John Jay

HISTORY
OF
WESTCHESTER COUNTY
NEW YORK

FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO THE YEAR 1900

BY
FREDERIC SHONNARD
AND
W. W. SPOONER

ARMS OF JONAS BRONCK

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE preparatory work for this History was begun by the editor several years ago along the lines of research and of the collection and systematizing of materials. The identification of Mr. Spooner with the enterprise dates from a later period, but in its relative importance is not to be estimated by its duration. To him the credit of the authorship of the History is undividedly due. The editor's personal share in the joint undertaking—apart from the selection of the plan of the work and the procurement and arrangement of materials—has been mostly that of supervision; or, more properly expressed, of such co-operation with Mr. Spooner as personal knowledge of the subject and zealous interest in the project have enabled him to render in the particulars specially of recommendation, contribution, and criticism. This History is therefore not a work of collaboration, except in the sense here precisely indicated. As a literary work it is the exclusive production of Mr. Spooner; and whatever satisfaction the editor may reasonably—without an excess of complacency—take to himself in view of his own association in the enterprise, rests in a peculiar manner upon his appreciation of the conscientious devotion and accomplished ability with which Mr. Spooner has brought it to its practical issue.

Although the previous histories of Westchester County, Bolton's and Scharf's, are works of great volume and information, they are works of reference strictly, and as such belong rather to the department of historical miscellany than to that of books adapted for popular reading. Bolton's History is a collection of local chronicles entirely; Scharf's is on the same plan, with a number of general articles added. Both represent historical labors of great formality and seriousness, which are entitled to respect and whose aggregate results possess enduring value for inquiring persons. But mere collections of historical facts—even if comprehending all the elemental facts of a given subject—do not afford a satisfying view of history itself. That can be done only by the adequate treatment of facts—by the orderly, discreet, and able conjoining of them in a comprehensive narration. The twenty-five town histories of Westchester County,

however exhaustively and excellently written, do not constitute a history of the county; and for a consecutive understanding of the general county history the reader of Bolton or Scharf must rely upon his own constructive ingenuity—must indeed be his own historian.

Long before the work now given to the public was conceived as a practical project, the present editor realized the force of these considerations and cherished not only a hope that a genuine narrative history of the county might some day be produced, but an ambition to become personally instrumental in achieving so important a result. His attention was especially directed to the matter by his observations during his connection with the schools, from which he became convinced of the extremely elementary character of the general knowledge of this county's history, even in relation to the Revolution, whereof, indeed, anything like a well co-ordinated understanding is most exceptional among the people, and quite incapable of being taught to the young because of the unsuitability for that purpose of all books heretofore published that bear on the subject.

In formulating the plan for the present work the editor had fundamentally in view a lucid continuous narrative, thorough in its treatment of the outlines of the subject and reasonably attentive to local details without extending to minuteness. These lines have been followed throughout. All existing materials, so far as accessible, have been utilized, proper credit being given to the sources from which borrowings have been made. The work comprehends a variety of new materials, which have been interwoven in the text. Portions of the manuscript have been revised or criticised by persons particularly well informed on certain phases of the subject; and to all of these critics the editor extends his thankful acknowledgments.

Special credit is due to Mr. James L. Wells for his editorial supervision of the entire work so far as concerns the sections of the original county now constituting the Borough of the Bronx, New York City; and thanks must also be expressed to Mr. Wells for the crest of Jonas Bronck (the first settler of Westchester County), introduced by his kind permission in the title-page. It is probably not generally known that from the Bronck crest have been derived some of the essential features of the arms of the State of New York.

"SHONNARD HOMESTEAD,"
AUGUST, 1900.

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HISTORY OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTY

HE County of Westchester, as a definitely bounded and organized political unit, was created on the 1st of November, 1683, by the provisions of an act of the first Provincial Assembly of New York, held under the administration of the Royal Governor Dongan, which formally marked off the province into the twelve original counties. By the terms of this act, Westchester County was to comprise " East and West Chester, Bronxland, Fordham, and all as far eastward as the province extends," and to run northward along the Hudson River to the Highlands, its southern limits being, of course, Long Island Sound and the waters between the mainland and Manhattan Island or New York County. Of the boundaries thus described, only the western and northern have continued unchanged to the present time. The precise location of the eastern line, constituting the boundary between New York and Connecticut, was a matter of serious contention throughout the early history of the county, and, indeed, was not established to the final satisfaction of both parties to the dispute until 1880. This long-standing and curious controversy as to the eastern boundary involved, however, nothing more than rival claims of colonial jurisdiction, arising from mathematical inaccuracies in original calculations of distance, and from peculiar conditions of early settlement along the Sound, which presented a mere problem of territorial rectification upon the basis of reciprocal concessions by the two provinces and subsequently the two commonwealths concerned; and, accordingly, while leaving a portion of the eastern border line of Westchester County somewhat indeterminable for two centuries, the issues at stake never affected the integrity of its aggregate area as allotted at the beginning. On the other hand, the southern boundary of the old county has undergone extremely radical modifications, which are still in progress. Since 1873, by various legislative acts, large sections of it have been cut away and transferred to the City of New York, comprising what until recent years were known as the " annexed districts " of the metropolis, now

officially styled the "Borough of the Bronx" of the Greater City. Although the county still retains its two most populous municipalities, Yonkers and Mount Vernon, the New York City line has been pushed right up to their borders, and there is no reasonable doubt that within a few more years they, too, will be absorbed. Already forty-one and one-half square miles, or 26,500 acres, have been annexed to the city.

In these pages the story of old Westchester County is to be told; and whenever the county as a whole is mentioned without specific indication of the present limits, the reader will understand that the original county, including those portions which have actually passed under a new political jurisdiction, is meant.

Westchester County, thus considered in its primal extent, is something more than five hundred square miles in area, and lies centrally distant some one hundred miles from Albany. From its northwestern point, Anthony's Nose, at the entrance to the Highlands of the Hudson, to its southeastern extremity, Byram Point, on the Sound, it is entirely surrounded by the waters of the Hudson River, Spuyten Duyvil Creek, the Harlem River, and Long Island Sound, forming a shore line more than one hundred miles in length—considerably more, indeed, if scrupulous allowance is made for the windings of the coast along the Sound.

PROSPECT OF THE HUDSON FROM SPUYTEN DUYVIL.

The Hudson River, completing its narrow and tortuous course through the Highlands at the northern boundary of Westchester County, runs thence to the sea in an almost due south direction. For a short distance below Anthony's Nose, however, it continues decidedly narrow, until, at the very termination of this portion of its course, a place called Verplanck's Point, its banks approach quite close together, being only one mile apart. Here was located the famous King's Ferry of the Revolution, an extremely important line of inter-

communication between the patriot forces of the East and the West; and on the opposite bank stood the fortress of Stony Point, the scene of Wayne's midnight exploit. Just below Verplanck's the river suddenly widens, forming the magnificent Haverstraw Bay. This, in

NORTHWARD VIEW TO INDIAN HEAD (OPPOSITE YONKERS).

its greatest expansion, attains a breadth of over four miles. Farther down the prominent peninsula of Croton Point juts out from the Westchester shore a distance of a mile and a half. Next the river spreads out into another noble bay, called the Tappan Sea, which extends to near Dobbs Ferry, with an average breadth of three miles. From there it flows majestically on to the ocean with no marked

variations of width, the banks having a mean distance apart of a little more than a mile.

From Anthony's Nose, the northernmost point of Westchester County on the Hudson, to the Spuyten Duyvil Creek, the southernmost, is a distance, as the crow flies, of thirty-four miles. The breadth of the county varies from twenty-five to eight and one-half miles. Throughout its entire extent along the Hudson the Westchester shore rises abruptly from the river edge to elevations seldom less than one hundred feet. Nowhere, however, does the Westchester bank ascend precipitously in the manner, or even at all resembling the manner, of the Palisade formation on the western shore. The acclivity is often quite sharp, but everywhere admits of gradual approach, for both pedestrians and carriages, to the high ridges. Thus the whole western border of the county both affords a splendid view of the entrancing panorama of the Hudson, and is perfectly accessible from the railroad, which runs along the bank of the river. Moreover, beyond the ridges in the interior the land has a uniform and gentle descent into lovely valleys, which permit convenient and rapid travel from all directions. These physical conditions render the western section of the county one of the most inviting and favored localities in the world for costly residences and grand estates; and from the earliest period of European settlement of this portion of America, the Hudson shore of Westchester County has been a chosen abode for families of wealth and distinction. But every other part of the county—at least every part conveniently reached from the railroads—is also highly esteemed for select residence purposes; and, indeed, Westchester County throughout its extent is peculiarly a residential county.

Spuyten Duyvil Creek and the Harlem River, which separate Manhattan Island from the mainland and form a portion of the southern boundary of the old County of Westchester, are in reality only an arm of the sea; and though to the superficial observer they may appear to constitute one of the mouths of the Hudson, they have no such function, and, indeed, receive none of its flow. The two are strictly to be considered not as a river, but as a strait, connecting the tide waters of the East River and Sound with those of the North River. Their length is about eight miles. The Harlem River at its eastern extremity is divided by Randall's Island into two channels—the southern and principal one communicating with Hellgate, and the northern one (unnavigable), called the Bronx Kills, passing between the island and the Westchester shore into Long Island Sound. The Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil waterway presents the remarkable phenomenon of double tides, which vary decidedly in height, time of occurrence, duration of rise and fall, and swiftness of flow. "The

tides in the Harlem River," says General John Newton, in a report to the War Department, "are chiefly due to the propagated Hellgate wave, while the latter is the result of the contact of the Sound and Sandy Hook tides. The tides in the Hudson River and Spuyten Duyvil are produced by the propagation of the sea tide through the Upper and Lower bays." The mean rise of the tide in the Harlem is from five and one-half to six feet; in the Spuyten Duyvil Creek it is three and eight-tenths feet. The mean high water level in the Hudson River at Spuyten Duyvil Creek is nearly a foot lower and an hour and forty minutes earlier than in the Harlem, and the mean duration of the rise of tide in the former is thirty-six minutes shorter than in the latter. The westerly current, from Hellgate, is swifter than the easterly, from the Hudson. The place of "divide" between the Harlem River and the Spuyten Duyvil Creek is usually located at Kingsbridge. In early times the Harlem was navigable for most of its length, but owing to artificial obstructions (notably that of Macomb's Dam), which were begun in the first part of the present century, the channel above the present Central Bridge became both shallow and contracted. The mean natural depth of Spuyten Duyvil Creek has always been comparatively slight. Owing to the importance of this waterway as a means of short transit for craft plying between the Hudson River and ports on the Sound and in New England, the United States Government has in our own time dredged a channel, which, from the Hudson to Hellgate, has a depth of from twelve to fifteen feet. This improvement, known as the Harlem Ship Canal, was opened to commerce on the 17th of June, 1895. The Harlem River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek are crossed at present by thirteen bridges.

Along the Spuyten Duyvil and Harlem River portion of its water line, as along the Sound, the (old) County of Westchester loses the comparatively lofty feature which characterizes its Hudson shore, and the land is generally low, sinking into marshy tracts in some localities near the Sound. The Westchester coast on the Sound, stretching from the mouth of the Harlem River to the mouth of the Byram River (where the Connecticut State line begins), is broken by numerous necks and points, with corresponding inlets and coves. Among the more important of the projecting points of land are Stony Point (Port Morris), Oak Point, Barreto Point, Hunt's Point, Cornell's Neck (Clason's Point), Throgg's Neck (with Fort Schuyler at its extremity), Rodman's (Pelham) Neck, Davenport's Neck, De Lancey Point, and Rye Neck. Some of these localities are famous in the history of the county, the province, and the State. The coast indentations include the outlets of the Bronx River, Westchester Creek, and the Hutchinson River; Eastchester Bay, Pelham Bay, De Lancey Cove and

Larchmont Harbor, Mamaroneck Harbor, and Byram Harbor. Much of the contraband trade of colonial times was supposed to have found cover in the unobserved retreats which the deep inlets of this coast afforded; and of some of the earlier settlements along the Sound it is supposed that they were undertaken quite as much to provide secure places of rendezvous for commerce more or less outside the pale of the law as to promote the development of the country. In close proximity to the shore are many islands, of which the more notable are

THE HARLEM RIVER IMPROVEMENTS (DYCKMAN'S MEADOWS).

those between Pelham Bay and New Rochelle, including City, Hart's, Hunter's, David's, and Glen Islands.

The New York City limits on the Hudson now reach to the northern bounds of the hamlet of Mount Saint Vincent, and on the Sound to a point about opposite, taking in also Hunter's, Hart, and City Islands. Of the more than one hundred miles of coast line originally and until 1873 possessed by Westchester County, about thirty have passed to the city—three miles on the Hudson, eight on Spuyten Duyvil Creek and the Harlem River, and the remainder on the Sound.

The eastern boundary of the county is an entirely arbitrary one,

in no respect following natural lines of division, of which, indeed, there are none of a continuous character at this portion of the eastern confines of New York State. To the reader unfamiliar with the history of the New York and Connecticut boundary dispute, this zigzag line will appear to have been traced quite without reference to any symmetrical division of territory, but for the accommodation of special objects in territorial adjustment. This is largely true, although the line, as finally drawn, was reduced as nearly to a simple construction as could be done consistently with the very difficult circumstances of the boundary dispute.

On the north the limit fixed for the county at the time of its erection was the point where the Highlands of the Hudson begin. Pursuant to this provision the line between Westchester and Putnam Counties starts on the Hudson at Anthony's Nose and follows an easterly course to the Connecticut boundary.

The surface of the county consists of several ranges of hills, with valleys stretching between, in which are numerous streams and an abundance of lakes. None of the physical features of Westchester County (if we except its lovely prospect of the Hudson) are in any wise remarkable from the viewpoint of the tourist in quest of natural wonders. On the other hand, its entire surface presents scenery of diversified beauty and interest, not the less gratifying to the contemplative eye because unchangeably modest in its pretensions.

The principal chain of hills is the one closely bordering the Hudson, already noticed. This is the southern prolongation of the Highlands. Its elevations display a constant diminishing tendency southward.

Another range, likewise extending north and south, is found near the Connecticut border. The Matteawan Mountains enter the northwestern corner of the county, and thence cross the Hudson. A high ridge, called the Stone Hill (the watershed of the county), passes from the town of Mount Pleasant on the Hudson eastward through the towns of New Castle, Bedford, Poundridge, and Salem into Connecticut. In spite of this exception, however, the general trend of the hills is north and south, a fact illustrated by the almost uniformly southerly course of the more considerable streams, and by the usually level character of the roads running north and south, as contrasted with the conspicuous unevenness of those which extend east and west. Famous in our county's history are the North Castle or Chappaqua Hills, above White Plains, into which Washington retired with the Continental army after the engagement near the latter place (October 28, 1776), and, on account of the strength of the new position thus gained, compelled General Howe, with his greatly superior force, to return to New York. The highest point in Westchester County (ac-

LOOKING NORTH FROM SHONNARD TERRACE, YONKERS.

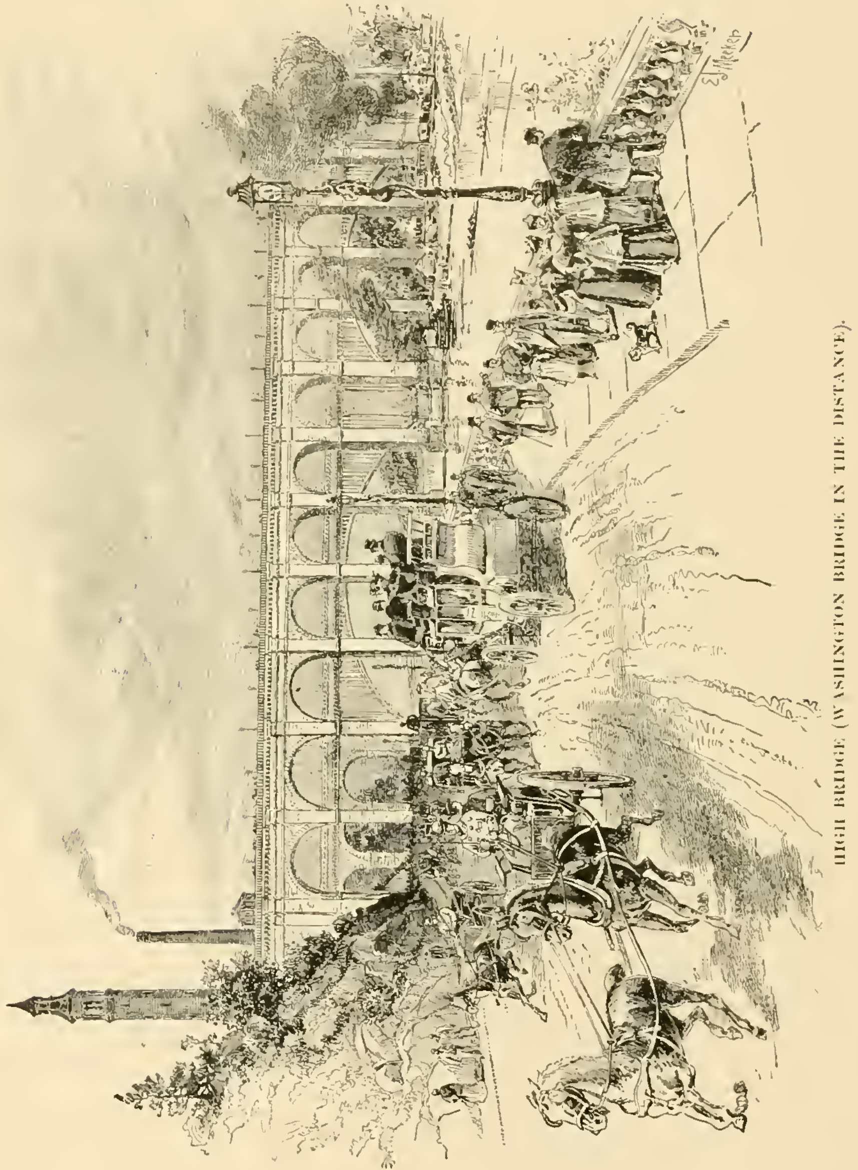
cording to the figures of the United States Coast Survey) is Anthony's Nose, 900 feet above half tide level.

Of the streams of Westchester County the names of two, the Croton and the Bronx, have become widely familiar. The former river is the chief source of the water supply of New York City; the latter—which, by the way, also furnishes water to New York—has many historic and romantic associations, dear to New Yorkers as well as Westchester people, and its name has been adopted for one of the beautiful new parks of the city, and also for one of the five grand divisions which constitute the Greater New York.

Some half dozen streams of noticeable size find their outlets in the Hudson. Peekskill Creek gathers its waters from the hills of the northwestern corner of the county, and flows into the Hudson just above the village of Peekskill. Furnace Brook is a small rivulet which empties into the river several miles farther south. Then comes the Croton, having its outlet in Croton Bay, as the northeastern portion of the Tappan Sea is called.

The Croton has its sources in Dutchess County—these sources comprising three "branches" (the East, Middle, and West), which unite in the southern part of Putnam County. In its course through Westchester County to its mouth, the Croton receives as tributaries the Muscoot, Titicus, Cross, and Kisco Rivers. The Muscoot is the outlet of the celebrated Lake Mahopac in Putnam County, and the Cross (also called the Peppenegheck) of Lake Waccabuc, one of the largest of the Westchester lakes. The Croton watershed lies almost wholly in the State of New York, although draining a small area in Connecticut. It extends about thirty-three miles north and south and eleven miles east and west, and has an area of 339 square miles above the present Croton Dam, to which about twenty square miles will be added when the great new dam, now in process of construction, is completed. This watershed embraces thirty-one lakes and ponds in Westchester and Putnam Counties, many of which have been utilized as natural storage basins in connection with the New York City water supply by cutting down their outlets and building dams across. Besides Croton Lake, there are two very large reservoirs in our county incidental to the Croton system—the Titicus Reservoir near Purdy's and the Amawalk Reservoir. The Croton Lake is by far the most extensive sheet of water in the county. It is formed by a dam about five miles east of the mouth of the Croton, and has an ordinary length of some three and one-half miles. When the new dam is finished the length of the lake will be in excess of eleven miles. From the lake two aqueducts, the "Old" and the "New," lead to the city. The former is thirty-eight and the latter thirty-three miles long, the distance in each case being measured to the receiving reservoir. It is the old aqueduct

which crosses the Harlem River over High Bridge; the new is carried underneath the stream.



HIGH BRIDGE (WASHINGTON BRIDGE IN THE DISTANCE).

South of the Croton River the next Hudson tributary of interest is the Sing Sing Kill, which finds its mouth through a romantic ravine crossed by the notable Aqueduct Bridge. Next comes the Pocantico River, entering the Hudson at Tarrytown. The last feeder of the

Hudson from Westchester County, and the last received by it before discharging its waters into the sea, is the Sawmill (or Nepperhan) River, at Yonkers. To this stream is due the credit for the creation of a very considerable portion of the manufacturing industries of the county, and consequently, also, to a great extent, that for the building up of the City of Yonkers.

Into the Spuyten Duyvil Creek empties Tibbet's Brook, a small runlet which rises in the Town of Yonkers and flows south, passing through Van Cortlandt Lake (artificial).

The most noteworthy of the streams emptying into the Sound is the Bronx River, whose outlet is between Hunt's Point and Cornell's Neck. The Bronx lies wholly within Westchester County, having its headwaters in the hills of the towns of Mount Pleasant and New Castle. It traverses and partially drains the middle section of the county. This river, with other waters which have been artificially connected with it, affords to New York City a water supply of its own, quite independent of the Croton system—a fact, perhaps, not generally understood. It is dammed at Kensico Station, making a storage reservoir of 250 acres. A similar dam has been thrown across the Byram River, and another across the outlet of Little Rye Pond. By the damming of Little Rye Pond that body of water, with Rye Pond, has been converted into a single lake, having an area of 280 acres. The three parts of this system—the Bronx, Byram, and Rye Pond reservoirs—are, as already stated, connected artificially, and the water is delivered into a receiving reservoir at Williams's Bridge through the so-called Bronx River pipe line, a conduit of forty-eight-inch cast-iron pipe. The portion of the Bronx watershed drained for this purpose has an area of thirteen and one-third square miles.

East of the mouth of the Bronx River on the Sound are the outlets of Westchester and Eastchester Creeks—tidal streams—emptying, respectively, into Westchester and Eastchester Bays. The Hutchinson River rises in Scarsdale and flows into Eastchester Bay. The Mamaroneck River has its source near White Plains and Harrison, finding its outlet in Mamaroneck Harbor. The Byram River, which enters the Sound above Portchester, and at its mouth separates our county from Connecticut, drains parts of North Castle and Rye. Blind Brook empties at Milton, after draining portions of Harrison and Rye. Most of the streams flowing into the Sound afford, by the reflux of the tide, an intermitting hydraulic power.

The Mianus River, rising in North Castle, and Stamford Mill River, rising in Poundridge, find their way to the Sound through Connecticut. Some minor streams in the northern section of the county flow into Putnam County.

The lakes of Westchester, like the hills and streams, boast no features of exceptional interest, but are strictly in keeping with the quiet beauty of the general landscape. The largest, as already mentioned, is Croton Lake, entirely artificial; and we have also seen that

SCENE ON THE BRONX RIVER.

several of the natural lakes have been utilized for purposes of water supply. Lake Waccabuc, in the Town of Lewisboro, has, since 1870, been connected with the Croton system. It covers over two hundred acres, and is very deep and pure. In the Town of Poundridge several

ponds have been artificially joined to one another, forming a handsome body of water, called Trinity Lake, a mile and a quarter long, which supplies the City of Stamford, Conn. A dam twenty feet high has been erected across its outlet. Other lakes of local importance and interest are Peach Lake, on the Putnam County border; Mohegan and Mohansic lakes, in Yorktown; Valhalla Lake (through which the Bronx River flows), between Mount Pleasant and North Castle; Rye Lake, near the Connecticut line; Byram Lake, in Bedford and North Castle, the feeder of the Byram River, and Cross Pond (100 acres) in Poundridge.

The rocks of Westchester County consist mainly of gneiss and mica-schist of many dissimilar varieties, and white crystalline limestone with thin interlying beds of serpentine, all of ancient origin and entirely devoid of fossils. Professor Ralph S. Tarr, of Cornell University, in a recent series of papers[1] on the geology of New York State, embodying the latest investigations and conclusions on the subject, assigns to the southern angle of the State, including Westchester County, the name of the "Gneissic Highland Province." This province, he says, is of complex structure, and one in which, in its main and most typical part, the rocks are very much folded and disturbed metamorphic strata of ancient date. "These rocks," he continues, "are really an extension of the highlands of New Jersey, which reach across the southern angle of New York, extend northeastward, and enter Connecticut. Besides these Archean gneisses there is some sandstone and a black diabese or trap, which form the Palisades, besides extensive layers of limestone, gneiss, and schist, which extend across the region occupied by the City of New York. This whole series of strata is intricately associated. Except at the very seashore line, the province is a moderate highland, with rather rough topography and with hills rising in some places to an elevation of 1,000 or 1,200 feet above the sea level. Where there is limestone or sandstone in this area, there is usually a lowland, while highlands occur where the hard gneiss comes to the surface not immediately at the seashore. This is extremely well illustrated in Rockland County, where the gneissic Ramapo Mountains are faced at their southeastern base by a lowland, a somewhat rolling plain, which, however, is bounded on its eastern margin by another highland where the trap of the Palisades rises close by the Hudson River."

In the opinion of Professor Tarr, this region, with the large Adirondack area, at the beginning of the Paleozoic were mountainous lands facing the sea, which stretched away to the westward, and beneath which all the rest of the site of New York State was submerged. The

[1] Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, vol. xxviii.

southwestern Highland mountains extended northward into New England, and toward the east they probably reached seaward along the present coast line. This mountain range extended southwestward along the eastern part of the seacoast States, and west of it was a great sea in the present Mississippi Valley. Whether the Adirondacks and this Highland mountain range were ever connected, and what was the actual extension of the two areas, can not be told in the present state of geological knowledge, the record of much of the early history having been hidden beneath the strata of later ages. However, in very early Paleozoic times the waves of the sea beat at the western base of the southern Highlands, and these were then at least separated from the Adirondack area, which was at that time an island in the Paleozoic sea.

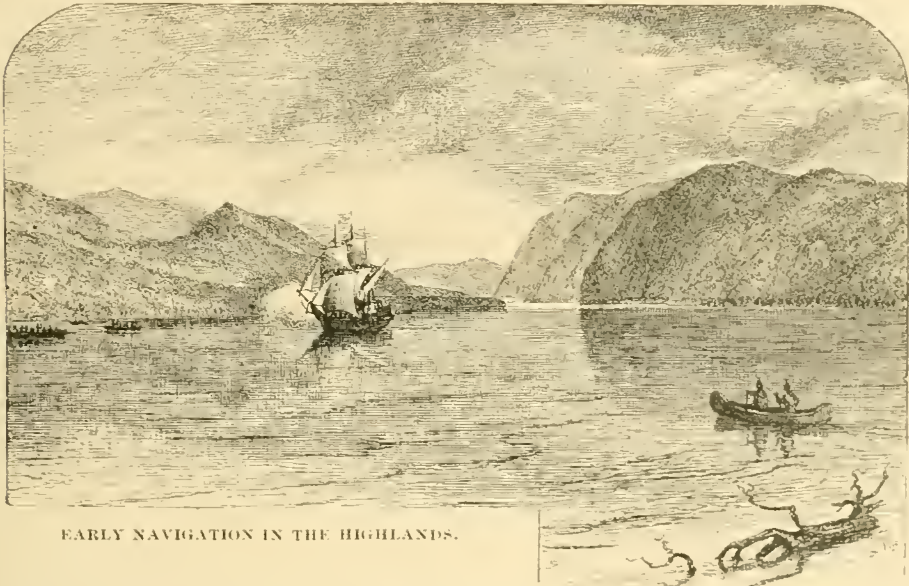
Professor James D. Dana, in an inquiry concerning the relations of the limestone belts of Westchester County, arrives at the conclusion that, with those of New York Island, they are probably of Lower Silurian age, assigning also to the same age the comformably associated metamorphic rocks. He holds to the view that Westchester County belongs to the same geologic period as the Green Mountain region, resembling in its order that portion of the latter which is now western Connecticut. Other geologists find reason for believing that the Westchester rocks are older than those of the Green Mountain area, and belong to an even earlier age than the Lower Silurian. It is pointed out that the marbles of Vermont and the marbles of Westchester County, with their associated rocks, are essentially different from one another, and can hardly, therefore, belong to a common formation; the Vermont marbles being found in a single belt and being almost pure carbonates of lime, and of mottled and banded appearance, fine grained, with gray siliceous limestones, quartzites, and slates identified with them; whereas the Westchester marbles constitute a series of parallel belts and are "coarsely crystalline dolomites (double carbonates of lime and magnesia), generally of uniform white or whitish color, and have no rocks associated with them that can represent the quartzites and argillites of Vermont."

Still another opinion regarding the origin of the rocks of the Westchester County regions is that of Prof. I. S. Newberry, who believes that they date from the Laurentian age.

The limestone beds are distributed through every geographical section of the county. At Sing Sing occur marble deposits—very heavy beds which have been extensively quarried. It was, in fact, largely for the purpose of employing convict labor for the quarrying of the marble that this place was chosen as the location for the New York

State Penitentiary. The Sing Sing marble, however, although an admirable building stone for many purposes, is of comparatively coarse and inferior quality, becoming stained in the course of time by the action of the sea air on account of the presence of grains of iron pyrites. Marble is also quarried at Tuckahoe.

Abundant indications are afforded of extensive and radical glacial action. "Croton Point, on the Hudson, and other places in the county, show evidences of glacial moraines. Deep striae and lighter scratches still remain upon many exposed rock surfaces, and others have been smoothly polished." A prominent feature is the presence in great profusion of large granite bowlders, undoubtedly transported by glaciers from Massachusetts and New Hampshire, with an inter-



EARLY NAVIGATION IN THE HIGHLANDS.

mingling of bowlders of conglomerate from the western side of the Hudson, the latter containing numerous shell fossils. The so-called "Cobbling Stone," in the Town of North Salem, is a well-known specimen of the glacial bowlders of Westchester. It is a prodigious rock of red granite, said to be the solitary one of its kind in the county.

The minerals found in the county, in greater or lesser quantities, embrace magnetic iron ore, iron and copper pyrites, green malachite, sulphuret of zinc, galena and other lead ores, native silver, serpentine, garnet, beryl, apatite, tremolite, white pyroxene, chlorite, black tourmaline, Sillimanite, monazite, Brucite, epidote, and sphene. But Westchester has never been in any sense a seat of the mining industry proper, as distinguished from the quarrying. In early times a silver

mine was operated at Sing Sing, very near where the prison now stands, and not far from the same locality an attempt was made some seventy years ago to mine for copper. Both of these mining ventures are of mere curious historical interest, representing no actual successful production of a definite character. In the ridges along the northern borders of the county considerable deposits of iron ore are found. It is stated by Mr. Charles E. Culver, in his History of Somers, that the iron ores of that town have, upon assay, "yielded as high as 61 per cent." Peat swamps, affording a fuel of good quality, exist in several parts of the county, notably the Town of Bedford.

There are various mineral springs, as well as other springs, yielding water of singularly pure quality, the latter being utilized in some cases with commercial profit. A well-known mineral spring, for whose waters medicinal virtues are claimed, is the Chappaqua Spring, three miles east of Sing Sing.

The prevailing soil of Westchester County is the product of disintegrations of the primitive rocks, and is of a light and sandy character, for the most part not uncommonly fertile naturally, although the methods of scientific farming, which have been pursued from very early times, have rendered it highly productive. It is not generally adapted to wheat, summer crops succeeding best. Drift deposits and alluvium occur along the Sound and in some localities elsewhere, with a consequently richer soil. Agriculture has always been the representative occupation, although during the last half century extensive manufacturing industries have been developed in several localities.

CHAPTER II

THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS

T was not until 1609, one hundred and seventeen years after the discovery of the New World, that European enterprise, destined to lead to definite colonization and development, was directed to that portion of the North American continent where the metropolis of the Western hemisphere and the Empire State of the American Union have since been erected. The entire North American mainland, in fact, from Florida to Hudson's Bay, although explored by voyagers of different nationalities within comparatively brief periods after the advent of Columbus, had been practically neglected throughout the sixteenth century as a field for serious purposes of civilized occupation and exploitation. The early French attempts at settlement in Canada, in the first half of that century, and the colonizing expeditions sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to the shores of North Carolina, in the second half, were dismal failures, and in the circumstances could not have resulted differently. For these undertakings were largely without reference to intelligent and progressive cultivation of such resources as the country might afford, being incidental, or, at least, secondary, to the absorbing conviction of the times that the riches of India lay somewhere beyond the American coast barrier, and would still yield themselves to bold search. Naturally, few men of substantial character and decent antecedents could be persuaded to embark as volunteers in such doubtful enterprises. The first settlers on the Saint Lawrence were a band of robbers, swindlers, murderers, and promiscuous ruffians, released from the prisons of France by the government as a heroic means of providing colonists for an expedition which could not be recruited from the people at large. The settlers sent by Sir Walter

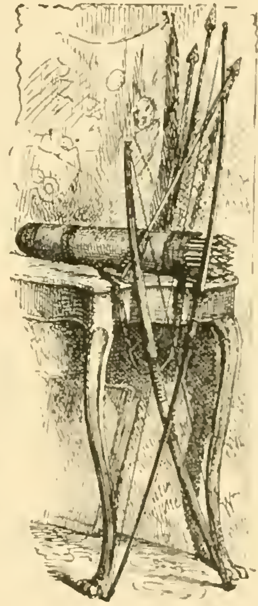
FROM AN OLD PRINT.

Raleigh under his patent from Elizabeth in 1585 for establishing colonies north of the Spanish dominions in Florida were, according to Bancroft, a body of "broken-down gentlemen and libertines, more fitted to corrupt a republic than to found one," with very few mechanics, farmers, or laborers among them—mere buccaneering adventurers, who carried fire and sword into the land and had no higher object before them than to plunder and enslave the natives. It is true that very early in the sixteenth century the fishermen of Normandy and Britanny began to seek the waters of Newfoundland for the legitimate ends of their vocation, and soon built up a gainful trade, which, steadily expanding and attracting other votaries, employed in 1583 more than four hundred European fishing craft. But this business was conducted almost exclusively for the profits of the fisheries, and although the vessels devoted to it ranged all along the New England coast, there was no consecutive occupation of the country with a view to its earnest settlement until after the dawn of the seventeenth century.

Throughout the era of original American discovery and coast exploration, the returning mariners had agreed in describing the region to the north of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea as utterly lacking in indications of accumulated riches, inhabited only by savage races who possessed no gold and silver or other valuable property, enjoyed no civilization, offered no commodities to commerce except the ordinary products of the soil and the chase, and could communicate nothing definite respecting more substantial wealth farther to the west. The ancient civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru having been subverted by the Spanish conquistadores, and their stores of precious metals largely absorbed, it was fondly hoped that the unpenetrated wilds of the north might contain new realms with similar abundant treasures. Narvaez, in 1528, and De Soto, in 1539, led finely appointed expeditions from the Florida coast into the interior in quest of the imagined eldorados—emprises which proved absolutely barren of encouraging results and from which only a few miserable survivors returned to tell the disillusionizing tale of dreadful wilderness marches, appalling sufferings, and fruitless victories over wretched tribes owning no goods worth carrying away. The impressive record of these disastrous failures, in connection with the uniformly unflattering accounts of the lands farther north, deterred all European nations from like pompous adventurings. The poverty of the native inhabitants of North America saved them from the swift fate which overtook the rich peoples of the south, and for a century preserved them even from intrusion, except of the most fugitive kind.

This fact of their complete poverty is by far the most conspicuous

aspect of the original comparative condition, in both economic and social regards, of the North American Indians, as well as of the history of their gradual expulsion and extirpation. Possessing nothing but land and the simplest concomitants of primitive existence, they did not present to the European invaders an established and measurably advanced and affluent organization of society, inviting speedy and comprehensive overthrow and the immediate substitution on a general scale of the supremacy and institutions of the subjugators. Dispersed through the primeval forests in small communities, they did not confront the stranger foe with formidable masses of population requiring to be dealt with by the summary methods of formal conquest; and skilled in but few industries and arts, which they practiced not acquisitively but only to serve the most necessary ends of daily life, and maintaining themselves in a decidedly struggling and adventitious fashion by a rude agriculture and the pursuits of hunting and fishing, their numbers in the aggregate, following well-known laws of population, were, indeed, comparatively few. Yet the same conditions made them the ruggedest, bravest, and most independent of races, and utterly unassimilable. Thus, as found by the Europeans, while because of their poverty provoking no programme of systematic conquest and dispossession, they were foredoomed to inevitable progressive dislodgement and ultimate extermination or segregation. The cultivated and numerous races of Mexico and Peru, on the other hand, exciting the cupidity of the Spaniards by their wealth, were reduced to subjection at a blow. But though ruthlessly slaughtered by the most bloody and cruel conquerors known to the criminal annals of history, these more refined people of the south had reserved for them a less melancholy destiny than that of the untutored children of the wilderness. Their survivors readily gave themselves to the processes of absorption, and their descendants to-day are coheirs, in all degrees of consanguinity, with the progeny of the despoiler.


BOWS AND ARROWS

The origin of the native races of America is, in the present state of knowledge, a problem of peculiar difficulty. Nothing is contributed toward its solution by any written records now known to exist. None of the aboriginal inhabitants of either of the Americas left any written annals. The opinion is held by some scholars, who favor the the-

ory of Asiatic origin, that when the as yet unpublished treasures of ancient Chinese literature come to be spread before the world definite light may be cast upon the subject. There is a strong probability that the civilization of the Aztecs was either of direct Mongolian derivation or partially a development from early Mongolian transplantations. This view is sustained, first, by certain superficial resemblances, and, second, by various details in old Chinese manuscripts suggestive of former intercourse with the shores of Mexico and South America. The belief that man's initial appearance on this hemisphere was as a wanderer from Asia finds plausible support in the fact of the very near approach of the American land mass to Asia at the north, the two being separated by a narrow strait, while a continuous chain of stepping-stone islands reaches from coast to coast not far below. Accepting the Darwinian theory of man's evolution from the lower orders, the idea of his indigenous growth in America seems to be precluded; for no traces have been found of the existence at any time of his proximate ancestors—the higher species of apes, from which alone he could have come, having no representatives here in the remains of bygone times.

The question of man's relative antiquity on the Western hemisphere is also a matter of pure speculation. Here again the absence of all written records prevents any assured historical reckonings backward. Ancient remains, including those of the Aztecs and their associated races, the cliff-dwellers of Arizona and the mound-builders of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, are abundant and highly interesting, but their time connections are lacking. Yet while the aspects of the purely historical progress of man in the New World are most unsatisfactory, anthropological studies proper are attended by much more favorable conditions in the Americas than in Europe. In the Old World, occupied and thickly settled for many historic ages by man in the various stages of civilized development, most of the vestiges of prehistoric man have been destroyed by the people; whereas these still have widespread existence in the New.

In the immediate section of the country to which the County of Westchester belongs such traces of the ancient inhabitants as have been found are in no manner reducible to system. There are no venerable monumental ruins, nor are there any of the curious "mounds" of the west. Various sites of villages occupied by the Indians at the time of the arrival of the Europeans are known, as also of some of their forts and burial grounds. Great heaps of oyster and clam shells here and there on the coast remain as landmarks of their abiding places. Aside from such features, which belong to ordinary historical association rather than to the department of archaeological knowledge, few noteworthy "finds" have been made. Several years ago much was

made in the New York City newspaper press of certain excavations by Mr. Alexander C. Chenoweth, at Inwood, on Manhattan Island, a short distance below Spuyten Duyvil. Mr. Chenoweth unearthed a variety of interesting objects, including Indian skeletons, hearthstones blackened by fire, implements, and utensils. There can be no doubt that these remains were from a period antedating the European discovery. But they possessed no importance beyond that fact. With all the other traces of the more ancient inhabitants which have been found in this general region, they show that hereabouts Indian conditions as known to history did not differ sharply, in the way either of improvement or of degeneration, from those which preceded the beginning of authentic records.

VASE FOUND AT INWOOD.

Verrazano, the French navigator, who sailed along the coast of North America in 1524, entering the harbor of New York and possibly ascending the river a short distance, speaks of the natives whom he met there as "not differing much" from those with whom he had held intercourse elsewhere, "being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colors." "They came forward toward us," he adds, "with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat." In similar words Henry Hudson describes the savages whom he first took on board his vessel in the lower New York Bay. They came, he says, "dressed in mantles of feathers and robes of fur, the women clothed in hemp, red copper tobacco pipes, and other things of copper did they wear about their necks." Their attitude was entirely amicable, for they brought no arms with them. On his voyage up the river to the head of navigation, Hudson was everywhere received by the Indian chiefs of both banks with friendliness, and he found the various tribes along whose borders he passed to possess the same general characteristics of appearance, customs, and disposition.

Ruttenber, the historian of the Hudson River Indians, in his general classification of the different tribes distributed along the banks, summarizes the situation as follows: At the time of discovery the entire eastern bank, from an indefinable point north of Albany to the sea, including Long Island, was held, under numerous sub-tribal divisions, by the Mohicans (also written Mahicans and Mohegans). The dominion of the Mohicans extended eastward to the Connecticut, where they were joined by kindred tribes, and on the west bank ran as far down as Catskill, reaching westward to Schenectady. Adjoining them on the west was the territory of the Mohawks, and on the south their neighbors were chieftaincies of the Minsis, a totemic tribe of the

Lenni Lenapes. The latter exercised control thence to the sea and westward to the Delaware River. Under the early Dutch government, continues Ruttenber, the Mohicans sold a considerable portion of their land on the west side to Van Rensselaer, and admitted the Mohawks to territorial sovereignty north of the Mohawk River. The Mohawks were one of the five tribes of the great Iroquois confederacy, whose other members were the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Thus as early as 1630 there were three principal divisions or nations of Indians represented on the Hudson: the Iroquois, Mohicans, and Lenni Lenapes (or Delawares).

This is Ruttenber's classification. On the other hand, it has been considered by some writers on the Indians that the Mohicans were really only a subdivision of the Lenni Lenapes, whose dominions, according to Heckewelder, extended from the mouth of the Potomac northeastwardly to the shores of Massachusetts Bay and the mountains of New Hampshire and Vermont, and westwardly to the Alleghenies and Catskills. But whether the Mohicans are to be regarded

TOTEMS OF NEW YORK TRIBES.

as a separate grand division or as a minor body, the geographical limits of the territory over which they were spread are well defined.

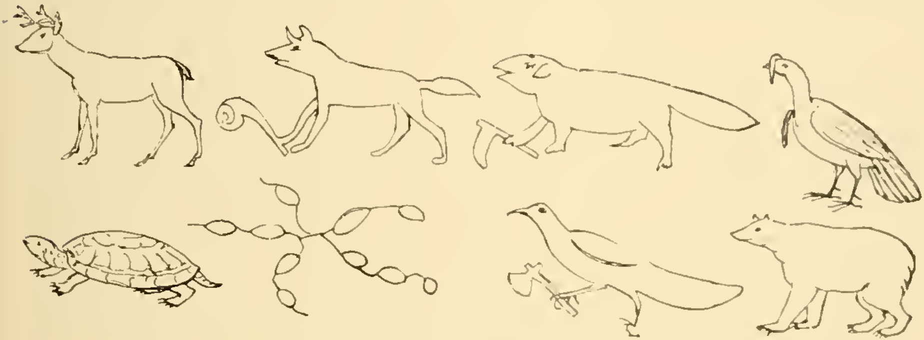
They were called by the Dutch Maikans, and by the French missionaries the "nine nations of Mahingans, gathered between Manhattan and the environs of Quebec." The tradition which they gave of their origin has been stated as follows:

> The country formerly owned by the Muhheakunnuk (Mohican) nation was situated partly in Massachusetts and partly in the States of Vermont and New York. The inhabitants dwelt chiefly in little towns and villages. Their chief seat was on the Hudson River, now it is called Albany, which was called Pempotowwuthut-Muhheeanneuw, or the fireplace of the Muhheakunnuk nation, where their allies used to come on any business, whether relating to the covenant of their friendship or other matters. The etymology of the word Muhheakunnuk, according to its original signification, is great waters or sea, which are constantly in motion, either ebbing or flowing. Our forefathers assert that they were emigrants from another country; that they passed over great waters, where this and the other country was nearly connected, called Uklıokpeek; it signifies snake water or water where snakes are abundant; and that they lived by the side of a great water or sea, whence they derived the name of the Muhheakunnuk nation. Muhheakanneuw signifies a man of the Mahheakunnuk tribe. Muhheakunneyuk is a plural number. As they were coming from the west they found many great waters, but none of a flow and ebb like Muhheakannuk until they came to Hudson's River. Then they said to one another, this is like Muhheakannuk, our nativity. And

when they found grain was very plenty in that country, they agreed to kindle a fire there and hang a kettle whereof they and their children after them might dip out their daily refreshment.[1]

The name given by the Mohicans and the Lenapes to the Hudson River was the Mohicanituk, or River of the Mohicans, signifying "the constantly flowing waters." By the Iroquois it was called the Cohatatea.

