❑	$2,500	Governor Clinton Patron Includes 5-year subscription to *The Hudson River Valley Review*
❑	$5,000	General Washington's Circle Includes 5-year subscription to *The Hudson River Valley Review* and a copy of Myra Armstead's *Mighty Change, Tall Within: Black Identity in the Hudson Valley*
❑	_____	Please contact me to discuss sponsoring a research opportunity, special project, or upcoming event for the Hudson River Valley Institute Range: $5,000-$25,000

❑ Enclosed is my check, made payable to Marist College/HRVI.

❑ Please charge my credit card: #_____

Expiration Date _____ Signature _____

❑ Visa ❑ Discover ❑ American Express ❑ Master Card

Phone: _____

Please fill out your contact information on the other side of this form.