The Mohicans belonged to the great Algonquin race stock, which may be said to have embraced all the Indian nations from the Atlantic



TOTEMIC SIGNATURES.

to the Mississippi. Its different branches had a general similarity of language, and while the separate modifications were numerous and extreme, all the Indians within these bounds understood one another.

The Mohican power is regarded by Ruttenber as hardly less formidable than that of the Iroquois, and he points out that notwithstanding the boasted supremacy of the Iroquois in war there is no historical evidence that the Mohicans were ever brought under subjection to them or despoiled of any portion of their territory. Yet it is unquestionable that the Iroquois exacted and received tribute from the Long Island Indians; and this could hardly have happened without previously obtaining dominion over the Mohicans. On the other hand, it is certain that the Mohicans never tamely submitted to the northern conquerors. "When the Dutch first met the Mohicans," says Ruttenber, "they were in conflict with the Mohawks (an Iroquois nation), and that conflict was maintained for nearly three-quarters of a cen-

[1] Massachusetts Hist. Soc. Coll., ix., 101.

The editor submitted the above to Mr. William Wallace Tooker for his critical opinion. The following is Mr. Tooker's reply:

"This etymology of Muhheakunnuk, or Muhheeanneaw, is decidedly wrong. Trumbull gives the true derivation in his 'Names in Connecticut,' p. 31, viz.: 'The Mohegans, or Muhhekanneuks, took their tribe name from the Algonkin mahingan, "a wolf."' The maps and records prove this conclusively."

tury, and until the English, who were in alliance with both, were able to effect a permanent settlement."

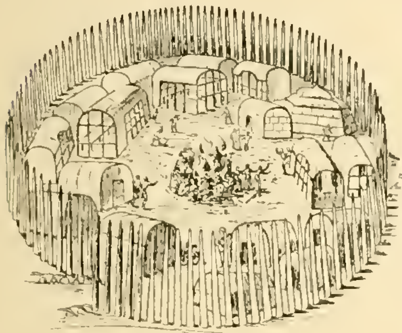
Although the Mohican name was generic for all the tribes on the eastern side of the Hudson, it never occurs, at least in the southern part of New York State, in the numerous local land deeds and other documentary agreements drawn by the settlers with the Indians. The tribal or chieftaincy name prevailing in the district in question is uniformly employed. This finds a good illustration in the affidavit of King Nimham, executed October 13, 1730, in which the deponent says that he is "a River Indian of the Tribe of the Wappinoes (Wappingers), which tribe was the ancient inhabitants of the east shores of Hudson's River, from the City of New York to about the middle of Beekman's patent (in the northern part of the present County of Dutchess); that another tribe of river Indians called the Mayhiccondas (Mohicans) were the ancient inhabitants of the remaining east shore of said river; that these two tribes constitute one nation." There was, however, an intimate understanding among all the associated tribes and minor divisions of the Mohicans, which in emergencies was given very practical manifestation. The Dutch, in their early wars against the Indians of Westchester County, were perplexed to find that the Highland tribes, with whom, as they supposed, they were upon terms of amity, were rendering assistance to their enemies.

The Mohicans of the Hudson should not be confused with the Mohegans under Uncas, the Pequot chief, whose territory, called Moheganick, lay in eastern Connecticut. The latter was a strictly local New England tribe, and though probably of the same original stock as the Hudson River Mohican nation, was never identified with it.

The entire country south of the Highlands, that is, Westchester County and Manhattan Island, was occupied by chieftaincies of the Wappinger division of the Mohicans. The Wappingers also held dominion over a large section of the Highlands, through their subtribes, the Nochpeems. At the east their lands extended beyond the Connecticut line, being met by those of the Sequins. The latter, having jurisdiction thence to the Connecticut River, were, it is believed, an enlarged family of Wappingers, "perhaps the original head of the tribe, from whence its conquests were pushed over the southern part of the peninsula." The north and south extent of the territory of the Sequins is said to have been some sixty miles. They first sold their lands, June 8, 1633, to the Dutch West India Company, and upon them was erected the Dutch trading post of "Good Hope:" but ten years later they executed a deed to the English, embracing "the whole country to the Mohawk country." On Long Island were the Canarsies, Rockaways, Merricks, Massapeags, Matinecocks, Corchaegs, Man-

hansetts, Secatogues, Unkechaugs, Shinnecocks, and Montauks. The principal tribes on the other side of New York Bay and the west bank of the Hudson (all belonging to the Lenape or Delaware nation) were the Navesinks, Raritans, Hackinsacks, Aquackanonks, Tappans, and Haverstraws.

The Wappinger sub-tribes or chieftaincies of Westchester County, thanks chiefly to the careful researches of Bolton, are capable of tolerably exact geographical location and of detailed individual description. Bolton is followed in the main by Ruttenber, who, giving due credit to the former while adding the results of his own investigations, is the final authority on the whole subject at the present time. No apologies need be made for transferring to these pages, even quite literally, Ruttenber's classification of the Indians of the county, with the incidental descriptive particulars.



PALISADED VILLAGE.

1. The Reckgawawanes, better known by the generic name of Manhattans and so designated by Brodhead and other New York historians. Bolton gives to this chieftaincy the name of Nappeckamaks, a title which, however, does not appear in the records except as the name of their principal village on the site of Yonkers. This village of Nappeckamak (a name signifying the "rapid water settlement"[1]) was, says Bolton, situated at the mouth of the Nepperhan or Sawmill River. The castle or fort of the Manhattans or Reckgawawanes was on the northern shore of Spuyten Duyvil Creek, and was called Nipinichsen. It was carefully protected by a strong stockade and commanded the romantic scenery of the Papirinemen or Spuyten Duyvil and the Mohicanituk, the junction of which two streams was called Shorackappock. It was opposite this castle that the fight occurred between Hudson and the Indians as he was returning down the river. They held Manhattan Island and had thereon three villages, which, however, it is claimed, were occupied only while they were on hunting and fishing excursions. In Breeden Raedt their name is given as the Reckewackes, and it is said that in the treaty of 1643 Oritany, sachem of the Hackinsacks, declared he was delegated by and for those of Tappaen, Reckgawawanc, Kicktawanc, and Sintsinc. The tract occupied by the Reckgawawanes on the mainland was called Keekesick, and is described as "lying over against the flats of the Island of Manhates." In its northern extent it included the site of the present City of Yonkers, and on the east it reached to the Bronx River. Their chiefs were Reckgawawac, for whom they appear to have been called, Fecquesmeck and Peckauniens. Their first sachem known to the Dutch was Tackerew (1639). In 1682 the names of Goharis, Teattanqueer and Wearaquaeghier appear as the grantors of lands to Frederick Philipse.

2. The Weckquaesgeeks. This chieftaincy is known to have had, as early as 1611, three intrenched castles, one of which remained as late as 1663, and was then garrisoned by eighty warriors. Their principal village was where Dobbs Ferry now stands. It is said that the outlines of it can still be traced by numerous shell beds. It was called Weckquaesgeek, and its location was at the mouth of Wicker's Creek (called by the Indians the Wysquaqua or Weghqueghe). Another of their villages was Alipconck, the "place of the elms," now Tarrytown. Their territory appears to have extended from Norwalk on the Sound to the Hudson, and embraced considerable portions of the towns of Mount Pleasant, Greenburgh,

[1] Note by William Wallace Tooker: This is an incorrect derivation. The name really signifies "Trap fishing place."

White Plains, and Rye, being ultimately very largely included in the Manor of Philipsborough. Their sachem in 1649 was Pounpahowhelbshelen; in 1660 Ackhongh; in 1663 Souwenaro; in 1680 Weskora or Weskomen, and Goharius, his brother; in 1681 Wessickenaiaw, and Conarhanded, his brother. These chiefs are largely represented in the list of grantors of lands to the whites.

3. The Sint-Sines. These Indians were not very numerous. Their most important village was Ossing-Sing, the present Sing Sing. They had another village, called Kestaubuinck, between the Sing Sing Creek and the Kitchawonck or Croton River. Their lands are described in the deed of sale to Philipse, August 24, 1685, and were included in his manor

4. The Kitchawangs or Kicktawanes. Their territory apparently extended from the Croton River north to Anthony's Nose. Ketchtawonck was their leading village, at the mouth of the Croton (Kitchtawonck) River. They occupied another, Sackhoes, on the site of Peekskill. Their castle or fort, which stood at the mouth of the Croton, is represented as one of the most formidable and ancient of Indian fortresses south of the Highlands. Its precise location was at the entrance or neck of Teller's Point (called Senasqua), and west of the cemetery of the Van Cortlandt family. The traditional sachem was Croton. There was apparently a division of chieftaincies at one time, Kitchawong figuring as sachem of the village and castle on the Croton and Sachus of the village of Sackhoes or Peekskill. The lands of the chieftaincy were principally included in the Manor of Cortlandt, and from them the towns of Cortlandt, Yorktown, Somers, North Salem, and Lewisboro have been erected.

5. The Tankitekes. They occupied the country now comprising the towns of Poundridge, Bedford, and New Castle, in Westchester County, and those of Darien, Stamford, and New Canaan in Connecticut, all purchased by Nathaniel Turner in 1640 on behalf of the people of New Haven, and described in the deeds as tracts called Toquams and Shipham. Ponus was sachem of the former and Wasenssne of the latter. Ponus reserved portions of Toquams for the use of himself and his associates, but with this exception the entire possessions of the Tankitekes appear to have passed under a deed to the whites without metes or bounds. The chieftaincy occupies a prominent place in Dutch history through the action of Pacham, "a crafty man," who not only performed discreditable services for Director Kieft, but also was very largely instrumental in bringing on the war of 1645. O'Callaghan locates the Tankitekes on the eastern side of Tappan Bay, and Bolton in the eastern portion of Westchester County, from deeds to their lands. They had villages beside Wampus Lake in the town of North Castle, near Pleasantville, in the town of Mount Pleasant, and near the present villages of Bedford and Katonah.

MORTAR AND PESTLE.

6. The Siwanoys, also known as "one of the tribes of the seacoast." This was one of the largest of the Wappinger subdivisions. They occupied the northern shore of the Sound from Norwalk twenty-four miles to the neighborhood of Hellgate. How far inland their territory extended is uncertain, but their deeds of sale covered the manor lands of Morrisania, Searsdale, and Pelham, from which New Rochelle, Eastchester, Westchester, New Castle, Mamaro-

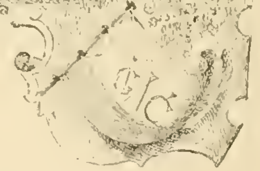
neck, and Scarsdale, and portions of White Plains and West Farms have been carved. They possessed, besides, portions of the towns of Rye and Harrison, and of Stamford (Conn.), and there are grounds for supposing that the tract known as Toquams, assigned to the Tankitekes, was part of their dominions. They had a very large village on the banks of Rye Pond in the town of Rye, and in the southern angle of that town, on the beautiful hill now known as Mount Misery, stood one of their castles. Another of their villages was on Davenport's Neck. Near the entrance to Pelham Neck was one of their burying grounds. Two large mounds are pointed out as the sepulchers of their chiefs, Ann-Hoock and Ninham. In the town of Westchester they had a castle on what is still called Castle Hill Neck, and a village near Bear Swamp, of which latter they remained in possession until 1689. One of their Sachems whose name has been permanently preserved in Westchester County was Katonah (1680). Their chief Ann-Hoock, alias Wampage, was probably the murderer of Ann Hutchinson. One of their warriors was Mayane (1644), "a fierce Indian, who, alone, dared to attack, with bow and arrow, three Christians armed with guns, one of whom he shot dead, and whilst engaged with the other was killed by the third and his head conveyed to Fort Amsterdam."

In their intercourse with the whites from the beginning the Indians displayed a bold independence and perfect indifference to the evidences of superior and mysterious power and wisdom which every aspect of their strange visitors disclosed. Though greatly astonished at the advent of the "Half Moon," and perplexed by the white skin, remarkable dress, and terrible weapons of its crew, they discovered no fear, and at the first offer of physical violence or duress were prompt and intrepid in resentment. On his way up the river, at a point probably below Spuyten Duyvil, Hudson attempted to detain two of the natives, but they jumped overboard, and, swimming to shore, called back to him "in scorn." For this unfriendly demonstration he was attacked on his return trip, a month later, off Spuyten Duyvil. "Whereupon," he says in his journal, "two canoes full of men, with their bows and arrows, shot at us after our sterne, in recompense whereof we discharged six muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then above a hundred of them came to a point of land to shoot at us. There I shot a falcon at them and killed two of them; whereupon the rest fled into the woods. Yet they manned off another canoe with nine or ten men, who came to meet us. So I shot a falcon and shot it through, and killed one of them. So they went their way." Thus in utter contempt of the white man's formidable vessel and deadly gun they dared assail him at the first opportunity in revenge for his offense against their rights, returning to the attack a second and third time despite the havoc they had suffered.

The entire conduct of the Indians in their subsequent relations with the Europeans who settled in the land and gradually absorbed it was in strict keeping with the grim and fearless attitude shown upon this first occasion. To manifestations of force they opposed all the resistance they could summon, and with the fiercest determination and most relentless severity administered such reprisals, both general and individual, as they were able to inflict. Their characteristics in these

respects, and their disposition of complete unteachableness as to moderation and Christian precept, are described in quaint terms in a letter written in 1628 by Domine Jonas Michaelius, the first pastor in New Amsterdam. "As to the natives of this country," writes the good domine, "I find them entirely savage and wild, strangers to all decency; yea, uncivil and stupid as posts, proficient in all wickedness and godlessness; devilish men, who serve nobody but the devil, that

THE PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND.



is, the spirit which, in their language, they call Manetto, under which title they comprehend everything that is subtle and crafty and beyond human power. They have so much witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and wicked tricks that they can not be held in by any locks or bounds. They are as thievish and treacherous as they are tall, and in cruelty they are more inhuman than the people of Barbary and far exceed the Africans. I have written something concerning these things to several persons elsewhere, not doubting that Brother Crol will have written sufficient to your Right Reverend, or to the Lords; as also of

the base treachery and the murders which the Mohicans, at the upper part of this river, against Fort Orange, had committed. . . . I have as yet been able to discover hardly a good point, except that they do not speak so jeeringly and so scoffingly of the Godlike and glorious majesty of their Creator as the Africans dare to do; but it is because they have no certain knowledge of Him or scarcely any. If we speak to them of God it appears to them like a dream, and we are compelled to speak of Him not under the name of Manetto, whom they know and serve—for that would be blasphemous—but under that of some great person, yea of the chiefs Sackiema, by which name they—living without a king—call those who have command of many hundreds among them, and who, by our people, are called Sackemakers." In striking contrast with this stern but undoubtedly just view of the Indian, as a social individual, is the lofty and magnanimous tribute paid to his character in its broader aspect by Cadwallader Colden after more than a century of European occupation of the country and intercourse with him. In his "History of the Five Indian Nations," published in 1727, Colden says: "A poor, barbarous people, under the darkest ignorance, and yet a bright and noble genius shines through these dark clouds. None of the great Roman heroes have discovered as great love of country, or a greater contempt of death, than these barbarians have done when life and liberty came in competition. Indeed, I think our Indians have outdone the Romans. . . . They are the fiercest and most formidable people in North America, and at the same time as politic and judicious as can well be conceived."

Although exterminating wars were waged between the Dutch and the Westchester Indians, in which both sides were perfectly rapacious, it was the general policy of the Dutch to deal with the natives amicably and to attain their great object, the acquirement of the land, by the forms of purchase, with such incidental concessions of the substance as might be required by circumstances. The goods given in exchange for the lands comprised a variety of useful articles, such as tools, hatchets, kettles, cloth, firearms, and ammunition, with trinkets for ornament and the always indispensable rum. The simplicity of the natives in their dealings with the whites is the subject of many entertaining narratives. "The man with the red clothes now distributed presents of beads, axes, hoes, stockings, and other articles, and made them understand that he would return home and come again to see them, bring them more presents, and stay with them awhile, but should want a little land to sow some seeds, in order to raise herbs to put in their broth. . . . They rejoiced much at seeing each other again, but the whites laughed at them, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes, hoes, and the like they had given them, they having

had those hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings they had made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles or helves in the former, and cut trees down before their eyes, and dug the ground, and showed them the use of the stockings. Here a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained for so long a time ignorant of the use of so valuable implements, and had borne with the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time. . . . Familiarity daily increasing between them and the whites, the latter now proposed to stay with them, asking for only so much land as the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was brought forward and spread on the ground before them. That they readily granted this request; whereupon the whites took a knife and beginning at one place on this hide cut it up into a rope not thicker than the finger of a little child, so that by the time the hide was cut up there was a great heap; that this rope was drawn out to a great distance and then brought round again, so that the ends might meet; that they carefully avoided its breaking, and that upon the whole it encompassed a large piece of land; that they were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had enough; that they and the whites lived for a long time contentedly together, although the whites asked from time to time more land of them, and proceeding higher up the Mohicanituk they believed they would soon want the whole country."

The first purchase of Indian lands in what is now New York State was that of Manhattan Island, which was announced in a letter dated November 5, 1626, from P. Schaghen, the member of the States-General of Holland attending the "Assembly of the XIX." of the West India Company, to his colleagues in The Hague. This letter conveyed the information that a ship had arrived the day before bringing news from the new settlement, and that "They have bought the island Manhattes from the wild men for the value of sixty guilders"—$24 of our money. The acquisition of title to the site of what has become the second commercial entrepot of the world for so ridiculous a sum—which, moreover, was paid not in money but in goods—is a familiar theme for moralizing and didactic writers. Yet there can be no question that the value given the savages reasonably corresponded to honorable standards of equivalent recompense. The particular land with which they parted had to them no more worth than an equal area of the water of the river or the bay, except in the elementary regard that it was land, where man can abide, and not water, where he can not abide; while to the Dutch the sole worth lay in the chance of its ultimate development. On the other hand, the value received by the

...ate 5.

...cep. 7 november 1626

Hooghe Moghende Heeren

Hier is gisteren t'schip t'wapen van Amsterdam aengecomen ende is den 23 septemb. uyt Nieu Nederlant gezeylt uyt de Riviere Mauritius. rapporteren dat ons volck daer kloeck is en vredich leven. haere vrouwen hebben oock kinderen aldaer gebaert hebben t'eylant Manhattes van de wilden gekocht, voor de waerde van 60 guld. is groot 11000 morgen hebben alle koren half mey gezeyt, ende half augusto gemaeyt. daer van zynde monsterkens van zomer koren, als tarwe, rogge, garst, haver boeckweyt. knariezaet, boontjens en vlas.

Het Cargasoen van tvoorsz schip is

7246 bevers vellen
178½ otters vellen
675. otter vellen
48. mincke vellen
36. catlossen vellen
33 mincken
34 ratte vellekens.

Veel eycken balcken, en note-hout.

Hiermede

Hooge Moghende Heeren, zyt den Almogende in genade bevolen.

In Amsterdam den 5en novem ao 1626

Uwe Hoo: Moo: Dienstwillighe

P. Schaghen

FACSIMILE OF SCHAGEN'S LETTER.

settlers was an eminently substantial one, consisting of possessions having a practical economic utility beyond anything known to their previous existence. "A metal kettle, a spear, a knife, a hatchet, transformed the whole life of a savage. A blanket was to him a whole wardrobe." Moreover, the moral phases of such a bargain can not fairly be scrutinized by any fixed conception of the relative values involved. It was purely a bargain of friendly exchange for mutual convenience and welfare. The Indians did not understand, and could not have been expected to understand, that it meant a formal and everlasting alienation of their lands; on the other hand, they deemed that they were covenanting merely to admit the whites peaceably to rights of joint occupancy. The amount of consideration paid by the latter has no relevancy to the merits of the transaction, which was honorable to both parties, resting, so far as the Dutch were concerned, upon the principle of purchase and recompense instead of seizure and spoliation, and, on the part of the Indians, upon the basis of amicable instead of hostile disposition.

The principle of reciprocal exchange established in the purchase of Manhattan Island was adhered to in all the progressive advances made by the whites northward. Westchester County was never a squatter's paradise. Its lands were not grabbed by inrushing adventurers upon the Oklahoma plan. De facto occupancy did not constitute a sufficient title to ownership on the part of the white settlers. Landed proprietorship was uniformly founded upon deeds of purchase from the original Indian owners. The rivalries between the Dutch and English, culminating in the overthrow of the former by conquest, were largely occasioned by antagonistic claims to identical strips of land—claims supported on both sides by Indian deeds of sale.

But the right to buy land from the Indians was not a necessary natural right inhering in any white settler. The government, upon the well-known principle of the supreme right of discovery, assumed a fundamental authority in the disposal of lands, and hence arose the numerous land grants and land patents to specified persons, which were based, however, under both Dutch and English law, upon previous extinguishment of the Indian title by deeds of sale. It is well here to more clearly understand the principles underlying this governmental assumption. They have been thus stated:

Upon the discovery of this continent the great nations of Europe, eager to appropriate as much of it as possible, and conceiving that the character and religion of its inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them as a people over whom the superior genius of Europe might claim an ascendancy, adopted, as by common consent, this principle:

That discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects, or under whose authority, it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession. Hence if the country be discovered and possessed by emigrants of an existing

and acknowledged government, the possession is deemed taken for the nation, and title must be derived from the sovereign in whom the power to dispose of vacant territory is vested by law.

Resulting from this principle was that of the sole right of the discoverer to acquire the soil from the natives and establish settlements, either by purchase or by conquest. Hence also the exclusive right can not exist in government and at the same time in private individuals; and hence also

The natives were recognized as rightful occupants, but their power to dispose of the soil at their own will to whomsoever they pleased was denied by the original fundamental principle that discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it.

The ultimate dominion was asserted, and, as a consequence, a power to grant the soil while yet in the possession of the natives. Hence such dominion was incompatible with an absolute and complete title in the Indians. Consequently they had no right to sell to any other than the government of the first discoverer, nor to private citizens without the sanction of that government. Hence the Indians were to be considered mere occupants to be protected indeed while in peaceable possession of their lands, but with an incapacity of transferring the absolute title to others.[1]

In many of the old Indian title deeds various conditional clauses appear, the savages reserving to themselves certain special rights. For example, it was at times specified that they should retain the whitewood trees, from which they constructed their "dugout" canoes. They always remained on the lands after sale, continuing their former habits of life until forced by the steady extension of white settlement to fall back farther into the wilderness. Having no conception of the principles of civilized law, and no idea of the binding effect of contracts, they seldom realized that the mere act of signing over their lands to the whites was a necessarily permanent release of them. They were incapable of comprehending any other idea of ownership than actual physical possession, and in cases where lands were not occupied promptly after sale they assumed that no change had transpired, and thus frequently the same territory would be formally sold two or three times over. Besides, they considered that it was their natural right at all times to forcibly seize lands that had been sold, expel the settlers, and then resell them. The boundaries of sub-tribal jurisdiction were necessarily indefinite, and consequently deeds of sale by the Indians of one locality would frequently cover portions of lands conveyed by those of another, which led to much confusion.

The military power of the Indians of Westchester County was destroyed forever as a result of the war of 1643-45 with the Dutch. But it was not until after the close of the seventeenth century that the last vestiges of their legal ownership of lands in the county disappeared. In succeeding chapters of this History their relation to the progress of events and to the gradual development of the county during the period of their organized continuance in it will receive due notice, and it is not necessary in the present connection to anticipate that portion of

[1] Moulton's Hist. of New York, 301.

our narrative. What is known of their ultimate fate as a people may, however, appropriately be related here.

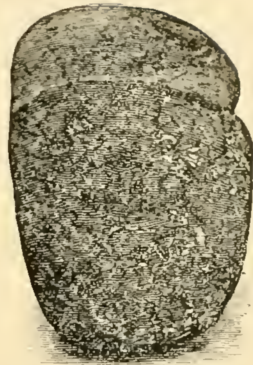
During the Dutch wars many hundreds of them were slain and some of their principal villages were given to the flames. It is estimated that in a single Indian community (near the present village of Bedford), which was surrounded, attacked, and burned at midnight, more than five hundred of them perished before the merciless onslaught of the whites. After the peace of 1645 their remaining villages, being absorbed one by one in the extensive land purchases and grants, were by degrees abandoned. The continuance of the Indian on the soil was entirely incompatible with its occupancy by the white man. The country, by being converted to the uses of agriculture, became unadapted to the pursuits of the natives, as it was quickly deserted by the game. The wild animals fled to the forest solitudes, and the wild men followed them, until only small groups, and finally isolated families and individuals, remained. The locality called Indian Hill, in the Town of Yorktown, is still pointed out as the spot where the last lingering band of Indians in Westchester County had its abiding place.

The historian of the Town of Rye, the late Rev. Charles W. Baird, gives the following particulars (typical for the whole county) of the gradual fading away of the Indians of that locality:

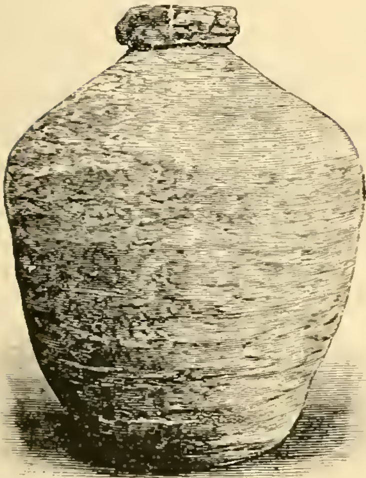
> The fullest account of the condition of the Indians of Rye is that of Rev. Mr. Muirson. . . . "As to the Indians, the natives of the country," he says, in a letter to the Gospel Propagation Society in January, 1708, "they are a decaying people. We have now in all this parish twenty families, whereas not many years ago there were several hundred. . . . I have taken some pains to teach some of them, but to no purpose, for they seem regardless of instruction." Long after the settlement of the town there were Indians living within its bounds, some of them quite near the village, but the greater number back in the wilderness that still overspread the northern part of Rye. This was the case in most of the Connecticut towns, the law obliging the inhabitants to reserve to the natives a sufficient quantity of planting ground, and protecting the latter from insult, fraud, and violence. The twenty families of whom Mr. Muirson speaks were reduced by the year 1720 to four or five families of Indians, writes Mr. Bridges, "that often abide in this parish, but are frequently removing, almost every month or six weeks." After this date we hear little more of Indians at Rye, except as slaves. Tradition states that in old times a band of Indians used to visit Rye once a year, resorting to the beach, where they had a frolic which lasted several days. Another place which they frequented as late, certainly, as the middle of the last century, was a spot on Grace Church Street, at the corner of the road now called Kirby Avenue. Here a troop of Indians would come every year and spend the night in a "pow-wow," during which their cries and yells would keep the whole neighborhood awake.

Removing, for the most part, northward, the remnants of the Westchester Indians became merged in the kindred tribes of the Mohican nation, which stretched to the limits of the Mohawk country above Albany, and followed their destinies. The Mohicans, though vastly reduced in numbers and territorial possessions, still retained an organized existence and some degree of substantial power until after the Revolution. Having constantly sustained friendly relations with

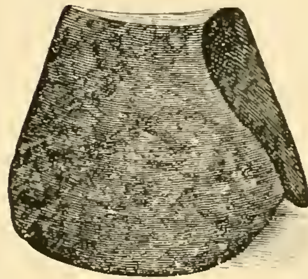
POLISHED FLESHER.



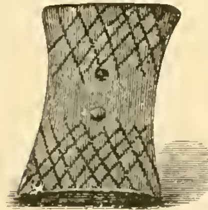
HORNBLENDE AXE.



HAND-MADE VESSEL.



SEMI-LUNAR KNIFE.



A GORGET.

ORNAMENTAL POTTERY FOUND IN INDIAN GRAVE.

CEREMONIAL STONE OF GREEN SLATE.

INDIAN SPECIMENS FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. JAMES WOOD.

the settlers, it was naturally with the colonists that their sympathies were enlisted when the struggle with Great Britain began. As early as April, 1774, a message was dispatched by the provincial congress of Massachusetts to the Mohicans and Wappingers at their principal village, Westenhuch, on the western side of the Hudson just below Cohoes Falls, with a letter requesting their coöperation in the impending conflict. The letter was addressed "To Captain Solomon Ahkannu-auwaumut, chief sachem of the Moheackonuck Indians." Captain Solomon thereupon journeyed to Boston, where, in reply to the communication from the congress, he delivered the following impressive address:

Brothers: We have heard you speak by your letter; we thank you for it; we now make answer.

Brothers: You remember when you first came over the great waters, I was great and you were very little, very small. I then took you in for a friend, and kept you under my arms, so that no one might injure you; since that time we have ever been true friends; there has never been any quarrel between us. But now our conditions are changed. You have become great and tall. You reach the clouds. You are seen all around the world, and I am become small, very little. I am not so high as your heel. Now you take care of me, and I look to you for protection.

Brothers: I am sorry to hear of this great quarrel between you and old England. It appears that blood must soon be shed to end this quarrel. We never till this day understood the foundation of this quarrel between you and the country you came from.

Brothers: Whenever I see your blood running, you will soon find me about to revenge my brothers' blood. Although I am low and very small, I will gripe hold of your enemy's heel, that he cannot run so fast and so light as if he had nothing at his heels.

Brothers: You know that I am not so wise as you are, therefore I ask your advice in what I am now going to say. I have been thinking, before you come to action, to take a run to the westward, and feel the mind of my Indian brethren, the Six Nations, and know how they stand; whether they are on your side or for your enemies. If I find they are against you, I will try to turn their minds. I think they will listen to me, for they have always looked this way for advice concerning all important news that comes from the rising of the sun. If they hearken to me you will not be afraid of any danger behind you. However their minds are affected you shall soon know by me. Now I think I can do you more service in this way than by marching off immediately to Boston and staying there; it may be a great while before blood runs. Now, as I said, you are wiser than I; I leave this for your consideration, whether I come down immediately or wait till I hear some blood is spilled.

Brothers: I would not have you think by this that we are falling back from our engagements. We are ready to do anything for your relief and shall be guided by your counsels.

Brothers: One thing I ask of you, if you send for me to fight, that you let me fight in my own Indian way. I am not used to fight English fashion, therefore you must not expect I can train like your men. Only point out to me where your enemies keep and that is all that I shall want to know.

After the battle of Lexington, a year later, the Mohican braves marched to the theater of war in Massachusetts, arriving in time to participate in the battle of Bunker Hill. Subsequently, addressing a council which met at German Flats in this State and held adjourned sessions at Albany, Captain Solomon pledged anew the support of the Mohicans to the American cause.

"Depend upon it," he said, "we are true to you and mean to join you. Wherever you go we shall be by your sides. Our bones shall lie with yours. We are determined never to be

at peace with the redcoats while they are at variance with you. We have one favor to beg. We should be glad if you would help us to establish a minister amongst us, that when our men are gone to war our women and children may have the advantage of being instructed by him. If we are conquered, our lands go with yours; but if you are victorious, we hope you will help us recover our just rights."

For about five years the Mohicans continued to serve as volunteers in the patriot army, "being generally attached," says Washington, in one of his letters, "to the light corps," and, he adds, conducting themselves "with great propriety and fidelity." They were present, and fought with conspicuous valor, in a number of sanguinary encounters with the enemy in Westchester County. "At White Plains, in October, 1776," says Ruttenber, "their united war cry, Woach, Woach, Ha, Ha, Hach, Woach! rang out as when of old they had disputed the supremacy of the Dutch, and their blood mingled with that of their chosen allies."

In the spring of 1778, as a portion of the forces detached under Lafayette to check the depredations of the British on their retreat from Philadelphia, they assisted in the routing of the enemy in the engagement at Barren Hill. In July and August of the same year, being stationed in Westchester County, they performed highly valuable services, culminating in their memorable fight, August 31, 1778, at Cortlandt's Ridge, in the Town of Yonkers, where, according to the British commander, they lost "near forty killed or desperately wounded," about half their number. In this fight they first attacked the British from behind the fences, and then fell back among the rocks, where for some time they defied all efforts made to dislodge them. They were charged by an overwhelming force of cavalry, but as the horses rode them down "the Indians seized the legs of their foes and dragged them from their saddles." Their chief, Nimham, king of the Wappingers, finally counseled his followers to save themselves, adding, however, "As for myself, I am an aged tree; I will die here." When ridden down by Simcoe he wounded that officer and was about to pull him from his saddle when shot dead by an orderly.

In 1780 the surviving remnant of the Mohican warriors, some twenty men, were honorably discharged from the army, and returned to their homes. It was upon this occasion that Washington wrote the letter above alluded to, which was a communication to congress, requesting that suitable measures be taken to provide them with necessary clothing.

With the close of the Revolution the history of the Mohicans as a people ends completely, and even their name vanishes. From that time they are known no longer as Mohicans, but as "Stockbridge Indians," from the name of a town in central New York, to which they removed. Leaving their ancient seats at the headwaters of the Hud-

son, they settled in 1783-88 near the Oneidas. They received a tract of land six miles square in Augusta (Oneida County) and Stockbridge (Madison County). This tract they subsequently ceded to white purchasers by twelve different treaties, executed in the years 1818, 1822, 1823, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1829, and 1830. Some of them removed in 1818 to the banks of the White River, in Indiana, and a large number, in 1821, to lands on the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, in Wisconsin, which, with other New York Indians, they had bought from the Menominees and Winnebagoes. The Stockbridge tribe numbered 420 souls in 1785 and 438 in 1818.

Physically the Indians of Westchester County, as of this entire portion of the country, were remarkable specimens of manhood, capable of marvelous feats of endurance and free from most of the diseases incident to civilized society. The early European writers testify without exception that there were none among them afflicted with bodily deformities. The women delivered their young with singular ease, and immediately after labor were able to resume the ordinary duties of life. The appearance and general physical characteristics of the Indians are thus described by Van der Donck:

> They are well shaped and strong, having pitch-black and lank hair, as coarse as a horse's tail, broad shoulders, small waist, brown eyes, and snow-white teeth; they are of a sallow color, abstemious in food and drink. Water satisfies their thirst; flesh meat and fish are prepared alike. They observe no set time for meals. Whenever hunger demands the time for eating arrives. Whilst hunting they live some days on roasted corn carried about the person in a bag. . . . Their clothing is most sumptuous. The women ornament themselves more than the men. And although the winters are very severe, they go naked until their thirteenth year; the lower parts of the girls' bodies alone are covered. All wear around the waist a girdle made of seawant (shells). They bedeck themselves with hair tied with small bands. The hair is of a scarlet color and surpassing brilliancy, which is permanent and ineffaceable by rain. The women wear a petticoat down midway the legs, very richly ornamented with seawant. They also wrap the naked body in a deerskin, the tips of which swing with their points. . . . Both go for the most part bareheaded. . . . Around the neck and arms they wear bracelets of seawant, and some around the waist. Moccasins are made of elk hides. . . . The men paint their faces of many colors. The women lay on a black spot only here and there. . . . Both are uncommonly faithful.

Although their society was upon the monogamous plan, and none of the common people took more than one wife, it was not forbidden the chiefs to follow their inclinations in this respect. "Great and powerful chiefs," says Van der Donck, "frequently have two, three, or four wives, of the neatest and handsomest of women, who live together without variance." As the life of the Indian was spent in constant struggle against most severe conditions of existence, sensuality was quite foreign to his nature. This is powerfully illustrated by the almost uniformly respectful treatment accorded female prisoners of war. As a victor the North American Indian was entirely merciless and cruel. His adult male captives were nearly always doomed to

death, and if not slain immediately after the battle were reserved for slow torture. But the women who fell into his hands were seldom violated. Such forbearance was of course dictated in no way by sentiment. The women, in common with the young children, were regarded by the conquerors merely as accessions to their numbers. Unchastity was an exceptionally rare thing among the married females; and in no other particular do the different accounts of the natives given by the earliest observers agree more markedly than in the statement that both the women and the girls were peculiarly modest in their demeanor. The Dutch farmers occasionally took Indian women for their wives, refusing to abandon them for females of their own country.

One of the most curious domestic institutions of the Indians of this region was the sweating bath, "made," says Van der Donck, "of earth and lined with clay." "A small door serves as an entrance. The patient creeps in, seats himself down, and places heated stones around the sides. Whenever he hath sweated a certain time, he immerses himself suddenly in cold water; from which he derives great security from all sorts of sickness." Of medical science they knew nothing, except how to cure wounds and hurts. They used for many purposes an oil extracted from the beaver, which also was considered by the Dutch to possess great virtues. Upon the "medicine man," who was supposed to effect cures by supernatural powers, their reliance in the more serious cases of sickness was mainly placed.

Inured to abstemiousness by the rigors of his lot and but little disposed to sexual gratification, the Indian yet fell an easy victim, and speedily became an abject slave, to strong drink. It was not the taste but the stimulating properties of the white man's rum which enthralled him. Hudson relates that when he first offered the intoxicating cup to his Indian visitors while at anchor in New York Bay, they one and all refused it after smelling the liquor and touching their lips to it. But finally one of their number, fearing that offense might be taken at their rejection of it, made bold to swallow it, and experienced great exhilaration of spirits in consequence, which led his companions to follow his example, with like pleasing effects. Robert Juet, the mate of the "Half Moon," gravely says in his journal: "Our master and his mate determined to try some of the cheefe men of the country, whether they had any treachery in them. So they took them down into the cabin, and gave them so much wine and aquæ vitæ that they were all very merie."[1] Rum, or rather distilled liquor of every

[1] The name of Manhattan Island is popularly supposed to commemorate these joyous inebrieties. Heckewelder says: "They called it Manahachtanienk, which, in the Delaware language, means 'the island where we all became intoxicated.'" Most popular writers have

kind, soon came to be valued by the savages above every other article that they obtained from the whites, and it played a very important part both in promoting intercourse and in hastening their destruction. A chief of the Six Nations, in a speech delivered before the commissioners of the United States at Fort Stanwix, in 1788, said: "The avidity of the white people for land and the thirst of the Indians for spirituous liquors were equally insatiable; that the white men had seen and fixed their eyes upon the Indian's good land, and the Indians had seen and fixed their eyes on the white man's keg of rum. And nothing could divert either of them from their desired object; and therefore there was no remedy but that the white men must have the land and the Indians the keg of rum."

The Indian character has always been a matter of the most varied accounts and estimates. While there is no room for disagreement or misunderstanding about its more prominent separate traits, views of it in its general aspect are extremely divergent, and extensive as is the literature bearing upon this subject there exists no single presentation of the Indian character in its proportions, at least from a familiar pen, that entirely fills and satisfies the mind. Longfellow's "Hiawatha" and Cooper's Indian fictions bring out the romantic and heroic phases; but no powerful conception of the Indian type, except in the department of song and story, has yet been given to literature.

There is one safe starting point, and only one, for a correctly balanced estimate of the Indian. He was essentially a physical being. Believing both in a supreme good deity and an evil spirit, and also in an existence after death, religion was not, however, a predominating factor and influence in his life and institutions. In this respect he differed from most aboriginal and peculiar types. Of a stolid, stoical, and phlegmatic nature, possessing little imagination, he was neither capable of spiritual exaltation nor characteristically subject to superstitious awe and fear. Idolatrous practices he had none. Among all the objects of Indian handiwork that have come down to us—at least such as belong to this section of the country,—including the remains of pre-European peoples, there are none that are suggestive of worship. He appears to have had no fanatic ceremonials except those of the "medicine man," which were extemporized functions for immediate

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accepted this derivation. The subject of the origin of the name Manhattan is discussed at length, and with profuse citations of authorities for different derivations—which are exceedingly varied — by Mr. William Wallace Tooker, in the "Brooklyn Eagle Almanac" for 1897, pp. 279-281. Mr. Tooker arrives at the conclusion that the earliest form of the word Manhattan, so far as has been discovered, was Manahatin, whose correct translation is "the island of the hills." In a private note to the editor of this History he says: "If the derivation Heckewelder gives is accurate, Van der Donck would not have written: 'In the Indian languages, which are rich and expressive, they have no word to express drunkenness. Drunken men they call fools.'"

physical ends rather than regularly ordained formularies expressive of a real system of abstractions. He was a pure physical barbarian. His conceptions of principles of right and wrong, of social obligations, and of good and bad conduct, were limited to experience and customs having no other relations than to physical well being. Thus there was neither sensibility nor grossness in his character, and thus he stood solitary and aloof from the rest of mankind. All sensitive and imaginative races, like those of Mexico, South America, the West Indies, and the Orient, easily commingle with European conquerors; and the same is true of strictly gross peoples, like the heathenish native tribes of Africa. Sensibility and grossness, like genius and insanity, are, indeed, closely allied; where either quality is present it affords the fundamentals of social communion for cultivated man, but where both are lacking no possible basis for association exists. In these and like reflections may perhaps be found the true key to the character of the Indian.

As we have indicated, the religion of the Westchester and kindred Indians did not rise to the dignity of a defined institution. By the term, the Indian religion, we understand only a set of elementary beliefs, unaccompanied by an establishment of any kind. The Great Spirit of the Indians of this locality was called Cantantowit, who was good, all-wise, and all-powerful, and to whose happy hunting grounds they hoped to go after death, although their beliefs also comprehended the idea of exclusion from those realms of such Indians as were regarded by him with displeasure. The Spirit of Evil they called Hobbamocko. The home of Cantantowit they located in the southwest, whence came the fair winds; and they accordingly interred their dead in a sitting position with their faces looking in that direction and their valuable possessions, including food for the soul's journey, beside them. The customs and ceremonials attending decease and sepulture are thus described by Ruttenber:

> When death occurred the next of kin closed the eyes of the deceased. The men made no noise over the dead, but the women made frantic demonstrations of grief, striking their breasts, tearing their faces, and calling loudly the name of the deceased day and night. Their loudest lamentations were on the death of their sons and husbands. On such occasions they cut off their hair and bound it on the grave in the presence of all their relatives, painted their faces pitch black, and in a deerskin jerkin mourned the dead a full year In burying their dead the body was placed in a sitting posture, and beside it were placed a pot, kettle, platter, spoon, and money and provisions for use in the other world. Wood was then placed around the body, and the whole covered with earth and stones, outside of which palisades were erected, fastened in such a manner that the tomb resembled a little house. To these tombs great respect was paid, and to violate them was deemed an unpardonable provocation.

To review the separate aspects of their social life and economy, including their domestic arrangements, their arts and manufactures, their agriculture, their trade relations with one another, and the like

incidental details, would require much more space than can be given in these pages. For such more minute particulars the reader is referred to the various formal works on the North American Indian. It will suffice to present some of the more prominent outlines.

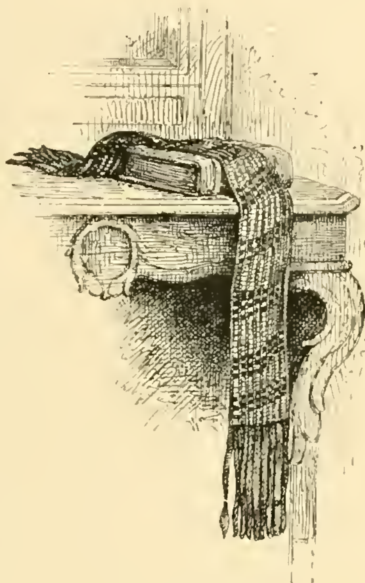
Their houses, says Ruttenber, were, for the most part, built after one plan, differing only in length. They were formed by long, slender hickory saplings set in the ground, in a straight line of two rows, as far asunder as they intended the width to be, and the rows continuing as far as they intended the length to be. The poles were then bent toward each other in the form of an arch and secured together, giving the appearance of a garden arbor. Split poles were then lathed up the sides and the roof, and over this was bark, lapped on the ends and edges, which was kept in its place by withes to the lathings. A hole was left in the roof for smoke to escape, and a single door of entrance was provided. Barely exceeding twenty feet in width, these houses were sometimes a hundred and eighty yards long. "In those places," says Van der Donck, "they crowd a surprising number of persons, and it is surprising to see them out in open day." From sixteen to eighteen families occupied one house, according to its size.

Of the manufacture of metals they had no knowledge. All their weapons, implements, and utensils were fashioned from stone, wood, shells, bone, and other animal substances, and clay. Their most noteworthy manufactured relics are probably their specimens of pottery. Mr. Alexander C. Chenoweth draws some interesting deductions as to the processes of pottery manufacture prevalent in early times from his examinations of specimens that he has unearthed. He says:

> They could fashion earthen jars with tasteful decorations, manufacture cloth, and twist fibers into cords. They had several methods of molding their pottery. One was to make a mold of basket work and press the clay inside. In baking, the basket work was burned off, leaving its imprint to be plainly seen on the outside of the jar. Other forms show that a coarse cloth or a net was used for the same purpose. Another method of molding, sometimes employed, was to twist clay in long rolls and lay it spirally to form a vessel or jar, the folds being pressed together. This kind of vessel breaks easily along the spiral folds, as the method does not insure a good union between the layers. The vessels range in size from a few inches in circumference to four feet, the depth being in proportion to the diameter. The study of the decoration and method employed reveal the implements used for that purpose. The imprint of a finger nail is clearly defined on some of the rudest as a decoration. Others show the imprint of a coarse netting or cloth, while the edge of an escallop shell or clam shell was often used. Pointed sticks, wedge-shaped sticks, and straws were also common implements for decorating with. These people twisted fibers, from which they made cloth.

Their numerous weapons, implements, and utensils of stone—including mortars and pestles, axes, hatchets, adzes, gouges, chisels, cutting tools, skinning tools, perforators, arrow and spear heads, scrapers, mauls, hammer-stones, sinkers, pendants, pierced tablets, polishers, pipes, and ceremonial stones—of all of which specimens

have been found in Westchester County, were very well wrought, and, considering the extreme difficulties attending their fabrication on account of the entire absence of metal tools, bear high testimony to the perseverance and ingenuity of the Indians as artificers. They had great art in dressing skins, using smooth, wedge-shaped stones to rub and work the pelts into a pliable shape. They produced fire by rapidly turning a wooden stick, fitted in a small cavity of another piece of wood, between their hands until ignition was effected. When they wished to make one of their more durable canoes they had first to fell a suitable tree, a task which, on account of the insufficiency of their tools, required much labor and time. Being unable to cut down a tree with their stone axes, they resorted to fire, burning the tree around its trunk and removing the charred portion with their stone implements. This was continued until the tree fell. Then they marked the length to be given to the canoe, and resumed at the proper place the process of burning and removing.



BELT OF WAMPUM.

Their agriculture was exceedingly primitive. They raised only one principal crop—maize, or Indian corn. Quite extensive fields of this were grown. In addition, they planted the sieva bean, the pumpkin, and tobacco. For cultivating their fields they used only a hoe made of a clam shell or the shoulder blade of a deer. They had no domestic animals to assist them in their agricultural labors and provide them with manure for the refreshment of their exhausted lands and with food products—no horses, sheep, swine, oxen, or poultry; and even their dogs were mere miserable mongrels. It is said that they used fish for fertilizing the soil, but this use must have been on an extremely limited scale.

The extent and character of the trade relations between the Indians of the same tribe and those of different tribes can only be inferred from known facts which render it unquestionable that such relations existed. For instance, tobacco, which was in universal use among the aborigines of North America, had to be obtained by exchange in all localities unadapted by climate and soil to its growth. The copper ornaments remarked by Hudson on the persons of the Indians

whom he met in New York Bay must have been wrought out of metal obtained by barter or capture from distant parts of the country, since no deposits of native copper exist in this region. And Indian relics of various kinds are constantly found which bear no connection to the prevailing remains of the locality where discovered, but on the other hand are perfectly characteristic of other localities.

For purposes of exchange, as well as for ornament, the Indians used wampum, a name given to a certain class of cylindrical beads, usually one-fourth of an inch long and drilled lengthwise, which were chiefly manufactured from the shells of the common hard-shell clam *(Venus mercenaria)*. The blue or violet portions of the shells furnished the material for the dark wampum, which was held in much higher estimation than that made of the white portions, or of the spines of certain univalves. According to Roger Williams, one of the earliest New England writers on the Indians, six of the white beads and three of the blue were equivalent to an English penny. The author of an instructive treatise on "Ancient and Aboriginal Trade in North America"[1] (from which some of the details in the preceding pages are taken) says of the wampum belts, so often mentioned in connection with the history of the eastern tribes:

> They consisted of broad straps of leather, upon which white and blue wampum-beads were sewed in rows, being so arranged that by the contrast of the light and dark colors certain figures were produced. The Indians, it is well known, exchanged these belts at the conclusion of peace, and on other solemn occasions, in order to ratify the transaction, and to perpetuate the remembrance of the event. When sharp admonitions or threatening demonstrations were deemed necessary, the wampum belts likewise played a part, and they were even sent as challenges of war. In these various cases the arrangement of the colors and the figures of the belts corresponded to the object in view: on peaceable occasions the white color predominated; if the complications were of a serious character, the dark prevailed; and in case of a declaration of war, it is stated, the belt was entirely of a somber hue, and, moreover, covered with red paint, while there appeared in the middle the figure of a hatchet executed in white. The old accounts, however, are not quite accordant concerning these details, probably because the different Atlantic tribes followed in this particular their own taste rather than a general rule. At any rate, however, the wampum belts were considered as objects of importance, being, as has been stated, the tokens by which the memory of remarkable events was transmitted to posterity. They were employed somewhat in the manner of the Peruvian quipu, which they also resembled in that particular, that their meaning could not be conveyed without oral comment. At certain times the belts were exhibited, and their relations to former occurrences explained. This was done by the aged and experienced of the tribe, in the presence of the young men, who made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the shape, size, and marks of the belts, as well as with the events they were destined to commemorate, in order to be able to transmit these details to others at a future time. Thus the wampum belts represented the archives of polished nations. Among the Iroquois tribes, who formed the celebrated "league," there was a special keeper of the wampum, whose duty it was to preserve the belts and to interpret their meaning, when required.

The civil institutions of the Mohican Indians were democratic, showing but slight modifications of the purely democratic principle.

[1] Charles Rau, Government Printing Office, 1873.

"Though this people," says Van der Donck, "do not make such a distinction between man and man as other nations, yet they have high and low families, inferior and superior chiefs." Their rulers were called sachems, the title usually remaining hereditarily in the family, although the people claimed the right of election. It does not appear that the sachems ever assumed oppressive powers, or, on the other hand, that rebellions or intrigues against their authority were ever undertaken to any noticeable extent. The sachem remained with the tribe at all times, and was assisted in the government by certain counselors or chiefs, elected by the people. There was a chief called a "hero," who was chosen for established courage and prudence in war; another called an "owl," who was required to have a good memory and be a fluent speaker, and who sat beside the sachem in council and proclaimed his orders; and a third called a "runner," who carried messages and convened councils. The Indian sachems and chiefs of the Hudson have left no names familiar to the general reader—certainly none comparable with those of Massasoit, Miantonomoh, Uncas, and Philip, of New England, or Powhattan, of Virginia. Even to the local historian, indeed, their names have little importance beyond that attaching to them from their connection with notable transfers of land and with rivers, lakes, and localities to which they have been applied.

In the geographical nomenclature of Westchester County, as well as of the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are preserved numerous permanent memorials of the vanished aboriginal race. The following article on the pure or derived Indian names of our county has been compiled specially for this work. It is not, however, presented with any claim to minute completeness.

AMERINDIAN[1] NAMES IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

BY WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER.

The Amerindian names of localities in Westchester County represent several dialectical variations of the great Algonquian language. While some are of the Mohegan dialect and akin to those of Connecticut, others partake more of the Delaware or Lenapé characteristics as spoken in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Where either of these have been retained unchanged in their phonetic elements, and without the loss of a syllable or initial letter, the task of identification and translation of their components has been comparatively easy. Many, however, that have been handed down colloquially without having been recorded in deed or record, have become so altered that even the Amerind himself, should he reappear from the "happy hunting ground," would be utterly unable to recognize the present sounds of the terms as part of his native speech. Those of the personal names bestowed on places are especially difficult to analyze, owing to their construction and the changes already noted. Many of the place names were translated many years ago by Schoolcraft, Trumbull, and others, some correctly, and others more often incorrectly. Some of the latter were so erroneous that they have been passed by the writer without notice. The present attempts are based upon the comparative rules of Algonquian nomenclature, and are therefore not the hasty generalization of misapplied Chippeway root terms so often used by Schoolcraft and

[1] Recently adopted by the Bureau of Ethnology.

followed by others. The names mostly are descriptive appellations of the localities where originally bestowed, and as such do not differ from those retained in other parts of the country where the same language was spoken.

Acquehounck.—Var., *Aqueanounck*, *Achqueehgeuom*. Hutchinson's Creek, Eastchester Creek, and a locality in West Farms. The variations of this term are quite numerous. Delaware, *Achwowángeu*, "high bank." See *Aquehung*, another variant.

Alipkonck.—"A place of elms." This interpretation, given by Schoolcraft in 1844, is probably correct. Allowing for the interchange or permutation of *l* and *w*, as well as *b* and *p*, occurring in many dialects, we find its parallel in the Otchipwe *Anip*, Abnaki, *anibi*, "elm tree," which with the locative completes the analysis.

Apawquammis.—Var., *Apawammeis*, *Apawamis*, *Epawames*. Budd's Neck, in Rye. The main stem of this name, *Appoqua*, signifies "to cover;" *mis*, "the stock or trunk of a tree," a generic, hence "the covering tree," possibly a descriptive term for the birch tree, and used as a personal name.

Appamaghpogh.—Var., *Apparaghpogh*. Lands near Verplanck's Point, also a locality east of Cortlandt. The main stem of this term is the same as that in the previous name, with the suffix *paug*, "a water-place" or "pond." "The (lodge) covering water-place," *i.e.*, a place where the cat-tail flag (*Typha latifolia*) was cut. The flags were used for mats and covering wigwams.

Aquehung.—A locality on the Bronx River. The name of Staten Island is the same, *Acquehonga*, "a high bank or bluff;" also *Hockqueunk*, "on high."

Apwonnah.—Rye. It means "an oyster," or "the roasted shell-fish."

Armonck.—See *Cohamong*.

Armenperal.—Var., *Armenperai*. Sprain River. Probably greatly corrupted. Its meaning has not been ascertained. A district on the Schuylkill River, was called *Armenveruis* (Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. I., p. 593), probably the same name, for the *v* should be *p*.

Askewaen.—A personal name, meaning not ascertained.

Aspetong.—A bold eminence in Bedford. The main stem or root of this term signifies "to raise up," *aspe;* Eliot uses it in the form *Ashpohtag*, "a height," which applies well to the locality.

Asumsowis.—A locality in Pelham; a personal name probably.

Bissightick.—Var., *Bisightick*, a "creek." This probably means "a muddy creek," *pissigh-tuck;* Delaware, *Assisk-tik*.

Be-tuck-qua-pock.—Var., *petuquapaen* (Van der Donck's map). This was the "Dumpling pond," at Greenwich, Conn. *P'tukqua-paug*, "a round pond, or water-place." (See Trumbull's Names in Connecticut.)

Canopus.—Name of a chieftain.

Cantetoe.—In this form not a place name, but seemingly from *Cantecoy*, "to sing and to dance." Variations, *Kante Kante*, *Cante Cante*, etc. It may have been derived, however, from Pocantico, which see.

Catonah.—Var., *Katonah*, *Ket-atonah*, "great mountain." Said to be the name of a chief. *Cantetoe*, by some is said to be a variant of *Catonah*.

Cisqua.—See *Kisco*. It does not mean beaver-dam in its present form.

Cohomong.—Var., *Armonck*, *Comonck*, *Cob-a-mong* (?) Hills, also Byram River, the boundary between Connecticut and New York. The termination denotes a fishing-place—*amaug*. As it was a boundary it may represent a survival of *Chaubun-kongamaug*, "the boundary fishing-place." Byram River may have been an earlier boundary, and, as such, retained to the present day.

Cowangongh.—A locality in West Farms; a "boundary-place."

Croton.—A personal name: { Schoolcraft suggests Kenotin, "the wind." I prefer the Delaware *Kloltin*, "he contends."

Euketaupucuson.—Var., *Ekucketaupacuson*. "A high ridge in Rye," also applied to Rye Woods. This name denotes a "place where a stream opens out or widens on both sides," *i.e.*, overflows, generally where the stream flows through low lands.

Gowahasuasing.—A locality in West Farms. A Delaware form signifying "a place of briars," or "a place where there is a hedge," comes from the same elements.

Haseco.—See *Miosschassaky*.

Honge.—Blind brook. Probably taken from *Acquehung.*

Kisco.—See *Keskistkonck.*

Kitchawong.—Var., *Kicktawanc, Kechtawong, Kichtawan* (*Kussi-tchuan*). Croton River, denotes "a wild, dashing stream." First suggested by Schoolcraft.

Kekeshick.—A locality in Yonkers. *Ketch-auke,* "the principal, or greatest place," probably a palisaded inclosure.

Kitchtawan.—Var., *Kightowank.* A locality in Sing Sing and in Cortlandt. Probably a variation of *Kitchawong.*

Keskistkonck.—Var., *Kisco, Keskisco, Cisqua.* Originally an Indian village situated on the bank of a creek. Massachusetts, *Kishketuk-ock,* "land on the edge of a creek."

Kestaubnuck.—Var., *Kastoniuck* (*Keche-tauppen-auke*). "The great encampment." A village of the Indians (Van der Donck's map). Schoolcraft was mistaken in deriving *Nyack* from this term. *Nyack* signifies "a point of land," and is the equivalent of the Long Island *Nyack* (Kings County) *Noyac* (Suffolk County).

Kiwigtignock.—Var., *Kewightegnack, He-weghtiquack.* An elbow of the Croton River. *Whquae-tigu-ack,* "land at head of the cove." Compare *Wiq'uetaquock,* the cove at Stonington, Conn.

Laaphawachking.—Pelham. None of the components warrant a translation "as a place of stringing beads." We would suggest rather "a plowed field or plantation." *Lapechwahacking,* "land again broken up" for cultivation.

Maminketsuck.—A stream in Pelham. "A strong flowing brook," *Manuhketsuck.* Earlier forms might suggest another interpretation.

Mamaroneck.—A river, so named after *Mamaronock,* a chief who lived at *Wiquaeskeck* in 1644. Variations, *Moworronoke, Momoronah,* etc. (*Mohmo'-anock*) "he assembles the people."

Manursing.—An island. This form denotes a "little island." Minnewits, Minnefords, etc., was so called after Peter Minuit.

Myanas.—Var., *Meanau, Meanagh, Meahagh, Mehanos,* etc., all seem to be simply variations of the same name—a personal one, "he who gathers together." *Mayanne* was killed by Captain Patrick in 1643.

Meghkeekassin.—Var., *Amackassin, Mekhkakhsin, Makakassin.* A large rock, noted as a landmark west of Neperah. Delaware, *Meechek-achsinik,* "at the big rock."

Mohegan.—The late Dr. D. G. Brinton follows Captain Hendrick, a native Mohegan, in translating the name as "a people of the great waters which are constantly ebbing and flowing." The tribe would naturally reject a term which was first applied by others. I agree with Schoolcraft and Trumbull that it denotes the "wolf nation." All the early maps corroborate it. See Creuxius's map of 1660, for "Natio Luporii."

Mentipathe.—A small stream in West Farms. Probably a personal name.

Miosse hassaky.—Var., *Haseco.* "A great fresh meadow or marshy land." The same name occurs in parts of New England; *Moshhassuck* River, near Providence, R. I.

Mopus.—A brook in North Salem. A variant of *Canopus* (?).

Mockquams.—A brook in Rye. A variant from *Apawquammis* (?), or perhaps a personal name from the possessive in s.

Mosholu.—A brook in Yonkers. This looks like a made-up name, or else a greatly corrupted one.

Muscoota.—"A meadow," or a place of rushes, sometimes applied to grassy flats bordering rivers.

Mutighticoos.—Var., *Mattegticos, Titicus.* A personal name, probably the same as the Abnaki *Matteg8éss8,* "the hare."

Nanichiestawack.—(Van der Donck's map.) Delaware, *Nanatschitaw-ack,* "a place of safety, *i.e.*, a place to take care of," probably a palisaded inclosure erected for defense.

Nappeckamack.—Var., *Neperhan, Neppizan,* etc. This name has been generally translated as the "rapid water settlement," which is evidently an error. The same name occurs on Long Island as *Rapahamuck.* Both the *n* and *r* are intrusive. The suffix, *amack* or *amuck,* denotes "a fishing-place"; the prefix *appeh* "a trap"; hence we have *appeh-amack,* "the trap fishing-place." *Neperhan* (*apehhan*) "a trap, snare, gin," etc. At the locality where the name was originally bestowed, the Indians probably had a weir for catching fish, and this fact gave rise to the name of the settlement. On Long Island *Rapahamuck* was at the mouth of a

creek called *Suggamuck* (*m'sugge-amuck*) "the bass fishing-place." Wood's N.E. Prospect, 1634, says: "When they used to tide it in and out to the rivers and creekes with long seanes or basse nets, which stop in the fish, and the water ebbing from them, they are left on the dry ground, sometimes two or three thousand at a set." (See Brooklyn *Eagle* Almanac on "Some Indian Fishing Stations Upon Long Island," 1895, pp. 54–57.)

Noch Peem.—(Van der Donck.) Var., *Noapain*, *Ochpeen* (Map 1688). This name denotes "a dwelling place," "an abode," "where we are," etc. Delaware, *Achpeen*, "a lodge," "dwelling."

Nipnichsen.—Indian village and castle near Spuyten Duyvil. The name denotes "a small pond or water-place."

Onox.—Eldest son of Ponus. *Onux* (*wonnux*) "the stranger."

Ponus.—A chief; he places (something).

Patthunck.—A personal name; "pounding-mortar."

Pachamitt.—(Van der Donck's map.) Name of a tribe taken from the place where they lived, "at the turning-aside place." De Laet says: "Visher's Rack, that is the fisherman's bend, and here the eastern bank is inhabited by the *Pachami*, a little beyond where projects a sandy point." *Pachamu*, a sachem, takes his name also from tribe and place.

Paunskapham.—A locality in Cortlandt. Probably this on exhaustive search will be found a personal name.

Pasquasheck.—(Van der Donck.) *Pasquiasheck*, *Pashquashie* (*Pasquesh-auke*). "Land at the bursting forth," *i. e.*, "at the outlet of a stream;" an Indian village at the mouth of a stream.

Papirinemen.—Spuyten Duyvil Creek; also place at north end of Manhattan Island. This name has a verbal termination denoting the act of doing something, a suffix not allowable in place names. Hence it was probably a personal name denoting "to parcel out," to divide, to divert, variation, *Pewinenien*.

Pechquinakonck.—(Van der Donck.) A locality in North Salem; probably originally an Indian village situated on high land. *Pachquin-ak-onk*, "at the land raised or lifted up."

Pepemighting.—A river in Bedford. *Pepe-mightug*, "the chosen-tree," probably a boundary mark originally.

Peppenegkek.—Var., *Peppeneghak*, a river and pond in Bedford. Probably a boundary mark like the previous name; "the chosen stake."

Pockerhoe.—See Tuckahoe (?).

Poningoe.—Var., *Peningoe*. Locality in Rye. Looks like a personal name, meaning not ascertained.

Pocantico.—Var., *Pokanteco*, *Puegkanteko*, *Peckantico*. Tarrytown. *Pohki-tuck-ut*, "at the clear creek."

Potiticus.—A trail. An abbreviation of *Mutighticoos* (?).

Pockcotessewake.—A brook in Rye; also another name for Mamaroneck River. Var., *Pockotessewake*. Probably the name of some Indian. The chief called *Meghtesewakes* seems to have had a name with a similar termination but different prefix. *Pokessake*, a grantor on the Norwalk deed of 1651.

Quaroppas.—White Plains, including Searsdale. Seemingly a personal name.

Quinnahung.—Hunt's Point, West Farms, "a long, high place."

Ranachque.—Bronck's land. *Wanachque*, "end, point, or stop." The name has probably lost a locative. See *Senasque*.

Rahonaness.—A plain east of Rye. Probably so called from an Indian.

Rippowams.—Var., *Nippowance* (Captain John Mason, 1643). "The plantatio of Rippowams is named Stamforde" (N. H. Rec., Vol. 1, p. 69). This included the territory on both sides of Mill River. The late J. H. Trumbull was unable to translate this name. It may be rather presuming to suggest where he failed. We think we can see *Nipau-apuchk* in the Delaware, or *Nepau-ompsk* in the Massachusetts, "a standing or rising up rock." In colloquial use *ompsk* is frequently abbreviated to *ams*. See *Toquams*.

Sachus.—Var., *Sackhoes*. From the possessive seemingly a personal name. Colloquial use changes names frequently, and it may be a variant of the Delaware *Sakunk*, "mouth of a stream." Compare *Saugus*, the Indian name of Lynn, Mass., which has the same derivation.

Sackama Wicker.—"Sachems house," Delaware, *Sakama-wik-ing*, "at the chief's house."

Sackwahung.—A locality at West Farms. An evident variant of *Aquehung.*

Shorakapkock.—Spuyten Duyvil Creek, where it joins the Hudson, "as far as the sitting-down place," *i.e.*, where there was a portage.

Shingabawossins.—A locality in Pelham. Applied to erratic bowlders or rolling stones. It probably denotes "a place of flat stones."

Shappequa.—Var., *Chappaqua.* "A separated place," *i.e.*, "a place of separation." Mentioned as a boundary in some conveyances.

Sickham.—A locality in Cortlandt. A personal name.

Shippam.—New Rochelle. A personal name, probably, although Eliot gives us *Keechepam*, "shore."

Sigghes.—A great bowlder, a landmark mentioned as a boundary. Another name for *Meghkaekassin.* From an original *Siogke-ompsk-it*, "at the hard rock."

Sacunyte Napucke.—A locality in Pelham. *Sakunk-Napi-ock*, "at the outlet of a pond or water-place." Probably used in some conveyance to indicate the line running to this place, hence a boundary designation

Saperwack.—A hook or bend in a stream at West Farms. "Land on a river," or "extended land;" the name will bear both interpretations.

Sepackena.—A creek at Tarrytown.

Sachkerah.—A locality at West Farms.

Saprougkah.—A creek at West Farms.

Epparak.—A locality in Cortlandt. The foregoing names are seemingly variations of the same word, denoting "extended or spread-out land." A search for early forms might change this opinion.

Senasqua.—Croton Point on Hudson, *Wanasque*, "a point or ending." This name, as well as *Ranachque*, has lost its suffix. On Long Island it occurs in *Wanasquattan*, "a point of hills," *Wanasquetuck*, "the ending creek."

Sint Sinck.—Sing Sing. *Ossin-sing*, "stone upon stones," belongs to the Chippeway dialect and was suggested by Schoolcraft (see Proc. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 1844, p. 101). He is also responsible for a number of other interpretations frequently quoted. The Delaware form, *Asin-es-ing*, "a stony place," is much better. The same name occurs on Long Island in Queens County. But on the Delaware River is a place called *Maetsingsing* (see Col. Hist. N. Y., Vol. I, pp. 590, 596), which seems to be a fuller form of our name and warranting another interpretation: "Place where stones are gathered together," a heap of stones, probably.

Snakapins.—Cornell's Neck. If not a personal name, as I suspect, it may represent an earlier *Sagapin*, "a ground-nut."

Suckehonk.—"A black (or dark colored) place," a marsh or meadow. The Hartford meadows, Connecticut, were called *Suck'iang.*

Soakatuck.—A locality in Pelham. "The mouth of a stream." The same as *Saugatuck* in Connecticut.

Suwanoes.—A tribe located from Norwalk, Conn., to Hellgate. They were the *Shawonanoes*, "the Southerners," to tribes farther north.

Tammoesis.—Creek near Verplanck's Point. Delaware, *Tummeu-esis*, "little wolf," a personal name.

Tauracken.—A locality in Cortlandt. *Tarackan*, "the crane." The name was derived from the loud and piercing cry peculiar to the genus, especially to the *Grus americana* or Whooping Crane, which, says Nuttall, has been "not unaptly compared to the whoop or yell of the savages when rushing to battle." (Trumbull.)

Tankitekes.—Name of tribe living back of Sing Sing. This is probably a term of derision applied to them by other tribes: "Those of little worth."

Tatomuck.—This name has probably lost a syllable or more. The suffix indicates a "fishing-place." On Long Island *Arhata-amuck* denotes "a crab fishing-place." Corrupted in some records to *Katawamac.*

Toquams.—Var., *Toquamske.* This was a boundary mark in some conveyance, or else a well known landmark; *p'tukqu-ompsk*, "at the round-rock."

Titicus.—A brook flowing north and west across the State line into the Croton River; also a village and postoffice in Connecticut. An abbreviation of *Mutighticoos* or *Matteticos.*

Tuckahoe.—Hill in Yonkers. This appears in Southampton, L. I., and elsewhere, and seems to have been applied to a species of truffle or subterranean fungus (*Pachyma cocos*—Fries) sometimes called Indian loaf. The *tuckaho* of Virginia (*tockwhogh*, as Captain John Smith wrote the name) was the root of the Golden Club or Floating Arum (*Orantium Aquaticum*). "It groweth like a flag in low, marshy places. In one day a salvage will gather sufficient for a week. These roots are much the bigness and taste of potatoes." (Strachey.)

Waumainuck.—Delancy's Neck. Var., *Waimanuck*, "land round about." Some other place understood.

Wampus.—"The Opossum." A personal name.

Weckquaskeek.—Var., *Wechquoesqueeck*, *Wiequoeshook*, *Weecquoesguck*, etc. Schoolcraft's suggestion, "the place of the bark-kettle," and as repeated in various histories, is absolutely worthless. The name is simply a descriptive appellation of the locality where the Indians lived at the date of settlement. Delaware, *Wiquié-askéek*, Massachusetts, *Wehque-askeet*, Chippewa, *Waiekwa-ashkiki*, "end of the marsh or bog."

Weghqueghe.—Var., *Wyoquaqua*. A variant of the foregoing.

Wenneebees.—A locality in Cortlandt. Probably a personal name from the final *s*, although early forms, if found, might indicate with a locative an original *Winne-pe-es-et*, "at the good-tasted water-place," *i.e.*, "a spring."

Wishqua.—"The end."

Wissayek.—Dover. "Yellow-place."

Waccabuck.—A lake or pond in Lewisboro. *Wequa-baug*, "end or head of the pond."

CHAPTER III

DISCOVERY AND PRELIMINARY VIEW

HE alluring hypothesis of the discovery and settlement of portions of this continent by the Northmen far back in the Middle Ages, formerly received with quite general consideration, finds few supporters at this day among the leading authorities on the early history of America. That the Norse colonized Greenland at a very early period is unhesitatingly admitted, abundant proofs of their occupancy of that country being afforded by authentic ruins, especially of churches and baptistries, and collateral testimony to the fact being furnished by old ecclesiastical annals, which seem to indicate that as early as the eleventh century Greenland belonged to the jurisdiction of the Catholic bishops of Iceland. It is also conceded to be not impossible that accidental Norse descents from Greenland upon the continent were made in the centuries that followed. But this is merely an amiable concession to academic conjecture. It is insisted that no reliable Norse remains have ever been found south of Davis Straits; and one by one the various relics thought to be of Norse origin that have been brought forward, including certain supposed Runic inscriptions, have been pronounced incapable of acceptation as such.

INWOOD STONE.

Several years ago there was found at Inwood, just below the limits of Westchester County, by Mr. Alexander C. Chenoweth (whose Indian excavations in the same locality are noticed in the preceding chapter), a stone curiously marked, which was the subject of some archæological discussion at the time. The markings were claimed to be rude Runic characters constituting an inscription, out of which one writer, by ingeniously interpolating missing letters, formed the words Kirkjussynir akta, which translated are "Sons of the Church tax (or take a census)." "I suppose it to mean," added this writer, "that representatives of the Church of Rome had been there to tax, or number the people, and that this stone was inscribed to commemorate the event."[1] Thus it is seen that the general region of which our county forms a part has been connected with the fabled ages of Norse habitation of America—whatever may be thought of the specific ground for the connection. The Inwood

[1] An Inscribed Stone, by Cornelia Horsford (Privately printed, Cambridge, 1895), p. 14

stone is possibly as plausible a specimen of "Runic" lettering as other so-called inscribed stones which have been scrutinized and repudiated by archæologists from time to time. The all-sufficient argument against the Norse theory is that no satisfactory traces of Norse residence, aside from the doubtful inscriptions, have ever been discovered—no ruins of dwellings or works of any kind, no personal relics, and no indisputable graves,—whereas such a people could not conceivably have dwelt here without transmitting to us some more visible tokens of their presence than laboriously carved memorials.

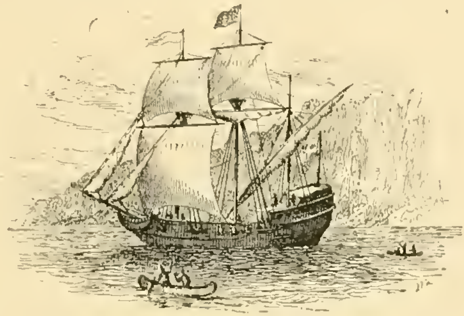
The authentic history of Westchester County begins in the month of September, 1609, when Henry Hudson, in his little ship the "Half Moon," entered the harbor of New York and ascended the great river which now bears his name. But there are strong reasons for believing that Hudson was not the first navigator to appear on our shores, or at least in their immediate vicinity.

In 1524 Juan Verrazano, an Italian in the French service, sailing northward along the coast, came to anchor at a place apparently outside the Narrows. In a letter dated July 8, 1524, to Francis I., king of France, he reports that he "found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river we found a country on its banks well peopled. . . . We passed up this river about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit. . . . All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals." This description, although perplexing in some of its statements, and therefore suggesting caution as to conclusions, reasonably admits of the belief (allowing for the inaccuracies in detail which nearly always occur in the reports of the early explorers) that Verrazano entered and inspected the Upper Bay. But it hardly justifies the opinion that he passed up the river; the "lake three leagues in circuit" could have been no other body of water than the Upper Bay, and the "river" up which he went "about half a league" to reach it was evidently the Narrows.

In the following year (1525) Estevan Gomez, a Portuguese sailor employed by Spain to seek a passage to India, explored the coast,

which, he says, "turns southward twenty leagues to Bay St. Chripstapel in 39°. From that bend made by the land the coast turns northward, passing said bay thirty leagues to Rio St. Antonio, in 41°, which is north and south with said bay." Gomez's "Bay St. Chripstapel" was unquestionably the Lower New York Bay, and his "Rio St. Antonio" (so named in honor of the saint on whose day he beheld it) the Hudson River. The latter conclusion is clearly established by his description of the river as "north and south with said bay," which, taken in its connections, can not possibly apply to any other stream. To have established the north and south direction of the river he must have explored it for some distance. It hence becomes an entirely reasonable inference that in 1525, eighty-four years before Hudson's appearance, the Portuguese Gomez, sailing under a commission from Spain, entered Westchester County waters. It has even been suggested that Anthony's Nose, the peak which guards the entrance to the Highlands, owes its name to this first voyager of the river.[1]

Aside from the records of these early discoveries of Verrazano and Gomez, there is much historical evidence indicating that at least the general coast conformation in the latitude of New York was well understood by European cartographers and navigators long before Hudson made his memorable voyage in the "Half-Moon." This is strikingly illustrated by Hudson's own statement, that in seeking a way to India in this region he was partly influenced by a hint received from his friend, Captain John Smith, of Virginia, to the effect that somewhere about 40° north there was a strait conducting to the Pacific, similar to Magellan's Strait. Indeed, it was in studied violation of the instructions laid down for him by his employers at his setting out that he turned his vessel hitherward. His instructions were to sail past Nova Zembla and the north coast of Siberia, through the Bering Strait into the Pacific, and so southward to the Dutch Indies. The famous



THE "HALF-MOON."

[1] Benson, in his "Memoirs," says that "the promontory in the Highlands is called Antonie's Nose, after Antonie De Hooge, secretary of the colony of Rensselaerwyck." He gives no authority for the opinion. The Labadist brothers called it Antonis Neus (L. I. Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 330), and say that all the Highlands "bear the names that were originally given to them," and this because it has the form of a man's nose. All the Dutch Anthonies appear to have claimed it in turn; but what if it should finally appear that it was named by the Spaniards, who gave the whole river into the charge of Saint Anthony?—*Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson, edited by the Rev. B. F. De Costa* (*Albany*, 1869).

"Sailing Directions" of Ivar Bardsen that he took with him to guide his course related exclusively to far northern latitudes.

Thus it is likely that neither the honor of the original discovery of the Hudson River, nor such merit as attaches to the conception of the availability of this latitude for adventurous quest, belongs to Henry Hudson. Proper recognition of these historical facts does not, however, involve any diminishing from the uniqueness and greatness of his achievement. He found a grand harbor and a mighty and beautiful river, previously unknown, or only vaguely known, to the civilized world. He thoroughly explored both, and, returning to Europe, gave accounts of them which produced an immediate appreciation of their importance and speedily led to measures for the development of the country. Judged by its attendant results, Hudson's exploit stands unrivaled in the history of North American exploration. No other single discovery on the mainland of this continent was so quickly, consecutively, and successfully followed by practical enterprise.

Henry Hudson was of English birth and training. Apart from this, and from the facts of his four voyages, which were made in as many years, nothing is known of him. His first voyage was undertaken in 1607 for the Muscovy Company, having for its object the discovery of a northeast route to China along the coast of Spitzbergen. His second, in 1608, to a like end, took him to the region of Nova Zembla. It was on his third, in 1609, still looking for a short way to the Orient, that he came to these shores. His fourth and last, in pursuit of the same chimera, was in 1610-11, the expense being borne by three English gentlemen. He explored the bay and strait to which his name has since been given, passed the winter in the southern part of the bay, and on the 21st of June, 1611, was, with his son and seven companions, set adrift in an open boat by his mutinous crew, never to be heard of more.

THE FLAG OF HOLLAND.

When Hudson adventured forth on his momentous voyage of 1609 he flew from the mast of his vessel the flag of the new-born Republic of the United Netherlands. Just at that time the Netherlands were successfully concluding the first period of their gigantic struggle with Spain for independence. It was, indeed, in the same month that the "Half-Moon" sailed from Amsterdam (April) that the twelve years' truce between the Spanish and Dutch was signed. Everywhere in Europe this was a period of transition. In England the long reign of Elizabeth had but recently come to its end, and already, under James I., the first of the ill-fated Stuart dynasty, the

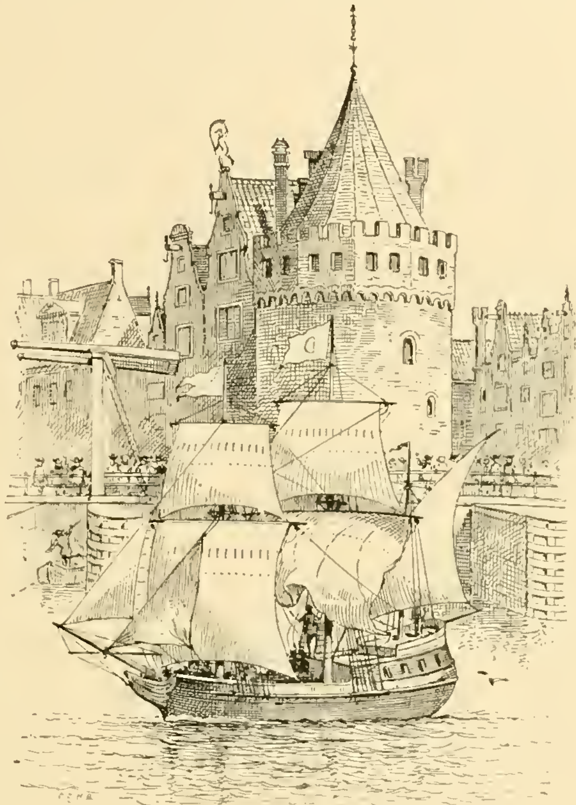
events were shaping which were to culminate in the Commonwealth. In France Henry IV. was still reigning—that Henry of Navarre who signed the Edict of Nantes, gave peace to the warring factions of the kingdom, and laid the foundations for the diplomacy of Richelieu and the power of Louis XIV. In the German Empire the seeds of the terrible Thirty Years' War were ripening. In Sweden the young Gustavus Adolphus was about to come to the throne. In Russia the dawn of a new era was being ushered in by the accession of the first sovereign of the house of Romanoff. In the south of Europe, on the other hand, the glories of long ages of commercial, intellectual, and political supremacy were fading away: the Italian republics were beginning to decline, and the might of Spain was tottering to its fall. To this period belong many of the world's greatest inventive and philosophical intellects: Shakespeare, Cervantes, Rubens, Van Dyck, Kepler, Galileo, Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood, and Lord Bacon, who said of the early attempts to utilize the discoveries of Columbus: "Certainly it is with the kingdoms of the earth as it is in the kingdom of Heaven: sometimes a grain of mustard seed becomes a great tree. Who can tell?" And in this grand epoch of mental activity and political change a more rational spirit respecting the uses to be made of America was becoming conspicuously manifest. The sixteenth century had been wholly wasted so far as the legitimate development of the newly discovered lands beyond the sea was concerned; but with the first decade of the seventeenth soberly conceived plans of orderly colonization began to be set on foot. During that decade the French inaugurated their permanent settlements in Canada, and the English, under Captain John Smith, at last established an enduring colony in Virginia—enduring because founded on the secure basis of mutual self-interest, labor, and economy. Even Spain, with all her greed for new realms to pillage, had practically abandoned the futile hope of forcing a gateway to them at the west. It remained for the Dutch, the most practical-minded people in Europe, to make their entry into America, in matter-of-fact times and circumstances such as these, upon a mere quixotic expedition to the far Cathay—almost the last one, happily, of its grotesque kind.

Hudson's employers in this enterprise were the Dutch East India Company, a powerful corporation, which had been chartered in 1602 to trade with the East Indies, the southern and eastern coasts of Asia, and the eastern coast of Africa. The new countries in America, and, indeed, the entire waters of the Atlantic, were excluded from the field of its operations. The company, during the less than seven years of its existence, had enjoyed extraordinary success, and its earnings now represented seventy-five per cent. of profit. In resolving upon a voy-

age for the long desired "northwest passage," the company adopted a decidedly conservative plan. There was to be no visionary exploration for a possibly existing route through the coastline of America, but a direct entrance into Arctic waters in the region of Nova Zembla, in the hope that an open sea, or continuous passage, would there be found. Hudson, an Englishman, was chosen for the undertaking because he was known to be familiar with the northern seas—no Dutch navigator of like experience being available. On the 4th of April, 1609, he sailed from Amsterdam in the "Half-Moon," a vessel of some eighty tons burden, with a crew of twenty Dutch and English sailors. Pursuant to his instructions from the company, he set a direct course for the northeast coast of America, which he reached in the latitude of Nova Scotia. Here, however, he abruptly departed from the plans laid out for him, turned southward, passed along the shores of Maine and Cape Cod, and proceeded as far as Chesapeake Bay. Returning northward from that region, he followed the windings of the coastline until, on the 2d day of September, he sighted the Highlands of Navesink. Dropping anchor in the Lower Bay on the 3d, he remained there ten days, meantime exploring with his ship's boat the surrounding waters. Although his intercourse with the Indians was friendly, the men whom he sent out in the boat provoked a conflict with them, in which one of the exploring party, John Coleman, was killed and two men were wounded. On the 12th of September he steered the "Half-Moon" through the Narrows, anchoring that evening somewhere in the Upper Bay, probably not far from the lower extremity of Manhattan Island. The next day he began his voyage up the river, and after making a distance of eleven and one-half miles again came to anchor. It was at this stage of his journey that he attempted to detain two of the natives, who, however, jumped overboard, swam to the shore, and cried back to him "in scorn." Brodhead, in his "History of New York," locates the scene of this incident opposite the Indian village of Nappeckamack, now the City of Yonkers. But from the details given in the Journal of Hudson's mate, Robert Juet, it appears probable that the point of anchorage on the 13th was not above the confines of Manhattan Island. It is significant that the formidable attack on Hudson's vessel when he was returning down the river, an attack in retaliation for his treacherous act upon this occasion, occurred at Spuyten Duyvil Creek, and was clearly made by Manhattan Island Indians, the Indian fortress in that locality being on the southern shore of the creek. The question, of course, is not important enough to require any serious discussion, but upon its determination depends the fixing of the date of Hudson's entrance into Westchester waters—that is, the date of discovery of our county and of the mainland of

New York State. To our mind, after a careful study of the records of the voyage, it scarcely admits of doubt that the "Half-Moon's" arrival above Spuyten Duyvil is to be assigned not to the first but to the second day of its progress up the stream.[1]

Leaving his anchorage below Spuyten Duyvil on the morning of the 14th of September, 1609, Hudson traversed on that day the entire Westchester shore, entering the Highlands before nightfall. The record of the day's sailing is thus given in Juet's Journal: "In the morning we sailed up the river twelve leagues . . . and came to a strait between two points, . . . and it (the river) trended north by one league. . . . The river is a mile broad; there is very high land on both sides. Then we went up northwest a league and a half, deep water; then northeast five miles; then northwest by north two leagues and a half. The land grew very high and mountainous." The "strait between two points," where they found the stream "a mile broad," was manifestly that portion of the river between Verplanck's and Stony Points. Continuing his voyage, Hudson sailed until he reached the site of Albany, where, finding the river no longer navigable, he was constrained to turn back, emerging from the Highlands into the Westchester section about the end of September. Here for the first time since leaving the Lower Bay blood was shed. The ship was becalmed



THE "HALF-MOON" LEAVING AMSTERDAM.

[1] Wood, in his account of the Discovery and Settlement of Westchester County, in Scharf's History, accepts Brodhead's date; but Dr. Cole, in his History of Yonkers in the same work (ii., 4), reviewing the statements in Juet's Journal, decides upon the 14th of September.

off Stony Point, in the "strait" described by Juet, and the natives, animated solely by curiosity, came out in their canoes, some of them being received on board. The occupant of one of the canoes, which kept "hanging under the stern," was detected in pilfering from the cabin windows, having secreted "a pillow and two shirts and two bandaliers." Whereupon the "mate shot at him, and struck him on the breast, and killed him." The visitors now fled precipitately, those on board the "Half-Moon" jumping into the water. A boat was lowered from the ship to recover the stolen property, and one of the Indians in the water had the temerity to take hold of it, at which "the cook seized a sword and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned." It is difficult to characterize the shooting of the Indian thief otherwise than as wanton murder, and this whole episode stands to the serious discredit of Hudson and his companions. At Spuyten Duyvil the next day was fought the historic encounter with the Indians of that locality, who, harboring bitter resentment because of Hudson's attempted forcible detention of two of their people on his journey up-stream, now met him with a fleet of canoes and most valorously gave him battle. The details of this fight have been given in our chapter on the Indians, and need not be repeated here. It is noticeable that the only sanguinary incidents of Hudson's exploration of the river occurred along the Westchester coast.

Sailing away from the scene of this bloody conflict, the "Half Moon" passed out of the Narrows on the 4th of October, just one month and a day after its arrival in the Lower Bay, and proceeded direct to Europe, reaching the port of Dartmouth, England, on the 7th of November. The English authorities, reluctant to concede to Holland the right to Hudson's important discoveries, detained the vessel for several months on the strength of its commander's British nativity, and though it was ultimately released to its Dutch owners Hudson himself was not permitted to return to the Netherlands. As we have seen, he embarked under English patronage the next year upon another chimerical adventure after the northwestern passage, and ended his career in 1611 as a miserable castaway on the shores of Hudson's Bay. The "Half-Moon" was destined for a somewhat like melancholy fate, being wrecked five years later in the East Indies.

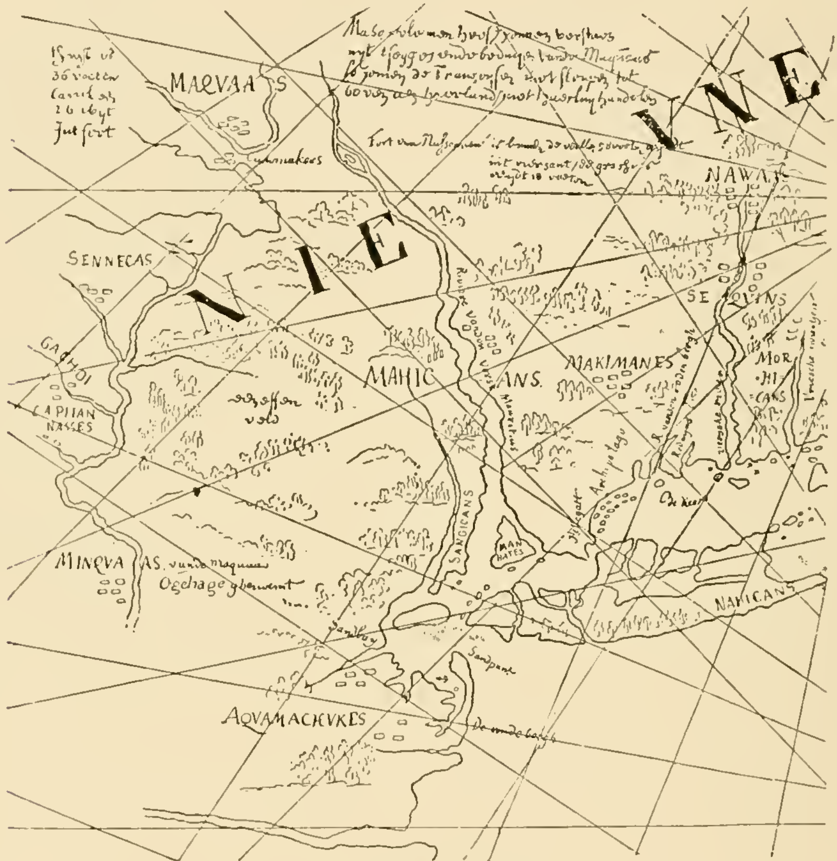
By the delimitations of its charter granted in 1602, the Dutch East India Company was excluded from all commercial operations in America; and accordingly no steps were taken by that corporation to develop the promising country found by Henry Hudson. But the alert and enterprising private traders of Holland were prompt in seeking to turn the new discoveries to profitable uses. While Hudson and his ship were held at Dartmouth, that is, during the winter of

1609-10, an association of Dutch merchants was organized with the object of sending out a vessel to these lands, and for a number of years voyages were annually made. Of the first ship thus dispatched Hudson's mate was placed in command, having under him a portion of the crew of the "Half-Moon." These early private undertakings were mainly in connection with the fur trade, which offered especial advantages on the shores of the Hudson, where at that period fur-bearing animals, notably the beaver and otter, were very numerous. So abundant, indeed, was the beaver in this part of the country that for a long period of years beaver-skins formed one of the principal items in every cargo sent to Europe. A representation of the beaver was the principal feature of the official seal of New Netherland.

SEAL OF NEW NETHERLAND.

In 1612 a memorable voyage was made to Hudson's River by Henry Christiansen and Adrian Block, two Hollanders, in a vessel which they owned jointly. They returned with a goodly cargo of furs, carrying with them to the home country two sons of Indian chiefs, by one of whom Christiansen, several years subsequently, was murdered on a Hudson River island. In 1613, with two vessels, the "Fortune" and the "Tiger," they came back. Christiansen, commanding the "Fortune," decided to pass the winter on Manhattan Island, and built several houses of branches and bark. Upon the spot where his little settlement stood (now 39 Broadway) the Macomb mansion, occupied by Washington for a time while President, was constructed; and the officers of the Netherlands-American Steamship Line are now located on the same site. Block's ship, the "Tiger," took fire and was completely destroyed while at her anchorage in the harbor. This great misfortune operated, however, only to stimulate the enterprise of the resourceful Dutchmen, who forthwith, in circumstances as unfavorable for such work as can well be conceived, proceeded to build another, which was named the "Onrust," or "Restless," a shallop of sixteen tons' burden, launched in the spring of 1614. With the "Restless" Block now entered upon an exploration almost as important as Hudson's own, and certainly far more dangerous. Steering it through the East River, he came suddenly into the fearful current of Hellgate, whose existence was previously unknown to Europeans, and which he navigated safely. Passing the mouth of the Harlem River, he thoroughly explored the Westchester coast along the Sound and emerged into that majestic body of land-locked water. To Block belongs the undivided honor of the

discovery of Long Island Sound, which had never before been entered by a European mariner. Indeed, it was assumed up to that time that the coastline north of the eastern extremity of Long Island was continuous, and the separation of Long Island from New England is not indicated on any of the maps of the period. Block sailed through the Sound to Cape Cod, discovering the Connecticut River and the other



PART OF BLOCK'S MAP.

conspicuous physical features. The name of Block Island, off the coast of Rhode Island, commemorates this truly distinguished discoverer, and his momentous voyage. A highly interesting result of Block's achievement was a chart of the country, which he prepared and published, here reproduced in part. Although the outlines in certain respects, particularly in the case of Manhattan Island, are extremely crude, they are surprisingly faithful in the parts representing his individual responsibility. It will be observed that the general

trend of the Westchester coast on the Sound is traced almost exactly.

Returning to Holland in the fall of 1614, with the "Fortune," having left the "Restless" with Christiansen, Block at once became a beneficiary of an attractive commercial offer which had been proclaimed some months previously by the States-General, or central government, of the Netherlands. He and his companion Christiansen were by no means the only seekers of fortune in the splendid realms made known by the captain of the "Half-Moon." Other trading expeditions had gone there, and interest in the resources of this quarter was becoming quite active. To further promote such interest, and to arouse fresh endeavor, the States-General, in March, 1614, issued a decree offering to grant to any person or number of persons who should discover new lands a charter of exclusive privileges of trade therewith. Upon Block's return there was pending before the States-General an application for the coveted charter by a strong organization of merchants, which was based upon Hudson's discovery and the representation that the hopeful organization was prepared to make to the region in question the number of voyages conditionally required in the decree. On October 11, 1614, Block submitted to the States-General, at The Hague, explicit information of his discoveries, and a charter bearing that date was accordingly granted to him and a number of individuals associated with him (of whom Christiansen was one), comprising a business society styled the New Netherland Company. This company had for its formally defined aim the commercial exploitation of the possessions of Holland in the New World, to which collectively the name of New Netherland was now applied. It was in the same year and month that New England was first so called by Prince Charles of Wales (afterward Charles I.).

The grant of the States-General establishing the New Netherland Company, after naming the persons associated in it—these persons being the proprietors and skippers of five designated ships,—describes the region in which its operations are to be carried on as "certain new lands situate in America, between New France and Virginia, the seacoasts whereof lie between forty and forty-five degrees of latitude, and now called New Netherland." The range of territorial limits in latitude thus claimed for Holland's dominion on the American coast is certainly a broad extension of the rights acquired by the discoveries of Hudson and Block, and utterly ignores the sovereignty of England north of the Virginian region proper. On the other hand, the entire coast to which Holland now set up pretensions had already been not only comprehensively claimed by Great Britain, but allotted in terms to the corporate ownership and jurisdiction of two English companies. In 1606, three years before the voyage of Hudson and eight years be-

fore the chartering of the New Netherland Company, the old patent of Sir Walter Raleigh having been voided by his attainder for treason, James I. issued a new patent, partitioning British America, then known by the single name of Virginia, into two divisions. The first division, called the First Colony, was granted to the London Company, and extended from thirty-four degrees to thirty-eight degrees, with the right of settlement as far as forty-one degrees in the event that this company should be the first to found a colony that far north. The second division, or Second Colony, assigned to the Plymouth Company, embraced the country from forty-one degrees to forty-five degrees, with the privilege of acquiring rights southward to thirty-eight degrees, likewise conditioned upon priority of colonization. Throughout the long controversy between England and Holland touching their respective territorial rights in America, it was, indeed, the uniform contention of the English that the Dutch were interlopers in the interior, and that the exclusive British title to the coast was beyond question.

Attached to the charter given by the States-General to the New Netherland Company was Block's "fignrative map," already alluded to. The grant accorded to the company a trade monopoly, which, however, was only "for four voyages, within the term of three years, commencing the 1st of January, 1615, next ensuing, or sooner." During this three years' period it was not to be "permitted to any other person from the United Netherlands to sail to, navigate, or frequent the said newly discovered lands, havens, or places," "on pain of confiscation of the vessel and cargo wherewith infraction hereof shall be attempted, and a fine of 50,000 Netherland ducats for the benefit of the said discovers or finders."

No obligation to settle the land was prescribed for the company, and, indeed, this charter was purely a concession to private gain-seeking individuals, involving no projected aims of state policy or colonial undertaking whatever, although wisely bestowed for but a brief period. Under the strictly commercial régime of the New Netherland Company other voyages were made, all highly successful in material results, the fur trade with the Indians still being the objective. That the scope of operations of these early Dutch traders comprehended the entire navigable portion of the Hudson River is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that two forts were erected near the site of Albany, one called Fort Nassau, on an island in the river, and the other Fort Orange, on the mainland. It is hence easily conceivable that not infrequent landings were made by the bartering Dutchmen at the various Indian villages on our Westchester shore in these first days of Hudson River commerce.

On the 1st of January, 1618, the charter of the New Netherland Company expired by time limitation. Application for its renewal was refused, and from that date until July, 1621, the whole of New Netherland was a free field for whomsoever might care to assume the expense and hazard of enterprises within its borders. This peculiar condition was not, however, due to any flagging of interest in their American possessions on the part of the Dutch government, but was an incident of a well-considered political programme which was kept in abeyance because of the circumstances of the time, to be launched in the fullness of events.

The twelve years' truce between Holland and Spain, signed in 1609, was now drawing to its close. The question of the continuance of peace or the resumption of war was still a doubtful one, contingent

VIEW OF AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

upon the ultimate disposition of Spain, for the people of the Netherlands were resolved in no case to accept anything but absolute independence. In the eventuality of war it would become a particularly important part of Dutch policy not merely to provide for the protection of the new provinces in America and their prospective inhabitants, but to cope with the formidable Spanish maritime power in American waters, and as far as possible prey upon the rich commerce of Spain with that quarter of the globe and even wrest territory from her there. To this end it was more than idle to consider the rechartering of a weak aggregation of skippers and their financial sponsors as the sole delegate and upholder of the dignity and strength of the republic in the western seas. If hostilities were to be renewed it would be indispensable to institute an organization in connection with New Netherland powerful enough to encounter the fleets of Spain on at

least an equal footing. A perfect pattern for such an organization already existed in the Dutch East India Company. The creation of a West India Company on similar lines to meet the expected need was the grand scheme of statecraft which caused the States-General to reject the solicitations of the worthy traders of the New Netherland Company for a continuation of their valuable monopoly.

This was, moreover, no newly devised plan. In 1604, two years after the establishment of the East India Company, and long before the first appearance of the Dutch flag on the American coast, the conception of a West India Company was carefully formulated in a paper drawn up by one William Usselinx and presented, progressively, to the board of burgomasters of Amsterdam, the legislature or "states" of Holland province, and the States-General of the nation. In this document Usselinx proposed the formation of "a strong financial corporation, similar to that exploiting the East Indies, for the fitting out of armed vessels to attack the fleets of Spain and make conquest of her possessions in the American hemisphere."[1] But it was deemed inexpedient to sanction such a venture at the time.

Upon the termination of the twelve years' truce, in the spring of 1621, and the revival of the war between the two countries, the Dutch statesmen had the details of the much-cherished West Indian Company enterprise thoroughly matured, and on the 3d of June of that year the charter of the new corporation, comprising a preamble and forty-five articles, was duly signed. The subscriptions to its stock, which was required by law to be not less than seven millions of florins ($2,800,000), were immediately forthcoming. But although the existence of the company dated from July 1, 1621, it was some two years before its charter took complete effect, various disputed points not being immediately adjustable. Twelve additional articles were subsequently incorporated, the whole instrument receiving final approval on the 21st of June, 1623.

The Dutch West India Company, to whose care the conversion of the American wilderness into a habitation for civilized man was thus committed, and under whose auspices European institutions were first planted and organized government was erected and for many years administered here, was in its basic constitution a most notable body, partaking of the character of a civil congress so far as that is practicable for an association pursuing essential mercantile ends. It had a central directorate or executive board, officially styled the assembly of the XIX., which was composed of nineteen delegates, eighteen being elected from five local chambers, and the nineteenth being the

[1] Van Pelt's Hist. of the Greater New York, i. 9.

direct representative of "their High Mightinesses, the States-General of the United Provinces." The five local chambers were subordinate bodies which met independently, embracing shareholders from Amsterdam, Zeeland, the Meuse (including the cities of Dort, Rotterdam, and Delft), the North Quarter (which comprised the cities of North Holland outside of Amsterdam), and Friesland. The controlling influence in the company was that of the City of Amsterdam, which at first sent eight and later nine delegates to the Assembly of the XIX. The spheres of trade marked out for and confirmed to the company, "to the exclusion of all other inhabitants or associations of merchants within the bounds of the United Provinces," comprehended both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts of the two Americas, from the Straits of Magellan to the extreme north, and, in addition, the African coast from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope.

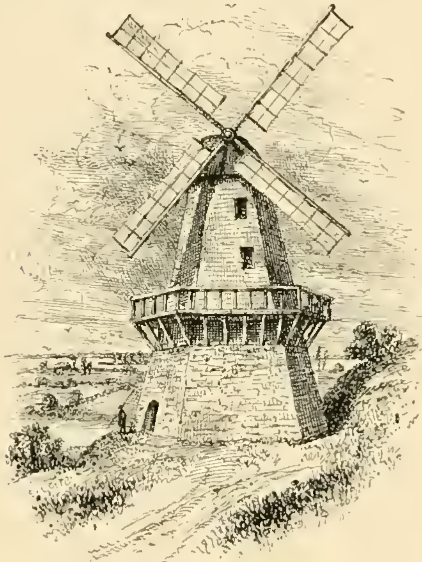
The rights and powers vested in the corporation fell short of those of actual independent sovereignty only in the particulars that the more weighty acts of the company, as declarations of war and conclusions of peace, were subject to the approval of the Dutch government, and that the officers appointed to rule distant countries, and their underlings, should be acceptable to the States-General and should take the oath of fealty to the Netherlands republic. "To protect its commerce and dependencies, the company was empowered to erect forts and fortifications; to administer justice and preserve order; maintain police and exercise the government generally of its transmarine affairs; declare war and make peace, with the consent of the States-General, and, with their approbation, appoint a governor or director-general and all other officers, civil, military, judicial, and executive, who were bound to swear allegiance to their High Mightinesses, as well as to the company itself. The director-general and his council were invested with all powers, judicial, legislative, and executive, subject, some supposed, to appeal to Holland, but the will of the company, expressed in their instructions or declared in their marine or military ordinances, was to be the law of New Netherland, excepting in cases not especially provided for, when the Roman law, the imperial statutes of Charles V., the edicts, resolutions, and customs of *Patria*—Fatherland—were to be received as the paramount rule of action."[1]

One of the primary aims in the construction of this mighty corporation being to establish an efficient and aggressive Atlantic maritime power in the struggle with Spain, very precise provisions were made for that purpose. "The States-General engaged to assist them with a million of guilders, equal to nearly half a million of dollars; and in case peace should be disturbed, with sixteen vessels of war and four-

[1] De Lancey's Hist. of the Manors of Westchester County (Scharf, i., 42)

teen yachts, fully armed and equipped—the former to be at least of three hundred and the latter of eighty tons' burden; but these vessels were to be maintained at the expense of the company, which was to furnish, unconditionally, sixteen ships and fourteen yachts, of like tonnage, for the defense of trade and purposes of war, which, with all merchant vessels, were to be commanded by an admiral appointed and instructed by their High Mightinesses."

And this magnificent programme of naval aggression was no mere wordy ornamentation woven into the prosaic context of a matter-of-fact commercial agreement for flattering effect. The West India Company, with its ships of war and armed merchantmen, under brilliant commanders, scoured the Spanish Main, capturing many a richly freighted bark of the enemy, and, not content with the prizes of the high seas, it dispatched expeditions to attack the Spanish territorial possessions in the Antilles and South America, which proceeded from conquest to conquest. By its energy and prowess, in the name of the republic of the United Netherlands, was begun in the first half of the seventeenth century the work of dismemberment of the vast Spanish empire in the New World which now, at the close of the nineteenth century, has been so gloriously completed by the arms of the republic of the United States. On the South American mainland Brazil, a province of Portugal, at that time tributary to Spain, was conquered and held for several years as Dutch territory, and the country known as Dutch Guiana, where the flag of Holland still floats, also yielded itself to these merchant princes of the Netherlands. In addition numerous West India islands were taken. A celebrated episode of the company's naval operations during the war was the capture of the Spanish "Silver Fleet" (1628), having the enormous value of $4,600,000 in our money. The financial concerns of the corporation prospered exceedingly as the result of these and other successes. In 1629 a dividend of fifty per cent. was declared, and in 1630 a dividend of twenty-five per cent.


DUTCH WINDMILL.

As we have seen, the status of the West India Company's organiza-

tion was not exactly settled until 1623, and although it nominally enjoyed exclusive dominion and trade privileges on the shores of the Hudson from the 1st of July, 1621, no steps were taken to colonize the land in the as yet unperfected state of its affairs. Before coming to the era of formal settlement under its administration it is necessary to complete our review of what is known of the history of the antecedent years.

It is certain that the separate voyages undertaken hither by various adventurous men between 1610 and 1623 resulted in no settlement of the country worthy of the name. We find no record of any transportation of yeomen or families to this locality for the announced object of making it their abode and developing its resources. Although there is no doubt respecting the utilization of Manhattan Island in more or less serious trading connections at an early period, the history of the first years of European occupation is involved in a haze of tradition and myth. From the vague reports given by different voyagers, ingenious and not over-scrupulous writers constructed fanciful accounts of pretended undertakings and exploits in this quarter, which, however, being presented in sober guise, have had to be subjected to methodical investigation. All historical scholars are familiar with the famous Plantagenet or Argall myth. In 1648 a pamphlet was published in England, with the title, "A Description of New Albion," by one Beauchamp Plantagenet, Esq., which assumed to narrate that in the year 1613 the English Captain Samuel Argall, returning from Acadia to Virginia, "landed at Manhattan Isle, in Hudson's River, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch governor under the West India Company of Amsterdam," and that this Dutch population and this Dutch ruler were forced to submit to the tremendous power of Great Britain. The whole story is a sheer fabrication, and so crude as to be almost vulgar. Yet such is the continuing strength of old pseudo-historical statement that we still find in compendious historical reference works of generally authentic character mention of Argall's apocryphal feat of arms—the "first conquest of New Netherland by the English,"—usually accompanied, albeit, by the discreet "(?)" conscientiously employed by such faithful compilers in cases of incertitude.

In 1619 occurred the first known visit of an English vessel to the waters of Westchester County and Manhattan Island, which merits passing notice here for an interesting incident attaching to it. Captain Thomas Dermer, sent by Sir Ferdinand Gorges, of the Plymouth Company, to the Island of Monhegan on the coast of Maine, partly to procure a cargo of fish and partly to return the unfortunate Indian slave Squanto to his home, came sailing through Long Island Sound in his

ship's pinnace on a trip to Virginia which he had decided to make after dispatching his laden vessel back to England. Leaving Martha's Vineyard, he shaped his voyage, he narrates, "as the coast led me till I came to the most westerly part where the coast began to fall away southerly [the eastern entrance to the Sound]. In my way I discovered land about thirty leagues in length [Long Island], heretofore taken for main where I feared I had been embayed, but by the help of an Indian I got to sea again, through many crooked and straight passages. I let pass many accidents in this journey occasioned by treachery where we were twice compelled to go together by the ears; once the savages had great advantage of us in a strait, not above a bow-shot [wide], and where a great multitude of Indians let fly at us

HELL GATE (FROM AN OLD PRINT).

from the bank; but it pleased God to make us victors. Near unto this we found a most dangerous cataract amongst small, rocky islands, occasioned by two unequal tides, the one ebbing and flowing two hours before the other." An excellent Westchester historian, commenting upon this description, identifies the place where the Indians "let fly" as Throgg's Point (the "dangerous cataract" being, of course, Hell Gate), and adds the following appropriate remarks: "Such was the voyage of the first Englishman who ever sailed through Long Island Sound, and the first who ever beheld the eastern shores of Westchester County. This was five years after the Dutch skipper Block had sailed through the same Sound from the Manhattans, and ten years after Hudson's discovery of the Great River of the Mountains. Very singular it is that fights with the Indians, both on the Hudson and on the Sound, and at points nearly opposite each other, were the beginning of civilization in Westchester County, and that the first was with the Dutch and the second with the English, the two races of whites which, in succession, ruled that county and the Province and State of New York."[1]

[1] De Lancey's Hist. of the Manors (Scharf, i., 40).

Notwithstanding the failure of the old New Netherland Company organized by Block, Christiansen, and their associates, to get its charter of monopoly renewed in 1618, that organization did not pass out of existence. To the New Netherland Company, moreover, belongs the honorable distinction of having made the first tangible proposal for the actual settlement of the country—a proposal quite explicit and manifestly sincere. On February 12, 1620, its directors addressed to Maurice, Prince of Orange, stadtholder or chief executive of the Netherlands, a petition reciting that "there is residing at Leyden a certain English preacher, versed in the Dutch language, who is well inclined to proceed thither [to New Netherland] to live, assuring the petitioners that he has the means of inducing over four hundred families to accompany him thither, both out of this country and England, provided they would be guarded and preserved from all violence on the part of other potentates, by the authority and under the protection of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States-General, in the propagation of the true, pure Christian religion, in the instruction of the Indians in that country in true doctrine, and in converting them to the Christian faith, and thus to the mercy of the Lord, to the greater glory of this country's government, to plant there a new commonwealth, all under the order and command of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States-General." The directors, on their part, offered to the intending emigrants free transportation in the company's vessels and cattle enough to supply each family, upon the single condition that the government would furnish two warships for the protection of the expedition from pirates. This condition was not complied with, and the scheme fell to the ground. It is a coincidence, and very presumably no accidental one, that this offer was volunteered in the same year that the Pilgrims sailed from Holland in the "Mayflower" and landed at Plymouth. Indeed, it is well known that the original intention of the "Mayflower" company was to proceed to New Netherland, and their landing on the New England coast instead was the result of a change of plan almost at the last moment. It will hence be observed that it was by the merest circumstance of fortune that our State of New York did not become the chosen seat of the Puritan element. Yet New Netherland as originally settled was just as distinctly a place of refuge for persecuted religious sectarians as New England, the Walloons who came to New York Bay being no less pilgrims for reasons of belief than the much-sung passengers of the "Mayflower."

It should be borne in mind that the confines of New Netherland, as that territory was understood by the Dutch government, were not limited to the shores of the Hudson River, New York Bay and its

estuaries, and Long Island Sound. Henry Hudson, in his voyage of discovery northward from Chesapeake Bay in 1609, had entered and explored Delaware Bay, and in the years which followed that region received the occasional attention of ships from Holland. It was embraced, as a matter of course, in the grant made to the West India Company. The name North River, by which the Hudson is still known at its mouth, was first given to it to distinguish it from the Delaware River or South River, as that stream was called by the Dutch.

We have shown, in perhaps greater detail than some of our readers may think is necessary in the pages of a local history, that the determining consideration in the creation of the West India Company was the desire of the Netherlands statesmen to provide, in view of the impending war with Spain, for a strong offensive and defensive naval arm in the Atlantic Ocean; and that the energies of the company were devoted on a great scale and with signal success to the realization of this aim. The peaceful colonizing and commercial functions of the company, on the other hand, were not outlined with any degree of special formality in the charter, but were rather left to the natural course of events. Upon this point the document specified simply that the company "Further may promote the populating of fertile and uninhabited regions, and do all that the advantages of these provinces [the United Netherlands], the profit and increase of commerce shall require." "Brief as is this language," aptly says a recent historian, "there was enough of it to express the vicious principle underlying colonization as conducted in those days. It was the advantage of *these provinces* that must be held mainly in view—that is, the home country must receive the main benefit from the settlements wherever made, and commerce must be made profitable. The *welfare*, present or prospective, of colonies or colonists, was quite a subsidiary consideration. This accounts for much of the subsequent injustice,

THE SHIP "NEW NETHERLAND."

oppression, and neglect which made life in New Netherland anything but agreeable, and finally made the people hail the conquest by England as a happy relief."[1]

Early in the month of May, 1623, the first shipload of permanent settlers from Holland came up New York Bay. They were Walloons —thirty families of them,—from the southern or Belgic provinces of the Lower Countries, which, having a strongly preponderating pro-Catholic element, had declined to join the northern Protestant provinces in the revolt against Spain. These Walloons, stanch Huguenots in religious profession, finding life intolerable in their native land, removed, like the sturdy English dissenters, to Holland, and there gladly embraced opportunity to obtain permanent shelter from persecution, as well as homes for themselves and their families, in the new countries of America. They were not Hollanders, and had nothing in common with the Dutch except similarity of religion; they did not even speak the Dutch language, but a French dialect. The ship which bore them, the "New Netherland," was a fine vessel for those days, of 266 tons burden. It came by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, and was under the protecting escort of an armed yacht, the "Mackerel." The whole expedition was commanded by Captain Cornelius Jacobsen May, in whose honor Cape May, the northern promontory at the entrance to Delaware Bay, was named. He was constituted the governor of the colony, with headquarters in Delaware Bay. He at once divided the settlers into a number of small parties. Some were left on Manhattan Island, and others were dispatched to Long Island (where the familiar local name of the Wallabout still preserves the memory of the Walloons), to Staten Island, to Connecticut, to the vicinity of Albany, and to the Delaware or South River—although the families locating on the Delaware returned to the northern settlements after a brief sojourn. It does not appear that any of these first colonists were placed in Westchester County, or even within the northern limits of Manhattan Island. Arriving in May, with seeds and agricultural implements, they were able to raise and garner a year's crop, and consequently suffered none of the hardships which made the lot of the Puritans during their first winter at Plymouth so bitter. Although distributed into little bands, which might have been easily exterminated by organized attack, they sustained, moreover, peaceful relations with the Indians. Thus from the very start fortune favored the enterprise of European colonization in New York.

Having in this and the preceding chapter, with tolerable regard for proportions, as well as attention to minuteness in the more important

[1] Van Pelt's Hist. of the Greater New York, i., 13.

matters of detail, outlined the general conditions prevailing previously to and at the time of discovery, and traced the broader historical facts preliminary to the settlement of Westchester County, we shall now, in entering upon the period when that settlement began, have mainly to do with the exclusive aspects of our county's gradual development, giving proper notice, however, to the general history and conditions of the changing times as the narrative progresses.

CHAPTER IV

EARLIEST SETTLERS—BRONCK, ANNE HUTCHINSON, THROCKMORTON, CORNELL

URING the first fifteen or so years after the beginning of the colonization of New Netherland there was no attempt at settlement north of the Harlem River, so far as can be determined from the records that have come down to us. The earliest recorded occupation of Westchester land by an actual white settler dates from about 1639. At that period at least one man of note and substance, Jonas Bronck, laid out a farm and erected a dwelling above the Harlem. That he had predecessors in that section is extremely improbable. The entire Westchester peninsula at that time was a wilderness, inaccessible from Manhattan Island, except by boat.[1] The colony proper, as inaugurated by the few families of Walloons, who came over in 1623, and as subsequently enlarged by gradual additions, was at the far southern end of Manhattan Island, where a fort was built for the general security, and where alone existed facilities for trade and social intercourse. To this spot and its immediate vicinity settlement was necessarily confined for some years; and though by degrees certain enterprising persons took up lands considerably farther north, steadily pushing on to the Harlem, it is most unlikely that that stream was crossed for purposes of habitation by any unremembered adventurer before the time of Bronck. Certainly any earlier migration into a region utterly uninhabited except by Indians, and separated by water from all communication with the established settlements, would have been an event of some importance, which hardly could have escaped mention. We may therefore with reasonable safety assume that Bronck, the first white resident in Westchester County of whom history leaves any trace, was

[1] That is, not conveniently or for practical purposes accessible otherwise. At Kingsbridge, the place of divide between Spuyten Duyvil Creek and the Harlem River—known in the earliest times as "the fording place"—venturesome persons would occasionally ford the stream. In the journals of Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter—a narrative of a visit to New York in 1679—it is related (p. 135) that people "can go over this creek at dead low water upon rocks and reefs at the place called Spyt den duyvel" (the original name of Kingsbridge). The editor of this History has crossed there when fishing, finding the passage reasonably safe at "dead low water." At other times, when the tide was higher but not full, it was fordable, although dangerous, the element of risk being enlarged by the rapidity of the current.

the first in fact, and that with his coming, about the year 1639, the annals of the civilized occupation of our county begin.

The little colony of Walloons landed on Manhattan Island by the ship "New Netherland" in the spring of 1623 was, as we have seen, only one of several infant colonies planted on the same occasion and governed by a director of the Dutch West India Company, who had his headquarters in Delaware Bay. The first director, Cornelius Jacobsen May, was succeeded at the expiration of a year by William Verhulst, who in 1626 was replaced by Peter Minuit. Previously to Minuit's appointment little effort had been made to give a formal character to the administration of the local affairs of New Netherland, although the interests of the settlements were not neglected. In 1625 wheeled vehicles were introduced, and a large importation of domestic animals from Holland was made, including horses, cattle, swine, and sheep. Moreover, some new families and single people, mostly Walloons, were brought over.

KIEFT'S MODE OF PUNISHMENT.

With the arrival of Peter Minuit, as director-general, on May 4, 1626, the concerns of the colony first came under a carefully ordered scheme of management. The settlements in New York Bay were now made the seat of government of New Netherland. The director-general was to exercise the functions of chief executive, subject to the advice of a council of five members, which, besides acting as a legislative and general administrative body, was to constitute a tribunal for the trial of all cases at law arising, both civil and criminal. There were two other officers of importance—a secretary oft he council and a schout-fiscaal. The latter performed the combined duties of public prosecutor, treasurer, and sheriff. There was

no provision for representative government, although it was customary in cases of considerable public moment to call in some of the principal citizens as advisers, who in such circumstances had an equal voice with the members of the council. Of this custom the directors sometimes took advantage in order to place the responsibility for serious and perhaps questionable acts of policy upon the citizens. The conduct of Director Kieft in entering upon his course of violent aggression against the Indians, which resulted in great devastation in our county, was given the color of popular favor in this manner.

In the early months of Minuit's administration the Island of Manhattan was purchased from the Indians "for the value of sixty guilders," or $24. The same ship which carried to Holland the news of this transaction bore a cargo of valuable peltries (including 7,246 beaver skins) and oak and hickory timber. The first year of Minuit's directorship was also signalized by the dispatching of an embassy to New England, partly with the object of cultivating trade relations with the Puritan settlers, but mainly in connection with the rival English and Dutch territorial claims. Thus at the very outset of systematic government by the Dutch in their new possessions the controversy with England, destined to be settled thirty-seven years later by the stern law of the stronger, came forward as a subject requiring special attention.

It should not be supposed that the settlement on Manhattan Island at this early period enjoyed any pretensions as a community. Indeed, it had scarcely yet risen to true communal dignity. According to Wassanaer, the white population in 1628 was 270. But this number did not represent any particularly solid organization of people composed of energetic and effective elements. The settlers up to this time were almost exclusively refugees from religious persecution, who came for the emergent reason that they were without homes in Europe—mostly honest, sturdy people, but poor and unresourceful. The inducements so far offered by the West India Company were not sufficiently attractive to draw other classes to their transatlantic lands, and the natural colonists of the New Netherland, the yeomen and burghers of the United Provinces, finding no appearance of advantage to offset the plain risks involved in emigration, were very reluctant to leave their native country, where conditions of life were comfortable and profitable much beyond the average degree. This reluctance was alluded to in the following strong language in a report made to the States-General by the Assembly of the XIX. in 1629: "The colonizing such wild and uncultivated countries demands more inhabitants than we can well supply; not so much through lack of population, in which our provinces abound, as from the fact that all

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CHARTER OF NEW NETHERLAND.

who are inclined to do any sort of work here procure enough to eat without any trouble, and are therefore unwilling to go far from home on an uncertainty."

It accordingly became a matter of serious consideration for the company to devise more effective colonizing plans. After careful deliberation, an elaborate series of provisions to this end was drawn up, entitled "Freedoms and Exemptions granted by the Assembly of the XIX. of the Privileged West India Company to all such as shall plant any colonies in New Netherland," which in June, 1629, received the ratification of the States-General. As this document was the basis upon which the celebrated patroonships, including the patroonship of Yonkers, were founded, a brief summary of it is in order.

Any member of the West India Company who should settle a "colonie" (*i. e.*, a plantation or landed proprietorship) in New Netherland was entitled to become a beneficiary of the Privileges and Exemptions, but that right was withheld from all other persons. The whole coun-

try was thrown open under the offer, excepting "the Island of Manhattan," which was reserved to the company. A colonie, within the meaning of the document, was to be a settlement of "fifty souls, upwards of fifteen years old," one-fourth to be sent during the first year and the remainder before the expiration of the fourth year. Everyone complying with these conditions was to be acknowledged a patroon of New Netherland. The landed limits of the patroonships were extensible sixteen English miles "along the shore—that is, on one side of a navigable river, or eight miles on each side of a river—and so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers will permit"; and the company waived all pecuniary consideration for the land, merely requiring settlement. Upon the patroons was conferred the right to "forever possess and enjoy all the lands lying within the aforesaid limits, together with the fruits, rights, minerals, rivers, and fountains thereof; as also the chief command and lower jurisdiction, fishing, fowling, and grinding, to the exclusion of all others, to be holden from the company as a perpetual inheritance." In case "anyone should in time prosper so much as to found one or more cities," he was to "have power and authority to establish officers and magistrates there, and to make use of the title of his colonie according to his pleasure and the quality of the persons." The patroons were directed to furnish their settlers with "proper instructions, in order that they may be ruled and governed conformably to the rule of government made or to be made by the Assembly of the XIX., as well in the political as in the judicial government." Special privileges of traffic along the whole American coast from Florida to Newfoundland were bestowed upon the patroons, with the proviso that their returning ships should land at Manhattan Island, and that five per cent. of the value of the cargo should be paid to the company's officers there. It was even permitted to the patroons to traffic in New Netherland waters, although they were strictly forbidden to receive in exchange any article of peltry, "which trade the company reserve to themselves." Nevertheless they were free to engage in the coveted peltry trade at all places where the Company had no trading station, on condition that they should "bring all the peltry they can procure" either to Manhattan Island or direct to the Netherlands, and pay to the company "one guilder for each merchantable beaver and otter skin." The company engaged to exempt the colonists of the patroons

DUTCH PATROON.

from all "customs, taxes, excise, imports, or any other contributions for the space of ten years." In addition to the grants to the patroons, it was provided that private persons, not enjoying the same privileges as the patroons, who should be inclined to settle in New Netherland, should be at liberty to take up as much land as they might be able properly to improve, and to "enjoy the same in full property." The principle of recompense to the Indians for the lands, as a necessary preliminary to legal ownership, was laid down in the stipulation that "whoever shall settle any colonie outside of Manhattan Island shall be obliged to satisfy the Indians for the land they shall settle upon." The patroons and colonists were enjoined "in particular and in the speediest manner" to "endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may support a minister and schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cool and be neglected among them." With an eye to possible infringements upon the commercial monopoly of the company, the colonists were prohibited from making any woolen, linen, or cotton cloth, or weaving any other stuffs, on pain of banishment. The universal recognition in those times of the propriety and expediency of employing negro slaves in new countries found expression in Article XXX. of the instrument, as follows: "The company will use their endeavors to supply the colonists with as many blacks as they conveniently can, on the conditions hereafter to be made; in such manner, however, that they shall not be bound to do it for a longer time than they shall think proper."

So far as this new system of "Freedoms and Exemptions" was intended to encourage proprietary enterprises in New Netherland, its purposes were at once realized. Indeed, even before the final ratification of the plan, several of the leading shareholders of the company sent agents across the water to select the choicest domains, which were duly confirmed to them as patroons soon after the charter went into effect. Thus Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, through their representatives, made purchases of land from the Indians on Delaware Bay, one hundred and twenty-eight miles long and eight miles broad, and were created patroons in consequence. The first patroonship erected within the borders of the State of New York was that of Rensselaerswyck, comprising territory on both banks of the upper Hudson, of which Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, of Amsterdam, was the founder. This great tract was subsequently changed into an English manor, and continued under the proprietorship of a single hereditary owner until near the middle of the present century. Another of the early patroons, Michael Pauw, acquired lands on the west shore of the North River, now occupied by Jersey City and Hoboken, later adding Staten Island to his possessions, and named

the whole district Pavonia. Westchester County, as an inviting locality for a patroonship, did not immediately claim notice; but, as we shall see, it received in due time its share of attention in this regard, becoming the seat of one of the most noted of all the patroons, Adrian Van der Donck.

Much discontent arose among the general membership of the West India Company on account of the land-grabbing operations of the wealthy directors, which was intensified as time passed by continuing evidences of the self-seeking and general thriftiness of the patroons. It was charged that the latter paid little or no heed to the plain spirit of the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which in creating the patroons had in view essentially the development of the country granted to them; and that, instead of settling the land in good faith, they sought principally the profits of trade, coming into conflict with the interests of the company. One result of the controversy was the recall of Minuit, who was supposed to have shown too much partiality for the patroons and too little zeal for the protection of the company against their personal enterprises. This happened in 1633. The next director-general was Walter Van Twiller, who remained in office until 1638, being dismissed for promiscuous irregularities of conduct, both official and personal.

From the pages of De Laet, the historian of the West India Company, we obtain an interesting statement of the fiscal affairs of New Netherland to the close of Minuit's directorship—that is, to the end of the first term of organized government. The total exports of the Province of New Netherland from its foundation to the beginning of 1633 amounted in value to 454,127 florins. The value of the imports during the same time was 272,847 florins. Thus for the nine years the company realized a profit on trade transactions of 181,280 florins, or about $8,000 annually. This was an exceedingly trifling return on a capitalization of nearly three millions of dollars, and it is no wonder that the practical-minded merchants who controlled the company began to look in a decidedly pessimistic spirit at the whole New Netherland undertaking, and as time went by conceived a fixed indifference to the local welfare of such barren and unprofitable settlements. On the other hand, the company was earning magnificent sums in prize money from its captures of the enemy's merchant ships, and was drawing handsome revenues from the newly conquered dominions in South America and the West Indies. The contempt in which New Netherland came to be held because of its unproductiveness is strikingly illustrated by the selections of men to manage its affairs. Van Twiller, who succeeded Minuit, was a mere coarse buffoon; and Kieft, who followed Van Twiller, was a cruel and vulgar

despot, who from the first regarded his position as that of sovereign lord of the country, and proceeded to rule it by his arbitrary will, dispensing with a council. It is sufficient to contrast these selections of rulers for New Netherland with the choice of Prince Maurice of Nassau for governor of the Province of Brazil, to appreciate the comparatively low and scornful estimation placed upon the North American realms in the inner councils of the West India Company after due experience in their attempted exploitation. According to an explicit "Report on the Condition of New Netherland," presented to the States-General in 1638, the company declared that up to that time it had suffered a net loss in its New Netherland enterprise; that it was utterly unable to people the country; and that "nothing now comes from New Netherland but beaver skins, minks, and other furs."

Closely following the submission of this significant report came a new departure in policy as to colonization, which had far-reaching effects, and under which before long a tide of immigration began to roll into our section.

Realizing at last that the splendid scheme of patroonships, or a landed aristocracy, instituted in 1629, appealed only to a limited class of ambitious and wealthy men, who could never be relied upon to perform the tedious and financially hazardous work of settling the country with a purely agricultural population, the States-General on September 2, 1638, at the instance of the company, made known to the world that henceforth the soil of New Netherland would be open to all comers, of whatever position in society, whether natives of the home country or inhabitants of other nations not at war with the Netherlands. The specific terms attached to this very radical proposition were the following:

"All and every the inhabitants of this State, or its allies and friends," were invited to take up and cultivate lands in New Netherland, and to engage in traffic with the people of that region. Persons taking advantage of the offer of traffic were required to have their goods conveyed on the ships of the West India Company, paying an export duty of ten per cent. on merchandise sent out from the ports of the Netherlands, and an import duty of fifteen per cent. on merchandise brought thither from New Netherland. These certainly were not onerous customs exactions. Respecting individuals, of whatever nationality, desiring to acquire and cultivate land, the director and council were instructed "to accommodate everyone, according to his condition and means, with as much land as he can properly cultivate, either by himself or with his family." The land thus conceded was to become absolute private property, and to be free from burdens of every kind until after it had been pastured or culti-

vated four years; but subsequently to that period the owner was to pay to the company "the lawful tenths of all fruit, grain, seed, tobacco, cotton, and such like, as well as of the increase of all sorts of cattle." Those establishing themselves in New Netherland under this offer were bound to submit themselves to the regulations and orders of the company, and to the local laws and courts; but there was no stipulation for the renunciation of allegiance to foreign potentates. Considering the illiberal tendency of international relations prevalent in the seventeenth century, and the native self-sufficient character of the Dutch race, this whole measure is remarkable for its broad and generous spirit. There was no allusion in it to the subject of religious conformity, and the perfect toleration thus implied afforded a strong inducement to persons growing restive under the narrow institutions of the English colonies. This element, migrating from New England, found the shores of Westchester County most convenient for settlement, and became one of the most important and aggressive factors of our early population.

DUTCH COUNTRY PEOPLE.

The noteworthy measure of 1638, whose provisions we have just analyzed, was supplemented in July, 1640, by an act of the States-General effecting a thorough revision of the charter of Freedoms and Exemptions of 1629. The patroonships were not abrogated, but the right to be chosen as patroons was no longer confined to members of the company, and the privileges and powers of the patroons were subjected to considerable modification. The legal limits of their estates were reduced to four English miles along the shore, although they might extend eight miles landward in; and the planting of their "colonies" was required to be completed within three instead of four years. Trade privileges along the coast outside of the Dutch dominions were continued as before; but within the territory of New Netherland no one was permitted to compete with the ships of the company, excepting that fishing for cod and the like was allowed, on condition that the fisherman should sail direct to some European country with his catch, putting in at a Netherlands port to pay a prescribed duty to the company. In this act much greater relative importance was attached to the subject of free colonists, or colonizers other than patroons, than in the original charter of 1629, the object manifestly being to assure the public that New Netherland was

not a country set apart for lords and gentlemen, but a land thrown open in the most comprehensive way to the common people. Free colonists were defined to be those who should "remove to New Netherland with five souls above fifteen years," and all such were to be granted by the director-general "one hundred morgens (two hundred acres) of land, contiguous one to the other, wherever they please to select." The colonists were put on precisely the same footing as the patroons in matters of trade privilege, and, in fact, enjoyed all the material rights granted to the patroons except those of bearing a title and administering great landed estates, which, however, were equally within their reach in case of their ability to comply with the requirement for the transportation from the old country and introduction into the new of fifty bona fide settlers. The company assumed the responsibility of providing and maintaining "good and suitable preachers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick"; and it extended to the free colonists, no less than the colonists of the patroons, exemption from all taxes for a certain period. The former clause regarding negroes was renewed in about the same language, as follows: "The company shall exert itself to provide the patroons and colonists, on their order, with as many blacks as possible, without, however, being further or longer obligated thereto than shall be agreeable."

Thus from 1629 to 1640 three distinct plans for promoting the settlement of New Netherland were formulated and spread before the public. The first plan, after being tested for nine years, was found a complete failure, because based upon the theory that colonization should naturally and would most effectively proceed from the patronage of the rich, who, acquiring as a free gift the honors of title and the dignities of landed proprietorship, would, it was thought, readily support those honors and dignities by the substance of an established vassalage. It was soon found that such a theory was quite incapable of application to a country as yet undeveloped, and that the sole reliable and solid colonization in the conditions which had to be dealt with would be that pursued on the democratic principle and undertaken in their independent capacity by citizens of average means and ordinary aims. It stands to the credit of the West India Company and the Dutch government that, having discovered their fundamental error of judgment in the first plan of settlement, they lost no time in framing another, which was made particularly judicious and liberal in its scope and details, and was as successful in its workings as the original scheme had been disappointing.

We have now arrived at the period indicated at the beginning of this chapter as that of the appearance of the first known settlers

within the original historic borders of our County of Westchester. The attention of the Dutch pioneers on Manhattan Island had early been directed to this picturesque and pleasant region, and it is a pretty well accepted fact that some land purchases were made from the Westchester Indians antedating 1639, although the records of these assumed transactions have been lost. The most ancient deed to Westchester lands which has been preserved to the present day bears date of August 3, 1639, and by its terms the Indians dispose of a tract called Keskeskeck; the West India Company being the purchasers, through their representative, Cornelius Van Tienhoven, provincial secretary to Director Kieft.

In the next year Van Tienhoven was dispatched by Kieft on similar important business to this same section; and, April 19, bought from the Siwanoy Indians all the lands located in the southeastern portion of Westchester County, running as far eastward in Connecticut as the Norwalk River. The instructions under which he acted directed him to purchase the archipelago, or group of islands, at the mouth of the Norwalk River, together with all the adjoining territory on the mainland, and "to erect thereon the standard and arms of the High and Mighty Lords States-General; to take the savages under our protection, and to prevent effectually any other nation encroaching on our limits." The purchase of 1640 was in the line of state policy, being conceived and consummated as a countercheck to the English, who, having by this time appeared in considerable numbers on the banks of the Connecticut River, were making active pretensions to the whole western territory along the Sound and in the interior, and were thus seriously menacing the integrity of the Dutch colonial empire.

We may here appropriately pause to glance at some pertinent aspects of British colonial progress in New England — aspects with which, we shall be bound to grant, those of contemporaneous Dutch development in New Netherland do not compare over-favorably.

The Pilgrims of the "Mayflower" landed on Plymouth Rock late in the month of December, 1620, a little more than two years before the original company of Walloons came to New York Bay on the ship "New Netherland." The first British settlement in New England and the first Dutch settlement in New Netherland were thus inaugurated almost simultaneously, the former having a slight advantage as to time, and the latter a considerable one in the possession of a more genial climate, a less stubborn soil, and a superior natural location, as also in the enjoyment of a more powerful, interested, and liberal home patronage. From the parent settlement at Plymouth, the English not only rapidly advanced into the whole surrounding country, but in the course of a few years sent colonizing parties to quite remote

localities; and wherever an English advance colony gained a foothold, there permanent and energetic settlement was certain very speedily to follow. As early as 1633 a number of Englishmen from Massachusetts, desiring to investigate the Indian stories of a better soil to the south, came and established themselves in the Connecticut Valley. Shortly afterward a patent for this region was obtained from the British crown by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others. In 1636 John Winthrop, son of Governor Winthrop, settled on the Connecticut with a goodly company; and in 1638 Theophilus Eaton, with the noted Rev. John Davenport, led a large band of settlers to the same locality, planting the New Haven colony. Rhode Island was brought under settlement also at that period by Roger Williams and other dissidents from the intolerant religious institutions of Massachusetts.

Now, the English, in establishing important and flourishing settlements throughout Connecticut and Rhode Island, were, technically speaking, not in advance of the Dutch. The Dutch were the undisputed first discoverers of the entire Connecticut and Rhode Island coastline, along which the intrepid navigator Block sailed in 1614. Later, Dutch voyagers returned to those shores and trafficked with the natives; and finally, in 1623, when Director May arrived in New York harbor on his mission of colonization from the West India Company, he dispatched a number of his Walloon families to the mouth of the Connecticut River. At the same place the arms of the States-General of the Netherlands were formally erected in 1632, and in 1633 Director-General Van Twiller bought from the Indians a tract of land called Connittelsock, situated on the western Connecticut bank, on which tract, at a point sixty miles above the mouth of the stream, a Dutch fort and trading-house, named Good Hope, were built. Indeed, the English pioneers of 1633, proceeding down the Connecticut, found the Dutch already in possession there.

But the Dutch occupation of the mouth and valley of the Connecticut River was never otherwise than merely nominal, a fact which, in view of the easily conceivable future importance of that quarter in connection with the maintenance of Dutch territorial claims, is certainly striking, and characteristically illustrates Dutch deliberation and inefficiency in colonizing development as contrasted with English alacrity and thoroughness. Moreover, all the connecting circumstances indicate that the establishment by the Dutch of a fort and trading-post on the Connecticut was not prompted by serious designs of consecutive settlement, but was a pure extemporization in the interest of ultimate insistence upon lawful ownership of that region. From 1623, the year in which Manhattan Island was regularly settled,

until 1639, a period of sixteen years, not a single Dutch colony had been founded, and probably not a single Dutch family had taken up its abode, in all the country intervening between the Harlem and the Connecticut Rivers—a country splendidly wooded and watered, with a highly interesting coast and rich alluvial lands, and vastly important as an integral and related portion of the dominions of New Netherland. It may perhaps be replied that the whirlpool of Hell Gate presented a natural obstacle to convenient intercourse with the shores of the Sound, and consequently to advantageous settlement in the entire trans-Harlem country. But if the Manhattan Island colony had been animated by any noticeable spirit of progress, it would not have allowed sixteen years to pass without finding access to this region, either from the northern extremity of Manhattan Island or from the Long Island side. The truth is, there was no general development by the Dutch even of Manhattan Island during the period in question. Only its southern end was occupied by any regular aggregation of settlers, and this aggregation still existed mainly for the business of bartering with the Indians and sending to Holland "beaver skins, minks, and other furs," the only products which, as declared in the "Report of 1638 on the Condition of New Netherland," were afforded by the province.

To review the comparative situation in 1640, while the English had steadily and systematically advanced as an earnest and practical colonizing people, covering the land from Plymouth Rock to the Sound with organized settlements which sought the immediate development of all its available resources, the Dutch had remained stationary, with only a single settlement worthy of consideration. It is true they had located and occupied a few trading-posts in and around New York Bay, as well as in distant parts of New Netherland—in Delaware Bay, on the upper Hudson at Albany, and on the Connecticut River. But these enterprises represented in no case creditable colonizing endeavor.

It has been seen that, in the years 1639 and 1640, Cornelius Van Tienhoven, as the representative of Director-General Kieft, purchased from the Indians, first, a large Westchester tract called Keskeskeck, and, second, lands covering generally the southeastern section of this county and extending to the Norwalk River. This was done to forestall English claims to priority of possession, at that time conspicuously in course of preparation. But even in this matter of land purchases the Dutch were scarcely aforetime of the alert English. To the latter, also, the Indians executed a deed of sale, embracing extensive portions of Westchester County, and nearly as ancient as the first Dutch land deed. On July 1, 1640, Captain Nathaniel Turner, in be-

half of the New Haven colony (Quinnipiacke), bought from Ponus, sagamore of Toquams, and Wascussue, sagamore of Shippan, lands running eight miles along the Sound and extending sixteen miles into the northwestern wilderness. This tract was comprehensively known by the name of "The Toquams." Ponus prudently reserved for himself "the liberty of his corn and pasture lands." It included, in Connecticut, the present Town of Stamford, as well as Darien and New Canaan, and parts of Bedford and Greenwich; and, in Westchester County, the Towns of Poundridge, Bedford, and North Castle, either in whole or in part. On the basis of this purchase, the settlement at Stamford, Conn., was laid out in 1641. In 1655 the bargain of 1640 was reaffirmed by a new agreement with the Indians respecting the same district. No early settlements in the Westchester sections of the tract were attempted by the English; but it is an interesting point to bear in mind that the interior sections of this county bordering on Connecticut were first bought from the Indians not under Dutch but under English auspices, and thus that the English fairly share with the Dutch the title to original sovereignty in Westchester County, so far as that title can be said to be sustained by the right of mere purchase.

There was a second English purchase from the Indians in 1640, which constructively may have included some parts of Westchester County. Mehackem, Narawake, and Pemeate, Indians of Norwalk, agreed to convey to Daniel Patrick, of Greenwich, all their lands on the west side of "Norwake River, as far up in the country as an Indian can goe in a day, from sun risinge to sun settinge," the consideration being "ten fathoms wampum, three hatchets, three bows, six glasses, twelve tobacco pipes, three knives, tenn drills, and tenn needles."

It was a year or two previously to 1640 that Jonas Bronck, generally regarded as the first white inhabitant of Westchester County, came across the Harlem River to take up land and build a home. He was not a native Hollander, being, it is supposed, of Swedish extraction. But he appears to have made his home in Amsterdam, where he was married to one Antonia (or Teuntje) Slagboom. While there is no evidence that he was a man of large wealth, it is abundantly manifest that he was quite comfortably circumstanced in worldly goods. Unquestionably his sole object in emigrating to New Netherland was to acquire and cultivate land, probably under the liberal general offer to persons of all nations proclaimed by the States-General in 1638. He was, therefore, one of the first of the new and more substantial class of men who began to remove hither after the substitution by the West India Company of a broad and democratic plan of

colonization for the old exclusive scheme of special privileges to the patroons. Sailing from Amsterdam in a ship of the company's, with his wife and family, farmhands and their families, domestic servants, cattle, and miscellaneous goods, he landed on Manhattan Island; and, not caring to purchase one of the company farms there (the whole island having been expressly reserved to the private uses of the West India Company), proceeded to select a tract in the free lands beyond the Harlem. Here, pursuant to the custom peremptorily required by Dutch law, he first extinguished the Indian title, purchasing from the native chiefs Ranachqua and Taekamuck five hundred acres "lying between the great kill (Harlem River) and the Ahquahung" (now the Bronx River). An old "Tracing of Broncksland" is still preserved in the office of the secretary of state at Albany, upon which the house of Jonas Bronck is located. Its site as thus indicated was not far from the present depot of the Harlem River branch of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, at Morrisania. This dwelling is described as of "stone," covered with tiles, and had connected with it a barn, tobacco-house, and two barracks. As the Dutch word for stone *(steen)* is always ambiguous unless accompanied by a descriptive prefix, it is uncertain what kind of building stone, whether brick or the native rock of the country, was used by Bronck. In view of the generally provident character of the man, it is a reasonable supposition that he brought a supply of brick with him from Holland; and thus that the first house erected in the county was made of that respectable material. To his estate he gave the Scriptural name of Emmäus. From the inventory of the personal property which he left at his death, it is clear that he was a gentleman of cultivation. His possessions included pictures, a silver-mounted gun, silver cups, spoons, tankards, bowls, fine bedding, satin, grosgrain suits, linen shirts, gloves, napkins, tablecloths, and as many as forty books. The books were largely godly volumes, among them being Calvin's "Institutes," Luther's "Psalter" and "Complete Catechism," the "Praise of Christ," the "Four Ends of Death," and "Fifty Pictures of Death."

Bronck died in 1643. The celebrated Everardus Bogardus, the Dutch domine on Manhattan Island and husband of Anneke Jans, superintended the inventorying of his estate. His widow married Arent Van Corlaer, sheriff of Rensselaerswyck. Jonas Bronck left a son, Peter, who went with his mother to her new home, and from whom the numerous Bronx family of Albany and vicinity is descended. The Bronck property on the Harlem was sold on July 10, 1651, to Jacob Jans Stall. One of its subsequent owners was Samuel Edsall, a beaver-maker and man of some note in New York City, who had trade transactions with the Indians, became versed in their language, and

acted officially as interpreter. He sold it to Captain Richard Morris, and it subsequently became a part of the Manor of Morrisania.

The Bronx River, first known as Bronck's River, or the Bronck River, was appropriately so called for this pioneer settler on its banks; and from the stream, in our own day, has been derived the name given to the whole great and populous territory which Westchester County has resigned to the growing municipal needs of the City of New York. Whatever changes in local designations may occur in the American metropolis in the progress of time, it is a safe prediction that the name of the Borough of the Bronx, so happily chosen for the annexed districts, will always endure.

The example of Bronck in boldly venturing over upon the mainland would doubtless have found many ready followers among the Dutch already on Manhattan Island, or those who were now arriving in constantly increasing numbers from Europe, if the threatening aspect of the times had not plainly suggested to everybody the inexpediency of going into an open country exposed to the attacks of the Indians. In the summer and fall of 1641 events occurred which, considered in connection with the well-known unrelenting character of Director Kieft, foreshadowed serious trouble with the natives; and early in the spring of 1642 a war actually broke forth which, although at first conducted without special animosity, developed into a most revengeful and sanguinary struggle, with pitiless and undiscriminating massacre on both sides as its distinguishing characteristic. It is probable that, before the preliminaries of this war had so far developed as to fairly warn the people of the impending peril, various new Dutch farms and houses on the Westchester side were added to the one already occupied by Bronck. Be this at it may, it is certain that settlers from the New England colonies had begun to arrive at different localities on the Sound. These English settlers, in many regards the most important and interesting of the Westchester pioneers, now claim a good share of our notice.

First in point of prominence is to be mentioned the noted Anne Hutchinson, whose name, like that of Bronck, has become lastingly identified with Westchester County by being conferred upon a river. Whether she was the first of the immigrants from New England into Westchester County, can not be determined with absolute certainty; but there is no question that she was among the very earliest. In the summer of 1642, permission having been granted her by the Dutch authorities to make her home in New Netherland, she came to the district now known as Pelham, and on the side of Hutchinson's River founded a little colony. The company consisted of her own younger children, her son-in-law, Mr. Collins, his wife and family, and a few

congenial spirits. In barely a year's time the whole settlement was swept to destruction, everybody belonging to it being killed by the Indians, with the sole exception of an eight-year-old daughter of Mrs. Hutchinson's, who was borne away to captivity. The lady herself was burned to death in the flames of her cottage.

The tragical fate of Anne Hutchinson is one of the capital historic episodes of Westchester annals, because to the personality and career of this remarkable woman an abiding interest attaches. It is true that interest in Anne Hutchinson, in the form of special sympathy or special admiration, may vary according to varying individual capabilities for appreciation of the polemic type of women; but upon one point there can be no disagreement—she was among the foremost characters of her times in America, sustaining a conspicuous relation to early controversialism in the New England settlements, and must always receive attention from the students of that period.

She was of excellent English birth and connections. Her mother was the sister of Sir Erasmus Dryden, and she came collaterally from the same stock to which the poet Dryden and (though more distantly) the great Jonathan Swift trace their ancestry. Her husband, Mr. Hutchinson, is described as "a mild, amiable, and estimable man, possessed of a considerable fortune, and in high standing among his Puritan contemporaries"; entertaining an unchanging affection for his wife, and accompanying her through all her wanderings and trials, until removed by death a short time before her flight to our Westchester County. Mrs. Hutchinson personally was of spotless reputation and high and noble aims; benevolent, self-sacrificing; holding the things of the world in positive contempt; an enthusiast in religion, independent in her opinions, and fearless in advocacy of them. With her husband and their children, she left England and came to Massachusetts Bay in 1636. Settling in Boston, she immediately entered upon a career of religious teaching and proselytizing. "Every week she gathered around her in her comfortable dwelling a congregation of fifty or eighty women, and urged them to repentance and good deeds. Soon her meetings were held twice a week; a religious revival swept over the colony." But, careful not to offend against the decorum of the church, she confined her formal spiritual labors to the women, declining to address the men, although many of the latter, including some of the principal personages, visited her, and came under her personal and intellectual influence. Among her cordial friends and supporters were Harry Vane, the young governor of the colony; Mr. Colton, the favorite preacher; Coddington, the wealthy citizen; and Captain John Underhill, the hero of the Pequod wars, who, accepting a commission from the Dutch in their sanguinary

struggle with the Indians, was the leader of the celebrated expeditionary force which, in 1644, the year after the murder of Mrs. Hutchinson, marched into the heart of Westchester County and wreaked dire vengeance for that and other bloody deeds. To the work of instruction she added a large practical philanthropy, assisting the poor and ministering to the sick.

But it was not long before Mrs. Hutchinson, by the independence of her opinions, excited the serious displeasure of the rigid Puritan element. Her precise doctrinal offense against the established standards concerned, says a sympathetic writer, " a point so nice and finely drawn that the modern intellect passes it by in disdain; a difference so faint that one can scarcely represent it in words. Mrs. Hutchinson taught that the Holy Spirit was a person and was united with the believer; the Church, that the Spirit descended upon man not as a person. Mrs. Hutchinson taught that justification came from faith, and not from works; the Church scarcely ventured to define its own doctrine, but contented itself with vague declamation." Although at first the Hutchinsonians were triumphant, especially in Boston, where nearly the entire population were on their side, the power of the church speedily made itself felt. On August 30, 1637, the first synod held in America assembled at Cambridge, its object being " to determine the true doctrines of the church and to discover and denounce the errors of the Hutchinsonians." Eighty-two heresies were defined and condemned, certain individual offenders were punished or admonished, and Mrs. Hutchinson's meetings were declared disorderly and forbidden. Meantime Vane had been deposed as governor, and Winthrop, an unrelenting opponent of innovations, elected in his stead. In the following November Anne was publicly tried at Cambridge. " Although in a condition of health that might well have awakened manly sympathy, and that even barbarians have been known to respect, her enemies showed her no compassion. She was forced to stand up before the judges until she almost fell to the floor from weakness. No food was allowed her during the trial, and even the members of the court grew faint from hunger. She was allowed no counsel; no friend stood at her side; her accusers were also her judges." She was condemned by a unanimous vote, and sentenced to be imprisoned during the winter in the house of the intolerant Joseph Welde, and to be banished in the spring from the colony. While in duress pending her exile, she was excommunicated by the First Church of Boston for " telling a lie." In March, 1638, the Hutchinson family left Boston and removed to Rhode Island. There they remained until after the death of Mr. Hutchinson, in 1642, when Anne resolved to seek another home under the Dutch, and came to what is now Pelham, at that time a complete wilderness.

There is no record of land purchase from the Indians by Mrs. Hutchinson or any of her party. This is undoubtedly for the reason pointed out by Bolton, that the whole colony was exterminated before purchase could be completed. Indeed, it does not appear that even the formality of procuring written license from the Dutch authorities to settle in the country had yet been observed. The massacre occurred in September of 1643. It is said that an Indian came to Mrs. Hutchinson's home one morning, professing friendship. Finding that the little colony was utterly defenseless, he returned in the evening with a numerous party, which at once proceeded to the business of slaughter. According to tradition, the leader of the murderous Indians was a chief named Wampage, who subsequently called himself "Ann-Hoock," following a frequent custom among the savages, by which a warrior or brave assumed the name of his victim. In 1654, eleven years later, this Wampage, as one of the principal Indian proprietors of the locality, deeded land to Thomas Pell, over the signature of "Ann-Hoock." A portion of the peninsula of Pelham Neck was long known by the names of "Annie's Hoeck" and the "Manor of Ann Hoeck's Neck." Bolton, referring to various conjectures as to the site of Anne's residence, inclines to the opinion that it was "located on the property of George A. Prevoost, Esq., of Pelham, near the road leading to the Neck, on the old Indian Path." The only one of Mrs. Hutchinson's company spared by the attacking party was her youngest daughter, quite a small child, who, after being held in captivity four years, was released through the efforts of the Dutch governor and restored to her friends; but it is said that she "had forgotten her native language, and was unwilling to be taken from the Indians." This girl married a Mr. Cole, of Kingston, in the Narragansett country, and "lived to a considerable age." One of the sons of Anne Hutchinson, who had remained in Boston when his parents and the younger children left there in 1638, became the founder of an important colonial family, numbering among its members the Tory governor Hutchinson, of the Revolution; also a grown-up daughter of Mrs. Hutchinson's married and left descendants in New England.

In the autumn of 1642, a few months after Anne Hutchinson's first appearance on the banks of the Hutchinson River, the foundations of another notable English settlement on the Sound were laid. John Throckmorton, in behalf of himself and associates (among whom was probably his friend, Thomas Cornell), obtained from the Dutch government a license, dated October 2, 1642, authorizing settlement within three Dutch (twelve English) miles "of Amsterdam." In this license it was recited that "whereas Mr. Throckmorton, with his

associates, solicits to settle with thirty-five families within the limits of the jurisdiction of their High Mightinesses, to reside there in peace and enjoy the same privileges as our other subjects, and be favored with the free exercise of their religion," and there being no danger that injury to the interests of the West India Company would result from the proposed settlement, "more so as the English are to settle at a distance of three miles from us," "so it is granted." The locality selected by Throckmorton was Throgg's Neck (so called from his name, corrupted into Throgmorton), and apparently the colony was begun forthwith. By the ensuing spring various improvements had been made, and on July 6, 1643, a land-brief, signed by Director Kieft, "by order of the noble lords, the director and council of New Netherland," was granted to "Jan Throckmorton," comprising "a piece of land (being a portion of Vredeland), containing as follows: Along the East River of New Netherland, extending from the point half a mile, which piece of land aforesaid is surrounded on one side by a little river, and on the other side by a great kill, which river and kill, on high water running, meet each other, surrounding the land." The term "Vredeland" mentioned in the brief (meaning Free Land or Land of Peace) was the general name given by the Dutch to this and adjacent territory along the Sound, which was the chosen place of refuge for persons fleeing from New England for religious reasons.

John Throckmorton, the patentee, emigrated from Worcester County, England, to the Massachusetts colony, in 1631. He was in Salem as late as 1639; but, embracing the Baptist faith, removed soon afterward to Rhode Island, where he sustained relations of intimacy with Roger Williams. It is well known that Williams came to New Netherland in the winter of 1642-43, in order to obtain passage for Europe on a Dutch vessel, and it is not improbable that Throckmorton accompanied him on his journey to the Dutch settlements from Rhode Island.

One of Throckmorton's compatriots was Thomas Cornell, who later settled and gave his name to Cornell's Neck, called by the Indians Snakapins. He emigrated to Massachusetts from Essex, England, about 1636; kept an inn in Boston for a time; went to Rhode Island in 1641; and from there came to the Vredeland of New Netherland. On the 26th of July, 1646, he was granted by the Dutch a patent to a "certain piece of land lying on the East River, beginning from the kill of Bronck's land, east-southeast along the river, extending about half a Dutch mile from the river to a little creek over the valley (marsh) which runs back around this land." This patent for Cornell's Neck was issued at about the same time that the grant to Adrian Van der Donck of what is now Yonkers was made. The

Cornell and Van der Donck patents were the first ones of record to lands in Westchester County bestowed by Dutch authority subsequently to the Throckmorton grant of 1643. It is claimed for Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, that he was the earliest settler in Westchester County whose descendants have been continuously identified with the county to the present day. He was the ancestor of Ezra Cornell, founder of Cornell University, and Alonzo B. Cornell, governor of New York. His part in the first settlement of the county has been traced in an interesting and valuable pamphlet from the pen of Governor Cornell.[1] Both Throckmorton and Cornell escaped the murderous fury of the Indians to which Anne Hutchinson fell a victim in the fall of 1643. It is supposed that they were in New Amsterdam at the time with their families, or at all events with some of their children. Certain it is that the infant settlement on Throgg's Neck was not spared. Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, in his "History of New England from 1630 to 1646," says: "They [the Indians] came to Mrs. Hutchinson in way of friendly neighborhood as they had been accustomed, and, taking their opportunity, they killed her and Mr. Collins, her son-in-law, . . . and all her family, and such of Mr. Throckmorton's and Mr. Cornell's families as were at home, in all sixteen, and put their cattle into their barns and burned them." Throckmorton did not return to the Neck to live, or at least did not make that place his permanent abode. In 1652 he disposed definitely of the whole property, conveying it, by virtue of permission petitioned for and obtained from the Dutch director-general, to one Augustine Hermans. From him are descended, according to Bolton, the Throckmortons of Middletown, N. J. Cornell, after receiving the grant to Cornell's Neck, erected buildings there, which he occupied until forced for the second time by hostile Indian manifestations to abandon his attempt at residence in the Vredeland. His daughter Sarah testified in September, 1665, that he "was at considerable charges in building, manuring, and planting" on Cornell's Neck, and that after some years he was "driven off the said land by the barbarous violence of the Indians, who burnt his home and goods and destroyed his cattle." This daughter, Sarah, was married in New Amsterdam on the 1st of September, 1643, to Thomas Willett. She inherited Cornell's Neck from her father, and it remained in the possession of her descendants—the Willetts, of whom several were men of great prominence in our county—for more than a century. Thomas Cornell, after being driven away from Cornell's Neck, returned to Rhode Island, where he died in 1655.

[1] Some Beginnings of Westchester County History. Published for the Westchester County Historical Society, 1890.

In the preceding pages we have consecutively traced the several known efforts at settlement along the southeastern shores of Westchester County, from the time of Jonas Bronck's purchase on the Harlem to that of Thomas Cornell's flight from the ruins of his home on Cornell's Neck, covering a period of ten years, more or less. It is a meager and discouraging record. By reference to the map, it will be observed that all these first Westchester settlements were closely contiguous to one another, and embraced a continuous extent of territory. Bronck's patent reached to the mouth of the Bronx River, and was there joined by Cornell's; beyond which, successively, were Throckmorton's grant and the domain occupied by Anne Hutchinson. It is also of interest to note that the upper boundary of the four tracts corresponded almost exactly with the present corporate limits of the City of New York on the Sound.

CHAPTER V

THE REDOUBTABLE CAPTAIN JOHN UNDERHILL—DR. ADRIAN VAN DER DONCK

THE troubles of the Dutch with the Indians, to which frequent allusion has been made, began in 1641, as the result of a revengeful personal act, capitally illustrating the vindictiveness of the Indian character. In 1626, fifteen years before, a venerable Indian warrior, accompanied by his nephew, a lad

THE COLLECT POND—NEW YORK CITY.

of tender age, came to New Amsterdam with some furs, which he intended to sell at the fort. Passing by the edge of the "Collect," a natural pond in the lower part of Manhattan Island, he was stopped

by three laborers belonging to the farm of Director Minuit (said to have been negroes), who, coveting the valuable property which he bore, slew him and made off with the goods, but permitted the boy to escape. The latter, after the custom of his race in circumstances of personal grievance, made a vow of vengeance, which in 1641, having arrived at manhood's estate, he executed in the most deliberate and cruel manner. He one day entered the shop of Claes Cornelisz Smits, a wheelwright living near Turtle Bay, in the vicinity of Forty-fifth street and the East River. The Dutchman, who knew him well, suspected no harm, and, after setting food before him, went to a chest to get some cloth which the young savage had said he came to purchase. The other fell upon him from behind, and struck him dead with an ax. This terrible deed aroused strong feeling throughout the settlements, and Director Kieft demanded satisfaction of the chief of the Weckquaesgecks, the tribe to which the offender belonged. An exasperating answer was returned, to the effect that the accused had but avenged a wrong, and that, in the private opinion of the chief, it would not have been excessive if twenty Christians had been killed in retaliation. The only recourse now left was to declare war against the savages, and to this end all the heads of families were summoned to meet on August 29, 1641, "for the consideration of some important and necessary matters." The assembled citizens selected a council of twelve men, who, upon advising together, recommended that further efforts be made to have the murderer delivered up to justice. All endeavors in this line proving unsuccessful, war was declared in the spring of 1642. Hendrick Van Dyck, an ensign in the company's service, was placed in command of eighty men, with instructions to proceed against the Weckquaesgecks and "execute summary vengeance upon that tribe with fire and sword." This party crossed into our county, and, under the direction of a guide supposed to be experienced and trustworthy, marched through the woods with the intent of attacking the Indian village, which then occupied the site of Dobbs Ferry. But they lost their way, and were obliged to come ingloriously back. Shortly afterward a treaty of peace was signed at Bronck's house, the Indians engaging to give up the murderer of Smits, dead or alive. The first period of the war was thus brought to an end.

But causes of irritation still existed, which were not done away with as time passed. The assassin was not surrendered according to agreement, and the savages continued to commit outrages, which greatly incensed the not too amiable Dutch director-general. The next event of importance was an act of aggression against the Indians, quite as barbarous as any ever perpetrated by the latter, which

has covered Kieft's name with infamy. Early in February, 1643, a band of Mohawks from the north made a descent upon the Mohican tribes, for the purpose of levying tribute. Many of the Weckquaesgecks and Tappaens, to escape death at the hands of the invaders, fled to the Dutch settlements; and thus large parties of Indian fugitives belonging in part to a tribe against whom Kieft cherished bitter resentment were gradually congregated within close proximity to New Amsterdam. The director, seizing the opportunity for vengeance thus presented, secretly dispatched a body of soldiers across the Hudson to Pavonia, which had been selected by most of the fleeing savages as their headquarters, and on the night between the 25th and 26th of February these natives were indiscriminately massacred. "Nearly a hundred," says Bancroft, "perished in the carnage. Daybreak did not end its horrors; men might be seen, mangled and helpless, suffering from cold and hunger; children were tossed into the stream, and as their parents plunged to their rescue the soldiers prevented their landing, that both child and parent might drown." Similar scenes were enacted at Corlaer's Hook, where forty Indians were slaughtered. In 1886 the remains of some of these victims of Kieft's inhumanity and treachery were unearthed by persons making excavations at Communipaw Avenue and Halliday Street, Jersey City. A newspaper report published at the time, after reciting the historical facts of the tragedy, gave the following particulars: "Trenches were dug [by the soldiers] and the bodies thrown into them indiscriminately. The scene of the butchery is now known as Lafayette, and after nearly two and a half centuries one of the trenches has been opened. Crowds gathered around the place yesterday while the excavating was going on, and looked at the skulls and bones. The number of the bodies can only be determined by means of the skulls, as the bones are all mixed together, and many of them crumble at the touch into fine dust."[1]

A furious war of revenge was now proclaimed by the savages, a general alliance of the tribes being effected. Even the Long Island Indians, who had formerly dwelt on terms of amity with the settlers, rose against the common white foe. The settlement planted in the previous year at Maspeth by the Rev. Francis Doughty, father of Elias Doughty, who in 1666 became the purchaser of Van der Donck's patroonship of Yonkers, was entirely swept away; and another English settlement at Gravesend, presided over by Lady Moody (an exile from New England, like Anne Hutchinson, on account of religious belief), was three times fiercely attacked, but, being excellently stockaded, successfully resisted the desperate assailants. Historical writ-

[1] New York *Tribune*, April 23, 1886.

ers upon this gloomy period vie with each other in vivid descriptions of its terrors. "The tomahawk, the firebrand, and scalping-knife," says O'Callaghan, "were clutched with all the ferocity of frenzy, and the war-whoop rang from the Raritan to the Connecticut. . . . Every settler on whom they laid hands was murdered, women and children dragged into captivity, and, though the settlements around Fort Amsterdam extended, at this period, thirty English miles to the east and twenty-one to the north and south, the enemy burned the dwellings, desolated the farms and farmhouses, killed the cattle, destroyed the crops of grain, hay, and tobacco, laid waste the country all around, and drove the settlers, panic-stricken, into Fort Amsterdam." Roger Williams, who was in New Amsterdam during that eventful spring writes: "Mine eyes saw the flames of their towns, the frights and hurries of men, women, and children, and the present removal of all who could to Holland." Nevertheless, after a few weeks of violent aggression, the Indians were persuaded to sign another peace, negotiated mainly through the prudent efforts of the patroon David Pietersen de Vries. This treaty included the solemn declaration that "all injuries committed by the said natives against the Netherlanders, or by the Netherlanders against said natives, shall be forgiven and forgotten forever, reciprocally promising one the other to cause no trouble the one to the other."

There is no doubt that the Dutch, alarmed for the very existence of their New Netherland colony, this time most scrupulously observed the compact entered into; but the Indians, still restless and unsatiated, renewed hostilities with the expiration of the summer season. In September they attacked and captured two boats descending the river from Fort Orange, and, resuming their programme of promiscuous slaughter, they soon afterward murdered the New England refugees on the coast of the Sound and burnt their dwellings. It was consequently resolved by the Dutch to take up arms once more, and, if possible, administer a crushing blow to the power of their enemy, a resolve which, during the ensuing winter, they were enabled by good fortune to realize, at least to the limit of reasonable expectation.

Kieft first sent a force to scour Staten Island, which, like Van Dyck's Westchester expedition of 1642, returned without results, no foe being encountered. A detachment of one hundred and twenty men was then dispatched by water to the English settlement of Greenwich, on the Sound, it having been reported that a large body of hostile Indians was encamped in the vicinity of that place. Disappointment was also experienced there. After marching all night without finding the expected enemy, the troops came to Stamford, where they halted to wait for fresh information. From here a raid

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was made on a small Indian village (probably lying within Westchester borders), and some twenty braves were put to death. An aged Indian who had been taken prisoner now volunteered to lead the Dutch to one of the strongholds of the natives, consisting of three powerful castles. He kept his promise; but, although the castles were duly found, they were deserted. Two of them were burned, the third being reserved for purposes of retreat in case of emergency. Thus the second armed expedition sent into Westchester County accomplished comparatively little in the way of inflicting the long-desired punishment upon the audacious savages. Numbers of Westchester Indians (mostly women and children) were captured and sent to Fort Amsterdam, where, as testified by Dutch official records, they were treated with malignant cruelty.

The next move was somewhat more successful. A mixed force of English and Dutch, commanded jointly by Captain John Underhill, the celebrated Indian fighter from New England, and Sergeant Peter Cock, of Fort Amsterdam, proceeded to the neighborhood of Heemstede (Hempstead), Long Island, and attacked two Indian villages. More than a hundred Indians were killed, the Dutch and English loss being only one killed and three wounded. But as the principal strength of the enemy was known to be in the regions north of the Harlem River, whence the warriors who slew the settlers and devastated the fields of Manhattan Island were constantly emerging, it was deemed indispensable to conduct decisive operations in that quarter. Captain Underhill, whose long experience and known discretion in savage warfare indicated him as the man for the occasion, was sent to Stamford, with orders to investigate and report upon the situation. Being trustworthily informed that a very numerous body of the Indians was assembled at a village at no great distance, and placing confidence in the representations of a guide who claimed to know the way to the locality, he advised prompt action. Director Kieft, adopting his recommendation, placed him in command of one hundred and thirty armed men, who were immediately transported on three yachts to Greenwich. This was in the month of February, 1644.

A raging snowstorm prevented the forward movement of the troops from Greenwich for the greater part of a day and night. But the weather being more favorable the next morning, they set out about daybreak, and, led by the guide, advanced in a general northwestwardly direction. It was a toilsome all-day march through deep snow and over mountainous hills and frequent streams, some of the latter being scarcely fordable. At eight o'clock in the evening they halted within a few miles of the village, "which had been carefully

arranged for winter quarters, lay snugly ensconced in a low mountain recess, completely sheltered from the bleak northerly winds, and consisted of a large number of huts disposed in three streets, each about eighty paces long." After allowing his men two hours of rest and strengthening them with abundant refreshments, Underhill gave the word to resume the march. The enterprise, attended by extreme hardships up to this time, was now, in its final stage, favored by peculiarly satisfactory conditions. It was near midnight, the snow completely deadened the footsteps of the avenging host, and a brilliant full moon was shining—" a winter's day could not be brighter."

O'Callaghan, in his "History of New Netherland," gives the following account of the resulting conflict:

> The Indians were as much on the alert as their enemy. They soon discovered the Dutch troops, who charged forthwith, surrounding the camp, sword in hand. The Indians evinced on this occasion considerable boldness, and made a rush once or twice to break the Dutch lines and open some way for escape. But in this they failed, leaving one dead and twelve prisoners in the hands of the assailants, who now kept up such a brisk fire that it was impossible for any of the besieged to escape. After a desperate conflict of an hour, one hundred and eighty Indians lay dead on the snow outside their dwellings. Not one of the survivors durst now show his face. They remained under cover, discharging their arrows from behind, to the great annoyance of the Dutch troops. Underhill, now seeing no other way to overcome the obstinate resistance of the foe, gave orders to fire their huts. The order was forthwith obeyed; the wretched inmates endeavoring in every way to escape from the horrid flames, but mostly without success. The moment they made their appearance they rushed or were driven precipitately back into their burning hovels, preferring to be consumed by fire than to fall by our weapons. In this merciless manner were butchered, as some of the Indians afterward reported, five hundred human beings. Others carry the number to seven hundred; "the Lord having collected most of our enemies there to celebrate some peculiar festival." *Of the whole party, no more than eight men escaped this terrible slaughter by fire and sword.* Three of these were badly wounded. Throughout the entire carnage not one of the sufferers—man, woman, or child—was heard to utter a shriek or moan.

This battle, if battle it may be called, was by far the most sanguinary ever fought on Westchester soil. At White Plains, the most considerable Westchester engagement of the Revolution, the combined losses of both sides in killed, wounded, and missing did not reach four hundred.

The site of the exterminated Indian village has been exactly located by Bolton. It was called Nanichiestawack, and was in the Town (township) of Bedford, not far from the present Bedford village. It "occupied the southern spur of Indian Hill, sometimes called the Indian Farm, and Stony Point (or Hill), stretching toward the northwest. There is a most romantic approach to the site of the mountain fastness by a steep, narrow, beaten track opposite to Stamford cart-path, as it was formerly denominated, which followed the old Indian trail called the Thoroughfare." The picturesque Mianus River flows by the scene. The last ghastly memorials of the slaughter have long since passed away, but local tradition preserves the recollection of

many mounds under which the bones of the slain were interred. They were probably laid there by friendly hands. Underhill, in the bitter winter season, with his small and exhausted party, and with no implements for turning the frozen sod, naturally could not tarry to give burial to five hundred corpses.

Captain John Underhill is an entirely unique figure in early American colonial history, both English and Dutch. Although his name, when mentioned apart from any specific connection, is usually associated with New England, he belongs at least equally to New Netherland and New York. Indeed, during more than two-thirds of his residence in America he lived within the confines of the present State of New York, where most of his descendants have continued. Westchester County, by his prowess rescued from the anarchy into which it had been thrown by the aboriginal barbarians and established on a secure foundation for practical development, became the home of one of his sons, Nathaniel Underhill, from whom a large and conspicuous family of the county has descended.

The captain sprang from the old Underhill stock of Huningham, in Warwickshire, England. He was born about 1600, and early imbibed an ardent love of liberty, civic and religious, by his service as a soldier under the illustrious Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, where he had for one of his comrades-at-arms the noted Captain Miles Standish. Coming to New England with Governor Winthrop, he immediately took a prominent place in the Massachusetts colony, being appointed one of the first deputies from Boston to the General Court, and one of the earliest officers of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. In the Pequod War (1636-37) he was selected by the governor, Sir Harry Vane (who was his personal friend), to command the colonial troops; and, proceeding to the seat of the disturbances in Connecticut, he fought (May 26, 1637) the desperate and victorious battle of Mystic Hill. In this encounter seven hundred Pequods were arrayed against him, of whom seven were taken prisoners, seven escaped, and the remainder were killed—a record almost identical, it will be noted, with that made at the battle in our Bedford township in 1644. Captain Underhill felt no compunctions of conscience for the dreadful and almost exterminating destructiveness of his victories over the Indians. In his narrative of the Mystic Hill fight, alluding to this feature of the subject, he says: "It may be demanded: Why should you be so furious? Should not Christians have more mercy and compassion? But I would refer you to David's war. When a people is grown to such a height of blood and sin against God and man, and all confederates in the action, then He hath no respect to persons, but harrows and saws them,

and puts them to the sword and the most terriblest death that may be. Sometimes the Scripture declareth that women and children must perish with their parents; sometimes the case alters, but we will not dispute it now. We had sufficient light from the Word of God for our proceedings."

Espousing the religious doctrines and personal cause of Anne Hutchinson, Captain Underhill suffered persecution in common with the other Hutchinsonians, and in the fall of 1637, only a few months after his triumphant return from the wars, was disfranchised and forced to leave Massachusetts. He went to England the next year, and published a curious book, entitled "News from America; or, A New and Experimental Discoverie of New England: Containing a true relation of their warlike proceedings there, two years last past, with a figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado. By Capt. John Underhill, a commander in the warres there." Returning to America, he settled in New Hampshire. Later, he lived in Stamford, Conn., and was a delegate from that town to the General Court at New Haven. From the time that he accepted his commission from the Dutch in their wars with the Indians until his death he lived on Long Island. He first resided at Flushing, and finally made his home at Oyster Bay, where he died July 21, 1672. In 1653 he was active in defending the English colonists of Long Island against the hostilities of the Indians, and in that year he fought his last battle with the savages, at Fort Neck. In 1665 he was a delegate from the Town of Oyster Bay to the assembly held at Hempstead under the call of the first English governor, Nicolls, by whom he was later appointed under-sheriff of the North Riding of Yorkshire, or Queens County. In 1667 he was presented by the Matinecoc Indians with one hundred and fifty acres of land, to which he gave the name of Kenilworth or Killingworth. A portion of this tract is still in the possession of his descendants.

The character and personality of Captain John Underhill have been variously estimated and pictured. No doubt most of our readers are familiar with Whittier's poem, which quite idealizes him:

> Goodly and stately and grave to see,
> Into the clearing's space rode he,
> With the sun on the hilt of his sword in sheath,
> And his silver buckles and spurs beneath,
> And the settlers welcomed him, one and all,
> From swift Quampeagan to Gonie Fall.
>
> . . . .
>
> "Tarry with us," the settlers cried,
> "Thou man of God, as our ruler and guide."
> And Captain Underhill bowed his head,
> "The will of the Lord be done!" he said.
> And the morrow beheld him sitting down
> In the ruler's seat in Cocheco town.

> And he judged therein as a just man should;
> His words were wise and his rule was good;
> He coveted not his neighbor's land,
> From the holding of bribes he shook his hand;
> And through the camps of the heathen ran
> A wholesome fear of this valiant man.

A man of independent and fearless convictions he unquestionably was, as also of conscientious principles. He was not, however, a typical Puritan hero; and it is not from the gentle and reverent muse of Whittier, which loves to celebrate the grave and stately (but otherwise mostly disagreeable) forefathers of New England, that a faithful idea of the Captain John Underhill of history is to be obtained. His associations during his very brief residence in Massachusetts were certainly not with the representative men of that rigorous and somber order, but with the imaginative, ardent, and sprightly natures, whose presence was felt as a grievous burden upon the theocratic state. He was grimly hated and scornfully expelled from Boston by the Puritans, whom he reciprocally despised. In his book he gives decidedly unflattering characterizations of Winthrop and others, showing this animus. Captain Underhill was really a man of high and impetuous spirits, fond of adventure, always seeking military employment, leading a changeful and roving life almost to his last days; yet possessing earnest motives and substantial traits of character, which made him a good and respected citizen, and enabled him to accumulate considerable property. But although not a Puritan, his final adoption of New Netherland as a place of residence was not from any special liking for the Dutch; in fact, he never was satisfied to live in any of the distinctive Dutch settlements, and, though much inclined to the honors and dignities of public position, never held civic office under the Dutch. During his life on Long Island he made his home among the English colonists, and preserved a firm devotion for English interests, which he manifested on several occasions long before the end of Dutch rule, by holding correspondence with the English authorities concerning the position of affairs on Long Island.

Soon after Captain Underhill's expedition to Bedford the Indian tribes again sued for peace. "Mamaranack, chief of the Indians residing on the Kicktawanc or Croton River; Mongockonone, Pappenoharrow, from the Weckquaesgecks and Nochpeems, and the Wappings from Stamford, presented themselves, in a few days, at Fort Amsterdam; and having pledged themselves that they would not henceforth commit any injury whatever on the inhabitants of New Netherland, their cattle and houses, nor show themselves, except in a canoe, before Fort Amsterdam, should the Dutch be at war with any of the Manhattan tribes, and having further promised to deliver up

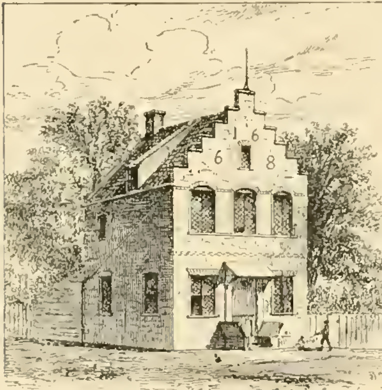
Pacham, the chief of the Tankitekes (who resided in the rear of Sing Sing), peace was concluded between them and the Dutch, who promised, on their part, not to molest them in any way." It appears that this peace was effected through the intervention of Underhill, was unsatisfactory to the Dutch, and proved but a makeshift; for in the fall of 1644 the "Eight Men" wrote as follows to the home office of the West India Company: "A semblance of peace was attempted to be patched up last spring with two or three tribes of savages toward the north by a stranger, whom we, for cause, shall not now name, without one of the company's servants having been present, while our principal enemies have been unmolested. This peace hath borne little fruit for the common advantage and reputation of our lords, etc., for as soon as the savages had stowed away their maize into holes, they began again to murder our people in various directions. They rove in parties continually around day and night on the island of Manhattans, slaying our folks, not a thousand paces from the fort; and 'tis now arrived at such a pass that no one dare move a foot to fetch a stick of firewood without a strong escort."

It was not until the summer of 1645 that a lasting treaty was arranged. On the 30th of August, says O'Callaghan, a number of chiefs representing the warring tribes "seated themselves, silent and grave, in front of Fort Amsterdam, before the director-general and his council and the whole commonalty; and there, having religiously smoked the great calumet, concluded in the presence of the sun and ocean a solemn and durable peace with the Dutch, which both the contracting parties reciprocally bound themselves honorably and firmly to maintain and observe." It was stipulated that all cases of injury on either side were to be laid before the respective authorities. No armed Indian was to come within the line of settlement, and no colonist was to visit the Indian villages without a native to escort him. Handsome presents were made by Kieft to the chiefs, for the purchase of which, it is said, he was obliged to borrow money from Adrian Van der Donck, at that time sheriff of Rensselaerswyck.

The settlement of the lands beyond the Harlem was not, however, resumed at once. For some time the restoration of the burned farmhouses and ruined fields of Manhattan Island claimed all the energies of the Dutch; and the memories of the dreadful experience of the colonies of Anne Hutchinson and John Throckmorton effectually deterred other New Englanders from seeking the Vredeland. In 1646, however, two enterprises of great historic interest were undertaken within the limits of our county. One of these was the settlement by Thomas Cornell on Cornell's Neck, whose details we have already narrated. The other was the creation of "Colen Donck," or Donck's

colony, embracing the country from Spuyten Duyvil Creek northward along the Hudson as far as a little stream called the Amackassin, and reaching inland to the Bronx River, under a patent granted by the Dutch authorities to Adrian Van der Donck.

The exact date of Van der Donck's grant is unknown, and the record of his purchase of the territory from the Indians has not been preserved. The tract constituted a portion of the so-called Keskeskeck region, bought from the natives for the West India Company by Secretary Van Tienhoven, "in consideration of a certain lot of merchandise," under date of August 3, 1639. That Van der Donck made substantial recompense to the original owners of the soil is legally established by testimony taken in 1666 before Richard Nicolls, the first English governor of New York, in which it is stated that the Indian proprietors concerned "acknowledged to have sold and received satisfaction of Van der Donck."



OLD DUTCH HOUSE.

Adrian Van der Donck was a gentleman by birth, being a native of Breda, Holland. He was educated at the University of Leyden, and studied and practiced law, becoming *utriusque juris.* In 1641 he accompanied Kiliaen Van Rensselaer to New Netherland, and was installed as schout-fiscaal, or sheriff, of the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck. In this post he continued until the death of the patroon, in 1646. Meantime he had manifested a strong inclination to establish a "colonie" of his own, at Katskill; but as such a proceeding by a sworn officer of an already existing patroonship would have been violative of the company's regulations, he was forced to abandon the project. On October 22, 1645, he married Mary, daughter of the Rev. Francis Doughty, of Long Island. Earlier in the same year he loaned money to Director Kieft, a transaction which probably helped to pave the way for the prompt bestowal upon him of landed rights upon the termination of his official connection with Rensselaerswyck.

In the Dutch grant to Van der Donck, the territory of which he was made patroon was called Nepperhaem, from the Indian name of the stream, the Nepperhan, which empties into the Hudson at Yonkers, where stood at that period, and for perhaps a quarter of a century later, the native Village of Nappeckamack (the "Rapid Water Settlement"). The whole extensive patroonship, styled at first Colen

Donck, soon came to be known also as "De Jonkheer's land," or "De Jonkheer's," meaning the estate of the jonkheer, or young lord or gentleman, as Van der Donck was called. Hence is derived the name Yonkers, applied from the earliest days of English rule to that entire district, and later conferred upon the township, the village, and the city. To the possibilities of this magnificent but as yet utterly wild property Van der Donck gave a portion of his attention during the three years following the procurement of his patent. In one of his papers he states that before 1649 he built a sawmill on the estate, besides laying out a farm and plantation; and that, having chosen Spuyten Duyvil as his place of residence, he had begun to build there and to place the soil under cultivation. His sawmill was located at the mouth of the Nepperhan River, and from its presence that stream was called by the Dutch "De Zaag Kill," whence comes its present popular name of the Sawmill River. Van der Donck's plantation, "a flat, with some convenient meadows about it," was located about a mile above Kingsbridge, near where the Van Cortlandt mansion now stands. "On the flat just behind the present grove of locusts, north of the old mill, he built his bouwerie, or farmhouse, with his planting field on the plain, extending to the southerly end of Vault Hill." It is not probable that Van der Donck lived for any considerable time upon his lands in our county. He was a man of prominence in Fort Amsterdam, was its first lawyer, and soon became busied with its local affairs in a public-spirited manner, which led to his embroilment in contentions with the ruling authorities, and, in that connection, to his departure for Europe and protracted absence there.

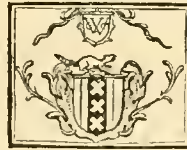
In the spring of 1649 he was selected a member of the advisory council of the "Nine Men," a body chosen by the popular voice to assist in the general government. In this capacity he at once took strong ground against the tyrannical conduct of the new director, Stuyvesant, and, in behalf of the Nine, drew up a memorial, or remonstrance, reciting the abuses under which the people of New Netherland suffered. Stuyvesant at first treated this action of his councilors with arbitrary vindictiveness, and caused Van der Donck to be arrested and imprisoned. After his release, continuing his course of active protest against misgovernment and oppression, he prepared a second and more elaborate memorial, and, with two others, was dispatched to Holland by the commonalty to lay the whole subject before the States-General. In this mission he had the moral support of the vice-director under Stuyvesant, Van Dincklagen, who wrote a letter to the States-General promotive of his objects. But upon arriving in the mother country he found himself opposed by the powerful influences of the company, which not only succeeded in defeating the

principal reforms that he sought to secure, but eventually directed against him the persecution of the government, and prevented him, to his great inconvenience and loss, from returning to New Netherland for fully four years. Yet Van der Donck's earnest and commendable efforts for the public weal were not wholly without result. An act was passed separating the local functions of the principal settlement on Manhattan Island from the general affairs of the province. By this measure the settlement formerly known as Fort Amsterdam became an incorporated Dutch city, with the name of New Amsterdam; and thus to the labors of Van der Donck the first municipal organization of what is now the City of New York is directly traceable. In addition, a final modification of the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions was effected (May 24, 1650), introducing various improvements in its detailed provisions. He even procured the adoption of an order recalling Stuyvesant, which, however, in view of the critical position of political affairs (a war with England being threatened) was never executed.

While in Holland Van der Donck was not forgetful of the interests of his colony, but in good faith strove to fulfill the obligations which he had assumed in acquiring the proprietorship of so extensive a domain. On March 11, 1650, in conjunction with his two associate delegates, he entered into a contract "to charter a suitable flyboat of two hundred lasts, and therein go to sea on the 1st of June next, and convey to New Netherland the number of two hundred passengers, of whom one hundred are to be farmers and farm servants, and the remaining one hundred such as the Amsterdam Chamber is accustomed to send over, conversant with agriculture, and to furnish them with supplies for the voyage." In making this contract (which, on account of circumstances, was never carried out), Van der Donck undoubtedly had in view the locating of at least a portion of the two hundred emigrants on his own lands. Pursuant to his perfectly serious intentions respecting his estate in this county, he obtained from the States-General, on the 26th of April, 1652, the right to dispose by will, as patroon, "of the Colonie Nepperhaem, by him called Colen Donck, situate in New Netherland." From this time for more than a year he was constantly occupied in seeking to overcome the obstacles put in the way of his departure for America by his enemies of the West India Company. He evidently regarded the securing of this patent as the final step preparatory to the systematic colonization and development of Colen Donck; for immediately after its issuance he embarked his private goods, with a varied assortment of supplies for the colony, on board a vessel lying at anchor in the Texel. But upon applying to the States-General, on the 13th of May, for a formal permit

to return, he was refused. On the 24th, renewing his application, he stated that "proposing to depart by your High Mightinesses' consent, with his wife, mother, sister, brother, servants, and maids," he had "in that design packed and shipped all his implements and goods"; but he understood "that the Honorable Directors [of the West India Company] at Amsterdam had forbidden all skippers to receive him, or his, even though exhibiting your High Mightinesses' express orders and consent," "by which he must, without any form of procedure or anything resembling thereto, remain separated from his wife, mother, sister, brother, servants, maids, family connections, from two good friends, from his merchandise, his own necessary goods, furniture, and from his real estate in New Netherland." These and other strenuous representations proving unavailing, he was at last compelled to dispatch his family and effects, remaining himself in Holland to await the more favorable disposition of the authorities.

BESCHRYVINGE
Van
NIEUVV-NEDERLANT
(Ghelijck het tegenwoordigh in Staet is)
Begrijpende de Nature, Aert, gelegentheyt en vruchtbaerheyt van het selve Lant; mitsgaders de proffijtelijcke ende gewenste toevallen, die aldaer tot onderhout der Menschen, (soo uyt haer selven als van buyten ingebracht) gevonden worden.
ALS MEDE
De maniere en onghemeyne eygenschappen vande Wilden ofte Naturellen vanden Lande.
Ende
Een bysonder verhael vanden wonderlijcken Aert ende het Weesen der BEVERS,
DAER NOCH BY GEVOEGHT IS
Een Discours over de gelegentheyt van Nieuw Nederlandt, tusschen een Nederlandts Patriot, ende een Nieuw Nederlander.
Beschreven door
ADRIAEN vander DONCK,
Beyder Rechten Doctoor, die teghenwoordigh noch in Nieuw Nederlant is.



t'AEMSTELDAM,
By Evert Nieuwenhof, Boeck-verkooper, woonende op 't Rusland in 't Schrijf-boeck, Anno 1655.

TITLE PAGE OF VAN DER DONCK'S BOOK.

Resigning himself to the situation, he now turned his attention to literary labors, which resulted in the composition of a most valuable work on the Dutch provinces in America. We reproduce here a facsimile of the title page of this interesting book, which, translated, is as follows: "Description of New Netherland (as It is Today), Comprising the Nature, Character, Situation, and Fertility of the Said Country; Together with the Advantageous and Desirable Circumstances (both of Their Own Production and as Brought by External Causes) for the Support of the People Which Prevail There; as Also the Manners and Peculiar Qualities of the Wild Men or Natives of the Land. And a Separate Account of the Wonderful Character and Habits of the Beavers; to Which is Added a Conversation on the Condition of New Netherland between a Netherland Patriot and a New Netherlander, Described by Adriaen Van der Donck, Doctor in Both Laws, Who at present is still in New Netherland. At Amsterdam, by Evert Nieuwenhof, Bookseller, Residing on the Russia [a street or square], at the [sign of

the] Writing-book. Anno 1655." The book was probably first published in 1653, the copy from which the above translation is made being of a later edition. It was Van der Donck's intention to enlarge upon his facts by consulting the papers on file in the director-general's office at New Amsterdam, to which end he obtained the necessary permit from the company. But upon his return to America, which occurred in the summer of 1653, Stuyvesant, who still harbored resentment against him, denied him that privilege.

Van der Donck's book, despite its formidable title, is a volume of but modest pretensions, clearly written for the sole object of spreading information about the country. Considering the meagerness of general knowledge at that time respecting the several parts of the broad territory called New Netherland, and remembering that the writer peculiarly lacked documentary facilities in its preparation, it is a remarkably good account of the whole region. Especially in those parts of it where he is able to speak from the results of personal observation or investigation, he is highly instructive, and is thoroughly entitled to be accepted as an authority. His description of the Indians, though quite succinct, ranks with the very best of the early accounts of native North American characteristics, customs, and institutions. While he makes frequent allusion to his residence at Rensselaerswyck, there is no special mention of that part of the country where his own patroonship was located—our County of Westchester,—a circumstance which may reasonably be taken to indicate that he never had made it his habitation for any length of time.

Some of the statements which appear in Van der Donck's pages belong to the decidedly curious annals of early American conditions. For example, he relates that in the month of March, 1647, "two whales, of common size, swam up the (Hudson) river forty (Dutch) miles, from which place one of them returned and stranded about twelve miles from the sea, near which place four others also stranded the same year. The other ran farther up the river and grounded near the great Chahoes Falls, about forty-three miles from the sea. This fish was tolerably fat, for, although the citizens of Rensselaerswyck broiled out a great quantity of train oil, still the whole river (the current being rapid) was oily for three weeks, and covered with grease." His accounts of the native animals of the country, excellent for the most part, become amusing in places where he relies not upon his individual knowledge but upon vague stories told him by the Indian hunters of strange creatures in the interior. Thus, he makes New Netherland the habitat of the fabled unicorn. "I have been frequently told by the Mohawk Indians," says he, "that far in the interior parts of the country there were animals, which were seldom

VAN DER DONCK'S MAP OF NEW NETHERLAND.

seen, of the size and form of horses, with cloven hoofs, having one horn in the forehead from a foot and a half to two feet in length, and that because of their fleetness and strength they were seldom caught or ensnared. I have never seen any certain token or sign of such animals, but that such creatures exist in the country is supported by the concurrent declarations of the Indian hunters. There are Christians who say that they have seen the skins of this species of animal, but without the horns." He also speaks of "a bird of prey which has a head like the head of a large cat"—probably a reference to the cat-owl. His remarks about the beaver, based upon personal study and knowledge, are singularly interesting. The deer, he informs us, "are incredibly numerous in this country. Although the Indians throughout the year, and every year (but mostly in the fall), kill many thousands, and the wolves, after the fawns are cast and while they are young, also destroy many, still the land abounds with them everywhere, and their numbers appear to remain undiminished."

Being finally granted leave to go back to New Netherland, Van der Donck applied to the West India Company for permission to practice his profession of lawyer in the province. But the company, careful in conceding substantial favors to a man who had caused it so much trouble, allowed him only to give advice in the line of his profession, forbidding him to plead, on the novel ground that, "as there was no other lawyer in the colony, there would be none to oppose him." After his return to New Amsterdam he did not figure prominently in public affairs. He died in 1655, leaving, it is supposed, several children, whose names, however, as well as all facts of their subsequent lives and traces of their descendants, are unknown.

Van der Donck's Colen Donck was the only patroonship ever erected in Westchester County, and was the first of the great landed estates which, during the seventeenth century, were parceled out in this section to gentlemen of birth and means, and various enterprising and far-seeing individuals. All who had preceded him above the Harlem were ordinary settlers, who merely sought farms and homesteads, without any aristocratic pretensions or aspirations. During the nine years which intervened between his death and the end of the Dutch régime, the general condition of the province was too unsatisfactory to justify any similar ambitious endeavor in the direction of extensive land ownership above the Harlem. The Indians were still restless and inclined to harass individual settlers. Indeed, in 1655, the year of Van der Donck's death, a general massacre of settlers by the Indians occurred, and the people in the outlying localities again crowded into Fort Amsterdam for protection. It was not until after the beginning of the English government that private land holdings in Westchester County at all comparable to Van der Donck's

were acquired. He was the only Dutch gentleman—for Bronck belonged strictly to the burgher class—throughout the forty-one years of Dutch rule who, under the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, an instrument framed expressly to create a landed aristocracy in America, formally sought to establish a fief in this county. It is noticeable, however, that most of the estate which he owned passed before many years—although not until the Dutch period was ended—into the hands of one of his fellow-countrymen, Frederick Philipse, in whose family it continued for a century. Moreover, almost the entire Hudson shore of Westchester County was originally acquired and tenaciously held by Dutch, and not by English, private proprietors.

The tract of Nepperhaem, or Colen Donck, was devised by Van der Donck, in his will, to his widow. This lady subsequently married Hugh O'Neale, of Patuxent, Md., and resided with her husband in that province. Apparently, nothing whatever was done by O'Neale and his wife in the way of continuing the improvements begun by Van der Donck; and, for all that we know to the contrary, the estate remained in a wholly wild and neglected condition for some ten years. But in 1666 the O'Neales, desiring to more perfectly establish their legal title, with a view to realizing from the lands, obtained from the Indians who had originally sold the tract to Van der Donck formal acknowledgment of such sale, and also of their having received from him full satisfaction; and thereupon a new and confirmatory patent for Nepperhaem was issued by Governor Nicolls. This is dated "at Fort James, New York, on the Island of Manhattan," October 8, 1666. It describes the property in the following words: "A certain tract of land within this government, upon the main, bounded to the northwards by a rivulet called by the Indians Mackassin, so running southward to Nepperhaem, from thence to the kill Shorakkapock [Spuyten Duyvil], and then to Paperinemen [the locality of Kingsbridge], which is the southernmost bounds; then to go across the country to the eastward by that which is commonly known by the name of Bronck's, his river and land, which said tract hath heretofore been purchased of the Indian proprietors by Adriaen Van der Donck, deceased." The English patent was bestowed upon O'Neale and his wife jointly. They at once proceeded to sell the lands in fee to different private persons. Notice of the resulting sales must be deferred to the proper chronological period in our narrative. It may be noted here, however, that the principal purchasers of Van der Donck's lands were John Archer and Frederick Philipse, who later became the lords, respectively, of the Manors of Fordham and Philipseburgh, the former lying wholly, and the latter partly, within the borders of the old patroonship.

CHAPTER VI

BEGINNINGS OF SERIOUS SETTLEMENT—WESTCHESTER TOWN, RYE

HE destruction by the Indians of the early English settlements in the Vredeland on the Sound was followed by a long period of almost complete abstention from further colonizing enterprises in that portion of Westchester County. It is true that after the definite conclusion of peace between the Dutch and the Indians in 1645, both the Dutch government of New Netherland and the English government of Connecticut began gradually to give serious attention to the question of the boundary between their rival jurisdictions, and that the resulting conflict of interests touching the ownership of those lands gave rise to practical measures on both sides. It will be remembered that the Dutch authorities, while permitting Throckmorton and his associates to settle on Throgg's Neck, and later granting Cornell's Neck to Thomas Cornell, simply received these refugees from New England as persons coming to take up their abodes under the protection of their government and subject to its laws. Indeed, the formal acts of the Dutch director in issuing licenses to the English colonists are sufficient evidences of the merely individual character of the first English settlements on the Sound. But while willing to accommodate separate immigrants from New England with homes, the Dutch had always regarded the presence of the English on the banks of the Connecticut River, and their steady advance westward in an organized way, with apprehension and resentment. To secure the Dutch title to original and exclusive sovereignty over the whole country, Kieft made land purchases from the Indians, in 1639 and 1640, extending as far east as the Norwalk archipelago, purchases which, however, were matched by similar early deeds granted by the natives to the English to much of territory in the eastern part of Westchester County. After the close of the Dutch and Indian wars, the territorial dispute steadily grew in importance, although it was a number of years before the Dutch found any special cause for complaint on the score of actual English encroachment.

On July 14, 1649, Director Stuyvesant, representing the West India Company, confirmed the former Indian deeds of sale by purchasing from the sachems Megtegichkama, Oteyochgue, and Wegta-

kockken the whole country "betwixt the North and East Rivers." The boundaries of this tract, which in the record of the transaction is called Weckquaesgeck, are not very distinctly defined; but the intent of the purchase was evidently incidental to the general Dutch policy of showing a perfect title to the country. At all events, a very large part of Westchester County was embraced in the sale, the recompense given to the Indians consisting of "six fathom cloth for jackets, six fathom seawant [wampum], six kettles, six axes, six addices, ten knives, ten harrow-teeth, ten corals or beads, ten bells, one gun, two lbs. lead, two lbs. powder, and two cloth coats."

The English of Connecticut, on the other hand, do not seem to have attached any peculiar political value to Indian land purchases. There is no record of any purchase of Indian lands extending into Westchester County on the part of the government of Connecticut. The authorities of that colony were evidently satisfied to leave the westward extension of English possessions to the individual enterprise of the settlers, meantime holding themselves in readiness to support such enterprise by their sanction, and regarding all the land occupied by their advancing people as English soil, without reference to the counterclaims of the Dutch.

The purchase made by Nathaniel Turner, for the citizens of New Haven, in 1640, of territory reaching considerably to the west of the present eastern boundary of our county, was confirmed to the inhabitants of Stamford on August 11, 1655, by the Indian chief Ponus and Onox, his eldest son. The tract bought in 1640 ran to a distance sixteen miles north of the Sound. By the wording of the new deed of 1655, its bounds extended "sixteen miles north of the town plot of Stamford, and two miles still further north for the pasture of their [the settlers'] cattle; also eight miles east and west." The Indian owners, upon this occasion, received as satisfaction four coats of English cloth. No settlement of the region was begun during the continuance of Dutch rule in New Netherland, and thus the matter did not come prominently to the notice of Director Stuyvesant.

But in the preceding year a private English purchase from the Indians was made of a district lying nearer the Dutch settlements and within the limits of the already well-established jurisdiction of the New Amsterdam authorities, which became a matter of acute irritation. On the 14th of November, 1654, Thomas Pell, of Fairfield, Conn., bought from the sachems Maminepoe and Ann-Hoock (alias Wampage), and five other Indians, "all that tract of land called West Chester, which is bounded on the east by a brook, called Cedar Tree Brook or Gravelly Brook, and so running northward as the said brook runs into the woods about eight English miles, thence west to

. . . Bronck's River to a certain bend in the said river, thence by marked trees south until it reaches the tide waters of the Sound, . . . together with all the islands lying before that tract." This is the earliest legal record we have of the application of the name Westchester to any section of our county; although there is reason for believing that for several years previously this locality on the Sound had been so called by the people of Connecticut, and that some squatters had already made their way thither.[1] The bounds of Pell's purchase overlapped the old Dutch Vredeland and encroached upon the grants formerly made in that region to Throckmorton and Cornell. Indeed, after the English took possession of New Netherland, the Town of Westchester set up a claim to the whole of Throgg's Neck, and Pell brought suit to recover Cornell's Neck from Thomas Cornell's heir; but as it was a part of the English policy to confirm all legitimate Dutch land grants, both these pretensions were disallowed. Westchester, as originally so styled, covered a much greater extent of country than the township of that name. Gravelly Brook, named in the conveyance from the Indians as its eastern boundary line, is a creek flowing into the Sound in the Township of New Rochelle; so that the territory at first called Westchester included, besides Westchester township proper, the townships (or portions of them) of Pelham, Eastchester, and New Rochelle. It is an interesting fact that the first of these four townships to be settled was the one most remote from Connecticut and nearest the seat of Dutch authority; which lends color to the strong suspicion that the migration of the English to this quarter was under the secret direction, or at the connivance, of the government of Connecticut, which sought to extend settlement as far as possible into the disputed border territory. Later, as Pell's purchase became sub-divided, separate local names were given to its several parts, the name of Westchester being retained for that portion only where the original settlements had been established. Thus it came that the company making the first considerable sub-purchase within the Pell tract conferred the name of Eastchester upon their lands, which immediately adjoined Westchester town at the east. The settlers in Westchester were not exterminated or driven away, like those on Hutchinson's River and Throgg's and Cornell's Necks; and, though interfered with by the Dutch, held their ground permanently. Westchester was therefore the earliest enduring English settlement west of Connecticut. This

[1] In 1650 the Dutch Governor Stuyvesant complained to the New England commissioners of the English encroachments upon "Oostdorp"—as Westchester was called by the Dutch. It is hardly likely that the English then resident there were survivors of Throckmorton's settlement of 1642-3, since Throckmorton and his colonists had the express sanction of the Dutch government.

was remembered when, in 1683, under English rule, the erection of regularly organized counties was undertaken; and accordingly the name Westchester was selected as the one most suitable for the county next above Manhattan Island.

It is certain that English settlers had begun to arrive in Westchester before the execution of Pell's deed from the Indians (November 14, 1654); for on the 5th of November, 1654, nine days before that execution, it was resolved at a meeting of the director-general and council of New Netherland that "Whereas a few English are beginning a settlement at no great distance from our outposts, on lands long since bought and paid for, near Vredeland," an interdict be sent to them, forbidding them to proceed farther, and commanding them to abandon that spot. Pell, in the law suit which he brought in 1665 against the heir of Thomas Cornell to recover Cornell's Neck, stated that in buying the Westchester tract he had license from the governor and council of Connecticut, "who took notice of this land to be under their government," and "ordered magistratical power to be exercised at Westchester." The colonial records of Connecticut show that such license was in fact granted to him in 1663. This sanction, issued nine years after his original purchase, was probably procured by him with a view to a second and confirmatory purchase. Whether the first settlers came to Westchester as the result of any direct instigation on the part of the Connecticut officials can not be determined; but it is probable that the latter were fully cognizant of their enterprise, and promoted it by some sort of encouragement. Certainly the Westchester pioneers made no false pretenses, and sought no favors from the Dutch, but boldly announced themselves as English colonists. One of their first acts was to nail to a tree the arms of the Parliament of England.

Stuyvesant permitted the winter of 1654-55 to pass without offering to disturb the intruders in the enjoyment of the lands they had so unceremoniously seized. But in April he dispatched an officer, Claes Van Elslandt, with a writ commanding Thomas Pell, or whomsoever else it might concern, to cease from trespassing, and to leave the premises. Van Elslandt, upon arriving at the English settlement, was met by eight or nine armed men, to whose commander he delivered the writ. The latter said: "I can not understand Dutch. Why did not the fiscaal, or sheriff, send English? When he sends English, then I will answer. We expect the determination on the boundaries the next vessel. Time will tell whether we shall be under Dutch government or the Parliament; until then we remain here under the Commonwealth of England." Notwithstanding this defiant behavior, the Dutch director-general was reluctant to act severe-

ly in the matter, and nearly a year elapsed before the next proceedings were taken, which were based quite as much upon considerations affecting the character of the English settlement as upon the desire to vindicate Dutch territorial rights. The director and council, by a resolution adopted March 6, 1656, declared that the English at Westchester were guilty of "encouraging and sheltering the fugitives from this province," and also of keeping up a constant correspondence with the savage enemies of the Dutch. On these grounds, and also to defend the rights of the Dutch against territorial usurpations, an expedition, commanded by Captains De Koninck and Newton and Attorney-General Van Tienhoven, was sent secretly to Westchester. On the 14th of March this party made its descent upon the village, and, finding the English drawn up under arms, prepared for resistance, overpowered them, and apprehended twenty-three of their number, some of whom were fugitives from New Amsterdam and the others bona fide English colonists. All the captives were conveyed to Manhattan Island, where the Dutch runaways were confined in prison and the English settlers placed under civil arrest and lodged in the City Hall. The next day Attorney-General Van Tienhoven formally presented his case against the prisoners. In his argument he alleged as one of the principal grievances against the people of Westchester that they were guilty of the offense of "luring and accommodating our runaway inhabitants, vagrants, and thieves, and others who, for their bad conduct, find there a refuge." He demanded the complete expulsion of the English from the province. This demand was sustained by the director and council, with the proviso, however, that the settlers should be allowed six weeks' time for the removal of their goods and chattels. At this stage the prisoners came forward with a decidedly submissive proposition. They agreed that, if permitted to continue on their lands, they would subject themselves to the government and laws of New Netherland, only requesting the privilege of choosing their own officers for the enforcement of their local laws. This petition was granted by Stuyvesant, on condition that their choice of magistrates should be subject to the approval of the director and council, selections to be made from a double list of names sent in by the settlers. Under this amicable arrangement, Pell's settlement at Westchester (called by the Dutch Oostdorp), while retaining its existence, was brought under the recognized sovereignty of New Netherland, in which position it remained until the English conquest.

The history of this first organized community in Westchester County is fortunately traceable throughout its early years. On March 23, 1656, the citizens submitted to Director Stuyvesant their

nominations of magistrates, the persons recommended for these offices being Lieutenant Thomas Wheeler, Thomas Newman, John Lord, Josiah Gilbert, William Ward, and Nicholas Bayley. From this list the director appointed Thomas Wheeler, Thomas Newman, and John Lord. Annually thereafter double nominations were made, and three magistrates were regularly chosen. There is no indication in the records of New Netherland of any willful acts of insubordination by the settlers, or of any further delinquencies by them in the way of harboring bad characters. The Dutch authorities, on their part, manifested a moderate and considerate disposition in their supervisory government of the place. At the end of 1656 Stuyvesant sent three of his subordinates to Westchester, to administer the oath of office to the newly appointed magistrates and the oath of allegiance to the other inhabitants. But the latter objected to the form of oath, and would promise obedience to the law only, provided it was conformable to the law of God; and allegiance only "so long as they remained in the province." This modified form of oath was generously consented to. Later (January 3, 1657), Stuyvesant sent to the colonists, at their solicitation, twelve muskets, twelve pounds of powder, twelve pounds of lead, two bundles of matches, and a writing-book for the magistrates. At that time the population of Westchester consisted of twenty-five men and ten to twelve women.

The Dutch commissioners dispatched by Stuyvesant to Westchester in 1656 left an interesting journal of their transactions and observations there. The following entry shows that the colonists were typical New Englanders in practicing the forms of religious worship:

> 31 December.—After dinner Cornelius Van Ruyven went to see their mode of worship, as they had, as yet, no preacher. There I found a gathering of about fifteen men and ten or twelve women. Mr. Baly said the prayer, after which one Robert Bassett read from a printed book a sermon composed by an English clergyman in England. After the reading Mr. Baly gave out another prayer and sang a psalm, and they all separated.

The writing-book for the magistrates provided, with other necessary articles, by Governor Stuyvesant, was at once put to use; and from that time forward the records of the town were systematically kept. All the originals are still preserved in excellent condition. The identical magistrates' book of 1657, with many others of the ancient records of Westchester, and also of West Farms, are now in the possession of a private gentleman in New York City.

In accepting and quietly submitting to Dutch rule, the English were merely obeying the dictates of ordinary prudence. Their hearts continued loyal to the government of Connecticut, and they patiently awaited the time when, in the natural course of events, that government should extend its jurisdiction to their locality. After seven and one-half years definite action was taken by Connecticut. At a

court of the general assembly, held at Hartford, October 9, 1662, an order was issued to the effect that "this assembly doth hereby declare and inform the inhabitants of Westchester that the plantation is included in ye bounds of our charter, granted to this colony of Connecticut." The Westchester people were accordingly notified to send deputies to the next assembly, appointed to meet at Hartford in May, 1663; and also, in matters of legal proceedings, to "take the benefit," in common with the towns of Stamford and Greenwich, of a court established at Fairfield. Readily attaching much importance to the will of Connecticut thus expressed, they abstained from their usual custom of nominating magistrates for the next year to Governor Stuyvesant. The latter, after some delay, sent to make inquiries as to the reason for this omission; whereat Richard Mills, one of the local officers, addressed to him a meek communication, inclosing the notifications from Connecticut and saying: "We humbly beseech you to understand that wee, the inhabitants of this place, have not plotted nor conspired against your Honor." This did not satisfy Stuyvesant, who caused Mills to be arrested and incarcerated in New Amsterdam. From his place of confinement the unhappy Westchester magistrate wrote several doleful and contrite letters to the wrathful director. "Right Hon. Gov. Lord Peter Stevenson," said he in one of these missives, "thy dejected prisoner, Richard Mills, do humbly supplicate for your favor and commiseration towards me, in admitting of me unto your honor's presence, there to indicate my free and ready mind to satisfy your honor wherein I am able, for any indignity done unto your lordship in any way, and if possible to release me or confine me to some more wholesome place than where I am. I have been tenderly bred from my cradle, and now antient and weakly," etc. The claims of Connecticut to Westchester being persisted in, Stuyvesant made a journey to Boston in the fall of 1663 to seek a permanent understanding with the New England officials about the delicate subject. But no conclusion was arrived at, and the Westchester affair remained in *statu quo* until forcibly settled by the triumph of English force before New Amsterdam in the month of September, 1664.

The Dutch-English controversy regarding the Westchester tract was one of the incidental phases of the general boundary dispute, which Stuyvesant, from the very beginning of his arrival in New Netherland as director-general, had in vain sought to bring to a decision. In 1650, as the result of overtures made by him for an amicable adjustment of differences, he held a conference at Hartford with commissioners appointed by the United English Colonies; and on the 19th of September articles of agreement were signed by both

parties in interest, which provided that the bounds upon the main "should begin at the west side of Greenwich Bay, being about four miles from Stamford, and so to run a northerly line twenty miles up into the country, and after as it shall be agreed by the two governments, of the Dutch and of New Haven, provided the said line come not within ten miles of the Hudson River."

But these articles, constituting a provisional treaty, were never ratified by the home governments. In 1654 the States-General of the Netherlands instructed their ambassadors in London to negotiate a boundary line, an undertaking, which, however, they found it impossible to accomplish. The English government, when approached on the subject, assumed a haughty attitude, pretending total ignorance of their High Mightinesses having any colonies in America, and, moreover, declaring that, as no proposal on the boundary question had been received from the English colonies in America, it would be manifestly improper to consider the matter in any wise. Subsequent attempts to settle this issue were equally unsuccessful. Nevertheless, it was always urged by Stuyvesant that, in the absence of a regularly confirmed treaty, the articles of 1650 ought to be adhered to in good faith on both sides, as embracing mutual concessions for the sake of neighborly understanding, which were carefully formulated at the time and had never been repudiated. It will be admitted by most impartial minds that this was a reasonable contention. But the Westchester tract was not the only territory in debate. English settlement had proceeded rapidly on Long Island, and the onward movement of citizens of Connecticut in that quarter was quite as inconsistent with the terms of the articles of 1650 as was the presence of an organized English colony in the Vredeland. Thus whatever course might be suggested by fairness respecting the ultimate English attitude toward Westchester, that was only one local issue among others of very similar nature; and with so much at stake, the policy of self-interest required a studied resistance to the Dutch claims in general, even if that involved violation of the spirit of an agreement made in inchoate conditions which, though in a sense morally binding, had never been legally perfected. Finally, there was no conceivable risk for the English in any proceedings they chose to take, however arbitrary or unscrupulous; for in the event of an armed conflict over the boundary difficulty, the powerful New England colonies could easily crush the weak and meager Dutch settlements.

It is not known to what extent, if any, the settlers at Westchester suffered from the great and widespread Indian massacre of 1655, which occurred before they had submitted themselves to the Dutch government and consequently before their affairs became matters

of record at New Amsterdam. On the 15th of September of that year sixty-four canoes of savages—"Mohicans, Pachamis, with others from Esopus, Hackingsack, Tappaan, Stamford, and Onkeway, as far east as Connecticut, estimated by some to amount to nineteen hundred in number, from five to eight hundred of whom were armed," —landed suddenly, before daybreak, at Fort Amsterdam. They came to avenge the recent killing of a squaw by the Dutch for stealing peaches. Stuyvesant, with most of the armed force of the settlement, was absent at the time upon an expedition to subdue the Swedes on the Delaware. A reign of terror followed, lasting for three days, during which, says O'Callaghan, "the Dutch lost one hundred people, one hundred and fifty were taken into captivity, and more than three hundred persons, besides, were deprived of house, home, clothes, and food." The Westchester people were probably spared on this occasion. It was a deed of vengeance against the Dutch, and, as the English pioneers had up to that time firmly resisted Dutch authority, the Indians could have had no reason for interfering with them. The reader will remember that when Stuyvesant's officer, Van Elslant, came to Westchester with his writ of dispossession in the spring of the same year, he was met by only eight or nine armed men; whereas one year later twenty-three adult males were made prisoners by De Koninck's party at that place. This demonstrates that the progress of the settlement had at least undergone no retardation in the interval.

Thomas Pell, to whose enterprise was due the foundation of the first permanent settlement in the County of Westchester, was born, according to Bolton's researches, at Southwyck, in Sussex, England, about 1608, although he is sometimes styled Thomas Pell of Norfolk. He was of aristocratic and distinguished descent, tracing his ancestry to the ancient Pell family of Walter Willingsley and Dymblesbye, in Lincolnshire. A branch of this Lincolnshire family removed into the County of Norfolk, of which was John Pell, gentleman, lord of the Manor of Shouldham Priory and Brookhall (died April 4, 1556). One of his descendants was the Rev. John Pell, of Southwyck (born about 1553), who married Mary Holland, a lady of royal blood. Thomas Pell, the purchaser of the Westchester tract, was their eldest son. As a young man in England he was gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I., and it is supposed that his sympathies were always on the side of the royalist cause. It is uncertain at what period he emigrated to America, but Bolton finds that as early as 1630 he was associated with Roger Ludlow, a member of the Rev. John Warham's company, who settled first at Dorchester, Mass., and later removed to Windsor, Conn. In 1635, with

Ludlow and ten families, he commenced the plantation at Fairfield, Conn. (called by the Indians Unquowa). In 1647 he traded to the Delaware and Virginia. Being summoned in 1648 to take the oath of allegiance to New Haven, he refused, for the reason that he had already subscribed to it in England, "and should not take it here." For his contumacious conduct he was fined, and, refusing to pay the fine, "was again summoned before the authorities, and again amerced."

Thus his early career in Connecticut was attended by circumstances which, on their face, were hardly favorable to his subsequent selection by the government of that colony as an agent for carrying out designs that they may have had regarding the absorption of Dutch lands. It is altogether presumable that in buying the Westchester tract from the Indians in 1654 he acted in a strictly private capacity, although the settlers who went there may have been stimulated to do so by the colonial authorities. Pell himself does not appear to have ever become a resident of Westchester. He evidently regarded his purchase solely as a real estate speculation, selling his lands in parcels at first to small private individuals, and later to aggregations of enterprising men.

Of the more important of these sales, as of the conversion of much of his property into a manorial estate called Pelham Manor, due mention will be made farther along in this History. The erection of Pelham Manor by royal patent dated from October 6, 1666, Thomas Pell becoming its first lord. He married Lucy, widow of Francis Brewster, of New Haven, and died at Fairfield without issue in or about the month of September, 1669. He left property, real and personal, valued at £1,294 14s. 4d., all of which was bequeathed to his nephew, John Pell, of England, who became the second lord of the manor.

For some six years following Pell's acquisition of Westchester in 1654, there were, so far as can be ascertained, no other notable land purchases or settlements within our borders. Van der Donck's patent of the "Yonkers Land," inherited by his widow, continued in force; but the time had not yet arrived for its sub-division and systematic settlement. The New Haven Colony's purchase from Ponus and other Indians in 1640, confirmed to the people of Stamford in 1655, which covered the Town of Bedford and other portions of Westchester County, also continued as a mere nominal holding, no efforts being made to develop it. No new grants of any mentionable importance were made by the Dutch after that to Van der Donck, and while individual Dutch farmers were gradually penetrating beyond the Harlem, they founded no towns or comprehensive settlements of which record survives.

But with the decade commencing in 1660 a general movement of land purchasers and settlers began, which, steadily continuing and increasing, brought nearly all the principal eastern and southern sections under occupation within a comparatively brief period.

The earliest of these new purchasers were Peter Disbrow, John Coe, and Thomas Stedwell (or Studwell), all of Greenwich, Conn., who in 1660 and the succeeding years bought from the Indians districts now embraced in the Towns of Rye and Harrison. Associated with them in some of their later purchases was a fourth man, John Budd;[1] but the original transactions were conducted by the three. Their leader, Peter Disbrow, says the Rev. Charles W. Baird, the historian of Rye, was "a young, intelligent, self-reliant man," who seems to have enjoyed the thorough confidence and esteem of his colleagues. On January 3, 1660, acting by authority from the Colony of Connecticut, he purchased "from the then native Indian proprietors a certain tract of land lying on the maine between a certain place then called Rahonaness to the east and to the West Chester Path to the north, and up to a river then called Moaquanes to the west, that is to say, all the land lying between the aforesaid two rivers then called Peningoe, extending from the said Path to the north and south to the sea or Sound." This tract, on Peningo Neck, extended over the lower part of the present Town of Rye, on the east side of Blind Brook, reaching as far north as Port Chester and bounded by a line of marked trees.

Six months later (June 29, 1660) the Indian owners, thirteen in number, conveyed to Disbrow, Coe, and Stedwell, for the consideration of eight coats, seven shirts, and fifteen fathom of wampum, all of Manussing Island, described as "near unto the main, which is called in the Indian name Peningo." A third purchase was effected by Disbrow May 22, 1661, comprising a tract lying between the Byram River and Blind Brook, "which may contain six or seven miles from the sea along the Byram River side northward." Other purchases west of Blind Brook followed, including Budd's Neck and the neighboring islands; the West Neck, lying between Stony Brook and Mamaroneck River, and the tract above the Westchester Path and west of Blind Brook, or directly north of Budd's Neck. This last-mentioned tract was "the territory of the present Town of Harrison, a territory owned by the proprietors of Rye, but wrested from the town some forty years later." Baird describes as follows the

[1] John Budd was a Quaker, originally from Southold, Suffolk County, N. Y., and suffered persecution there on account of his religious antecedents. One of his daughters married Joseph Horton, also of Southold, who later removed to Rye, and was the ancestor of the numerous Horton family of Westchester County. For these particulars (not mentioned in previous histories) we are indebted to Charles H. Young, Esq., of New Rochelle.

aggregate landed property represented by the several deeds: "The southern part of it alone comprised the tract of land between Byram River and Mamaroneck River, while to the north it extended twenty miles, and to the northwest an indefinite distance. These boundaries included, besides the area now covered by the Towns of Rye and Harrison, much of the Towns of North Castle and Bedford, in New York, and of Greenwich, in Connecticut; whilst in a northwest direction the territory claimed was absolutely without a fixed limit. As the frontier town of Connecticut, Rye long cherished pretensions to the whole region as far as the Hudson." The satisfaction given the Indians for all parts of the territory consisted chiefly of useful articles, and for some of the section the recompense bestowed was very considerable according to the standards obtaining in dealings with the Indians in those days. Thus, the value paid for Budd's Neck was "eightie pounds sterling," and for the Harrison tract twenty pounds sterling. These sums certainly contrast quite imposingly with the value given by the Dutch in 1624 for Manhattan Island—twenty-four dollars.

Little time was lost in laying out a settlement. For this purpose Manussing Island was selected as the most available spot, and there a community was established which took the name of Hastings. In Disbrow's deed of May 22, 1661, to the lands between the Byram River and Blind Brook, mention is made of "the bounds of Hastings on the south and southwest," which indicates that at that early date the island village had already been inaugurated and named. The following list of all the inhabitants of Hastings (the second town organized in Westchester County) whose names have come down to us is taken from Baird: Peter Disbrow, John Coe, Thomas Studwell, John Budd, William Odell, Richard Vowles, Samuel Alling, Robert Hudson, John Brondish, Frederick Harminson, Thomas Applebe, Philip Galpin, George Clere, John Jackson, and Walter Jackson. It will be observed that all these, with one exception (Clere), are good English names. This settlement, only one hour's sail from Greenwich, was too far removed from New Amsterdam to excite the jealous notice and protest of Director Stuyvesant, although it lay considerably to the west of the provisional boundary line marked off in the articles of 1650. Its founders apparently removed there with no other object than to secure homes and plantations, holding themselves in readiness, however, like those of Westchester, to come under the Connecticut government in due time. The oldest Hastings town document that has been preserved is a declaration of allegiance to "Charles the Second, our lawful lord and king," dated July 26, 1662. At the same period when the people of

Westchester were informed that their territory belonged to the Colony of Connecticut, and instructed to act accordingly, like notification was sent to Hastings. Early in 1663 the townsmen, at a public meeting, appointed Richard Vowles as constable, who went to Hartford and was duly qualified. John Budd was selected as the first deputy to the Connecticut general court, which body, on the 8th of October, 1663, designated him as commissioner for the Town of Hastings with "magistraticall power."

The Island of Manussing, only one mile in length, was in the course of two or three years found inadequate for the growing requirements of the colonists, and they began to build up a new settlement on the mainland. This was probably in 1664. Meantime other colonists had joined them, including Thomas and Hachaliah Browne, George Lane, George Kniffen, Stephen Sherwood, and Timothy Knap. They called the new village Rye, "presumably," says Baird, "in honor of Thomas and Hachaliah Browne, the sons of Mr. Thomas Browne, a gentleman of good family, from Rye, in Sussex County, England, who settled at Cambridge, Mass., in 1632." "The original division of Rye consisted of ten acres to each individual planter, besides a privilege in the undivided lands." The general court of Connecticut, on the 11th of May, 1665, ordered "that the villages of Hastings and Rye shall be for the future conjoyned and made one plantation, and that it shall be called by the appellation of Rye." Gradually the island was abandoned. The village of Rye became within a few years a very respectable little settlement. It lay "at the upper end of the Neck, along the eastern bank of Blind Brook, and the present Milton road was the village street, on either side of which the home-lots of the settlers were laid out. . . . The houses erected were not mere temporary structures, as on Manussing Island, but solid buildings of wood or stone, some of which have lasted until our own day. They were long, narrow structures, entered from the side, and stood with gable end close upon the road, and huge chimney projecting at the rear. Each dwelling generally contained two rooms on the ground floor—a kitchen and 'best room' —with sleeping apartments in the loft."

The original Rye purchases of Disbrow and his associates in 1660 antedated by only one year the purchase of the adjacent Mamaroneck lands, extending from the Mamaroneck River to the limits of Thomas Pell's Westchester tract. On the 23d of September, 1661, the Indian proprietors, Wappaquewam and Mahatahan (brothers), sold to John Richbell, of Oyster Bay, Long Island, three necks of land, described as follows in the conveyance: "The Eastermost is called Mammaranock Neck, and the Westermost is bounded with

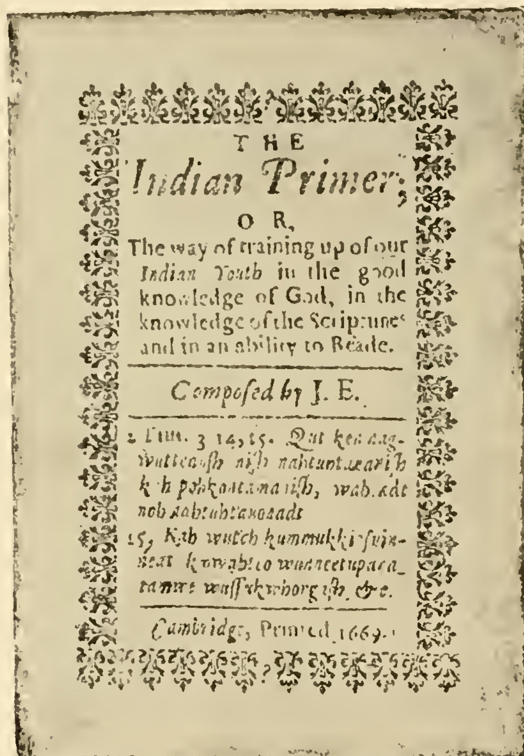
Mr. Pell's purchase." The three necks later became known as the East, Middle, and West Necks. All the meadows, rivers, and islands thereunto belonging were included in the sale; and it was also specified that Richbell or his assigns might "freely feed cattle or cutt timber twenty miles Northward from the marked Trees of the Necks." As payment, he was to deliver to Wappaquewam, half within about a month and the other half in the following spring, twenty-two coats, one hundred fathom of wampum, twelve shirts, ten pairs of stockings, twenty hands of powder, twelve bars of lead, two firelocks, fifteen hoes, fifteen hatchets, and three kettles. Two shirts and ten shillings in wampum were given in part payment on the day of the transaction. But Richbell was not permitted to enter into undisturbed possession of his fine property. Another Englishman of Oyster Bay, one Thomas Revell, in the following month (October, 1661) appeared on the scene and undertook to buy the identical lands, or a very considerable portion of them. His negotiations were with the same Wappaquewam and certain other Indians, to whom he paid, or engaged to pay, more than Richbell had bound himself for. Out of his rival claim arose a wordy legal dispute, wherein affidavits were filed by various witnesses, one of whom (testifying in Richbell's behalf) was Peter Disbrow, of Manussing Island. From the testimony of Wappaquewam it appears that that chief was overpersuaded by another Indian, Cockoo, to resell the territory to Revell, upon the alluring promise that "he should have a cote," "on which he did it." The burden of the evidence was plainly in favor of Richbell, who, in all the legal proceedings that resulted, triumphed over his opponent.

The Indian Cockoo, who contributed his good offices to the assistance of Revell in this enterprise, was none other than the notable Long Island interpreter, Cockonoe, who was John Eliot's first instructor in the Indian language, and who was a frequent intermediary between English land purchasers and the native owners of the soil. What is known of the history of this very unique character has been embodied in an interesting monograph by Mr. William Wallace Tooker,[1] to whom we are indebted for the article on Indian local names in the second chapter of this volume.

His name appears variously in legal documents as Cockoo, Cokoo, and Cockoe—all abbreviations of the correct form, Cockonoe. Eliot, in a letter written in 1649, descriptive of how he learned the Indian tongue, relates that he became acquainted while living at Dorchester, Mass., with a young Long Island Indian, "taken in the Pequott warres," whom he found very ingenious, able to read, and whom

[1] Cockonoe-de-Long Island. New York, 1896.

he taught to write, "which he quickly learnt." "He was the first," says Eliot, "that I made use of to teach me words and to be my interpreter." And at the end of his "Indian Grammar," printed at Cambridge in 1669, Eliot testifies more particularly to the services rendered him by this youth. "By his help," he says, "I translated the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and many texts of Scripture; also I compiled both exhortations and prayers by his help." Cockonoe attended Eliot for some time in his evangelistic expeditions, and later made his home among the English settlers on Long Island, whom he stood ready at all times to assist in their private dealings with the Indians. When Thomas Revell sought to get the upper hand of Richbell in the purchase of lands in the present Township of Mamaroneck, he accordingly brought Cockonoe with him from Long Island, and confided to him full authority in the premises. Cockonoe made large promises to the native owners in Revell's behalf, and readily induced them to grant him power of attorney to sell the lands to Revell. The understanding was shrewdly planned, but Richbell's claim was too well established to be overcome.



THE
Indian Primer;
OR,
The way of training up of our *Indian Youth* in the good knowledge of God, in the knowledge of the Scriptures and in an ability to Reade.

Composed by J. E.

1 Tim. 3 14, 15. [illegible]

Cambridge, Printed 1669.

FAC-SIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE PRIMER OF 1669.

Richbell, unlike Pell in his Westchester purchase, and Disbrow and his companions in their Rye venture, did not hold himself independent of the Dutch provincial administration. He promptly applied to the government at New Amsterdam for confirmation of his landed rights. Perhaps he was actuated in this step by a prudent desire to avoid the legal complications and annoyances which the settlers at Westchester had experienced, and perhaps he sought to strengthen his case against his competitor Revell by the forms of official recognition. In an elaborately polite

communication, dated "In New Netherlands, 24th December, 1661," and addressed "To the most noble, great, and respectful lords, the Director-General and Council in New Netherlands," he solicited "most reverently" that letters patent be granted him for his tract, promising not only that all persons settling upon it should similarly crave letters patent from the Dutch authorities for such parcels of land as they should acquire, but also that he would take care to "enforce and instruct them of your Honour's government and will." By a document signed May 6, 1662, Director Stuyvesant complied with his request, stipulating, however, that Richbell and all persons associated with him or settling under him should "present themselves before us to take the oath of fidelity and obedience, and also, as other inhabitants are used to, procure a land brief of what they possess."

The bounds of Richbell's patent on the Sound ran from "Mr. Pell's purchase" at the southwest to the Mamaroneck River at the northeast. The three necks, constituting its water front, are thus described by the historian of the Manors of Westchester County:

> The Middle Neck was sometimes styled the "Great Neck," from its longer extent of water front, which led to the supposition that its area below Westchester Path was greater than that of the East Neck. The East Neck extended from Mamaroneck River to a small stream called Pipin's Brook, which divided it from the Great Neck, and is the same which now (1886) crosses the Boston Road just east of the house of the late Mr. George Vanderburgh. The North Neck extended from the latter stream westward to the mouth of a much larger brook called Cedar or Gravelly Brook, which is the one that bounds the land now belonging to Mr. Meyer on the west. And the West Neck extended from the latter to another smaller brook still further to the westward, also termed Stony or Gravelly Brook, which was the east line of the Manor of Pelham. A heated controversy arose between John Richbell and John Pell (second lord of the Manor), as to which of the two brooks last named was the true boundary between them, Pell claiming that it was the former and that the West Neck was his land. After proceedings before Governor Lovelace and in the Court of Assizes, the matter was finally settled on the 22d of January, 1671, by an agreement practically dividing the disputed territory between them.

Richbell erected a house on the East Neck, and resided there. In the interior his landed rights, as understood in his deed from the Indians, extended "twenty miles northward." By letters patent from Governor Lovelace, issued to him October 16, 1668, the whole tract was confirmed to him, "running northward twenty miles into the woods." This tract embraced the present Towns of Mamaroneck, White Plains, and Scarsdale, and most of New Castle. But the enterprising men of Rye in 1683 bought from the Indians the White Plains tract—a purchase which gave rise to a protracted contention about the ownership of that section. The West and Middle Necks went out of Richbell's possession under mortgage transactions, the principal mortgagee being Cornelius Steenwyck, a wealthy Dutch merchant of New York. Most of the Middle Neck was subsequently

acquired by the Palmer family (still prominent in the Town of Mamaroneck). Toward the end of the eighteenth century Peter J. Munro became its principal proprietor, from whom it is called to this day Munro's Neck. Upon it is located the widely known and exclusive summer resort of Larchmont. The East Neck was conveyed by Richbell, immediately after the procurement of his patent from Governor Lovelace, to his mother-in-law, Margery Parsons, who forthwith deeded it to her daughter Ann, his wife. By her it was sold in 1697 to Colonel Caleb Heathcote, under whom, with its interior extension, it was erected into the Manor of Scarsdale. Heathcote's eldest daughter, Ann, married into the distinguished de Lancey family. As he left no male heir, Ann de Lancey inherited much of the manor property, and the de Lanceys, continuing to have their seat here, gave their name to the locality still called de Lancey's Neck.

John Richbell, the original purchaser of all the lands whose history has thus been briefly traced, was "an Englishman of a Hampshire family of Southampton or its neighborhood, who were merchants in London, and who had business transactions with the West Indies or New England." He was engaged for a time in commercial enterprises in the British West India Islands of Barbadoes, then a prominent center of transatlantic trade. In 1656 he was a merchant in Charlestown, Mass. (near Boston). The next year he entered into a peculiar private understanding with Thomas Mediford, of Barbadoes, and William Sharpe, of Southampton, England, which is supposed to have afforded the basis for his purchase, four years later, of the Mamaroneck tract. The details of the understanding are not stated in terms in any document that is extant; but its nature can readily be conjectured from the wording of the "Instructions" prepared for him by his associates, dated Barbadoes, September 18, 1657. He is advised to inform himself "by sober understanding men" respecting the seacoast between Connecticut and the Dutch settlements, and the islands between Long Island and the main, ascertaining "within what government it is, and of what kinde that government is, whether very strict or very remisse." Having satisfied himself, in these and other particulars, that he "may with security settle there and without offense to any," he is advised to "buy some small Plantation," which, among other advantages, must be "near some navigable Ryver, or at least some safe port or harbour," and "the way to it neither long nor difficult." He is next to obtain an indisputable title to the land, to settle there with his family, and to clear and cultivate it. Precise directions are given him for his agricultural and economic operations, includ-

ing the following significant ones: "Be sure by the first opportunity to put an acre or two of hemp seed into the ground, of which you may in the winter make a quantity of canvass and cordage for your own use. In the falling and clearing your ground save all your principal timber for pipe stands and clapboard and knee timber." Lastly, he is instructed to "advise us, or either of us, how affairs stand with you, what your wants are, and how they may be most advantageously employed by us, for the life of our business will consist in the nimble, quiet, and full correspondence with us." There can be no doubt that all this was with a view to procuring facilities for contraband traffic. The navigation laws, at that time as throughout the colonial period, were extremely burdensome, and large profits were to be made in evading them. Although no direct evidence exists that the Mamaroneck shores were utilized to this end, we think it highly probable that some illicit trade found its destination there. It is a fact that Richbell's lands, unlike those of Thomas Pell and Disbrow and his associates, were not taken up to any considerable extent by bona fide colonists for many years. Yet he was a poor man, always in debt, and could not afford to let his property lie idle. As late as 1671 a warrant was issued by Governor Lovelace "for ye fetching Mr. John Richbell to town [New York City] a prisoner," wherein it was recited that "John Richbell, of Mamaroneck," was "a prisoner under arrest for debt in this city, from which place he hath absented himself contrary to his engagement." It may hence justly be remarked that, on the other hand, he could hardly have been engaged in any very extensive or remunerative "nimble" business.

Before buying the Mamaroneck tract, Richbell had become an inhabitant of Long Island, residing at Oyster Bay. On the 5th of September, 1660, he purchased Lloyd's Neck, on that island, for which on December 18, 1665, he obtained a patent from Governor Nicolls. This property he sold one year later for £450. Through his brother, Robert Richbell, a member of the English Council of Trade created by Charles II., he probably received early information of the expedition intended for the conquest of New Netherland from the Dutch. After the conquest he made his home at Mamaroneck, where he died July 26, 1684, leaving a widow and three daughters—Elizabeth, Mary, and Ann. Elizabeth, according to Bolton, became "the second wife of Adam Mott, of Hamstead," and their son, William, was the ancestor of Dr. Valentine Mott, of New York City. Mary Richbell married Captain James Mott, of Mamaroneck, who, in an entry in the town records, alludes to "a certain piece of land laying near the salt meadow," "in my home lot or field adjoining to my house," as being the burial place of John Richbell.

CHAPTER VII

"THE PORTION OF THE NORTH RIDING ON THE MAIN"—PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT AND BEGINNINGS OF THE MANORIAL ESTATES

N the 6th of September, 1664, the City of New Amsterdam surrendered to an English fleet which had been secretly dispatched across the Atlantic to take possession of the Dutch dominions in America; and soon afterward the fortified places of the Dutch on the Delaware and the upper Hudson gave in their allegiance to the new rulers of the land. For many years the whole course of events in New Netherland had been steadily tending to this eventuality. As early as 1650, when the Hartford articles of agreement between Stuyvesant and the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England were signed, the Dutch pretensions to territorial ownership on the banks of the Connecticut were abandoned, and the English rights as far west as Greenwich on the Sound and to within ten miles of the Hudson River in the interior were recognized. At the same time, sovereignty on Long Island was formally divided with the English, it being provided in the articles that "upon Long Island a line run from the westernmost part of Oyster Bay, so, and in a straight and direct line, to the sea, shall be the bounds betwixt the English and Dutch there, the easterly part to belong to the English and the westernmost part to the Dutch." Subsequent developments were uniformly in the direction of the acquisition by the English of all unsettled intermediate territory. While the Dutch not only made no encroachments upon the sections adjoining the English settlements, but even neglected all systematic occupation of the undeveloped country indisputably belonging to their own sphere, such as the regions north of the Harlem River, the English were constantly extending, by actual seizure and occupation, the limits of their westward claims. One after another the Dutch gave up to their rivals every point in dispute. In 1663, after a strenuous endeavor to retain the Westchester tract, where they had preserved the forms of jurisdiction since the early days of its colonization by Pell's settlers, they resigned this important vantage ground; and early in 1664,

forced to an issue on Long Island by the stubborn attitude of the English towns there, they entered into an arrangement by which all controverted matters in that part of their diminishing realms were determined agreeably to the British interests. By this latter transaction the villages of Newtown, Flushing, Jamaica, Hempstead, and Gravesend became English. The arrogant general disposition of the English in Connecticut in the closing period of the Dutch rule is described as follows by Stuyvesant in a dispatch to the West India Company, dated November 10, 1663: "They know no New Netherland, nor government of New Netherland, except only the Dutch plantation on the Island of Manhattan. 'Tis evident and clear that were Westchester and the five English towns on Long Island surrendered by us to the Colony of Hartford, and what we have justly possessed and settled on Long Island left to us, it would not satisfy them, because it would not be possible to bring them sufficiently to any further arrangement with us by commissioners to be chosen on both sides by the mediation of a third party; and as in case of disagreement they assert, in addition, that they may possess and occupy, in virtue of their unlimited patent, the lands lying vacant and unsettled on both sides of the North River and elsewhere, which would certainly always cause and create new pretensions and disputes, even though the boundary were provisionally settled here." The patent here referred to by Stuyvesant was one granted by Charles II. on the 23d of April, 1662, to the Colony of Connecticut, wherein the westward bounds of Connecticut were stated to be "the South Sea" —that is, the Pacific Ocean. The southern bounds were likewise fixed at "the Sea"—meaning not the Sound, but the Atlantic Ocean south of Long Island.

DUTCH COURTSHIP.

March 23, 1664 *(n. s.)*, Charles II. by royal patent vested in his brother, the Duke of York (afterward James II.), the proprietorship of all of New Netherland. The sole semblance of justification of this act was the venerable claim of England to the North American mainland, based upon the discovery of the Cabots in the reign of Henry VII., nearly a hundred and seventy years before. At the time of the gift to the Duke of York, no state of war existed between England and the Netherlands. Neither was there the plausible excuse of emergency on the ground of any threatening behavior of the Dutch in America, or even of dangerous differences between the provinces of New Netherland and Connecticut; for, as we have seen, the Dutch had pursued an undeviating course of forbearance and submission, and had but recently yielded all for which their English neighbors contended. It was a deed of spoliation pure and simple, and as such has been characterized in varying terms of denunciation by all impartial historians. Four ships of war, carrying ninety-two guns and about four hundred and fifty land troops, and commanded by Colonel Richard Nicolls, appeared before New Amsterdam at the end of August, and demanded the surrender of the city. Stuyvesant desired to resist to the last, but was overborne by the will of the citizens, and on the 6th of September articles of capitulation were signed, which were extremely generous in their provisions, the Dutch being granted full privilege to continue in the enjoyment of their lands and other possessions, as well as liberty of religion and of occupying minor civil offices. Nicolls was installed as governor of the province, which took the name of New York.

One of the first documents which the new authorities had to consider was a communication from the "inhabitants of Westchester," reciting, under seven different heads, their local grievances against the Dutch. In this paper no specific remedy was prayed for, and it appears to have been drawn merely to put on record the real and supposed injuries that the settlers had suffered from the New Netherland government, and to attract official attention to their community. O'Callaghan shows that in some of its more serious charges it is distinctly untruthful, suggesting a malignant animus. It concluded with the bitter complaint that, because of the conduct of the Dutch, the plantation is at "a low estate," that conduct having operated as "an utter obstruction from the peopling and improving of a hopeful country."

The form of tenure under which New Netherland was granted to the Duke of York by the king was defined in the patent as follows: "To be holden of us, our heirs, and successors, as of our Manor of Greenwich and our County of Kent, in free and common

socage, and not in capite, nor by knight service, yielding and rendering of and for the same, yearly and every year, forty beaver skins when they shall be demanded, or within ninety days thereafter." This meant simply that there was to be no feudal tenure of lands under its provisions (all feudal tenures having, in fact, been abolished throughout English dominions by act of Parliament four years previously), but that the system introduced should be strictly allodial, patterned, moreover, upon that prevailing in "our Manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent," "the object being to give to the new possessions in America the most favorable tenure then known to the English law." The basis of the ancient and effete feudal system was the complete subjection of the vassal to his lord, the vassal being bound to perform military and other personal services and to be judged at law by his lord, and the lord guaranteeing him, in consideration of his fealty, security in the possession of his lands and general protection. On the other hand, allodial tenure, or "free and common socage," was "a free tenure, the land being a freehold, and the holder a freeman, because he, as well as the land, was entirely free from all exactions, and from all rents and services except those specified in his grant. So long as these last were paid or performed, no lord or other power could deprive him of his land, and he could devise it by will, and in case of his death intestate it could be divided among his sons equally." Thus in its very origin, English rule in what is now the State of New York had for its basic principle an absolutely free yeomanry. The erection of "manors," presided over by so-called "lords," did not affect in the least this elementary free status; the manors being only larger estates, and their lords wealthy proprietors with certain incidental aristocratic functions and dignities which violated in no manner the principle of perfectly free land tenure.

New York, under this patent from Charles II., assumed at once the character of a "proprietary province"—that is, a province owned absolutely by the beneficiary, James, Duke of York, and ruled exclusively by him through his subordinates, subject to the general laws of England. In this character it continued for nearly twenty-one years (excepting a little more than one year, when it was again under Dutch sway by virtue of reconquest), at the end of that time being merged in the provinces of the crown because of the accession of James to the throne of England. Richard Nicolls, the duke's first governor, after substituting for the old name of New Netherland that of New York, proceeded to rename the various parts of the province. He assigned the comprehensive designation of Yorkshire to the whole district surrounding Manhattan Island, compris-

ing Long Island, Staten Island, and the present Westchester County; and, following the local style of old Yorkshire, in England, he subdivided this district into three so-called "Ridings"—the "East," "West," and "North." The East Riding consisted of the present Suffolk County; the West Riding, of Staten Island, the present Kings County, and the Town of Newtown, in the present Queens County; and the North Riding, of the remainder of the present Queens County, together with the Westchester plantation. The first official (as well as popular) name for our county, of more than mere local application, was "the portion of the North Riding on the main." But the Long Island jurisdiction extended only to the Bronx, the settlements which later sprang up west of that stream being under the government of Harlem and New York City until Westchester County came into existence, in 1683.

Governor Nicolls, after proclaiming the Duke of York as lord proprietor of the province, and exacting recognition of him as such, which was readily forthcoming (Stuyvesant, and the leading Dutch citizens generally, subscribing to the oath of allegiance), permitted the former order of things to continue with as little interference as possible. With the transfer of sovereignty, however, it became necessary to issue new land patents to existing owners, extinguishing the condition in the old deeds that lands were held under allegiance to the Dutch West India Company, and instituting instead the authority of the new régime. This formality was provided for in the celebrated code known as "The Duke's Laws," adopted by an assembly of delegates from the towns of the province held at Hempstead in the summer of 1665. It was prescribed that "all persons whatsoever who may have any grants or patents of townships, lands, or houses, within this government, shall bring in the said grants or patents to the said governor and shall have them renewed by authority from his Royal Highness, the Duke of York, before the next Court of Assizes. That every purchaser, etc., shall pay for every hundred acres as an acknowledgment two shillings and six pence." The Dutch submitted cheerfully to the regulation, but some opposition to it was offered by the inhabitants of the English towns of Long Island, who, conceiving that they belonged to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, were disinclined to be thus summarily incorporated under the new-fledged government.

The boundary question which so vexed Stuyvesant was immediately brought to the serious attention of Nicolls by the Connecticut officials. He was no sooner well established in possession of the Dutch province than delegates were sent to him from Connecticut to congratulate him and arrange a settlement of the boundary line.

He appointed commissioners to meet these delegates, and on the 28th of October, 1664, it was agreed that the line should start on the Sound at a point twenty miles east of the Hudson River and pursue a north-northwest course until it intersected the line of Massachusetts, which at that time was supposed to run across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. In locating the twenty-mile starting point, Nicolls accepted representations made by the Connecticut people, and it was fixed at the mouth of the Mamaroneck River, which in point of fact, however, is only ten miles from the Hudson. Accordingly, the boundary between New York and Connecticut was declared to be "a line drawn from the east point or side where the fresh water falls into the salt,[1] at high-water mark, north-northwest to the line of Massachusetts." This produced a line striking the east bank of the Hudson just above Croton Point, and the west bank at West Point—an arrangement which, when the New York authorities discovered the fact, was greatly to their dissatisfaction, and which later was rectified on a basis as nearly as convenient adjustable to the original twenty-mile understanding. But for the time being, notwithstanding the serious miscalculation of distance, the division of territory on the Sound appeared equitable enough. It was unquestionable that everything east of Greenwich belonged to Connecticut, by virtue of long settlement and also of the articles of 1650. West of Greenwich there were only three settlements on the Sound—those at Rye and Westchester, and an infant colony at Eastchester,—and all of these had been established exclusively by Connecticut people. Westchester village, and with it all the territory on the Sound as far as the Mamaroneck River, was surrendered by Connecticut to New York, only the Rye purchase being retained. As for the interior, that was wholly unsettled as yet, and there was no occasion to make any issue concerning it. Meantime the New York government was able to contend that it was the original intent of both parties to have the Connecticut line drawn at a distance of twenty miles from the Hudson; and anything inconsistent with this in the precise terms of the arrangement actually effected was naturally subject to revision in due time.

Although the village of Westchester had attained to the importance of a separate organized community, the settlers there had held

[1] "The place where the fresh water falls into the salt" is, says de Lancey, in his History of the Manors, the literal translation of the Indian name Mamaroneck. He adds: "A short distance above the present bridge between the Towns of Mamaroneck and Rye, where the river bends suddenly to the east and then takes a northerly course, a rocky reef originally crossed it nearly at right angles, causing the formation of rapids. It was high enough to prevent the tide rising over it at high water, so that the fresh water of the river always fell into the salt water of the harbor, and at low water with a strong rush and sound."

their lands from the beginning under an arrangement with Thomas Pell, the original white owner of the territory, whereby they were to pay him "a certain summe of money." Circumstances prevented the fulfillment of this obligation, and on the 16th of June, 1664, three months before the surrender of the province to the English, they signed a document restoring to him all rights, titles, and claims to the tract. One of the signers was "John Acer," probably the John Archer who a few years subsequently became lord of the Manor of Fordham. The restoration thus made was only temporary, for in 1667 Westchester received a town patent.

The proprietary pretensions of Thomas Pell were quite unlimited. Besides undertaking to hold the Westchester settlers to the letter of their agreement with him, he asserted and attempted to legally enforce a claim to Cornell's Neck, which in 1646 had been patented by the Dutch director, Kieft, to Thomas Cornell, and from him had descended to his eldest daughter, Sarah, the wife of Thomas Willett and later of Charles Bridges. Shortly after the English government of New York had become established, Pell sought to oust Mrs. Bridges from the possession of Cornell's Neck, and in consequence of his arbitrary proceedings she, with her husband, brought suit to restrain him from interfering with her in the enjoyment of her inheritance. The action was tried before a jury on the 29th of September, 1665. It proved to be a test case as to the validity of Dutch grants in the whole territory which had been in dispute between New Netherland and Connecticut. Pell set up the plea that the so-called Cornell's Neck was comprehended within the tract that he had bought from the Indians in 1654; that the governor and council of Connecticut had taken "notice of this land to be under their government," and had licensed him to purchase it; and that any prior Dutch grant ought to be voided, since "where there is no right there can be no dominion, so no patent could be granted by the Dutch, they having no right." On the other hand, the plaintiffs alleged "ye articles of surrender, and the King's instructions, wherein any grant or conveyance from the Dutch is confirmed." The jury promptly returned a verdict for the plaintiffs, with sixpence damages; and it was ordered "that the high sheriff or the undersheriff of ye North Riding of Yorkshire upon Long Island do put the plaintiffs in possession of the said land and premises; and all persons are required to forbear the giving the said plaintiffs or their assigns any molestation in their peaceable and quiet enjoyment thereof." Under this decision the absolute ownership of Cornell's Neck by the descendants of Thomas Cornell was never subsequently questioned. Mrs. Bridges deeded the Neck to her eldest

son, William Willett, who on the 15th of April, 1667, procured from Governor Nicolls a new and more carefully worded patent to it. The Neck continued in the Willett family for more than a century afterward, and, although never invested with manorial dignity, was recognized throughout the colonial period as one of the most important landed estates in Westchester County, the heads of the Willett family vying in social and public prominence with the Morrises, Philipses, de Lanceys, and Van Cortlandts.

OLD SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH, EASTCHESTER.

But though defeated in his attempt to acquire Cornell's Neck, Pell was recognized as the "one only master" of the territory reaching from the eastern confines of that locality to the Mamaroneck purchase of Thomas Richbell. We have seen that the title to the Westchester plantation was reconveyed to him by the settlers on the 16th of June, 1664; and in the same month another circumstance occurred indicating that Pell's authority over the whole domain was undisputed. On the 24th of June, 1664, he granted to "James Evarts

and Philip Pinckney, for themselves and their associates, to the number of ten families," the privilege "to settle down at Hutchinson's, that is, where the house stood at the meadows and uplands, to Hutchinson's River." This new English colony, located just above Westchester, on the strip between Throgg's and Pelham Necks, was called Eastchester, or the "Ten Farms." All the grantees came from Fairfield, Pell's home. The original ten families were soon joined by others, making twenty-six families in all. A curious covenant, comprising twenty-seven paragraphs, was adopted for the government of the place, in which plain rules for the observance of all were laid down.[1] To better secure themselves in the posession of

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[1] Imprimis, that we by the grace of God, sitt down on the track of land lieng betwext Huthesson's broock, whear the house was, untell it com unto the river, that runeth in at the head of the meados.

2. That we indeavor to keepe and maintayn christian love and sivell honisty.

3. That we faithfully conssall what may be of infirmyti in any one of us.

4. Plainlie to dealle one with another in christian love.

5. If any trespas be don, the trespaced and the trespaser shall chuse tow of this company, and they a thirde man if need be required, to end the mater, without any further trubell.

6. That all and every one of us, or that shall be of us, do paye unto the minester, according to his meade.

7. That none exceed the quantity of fifteen acres, until all have that quantity.

8. That every man hath that meadow that is most convenient for him.

9. That every man build and inhabit on his home lot before the next winter.

10. That no man make sale of his lot before he hath built and inhabited one year, and then to render it to the company, or to a man whom they approve.

11. That any man may sell part of his alotment to his neighbor.

12. That no man shall engrosse to himself by buying his neighbor's lot for his particular interest, but with respect to sell it if an approved man come, and that without much advantage, to be judged by the company.

13. That all public affairs, all bridges, highways, or mill, be carried on jointly, according to meadow and estates.

14. That provision be endeavoured for education of children, and then encouragement be given unto any that shall take pains according to our former way of rating.

15. That no man shall give entertainment to a foreigner who shall carry himself obnoxions to the company except amendment be after warning given.

16. That all shall join in guarding of cattle when the company see it convenient.

17. That every man make and maintain a good fence about all his arable land, and in due time a man chosen to view if the company's be good.

18. That every man sow his land when most of the company sow or plant in their fields.

19. That we give new encouragement to Mr. Brewster each other week, to give us word of exhortation, and that when we are settled we meet together every other weeke, one hour, to talk of the best things.

20. That one man, either of himself, or by consent, may give entertainment to strangers for money.

21. That one day, every spring, be improved for the destroying of rattle snakes.

22. That some, every Lord's day, stay at home, for safety of our wives and children.

23. That every man get and keep a good lock to his door as soon as he can.

24. That a convenient place be appointed for oxen if need require.

25. If any man's meadow or upland be worse in quality, that be considered in quantity.

26. That every man that hath taken up lottes shall pay to all publick charges equal with those that got none. That all that hath or shall take up lots within this track of land mentioned in the premises shall subscribe to these articles.

Thomas Shute
The mark of
O
Nathaniel Tompkins,
Philip Pinkney.
The mark of X Joseph Joans,
John Hoitt,
James Everts,
The mark of X Daniel Godwin,
The mark of X William Squire,
David Osburn,
John Goding,
Samuel Drake,
John Jackson.
The mark of John Drake, I D
The mark of
X
Nathaniel White,

their lands, they obtained a further grant from the Indians in 1666; and on the 9th day of March of that year a patent was issued to them by Nicolls, through their representatives—Philip Pinckney, James Evarts, and William Hayden. They were to have the privilege of electing a deputy constable, but in all other matters were to "have relation to ye town and court of Westchester." Certain border lands between them and the Westchester people were "to lye in common between them and ye inhabitants of Westchester," a provision which later gave rise to a good deal of local controversy. Although the Eastchester settlement was made by men fresh from Connecticut, its citizens do not appear to have sought at any time to remain under that colony.

Having parted with all that section of his lands below Hutchinson's River, Thomas Pell next turned his attention to the erection of the remainder into one imposing estate. This was accomplished by letters patent procured from Governor Nicolls the 8th of October, 1666, a document under which the first manor in Westchester County was organized. The boundaries given it were Hutchinson's River on the west and Cedar Tree Brook or Gravelly Brook on the east; and it was to include "all the islands in the Sound, not already granted or otherwise disposed of, lying before that tract," and to "run into the woods about eight English miles in breadth." The whole was declared to be "an enfranchised township, manor, and place by itself," and to be entirely free from "the rules, orders, or directions of any riding, township or townships, place, or jurisdiction, either upon the main or upon Long Island." The proprietor was to pay annually to the Duke of York "one lamb upon the first day of May, if the same shall be demanded." The subsequent history of Pelham Manor will be traced in due chronological order.

The inhabitants of Westchester village accepted the government of New York without demur. Applying to Governor Nicolls for a town patent, they were informed by him (December 28, 1665) that he would defer issuing it until the whole could be equally divided into lots according to each man's assessed valuation. Early in 1667 (February 13) the desired instrument was granted to them, being the first of its kind in our county. The persons mentioned in the document are "John Quimby, John Ferris, Nicholas Bayley, William

William Haidon's mark, H
The mark of John Gay, I G
John A. Pinkney.
The mark of John Tompkins, O
Richard Shute.
The mark of John Hollind, I H
Moses Holtte,
Richard Hoadley,
The mark of Henry X Ffowlir,
John Emory,
Moses Jackson,
John Clarke.

This is a true copy according unto the originall, transcribed by me, Richard Shute, this 23d day of Nov. '68.

Betts, and Edmund Waters, as patentees for and on behalf of themselves and their associates, ye freeholders and inhabitants of ye said town." The boundaries fixed were: At the west, "the western part of the lands commonly called Bronks Land"; at the south, the Sound, or East River; and at the east, Ann's Hook, or Pelham Neck. At the north they extended "into the woods without limitation for range of cattle." "All ye rights and privileges belonging to a town within this government" were bestowed.

"Bronks' land," whose "western part" was indicated as the limit of Westchester town in the direction of the Hudson River, was a territory of quite uncertain dimensions. Together with the lands beyond along the Harlem and the Spuyten Duyvil Creek, it was dotted with the farms of Dutch settlers who had been gradually coming over from the Manhattan Island side.

On Manhattan Island, from the mouth of the Harlem River to Spuyten Duyvil, the land was well occupied; and at the northeastern extremity of the island a village called Harlem had been built up. The interests of the settlers on both sides began to demand that ferry communication be established. As early as 1658 this need had received attention from the Dutch authorities, an ordinance having been passed in that year with a view to the inauguration of a ferry from Harlem to the mainland, and the construction of a substantial wagon road from Fort Amsterdam to Harlem. Nothing practical was done by the Dutch in connection with these projected improvements. But in 1666 Governor Nicolls granted to the people of Harlem a charter providing for "a ferry to and from the main," and authorizing them "at their charge to build one or more boats for that purpose fit for the transportation of men, horses, and cattle, for which there will be such a certain allowance given as shall be adjudged reasonable." A ferry was soon afterward put in operation, conducted by Johannes Verveelen, in whom the privilege was vested for six years. He was required to maintain a tavern for the accommodation of the public. Special favors were extended to him in consideration of the expense that he was under and to encourage him in his enterprise. He was given a small piece of land on the Bronx side to build a house on. The sole right to remove cattle from one shore to the other belonged to him, and persons swimming cattle over were obliged to pay him half the ferriage rate per head. The "fording place" on Spuyten Duyvil Creek was fenced about so as to prevent its surreptitious use for cattle. Finally, he was exempted from all excise duties on wine or beer retailed by him for the space of one year. The ferriage charges, as fixed by law, were: For every passenger, two pence silver or six pence wampum; for

every ox or cow brought into the ferryboat, eight pence or twenty-four stivers wampum; cattle under a year old, six pence or eighteen stivers wampum. Government messages between New York and Connecticut were free. Each passenger whom he entertained was to pay "for his meal, eight pence; every man for his lodging, two pence a man; every man for his horse shall pay four pence for his night's hay or grass, or twelve stivers wampum, provided the grass be in the fence."

The site of the ferry landing on the Manhattan side is located by Riker, in his "History of Harlem," at the north of One Hundred and Twenty-third Street, three hundred feet west of First Avenue. But the Harlem and Westchester ferry proved unprofitable, and in 1669 was abandoned. This step was partly occasioned, however, by the growing promise of more favorable conditions over toward Spuyten Duyvil, where, on the Westchester side, the foundations of the Town of Fordham were being laid and an era of active settlement had set in; and there Verveelen obtained a new ferry franchise, running from the 1st of November, 1669.

The reader will recall that the whole great tract known variously as Nepperhaem, Colen Donck, and the Jonkheer's Land, or Yonkers Land, embraced between the Hudson and Bronx Rivers, and extending to above the limits of the present City of Yonkers, granted by the Dutch West India Company as a patroonship to Adrian Van der Donck, was inherited after his death, in 1665, by his wife, Mary, daughter of the Rev. Francis Doughty, of Maspeth, Long Island. She presently took another husband, Hugh O'Neale, and removed with him to his home in Patuxent, Md. After the English conquest and the issuance of notification to existing land proprietors to renew their patents, she and her husband journeyed to New York, and appeared before Governor Nicolls with satisfactory evidence of legal ownership of this tract. The governor therefore (October 8, 1666) granted a royal patent to "Hugh O'Neale and Mary his wife," confirming them in its possession, its limits being thus described: "Bounded to the northwards by a rivulet called by the Indians Macakassin, so running southward to Neperhaem [Yonkers], from thence to the Kill Shorakkapoch [Spuyten Duyvil] and then to Paprinimen [Kingsbridge], which is the southernmost bounds, then to go across the country to the eastward by that which is commonly known by the name of Bronck's his river and land." As these limits were the original ones of the patroonship, it follows that no part of the Yonkers tract had been disposed of since Van der Donck's death, and that any persons living upon it previously to October, 1666, were either tenants or mere squatters.

The O'Neales lost no time in divesting themselves completely of the ownership of the property, which they doubtless considered troublesome because of its remoteness from their Maryland home. On October 30, 1666, twenty-two days after the procurement of the Nicolls patent, it was conveyed to Elias Doughty, of Flushing, Mrs. O'Neale's brother—a conveyance which was further and finally perfected May 16, 1667.

The new proprietor very soon began to receive and accept offers for portions of the estate. In March and September, 1667, he sold to John Archer, of Westchester, "fourscore acres of land and thirty acres of meadow," in the vicinity of the present Kingsbridge, "lying and being betwixt Brothers River and the watering place at the end of the Island of Manhatans." This was the beginning of a new manorial estate—the second of our country in point of antiquity. Doughty also sold, July 6, 1668, to William Betts and George Tippett, his son-in-law (for whom Tibbet's Brook is named), about two thousand acres, reaching from the Hudson to the Bronx, with its southern boundary starting just below Kingsbridge and above Archer's lands, and its northern passing through Van Cortlandt Lake along the north side of "Van der Donck's planting field." About the same time (June 7, 1668), for the value of a horse and £5, Doughty conveyed to Joseph Hadden some three hundred and twenty acres directly north of Van der Donck's planting field, lying in unequal parts on both sides of Tibbet's Brook. In 1670 he sold a tract one mile square (still called "the Mile Square"), bordering on the Bronx River, to Francis French, Ebenezer Jones, and John Westcott. And finally, on the 29th of November, 1672, all that remained of the Yonkers Land was disposed of in equal thirds to Thomas Delaval, Thomas Lewis, and Frederick Philipse.

Of these various sales, the first, to Archer, and the last, to Philipse and others, are of special historic interest, each of the two being followed by consecutive developments which will demand particular attention.

John Archer, the earliest sub-purchaser in the original Van der Donck tract, was, as already stated, an inhabitant of the Town of Westchester. There is some uncertainty whether he was of English or Dutch origin. According to Bolton he was a descendant of Humphrey Archer of Warwickshire (1527-62), whose ancestor was Fulbert L'Archer, one of the companions of William the Conqueror; and from Humphrey the same authority carefully traces John's descent. Bolton is of the opinion that he came with the early Westchester settlers from Fairfield, Conn., about 1654-5. But the whole English pedigree for John Archer which Bolton has so painstakingly constructed is of

at least doubtful authenticity. Riker, the historian of Harlem, states that in the original records of that village his name occasionally appears in connection with Fordham and similar matters, and that it is invariably written "Jan Arcer." It is supposed by Riker and others that he came from Amsterdam, Holland, and that marrying in this country an Englishwoman, and living in an English-speaking settlement, he ultimately anglicized his original Dutch name into John Archer.

His purchase in 1667 from Doughty of lands below Kingsbridge was but one step toward the final acquirement of a handsome estate, comprising (Bolton says) 1,253 acres. All this property, with the exception of the hundred odd acres sold to him by Doughty, was bought from the Indians. There still survives the record of an Indian deed to him of territory running from Papirinemen down to a point on the Harlem, and extending to the Bronx. This pur-

VIEW OF KINGSBRIDGE.[1]

chase, which made him the sole owner probably as far south as High Bridge, was effected on the 28th of September, 1669, the consideration given by him to the Indians being "13 coats of Duffels, one-halfe anchor of Rume, 2 cans of Brandy, wine with several other small matters to ye value of 60 guilders wampum." The lands which he bought from Doughty in 1667, and other adjacent lands which he possessed, were leased by him in twenty and twenty-four acre parcels to such persons as would clear and cultivate them, and accordingly became occupied in 1668-69 by a number of former Harlem residents.

A little settlement sprang up which, says Edsall in his "History of Kingsbridge," was located "on the upland just across the meadow from Papirinemen." The place, from being near the "fording place," was called Fordham. "It had the countenance and protection of

[1] The building shown in the cut was Macomb's tide-mill. It was blown down in 1856.

the governor, being in a convenient place for the relief of strangers, it being the road for passengers to go to and from the main, as well as for mutual intercourse with the neighboring colony. The village consisted of about a dozen houses in an extended line along the base of Tetard's Hill, crossed at the middle by the 'old Westchester Path' (Boston Post Road), leading up over the hill toward Connecticut. No traces of these old habitations remain." Of course the reader will not confound the Fordham of Poe's Cottage (now a station on the New York and Harlem Railroad) with this ancient community on Spuyten Duyvil Creek.

The people settled at Fordham and thereabouts on both shores felt sorely aggrieved at the diversion of eastern travel from its natural route across the wading place to the ferry at Harlem. The assumption exercised by the Harlem ferryman and his fellow-townsmen in fencing in the ford so as to protect the ferry monopoly was much resented by them, and they threw down the fence and claimed the right to cross at pleasure. Finally, in 1669, the controversy was settled by the transfer of the ferry to their locality. John Verveelen was continued in charge, operated the line until his death, and was succeeded by his son, Daniel, who was still ferryman at the time of the erection of the King's Bridge (1694). The elder Verveelen, upon assuming his new functions, received "the Island, or neck of land, Papirinemen" for his use, where he was "required to provide a dwelling house furnished with three or four good beds for the entertainment of strangers; also provisions at all seasons for them, their horses and cattle, with stabling and stalling; also a sufficient and able boat to transfer passengers and cattle on all occasions. He was charged with one-third the expense of a causeway built across the meadow from Papirinemen to Fordham. It is noteworthy that about the time when the Fordham ferry was put in operation the Albany and Boston Post Roads were projected and their construction begun.

In the contract made with Verveelen for taking charge of the ferry, its location was fixed "at the place commonly called Spuyten Duyvil, between Manhattan Island and the new village called Fordham." This name Spuyten Duyvil, now restricted to the point of confluence of the Hudson River and Spuyten Duyvil Creek, was, says Edsall, originally "applied to a strip on the Manhattan Island side of the wading place, then to the crossing itself, and finally to the neck, which still retains it." [1]

[1] There has always been controversy as to the derivation and original significance of the curious name Spuyten Duyvil. The editor of this History requested an opinion on the subject from the Rev. Dr. Cole, our well-known Westchester authority on the Dutch period and Dutch names. The following is Dr. Cole's reply:

The village of Fordham, like that of Harlem, had its dependence upon the mayor's court of New York, although causes involving less than £5 could be locally disposed of there.

John Archer was not only the founder of Fordham, but remained its principal man and controlling spirit until his death. On May 3, 1669, he received authority from Governor Lovelace to settle sixteen families on the mainland "near the wading place." In the period 1669-71 he leased various farms about Fordham to tenants. But his private affairs, like those of Richbell of Mamaroneck, had become involved, and, like Richbell, he sought relief by mortgaging lands to the Dutch merchant, Cornelius Steenwyck. On September 18, 1669, he executed to Steenwyck a mortgage for 2,200 guilders; on November 14, 1671, another for 7,000 guilders; and on November 24, 1676, a third for 24,000 guilders, the last mentioned being payable in seven years.

Meanwhile, however, despite his financial complications, Archer obtained from Governor Lovelace a royal patent consolidating his landed possessions into one complete property, which was appointed to be "an entire and enfranchised township, manor, and place of itself." It included the hamlet of Fordham, and was styled Fordham Manor, being the second in point of time among the six manors of Westchester County. Next to the Manor of Morrisania, which embraced all the mainland directly south of it, it was the smallest. Its northern line began not far from the present Kingsbridge, where the Spuyten Duyvil Creek bends due south, merging into the Har-

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My Dear Mr. Shonnard—

Of course the popular notion of "Spuyten Duyvil" comes from Irving's New York (Book VII., Chapter vii.), with which we are both familiar. If you have the book at hand, notice his spelling—"en spijt den duyvil." It is not "spuyt," but "spijt." I do not know how much of a Dutch scholar Irving was, but as an original for "in spite of the devil" his spelling ("spijt") is correct.

"Spijt" and "spuyt," in the Dutch, are wholly different words. "Spijt" is an emotion, as sorrow, grief, displeasure, vexation, etc. Our English word "spite," with all its milder and more intense definitions, meets it exactly.

"Spuyt" is very different. Our words "spout," "spit" (Lat., "sputare"), meaning to throw out or belch forth, are its equivalents.

In the phrase of which you speak as suggested by some one, viz.: "point of the devils," the word is confounded with another and still wholly different Teutonic root, which is neither "spijt" nor "spuyt," but "spit" or "spits." We have this in our English word "spit," a sharp pale or point on which we impale. We use this instrument in our cooking processes.

The only matter to be decided with our phrase is how it was originally spelled. Was it Spijt den Duyvil, or Spuyten Duyvil? If it were the latter, it meant "Spouting Devil," and could mean nothing else. It might have been suggested by an energetic or boiling spring in the vicinity. This would turn entirely on a question of fact. Was there such a local spring? See a footnote of Dr. Thomas H. Edsall, on page 748 of Vol. I. of Scharf's History. He suggests that it may have referred to a strong dashing of the tides at certain times upon the bar at the entrance to the strait. We do not know on what historic fact the name rests, and so we can not know whether the original root was "spijt" or "spuyt." Of course, Irving's fun decides nothing. It may, however, have rested on some tradition which has not come down to us.

Yours as ever, very cordially,

DAVID COLE.

Yonkers, February 26, 1900.

lem River; and its southern started from a point on the Harlem below High Bridge. Its eastern boundary was the Bronx. As "acknowledgment and quit rent" for his manorial patent, Archer was to pay yearly "twenty bushels of good peas, upon the first day of March, when it shall be demanded."

The history of Fordham Manor is brief. Already mortgaged in part two years before its creation, and again mortgaged for a much larger amount on the very day after the issuance of the royal patent, it never recovered from the burden of indebtedness thus laid upon it. Moreover, at the end of the fifth year of its existence, it became pledged beyond the hope of redemption. In Archer's mortgage of 1676 to Steenwyck, all his rights in the manor were transferred to the latter, conditioned only upon the proviso that if before the 24th of November, 1683, he should repay the amount borrowed, at six per cent. yearly interest, he should re-enter as proprietor. The debt was not discharged, and Steenwyck took the whole estate as his property. By the will of Cornelius Steenwyck and his wife, Margaretta, drawn November 20, 1684, they devised the manor without any reservations to "the Nether Dutch Reformed Congregation within the City of New York." By that congregation it was preserved intact (its lands being leased to various persons) until 1755, when an act was passed permitting the minister, elders, and deacons of the church to sell the lands.

CORNELIUS STEENWYCK.

John Archer, the patentee and lord of the manor, is referred to in the will of the Steenwycks as "the late John Archer," and therefore must have died some time before November 20, 1684, the date which that document bears. "It is said (we quote from Bolton) that he suddenly expired in his coach while journeying from his manorial residence to New York City, and was interred on Tetard Hill." He was a contentious man, being involved in many legal disputes with his tenants and neighboring land owners. Upon one occasion the mayor's court in New York, acting upon a complaint from the people of Fordham that he had undertaken to govern them by "rigour and force," and had "been at several times the occasion of great troubles betwixt the inhabitants of the said town," ad-

monished him "to behave himself for the future civilly and quietly, as he will answer for the same at his peril." He held the office of sheriff of New York City. His son, John, inherited what was left of his property. To quote again from Bolton, it is said that three hundred acres upon which stood the old manorial residence were, through the liberality of Mrs. Steenwyck (who survived her husband), exempted from the bequest to the Dutch Church, and continued in the possession of the Archers. At all events, members of the family continued to reside upon their ancestral lands, and in the eighteenth century Benjamin Archer, a direct descendant of the first John, owned in fee a considerable section of the old manor. The progeny of John Archer in Westchester County at the present time are numerous.

Although the settlers in Fordham Manor were brought under the jurisdiction of Manhattan Island, its lands owed their development mainly to the activity of men belonging to the ancient Town of Westchester; and it is with the history of Westchester town that this old manorial patent will always be associated. Indeed, the limits of the Town (township) of Westchester as originally created by the legislature of the State of New York embraced all the territory of Fordham and also of Morrisania Manor. Out of Westchester township, as thus first established, was subsequently (1846) carved the new Township of West Farms, which included both Fordham and Morrisania Manors; and West Farms was in turn subdivided, the lower section of it being erected (1855) into another township, called Morrisania, whose bounds coincided generally with those of the historic Morrisania Manor, having for their northern limit a line beginning on the Harlem River near the High Bridge; and finally, in 1872, the Township of Kingsbridge was organized, consisting of all the former Township of Yonkers lying south of the southerly line of the City of Yonkers. This township included the whole of the original Manor of Fordham. The three names—Fordham, West Farms, and Morrisania—are all of seventeenth century origin; and the three localities, as individual parts of the original Township of Westchester, came into existence within the same general period of time. Having given in brief the history of the village and Manor of Fordham, it is proper to notice its neighboring and associated localities of West Farms and Morrisania before turning our attention again to other portions of the county.

The West Farms tract, like that of the "Ten Farms," or Eastchester, never attained to manorial dignity. It was a strip along the Bronx River, extending to the vicinity of what is still known as West Farms village (now a part of the City of New York). By

a deed dated "West Chester, March the 12th, 1663," this strip was sold by nine Indians to Edward Jessup and John Richardson, of Westchester, who on the 25th of April, 1666, were confirmed in its proprietorship by royal letters patent from Governor Nicolls, each being allotted one-half of the whole. Jessup's half, after his death, came into the possession of Thomas Hunt, of Westchester, and Richardson's was inherited by his three married daughters, one of whom was the wife of Gabriel Leggett, progenitor of the West Farms Leggetts, and the other the wife of Joseph Hadley, of the Yonkers. The whole patent was originally divided into twelve parcels, collectively styled "The West Farms," a name descriptive of its local relation to Westchester, by whose citizens it was opened up and upon whose government it depended. Between the West Farms patent and the lands of the Morrises, at the southwest, lay a strip whose ownership was long in controversy, and which hence was called "the debatable ground."

The foundations of the great Morris estate were begun about 1670, when Captain Richard Morris, an English merchant from Barbadoes, purchased, in behalf of himself and his brother Lewis, from Samuel Edsall, the old Bronxland tract. This was the identical land, consisting of some five hundred acres, which about 1639 was granted by the Dutch West India Company to Jonas Bronck, the first known settler in Westchester County. After Bronck's death, it was owned by his widow and her second husband, the noted Arendt van Curler (or Corlaer), from whom it passed through several proprietors to Samuel Edsall, a beaver-maker in New Amsterdam. Edsall's purchase was made on the 22d day of October, 1664, almost immediately after the conquest of New Netherland by the English; and he promptly took out a patent for it from Governor Nicolls. The Nicolls patent describes it as "a certaine tract or parcel of land formerly in the tenure or occupation of Jonas Bronck's, commonly called by the Indians by the name of Ranackque, and by the English Bronck's land, lying and being on the maine to the east and over against Harlem town, having a certain small creek or Kill which runs between the north east part of it and Little Barnes Island, near Hellgate, and so goes into the East River, and a greater creek or river which divides it from Manhattan Island, containing about 500 acres or 250 margon of land." It is an interesting historical reminiscence that this Bronxland tract, now the most thickly populated portion of the old County of Westchester, was not only the first locality within our borders to be settled under the Dutch, but was also the object of the first private purchase made under the English.

The brothers Richard and Lewis Morris, who became owners of Bronxland by purchase from Edsall in 1670, were descended from an ancient Welsh family of Monmouthshire. Lewis inherited the paternal estate of Tintern in that county, which was confiscated by Charles I. because of his connection with the Parliament party, in whose service he fought as commander of a troop of horse. For the loss thus suffered he was later indemnified by Cromwell. Emigrating to Barbadoes, he bought a splendid property on that island. He took part in the successful English expedition against Jamaica, having received from Cromwell the commission of colonel. Adopting the principles of the Quakers, he became a leading member of that sect, and entertained George Fox upon his visit to Barbadoes in 1671.

Richard Morris, a younger brother of Lewis, fought with him in support of the Parliament, being a captain in his regiment. He followed him to Barbadoes after the Restoration, and there married Sarah Pole, a wealthy lady. The attention of the brothers was attracted to New York as a place offering favorable opportunities for enterprise, and it was decided that Richard should remove to that quarter and buy a large landed property. Articles of agreement were entered into between the brothers, providing that "if either of them should die without issue, the survivor, or issue of the survivor, if any, should take the estate." By an instrument dated August 10, 1670, Captain Richard Morris, who is styled "a merchant of New York," and Colonel Lewis Morris, "a merchant of Barbadoes," jointly purchased from Edsall the five hundred Bronxland acres. Here Richard made his home with his young wife and a number of negro slaves whom he had brought from the West Indies. Both Richard and Sarah Morris died in the fall of 1672, leaving an infant son, Lewis Morris the younger.

Information being sent to Colonel Lewis Morris of the decease of his brother, he came to New York in 1673 to look after the interests of the estate. Meantime the province had been recaptured by the Dutch, and the new governor, Anthony Colve, finding that "Colonel Morris, being a citizen of Barbadoes, was not, under the terms of the capitulation, entitled to the same liberal terms as British subjects of Virginia or Connecticut," and "also that the infant owned only one-third of the estate and the uncle two-thirds," resolved upon the confiscation of the latter's two-thirds. Nevertheless, the uncle managed to arrange matters advantageously with the Dutch officials, and was not only appointed administrator of Richard's estate and guardian of the infant, but was finally "granted the entire estate, buildings, and materials thereon, on a valuation to

be made by impartial appraisers for the benefit of the minor child, but Colve 'appropriated' (due regard being had, of course, to the infant's interests) all the fat cattle, such as oxen, cows, and hogs."

The elder Lewis Morris, having thus brought about a tolerably satisfactory adjustment of the matter, returned to Barbadoes to close up his private interests. This accomplished, he came to New York again in 1675, with the resolve of making it his permanent home. During his absence the English had resumed the government of the country. On March 25, 1676, Governor Andros issued to him a patent covering not only the original five hundred acres of Bronck, but some 1,420 adjoining acres in addition. The wording of this important patent, in its description of the property, is as follows: "Whereas, Colonel Lewis Morris of the Island of Barbadoes, hath long enjoyed, and by patent stands possest, of a certain plantation and tract of land, lying and being upon the maine, over against the town of Harlem, commonly called Bronck's land, the same containing about five hundred acres or two hundred and fifty morgen of land, besides the meadow thereunto annexed or adjoining, called and bounded as in the original Dutch ground brief and patent of confirmation is set forth; and the said Colonel Morris having made good improvement upon the said land, and there lying lands adjacent to him not included in any patent or grants, which land the said Colonel Morris doth desire for further improvement, this said land and addition being bounded from his own house over against Harlem, running up Harlem river to Daniel Turner's land, and so along his said land northward to John Archer's line [Fordham Manor], and from thence stretching east to the land of John Richardson and Thomas Hunt [West Farms patent], and thence along the Sound about southwest, through Bronck's kill to the said Colonel Morris his house, the additional land containing (according to the survey thereof) the quantity of fourteen hundred, and the whole, one thousand, nine hundred and twenty acres." In consideration of this grant Colonel Morris was to pay "yearly and every year, as a quit-rent to his royal highness, five bushels of good winter wheat." The land of Daniel Turner, mentioned in the patent, was a narrow strip of about eighty acres extending along the Harlem River just below Fordham Manor. Turner was one of the original patentees of Harlem, and was one of the first men of that village to compete with the Westchester people in acquiring lands beyond the Bronx.

Colonel Morris, to render his title to the whole estate absolutely invulnerable, took the precaution of obtaining a deed from the Indians, dated February 7, 1685. Of course this formality was not

necessary as to the portion of the property which formerly belonged to Edsall, and he had in view simply to secure himself beyond all possibility of legal dispute in the possession of the additional lands granted to him by Andros.

In the same year that the patent for Bronxland and its adjacent territory was issued, Colonel Morris bought a very extensive tract in East Jersey, to which he gave the name of Tintern and Monmouth, after his ancestral seat in the old country. His New Jersey property amounted to about 3,500 acres. Thus, besides founding one of the principal hereditary domains of Westchester County, he was among the earliest of large landed proprietors in New Jersey, where also he selected what has since become a very conspicuous and valuable section. He lived on his Bronxland property until his death, in 1691, occupying a handsome residence, which even in those early colonial times was a place of liberal hospitality. He was a prominent man in the province, sustaining intimate relations with Governor Andros and other celebrated official characters, and from 1683 to 1686 was a member of Governor Dongan's council. During his lifetime, although possessing abundant means and enjoying the distinction of aristocratic birth and antecedents, no steps were taken to erect the estate into a manor. He was twice married, but left no descendants, his sole heir being his nephew, Lewis, the only son of his brother, Richard. The value of Colonel Morris's personal property, etc., exclusive of his real estate, as appraised by Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Nicholas Bayard, John Pell, and William Richardson, was estimated at above £4,000. Among the chattels enumerated in the inventory were the following:

NEGROES.

22 man negroes at 20 l	440	0	0
11 women at 15 l	165	0	0
6 boys at 15 l	90	0	0
2 garles at 12 l	24	0	0
25 children at 5 l	125	0	0
	844	0	0

In the will of Colonel Morris appears this interesting item: "I give and bequeathe unto my honored friend, William Penn, my negro man Yaff, provided said Penn shall come to dwell in America." Referring to this bequest at a meeting of Friends in Philadelphia in 1700, Penn said: "As I am now fairly established here in America, I may readily obtain the servant by mentioning the affair to my young friend, Lewis Morris; although a concern hath laid upon my mind for some time regarding the negroes, and I almost determined to give my own blacks their freedom. For I feel that the poor cap-

tured Africans, like other human beings, have natural rights, which can not be withheld from them without great injustice." Upon the same occasion Penn spoke of his long and familiar acquaintance with Colonel Morris, which intimacy, he said, had its influence in inducing him (Morris), although many years older, to become a Friend. Colonel Morris retained his Quaker convictions to the last, and in his will provided for the payment of annuities to the meeting of Friends at Shrewsbury, N. J., and the meeting in the province of New York. To his nephew and heir, young Lewis Morris, he refers in the will with considerable severity, adverting to "his many and great miscarryages and disobedience toward me and my wife, and his causeless absenting himself from my house, and adhering to and advizeing with those of bad life and conversation." This graceless youth soon proved himself, however, eminently deserving of his fine inheritance. Under him the Bronxland estate was converted into the Manor of Morrisania in 1697. He rose to be one of the most distinguished men of his times in America, holding, among other prominent positions, those of chief-justice of New York and governor of New Jersey.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PHILIPSES AND THE VAN CORTLANDTS

E have seen that the old patroonship of Colen Donck, after being confirmed by Governor Nicolls in 1666 to Van der Donck's widow and her second husband, Hugh O'Neale, was conveyed by them to Mrs. O'Neale's brother, Elias Doughty, and by him sold in parcels to a number of purchasers. The southernmost portion was bought by John Archer, and, with other land adjoining, was erected, under his proprietorship, into the Lordship and Manor of Fordham in 1671. North of Archer's purchase was a tract of about two thousand acres, sold to William Betts and George Tibbetts, which stretched from the Hudson River to the Bronx, forming a parallelogram. Other purchasers were John Hadden, who bought some three hundred and twenty acres on both sides of Tippett's Brook just north of the present Van Cortlandt Lake, and Francis French and associates, who were the original owners of the "Mile Square" in the present City of Yonkers. Finally, all the remainder of the Yonkers land, aggregating 7,708 acres, was disposed of by Doughty, November 29, 1672, in equal thirds, to Thomas Delaval, Thomas Lewis, and Frederick Philipse.

After Archer, none of these purchasers except Philipse require special mention, all the others having been ordinary farming men, who, while good citizens and substantial promoters of the progress of settlement, left little impress upon the development of the country. Tibbetts came from Flushing, Long Island. Betts had lived for a number of years in Westchester, where he served as one of Stuyvesant's magistrates, and later was a patentee of the town under the English patent. Tibbetts, Hadden, and Betts, as settlers outside the limits of Fordham, had various disputes with the authorities of that place, and especially with Archer, the lord of the manor. Being summoned to assist in the building of the "causeway" from the ferry terminal to the firm land, they objected, representing to the governor that this improvement would be of less value to them than a bridge across the Bronx on the road to Eastchester, to whose construction they promised to devote themselves if excused from contributing to the other work. The governor sagaciously decided that both enterprises should be carried through, and directed that

Tibbetts, Betts, and Hadden should first join the Fordham people in making the causeway, after which an equivalent amount of help should be given by the townsmen toward the building of the Bronx bridge. The latter structure was completed in due time, being provided with a gate on the Eastchester side to prevent the "Hoggs" from coming over. All the lands north of Archer's line, with the sole exception of the Mile Square, were eventually absorbed in the great Philipse purchase; and accordingly by June 12, 1693, the date on which the royal charter for the Manor of Philipseburgh was issued, the independent holdings of Hadden, Betts, and Tibbetts had been completely extinguished. Such of their former proprietors, or their descendants, who continued to live on the lands, remained not as owners but as tenants of the Philipses. Even the so-called island of Papirinemen[1] (now Kingsbridge), where the ferry from Manhattan Island terminated, became a part of the manorial lands. The southern section of the old Van der Donck patroonship, embracing the parcels originally bought from Doughty by Betts, Tibbetts, and Hadden, was called the Lower Yonkers, the residue, which embraced more than three-fourths of the whole, being known as the Upper Yonkers.

Frederick Philipse, in his first appearance as a purchaser of lands in this county, acted only as one of three associates, who combined to acquire all that was left of the Van der Donck grant after the first sales of it to various persons, each of the three agreeing to take an equal third of the property. By this arrangement he became seized in 1672 of some twenty-nine hundred acres in the Upper Yonkers—certainly a large proprietorship, very much larger than either the Archer or the Morris patents. But this was only the initial venture in a series of land-buying transactions, at least eight in number, which continued over a period of fifteen years, and, when completed, made him sole owner of the country from Spuyten Duyvil to the Croton River and from the Hudson to the Bronx. He bought additional lands successively as follows: 1681 (confirmed in 1683), the Pocantico tract, covering the territory around Tarrytown; 1682 (confirmed in 1684), the Bissightick tract, or Irvington; 1682 (confirmed in 1684), the Weckquaesgeek tract, or Dobbs Ferry; 1684 (confirmed in 1684), the Nepperhan tract, stretching from the north line of the present Yonkers to the extreme northern limits of the manor, between the Sawmill and Bronx Rivers; 1685, the equal thirds of his

[1] In ancient times the Spuyten Duyvil Creek at Kingsbridge, while identical with the present channel, formed at high tide another (though shallow) tideway; and the land inclosed between the main channel and this tideway was the so-called Island of Papirinemen, where Verveelen's ferry terminated. It was across the shallow tideway that the "causeway" was built before the days of the King's Bridge.

associates of 1672, Thomas Delaval and Thomas Lewis, in the Upper Yonkers tract; 1686, the Sint-Sinck tract, or Sing Sing, which had previously been purchased by and confirmed to his son, Philip Philipse; 1687, the "Tappan Meadows" (Rockland County); and finally, at a date or dates now indeterminate, but previously to June 12, 1693, the holdings of Betts, Tibbetts, and Hadden in the Lower Yonkers tract, together with the island or flat of Papirinemen. This vast region, whose individual parts had been separately confirmed to him as purchased, was vested in him as a whole by Governor Fletcher on the 12th of June, 1693. The document is one of the most elaborate of ancient land deeds. Besides confirming him in the ownership, it erects the estate into a manor called Philipseburgh or Philipseborough, and also confers upon Philipse the privilege of building a bridge across Spayten Duyvil Creek at Papirinemen, on the line of the then existing ferry, and authorizes him, in recompense for his expenses in that enterprise, to collect, for his own behoof, fares from all persons using the bridge.

Although along the Hudson the lands of Philipse reached as far north as Croton Bay, their limits in the interior were considerably farther south, not being above the headwaters of the Bronx River; and thus the northern boundary of his property, as finally converted into the Manor of Philipseburgh, was a southeast line from the mouth of the Croton to the sources of the Bronx. At its northwest corner it touched the estate of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the brother of his second wife—an estate which also (1697) became one of the great manors, called Cortlandt Manor, running east from Croton Bay to the Connecticut line, and including, besides almost the whole of the northern part of Westchester County, a tract on the west bank of the Hudson. Van Cortlandt's purchases did not begin until 1683, about three years after Philipse had entered actively upon his land-absorbing operations.

In addition to his various purchases in this county, Philipse bought of white people, in 1687, the Tappan salt meadows lying opposite Irvington and Dobbs Ferry in the present County of Rockland, a comparatively small but finely situated tract, which was incorporated in the manor grant of June 12, 1693, and always remained a part of the hereditary manor.

The ancestors of Frederick Philipse are said to have been Hussites of Bohemia, who, driven from their home by religious persecution, emigrated to Friesland, one of the provinces of the United Netherlands. There his father, Frederick, married Margaret Dacres, supposed to have been a lady of good family from the parish of Dacre, in England. The son was born in Bolsward, Friesland, in 1626, and,

according to Bolton, came to New Netherland some time previously to 1653, in which year he was appointed one of the appraisers of the house and lot of Augustine Heermans, in New Amsterdam. His surname in Dutch was variously written Flypse, Flypsen, Vlypse, Vlypsen (meaning the son of Philip), which was anglicized into Philipse (pronounced Phillips). Whether he came to this country in the possession of any comfortable amount of means is unknown; but it is certain that as a young man in New Amsterdam he began life in a humble capacity, working at the trade of carpenter. But soon embarking in commerce, and developing great shrewdness and money-getting ability, his fortunes rapidly improved. He made large profits from transactions with the Indians and from the shipping business, and, having the tact and address to place himself on good terms with the government, he enjoyed from an early period valuable special favors. From Stuyvesant he received grants to desirable lands on Manhattan Island. There is little if any doubt that he was engaged in the slave trade and also in contraband and piratical traffic. Finally, at the age of thirty-six, in 1662, he contracted a very advantageous marriage, espousing Margaret Hardenbroek DeVries, the daughter of Adolf Hardenbroek and widow of Pietries Rudolphus De Vries, a wealthy New Amsterdam merchant. This lady proved to be hardly less energetic and resourceful than Philipse himself, and, retaining the management of her own affairs, added not a little to the growing wealth of the family. She continued the business of her first husband, and made frequent voyages to and from Holland on the vessels which she owned, acting as supercargo. In the well-known "Journal of a Voyage to New York and Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-80," by Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter (published by the Long Island Historical Society), the writers, who crossed on one of her ships, make various allusions to her business characteristics, which, while by no means complimentary, give an excellent idea of

PHILIPSE MANOR HOUSE, YONKERS.

her extreme carefulness of her private interests. "The English mate, who afterward became captain," these narrators say, "was very close, but was compelled to be much closer, in order to please Margaret. . . . It is not to be told what miserable people Margaret and Jan (her man) were, and especially their excessive covetousness. . . . Margaret and her husband would not have a suitable boat for the ship built in Falmouth, but it must be done in New York, where timber was a little cheaper. . . . A girl attempting to rinse out the ship's mop let it fall overboard, whereupon the captain put the ship immediately to the wind and launched the jolly-boat, into which two sailors placed themselves at the risk of their lives in order to recover a miserable swab, which was not worth six cents. As the waves were running high, there was no chance of getting it, for we could not see it from the ship. Yet the whole voyage must be delayed, three seamen be sent roving at the risk of their lives, and we, with all the rest, must work fruitlessly for an hour and a half, and all that merely to satisfy and please the miserable covetousness of Margaret."

Within a comparatively few years after his marriage to Margaret, Frederick Philipse had become by far the wealthiest man in New York. During the Dutch interregnum, in 1674, his possessions were valued by commissioners appointed by Governor Colve at 80,000 guilders, an amount which, though large for the times, was small compared with the wealth that he ultimately amassed. In 1692, Margaret having died, he married for his second wife Catherina, daughter of Oloff Stevense Van Cortlandt and widow of John Dervall—another fine alliance from the substantial point of view. His commercial and financial operations continually grew in magnitude and profitableness. He was the largest trader with the Five Nations at Albany, sent ships to both the East and West Indies, imported slaves from Africa, and, besides enjoying the profits of irregular commerce, shared, as has been with good reason alleged, in the gains of piratical cruises. All the time he maintained his former judicious relations with the government. He was a member of the governor's council for twenty years, extending from the administration of Andros to that of Bellomont. He resigned from the council in 1698, in anticipation of his removal by the home government in England, which followed, in fact, not long after. This removal was the result of satisfactory evidence that he was interested in the piratical East Indian trade, having its rendezvous in Madagascar—evidence upon which a number of New York citizens had based a petition, praying that "Frederick Philips, whose great concerns in illegal trade are not only the subject of common fame, but are fully and

particularly proved by depositions," "be removed from his place in the council." He died in 1702. His children, four in number—Philip, Adolphus, Annetje, and Rombout,—were all by his first wife. Philip and Rombout died before himself (the latter probably in childhood), and he accordingly divided the manor between his grandson, Frederick (Philip's son), and his son Adolphus, the former taking the section from Dobbs Ferry southward, and the latter the remainder. Frederick, the grandson, succeeded to the title of lord of the manor; and his eldest son, Frederick, was not only the third lord, but inherited the whole original estate (Adolphus Philipse having died without issue). Under Frederick, the third lord, the manor continued to exist in its integrity until the Revolution, when, in consequence of his being a Tory partisan, and his removing himself to the British lines, the whole property was confiscated, to be sub-divided and sold in due time by the State commissioners of forfeiture. Annetje Philipse, the daughter of Frederick, the first lord of the manor, married Philip French, and left descendants who intermarried with prominent patriotic families, including the Brockholsts, Livingstons, and Jays. The first Frederick Philipse also had an adopted daughter, Eva (child of his wife Margaret by her first husband), who married the eminent New York merchant, Jacobus Van Cortlandt, a brother of Catherina, the second wife of Frederick Philipse the first. Jacobus Van Cortlandt bought fifty acres from his father-in-law in the Lower Yonkers tract, which formed the nucleus of the historic Van Cortlandt estate in the present Borough of the Bronx (whence the names of Van Cortlandt Lake and Van Cortlandt Park).

Frederick Philipse, the original proprietor, with whose history alone we are concerned in this portion of our narrative, not long after beginning the systematic upbuilding of his great estate, took steps toward erecting two residences upon it, one on the banks of the Nepperhan, not far from the site of Van der Donck's mill, and the other on the Pocantico, near Tarrytown, in the present Town of Mount Pleasant. At what period the Yonkers residence, which later became the "Manor House" of the Philipses, was begun is a question that has never been settled satisfactorily, although it has involved some very animated controversy. The date 1682 was accepted at the time when the "Manor House" became the City Hall of Yonkers; but it is sturdily maintained by respectable authorities on the early history of Philipseburgh Manor that the dwelling did not have its beginning until many years later. The time of the erection of the Pocantico house, styled "Castle Philipse," is likewise unknown. Ultimately the "Manor House" at Yonkers became the principal seat of the family, much excelling the Pocantico house

in architectural pretensions; but of the two dwellings as originally built, the latter was undoubtedly the finer, a fact of which sufficient evidence is afforded by the circumstance that it was the preferred habitation of the proprietor after the procurement of the manorial patent. The selection of the Yonkers site for one of the residences was undoubtedly determined by the existence there of Van der Donck's mill and the conspicuous natural advantages of the locality. The other, being intended as the family seat for the distant northern section of the property, was naturally located on the most important stream falling into the Hudson in that section, the Pocantico River.

Opinions differ as to whether Philipse had a predecessor on the Pocantico as on the Nepperhan. Although in the former quarter his proprietorship was the earliest of legal record, the question whether private settlers boasting no legal pretensions had not arrived there before his purchase is, of course, a fair one. Bolton finds no evidence of any such ancient occupancy. The Rev. Dr. David Cole, in his "History of Yonkers," written in 1886, discussing the subject of the two Philipse houses, makes no allusion to possible settlements at or near Tarrytown antedating Philipse's appearance, or to the pre-existence of a mill there, simply remarking that he chose the banks of the Pocantico "as a site for a new mill." Moreover, in the same connection, speculating with regard to the period at which Philipse established himself in his residence on the Pocantico, Dr. Cole concludes that it was not until after the death of his first wife, Margaret, in 1690 or 1691. Yet in his historical discourse delivered at the third centennial of the old Dutch Church of Tarrytown, October 11, 1897, Dr. Cole, after fixing upon 1683 as the year when Philipse removed to the Tarrytown dwelling, says that he found there, at that early date, "a small community already gathered." Already, he informs us, there was upon the Pocantico "a mill site like the Van der Donck site of Yonkers," which already had upon it "a simple dwelling for the miller," upon whose foundations Castle Philipse was built. Continuing, Dr. Cole says that "around were farmers who brought to the mill their grain to be ground and their logs to be sawed. They (the Philipses) found the old graveyard, as old as the settlement, with regard to which I have no difficulty in accepting Mr. Irving's belief that it had been started as early as 1645, and that it had in it three graves by 1650, and fifty by 1675, and one hundred and eighty by 1700." [1] According to this changed

[1] Apropos of the question of the antiquity of the graveyard, see the statement by Benjamin F. Cornell, superintendent of the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, in Scharf, II., 293. Mr. Cornell adopts the date 1645 as that of the earliest interments, and his opinion is apparently concurred in by the author of Scharf's article on the Town of Mount Pleasant, the late Rev. John A. Todd.

view of Dr. Cole's, Tarrytown and the country round about belong to the oldest settled localities of the county. Of course the fact of the presence of a mill before the coming of Philipse would lend color to the belief that settlers in some numbers had been there and in that vicinity for a period of years. This much is certain: that a mill, whether an old one established by some enterprising pioneer whose name is unknown to us, or a new one built by Philipse, was in operation on the Pocantico from the time that Castle Philipse was erected by the proprietor. The Yonkers and Tarrytown mills were styled by Philipse, respectively, the Lower Mills and the Upper Mills.

The residence on the Nepperhan at Yonkers was very substantially built, "the bricks, and indeed all the building materials," says Mrs. Lamb, "being imported from Holland at what was then esteemed a prodigal expenditure. The great massive door, which still swings in the center of the southern front, was manufactured in Holland and imported by the first Lady Philipse in one of her own ships." Only the southern front of the structure was built by the first Frederick. Here he lived for a time with his wife Margaret; at least during the summer seasons. Traces of an underground passage, apparently leading from the Manor House, were recently discovered by some workmen engaged in making excavations in Yonkers; and it has been surmised that this was a secret means of exit for the occupants of the dwelling, connecting probably with a neighboring blockhouse, to be used in case of an Indian raid. In 1882, two hundred years after the presumed erection of the original building, the Manor House, renamed Manor Hall, after having been put in a state of permanent preservation, was formally dedicated to the uses of the City of Yonkers as a municipal building.

Castle Philipse, on the Pocantico, was also very substantially built,[1] and possessed a feature entirely lacking in the Manor House, being carefully fortified to resist attack. Its walls were pierced with

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[1] Mr. William F. Minnerly, well known in Tarrytown as a builder, states that in 1864 he was employed to make some alterations in the old (Pocantico) Manor House. One was in taking down the chimney, which was very large. In the second story he found that a room about four feet square had been built in the chimney, to be used as a smoke-house for smoking meat. The number of bricks in this chimney was a marvel. They had all been brought from Holland, and landed on the north shore of the Pocantico, very near the old mill, one of the prominent objects on the manor. The portion of the chimney taken down was relaid with the bricks, five feet breast, sixteen inches deep, to the same height as before, and a new partition built, fifteen feet long and nine feet high. The remainder of the bricks that came out of the chimney—for, strange to say, there was a remainder, and a large one, too—Mr. Minnerly bought, and with them he filled in a new house, twenty-two feet front by twenty-eight feet deep and two stories high, and found them amply sufficient for the purpose. The bricks were so hard that when the masons who did the work wished to cut them they were obliged to use a hatchet. In size, each brick was an inch and a quarter thick, three and one-half inches wide, and seven inches long.—*Scharf*, ii., 309.

port and loop holes for cannon and musketry. The difference between the two residences in this respect is convincing proof that during the last twenty years of the seventeenth century, while the lower portion of the county had become practically secure against Indian depredations, the middle section was still deemed somewhat unsafe. The building of Castle Philipse was followed quickly by the advent of tenants, and in a comparatively few years quite a number of farming people had secured homes as far north as Tarrytown and beyond. The progress made toward the general settlement of the lands of that locality was so encouraging that Philipse deemed himself under obligations to provide the people with facilities for religious worship. To this worthy deed he was prompted by his first wife, Margaret; and his second wife, Catherina, also took a deep interest in the matter. The result was the building of the Dutch Reformed Church of Sleepy Hollow, one of the most noted of old religious edifices in America. From certain circumstances Dr. Cole, in the centennial address already referred to, feels justified in expressing the conviction that the erection of the church was commenced by Philipse as early as 1684. He points out that its bell was cast to order in 1685—"proof positive," he declares, "that the building had already been begun." But according to the only authentic records in existence, it was not until 1697 that the church organization was effected and a minister, Rev. Guiliam Bertholf, summoned. The tablet over the door of the church states that it was built in 1699, but this tablet was probably not put up until within comparatively recent years, and it records the accepted date of the completion of the structure, making no mention of the time at which it was begun. Philipse was a worshipper within its walls, and he was buried in a vault beneath it, which was prepared expressly for his family. His decided preference for the Pocantico house as his permanent place of residence is illustrated by his selection of the Pocantico instead of the Nepperhan settlement as the location for the church building.

We have now traced the early history of the various original land patents and grants along the shore line of Westchester County, extending from the mouth of the Byram River on the Sound to the Hudson, with incidental accounts of the principal patentees or grantees and of the settlements established. This embraces all the exterior portions of the county except the section from Croton Bay to the Highlands—that is, the present Town of Cortlandt,—which, as we have indicated, was bought by Stephanus Van Cortlandt in a series of purchases commencing in 1683, and, with its eastward extension to the Connecticut line, together with a tract on the west

side of the Hudson River, was erected into the Manor of Cortlandt in 1697.

Stephanus Van Cortlandt was the eldest of the seven children of Oloff Stevense Van Cortlandt and Annetje, sister of Govert Lockermans, a very wealthy and distinguished burgher of New Amsterdam. His father, Oloff, was a man of note in New Amsterdam and New York for forty years. He came to New Netherland in 1638, with Director Kieft, as a soldier in the service of the Dutch West India Company. Oloff was a native of the province of Utrecht, in Holland, possessed a good education, and is supposed to have been of thoroughly respectable if not gentle descent, although nothing definite is known of his ancestry. After remaining a brief time in the military service in New Amsterdam, he was appointed by Kieft to official position, from which he resigned in 1648 to engage in mercantile and brewing pursuits, wherein he was very successful, soon acquiring a large fortune. He was burgomaster (mayor) of New Amsterdam almost uninterruptedly from 1655 to the English conquest. At the time of the surrender of the province to Nicolls he was one of the Dutch commissioners to negotiate the terms of the capitulation. Under the English government he continued to be a prominent and influential citizen until his death (April 4, 1684). He married Annetje Lockermans on the 26th of February, 1642, and by her had seven children, three sons and four daughters.[1] Of these children Stephanus, the eldest (born May 7, 1643), and Jacobus, the youngest (born July 7, 1658), were the progenitors of all the Van Cortlandts of subsequent generations; Stephanus being the founder of the so-called elder Van Cortlandt branch,

VAN CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE, CROTON.

[1] Stephanus, whose history is given in the text; Maria, married Jeremias Van Rensselaer; Johannes, died a bachelor; Sophia, married Andries Teller; Catherina, married, first, John Dervall, and, second, Frederick Philipse the first; Cornelia, married Brandt Schuyler; and Jacobus, noticed in the text.

of Cortlandt Manor, and Jacobus (who married Eva, stepdaughter of the first Frederick Philipse) the founder of the younger or Yonkers branch.

Stephanus, a native-born Dutch-American, received an excellent education under the direction of the scholarly Dutch clergymen of New Amsterdam. He had just become of age when the English fleet, in 1664, in the name of the British king and of James, Duke of York, demanded and received the submission of New Netherland. His first public employment was therefore under English rule. He was a member of the original Court of Assizes created by the duke's laws, and thereafter was constantly engaged in official service, holding practically every position of importance in the province except that of governor. His career was probably the most conspicuous and creditable of that of any inhabitant of New York in the seventeenth century, and "undoubtedly the first brilliant career that any native of New York ever ran." In 1677, at the age of thirty-four, he was appointed mayor of New York, being the first native American to hold that office, in which he continued with hardly an interruption until his death. He was, with Philipse, one of the original members of the governor's council, and served in that body without any intermission to the end of his life. At the time of the Leisler régime, the responsibility for the government of the province was temporarily committed to him and Philipse by the departing lieutenant-governor, Nicholson, and, although a kinsman of Leisler's, he firmly resisted the latter's assumption of authority, an act which for a time endangered his life, so that he was obliged to flee from the city. He was later one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the province, and for several months previously to his death was its chief justice. "He was prominent in all the treaties and conferences with the Indians as a member of the council, and was noted for his influence with them. His letters and dispatches to Governor Andros, and to the different boards and officers in England charged with the care of the colonies and the management of their affairs, remain to show his capacity, clear-headedness, and courage. Equally esteemed and confided in by the governments of James as duke and king, and by William and Mary in the troublous times in which he lived, and sustained by all the governors, even though, as in Bellomont's case, they did not like him personally, no greater proof could be adduced of his ability, skill, and integrity." He died on the 25th of November, 1700.

Under date of November 16, 1677, Van Cortlandt received from Governor Andros a license authorizing him to acquire such lands "on the east side of Hudson's River" as "have not yet been pur-

chased of the Indyan proprietors," "payment whereof to be made publicly at the Fort or City Hall." He did not begin to avail himself of this privilege, however, until six years later, when (August 24, 1683) he bought from seven Indians, "in consideration of the sum of twelve pounds and several other merchandises," what is known as Verplanck's Point (called by the Indians Meanagh, whence the present local name of Meahagh), together with an adjacent tract running eastward, called Appamapogh. The general situation of the purchase thus made is described in the deed as follows: "Being on the east side of the Hudson River, at the entering in of the Highlands, just over against Haverstraw."

Earlier in the same year (July 13, 1683) Van Cortlandt purchased from the Haverstraw Indians a tract of about fifteen hundred acres on the west side of the Hudson, "directly opposite to the promontory of Anthony's Nose and north of the Dunderberg Mountain, forming the depression or valley through the upper part of which, in the Revolutionary War, Sir Henry Clinton came down and captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery."

The territory below Verplanck's Point, extending to the mouth of the Croton River, was originally bought from the Indians in part by one Cornelius Van Bursum, of New York City, and in part by Governor Dongan. Van Bursum was the first white owner of the peninsula of Croton Point, which in the Indian language was called by the pleasing name of Senasqua, and, before receiving its present name, had long been known as Teller's Point (also Sarah's Point), from William and Sarah Teller, who were early settlers upon it. Governor Dongan's lands (purchased from the Indians in 1685) embraced all the river shore, excepting Croton Point, from the mouth of the Croton to Van Cortlandt's property, and in the interior reached to the Cedar Ponds. Both Van Bursum's and Dongan's holdings were later sold to Van Cortlandt. To him was conveyed also a tract owned by "Hew MacGregor, Gentleman, of the City of New York," lying above Verplanck's Point.

Thus Stephanus Van Cortlandt became the proprietor of nearly the whole of Westchester County along the Hudson from Croton Bay to the Highlands. In the interior his bounds, both at the north and the south, ran due east twenty miles to the Connecticut border (which border was, by the interprovincial agreement between Connecticut and New York, considered to be at a distance of twenty miles from the Hudson). But there were two strips of land above Verplanck's Point of which neither Van Cortlandt nor his heirs ever obtained the ownership. One was the so-called Ryke's patent, a tract called by the Indians Sachus or Sackhoes, embracing about

eighteen hundred acres between Verplanck's and Peekskill Creek, whereon a large portion of the village of Peekskill has been built. This tract was bought from the Indians, April 21, 1685, by Richard Abramsen, Jacob Abramsen, Tennis Dekey (or DeKay), Seba, Jacob, and John Harxse, and soon afterward was patented to them for a quit-rent of "ten bushels of good winter merchantable wheat yearly." The name of Ryke's patent is Dutch for Richard's patent, so called after Richard Abramsen, the principal patentee, who later assumed the English name of Lent. Substantially the whole tract passed to Hercules Lent, Richard's son, about 1730. The second of the two strips on the Hudson which always remained independent of the Van Cortlandt estate was a three-hundred-acre parcel fronting on the inner and upper part of Peekskill Bay, which was deeded. on April 25, 1685, to Jacobus DeKay "for the value of four hundred guilders, seawant," and which ultimately became the property of John Krankhyte (ancestor of the Cronkhites). Upon this strip is the Peekskill State Camp of Military Instruction.

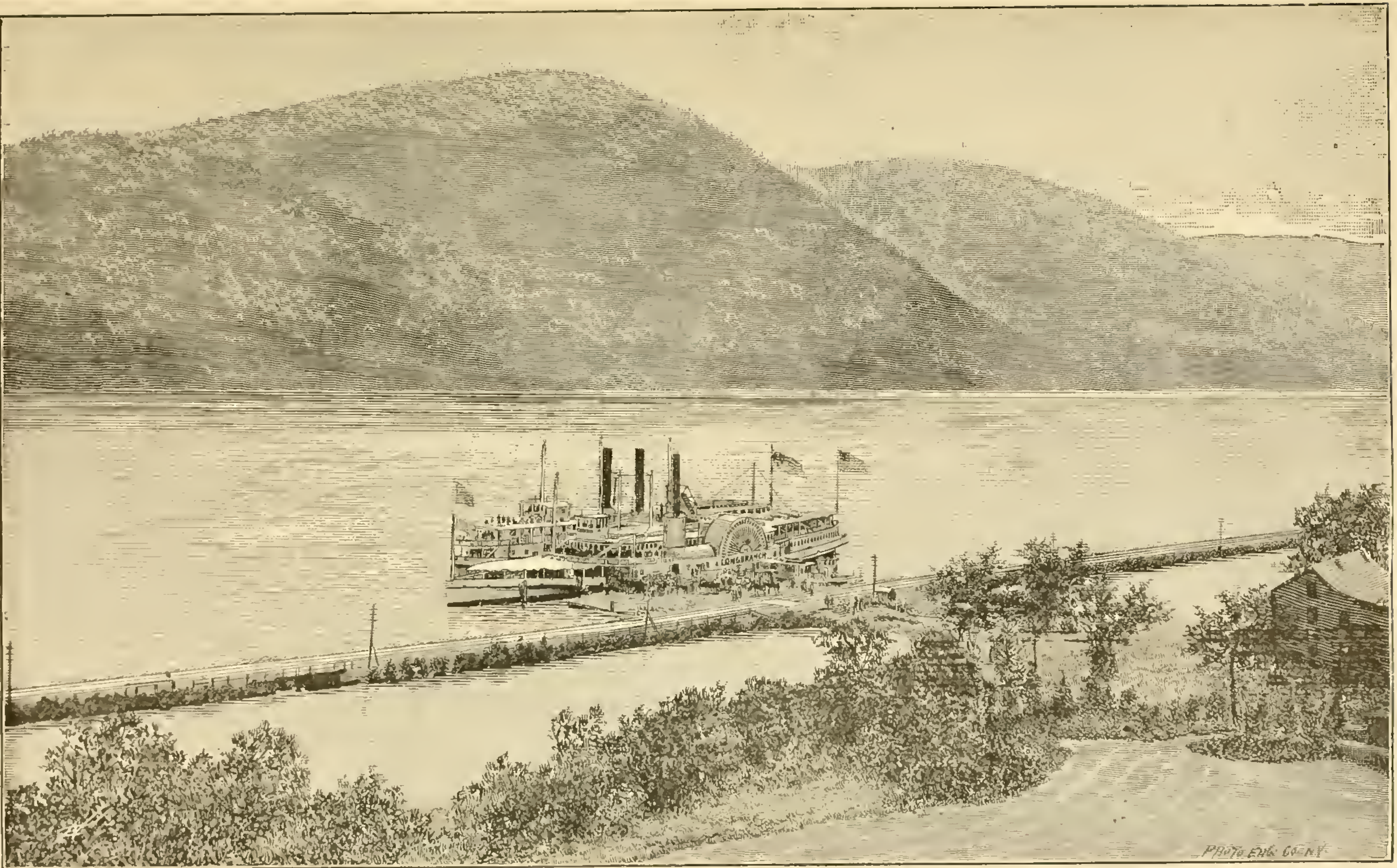
The area of the Van Cortlandt estate in Westchester County, omitting the two Peekskill strips just noticed, was 86,203 acres, and, adding that of the tract on the opposite side of the Hudson, aggregated 87,713 acres. Van Cortlandt, as a man of large business concerns and important official interests in New York, continued to live in the city, or at least to spend most of his time there, notwithstanding his extensive landed acquisitions and his ultimate design of procuring for them manorial dignity. But it was probably as early as 1683 that the historic mansion of the family at the mouth of the Croton River, which is still standing in a good state of preservation, had its beginning. This house was originally intended as a trading place and a fort, and was built with very thick stone walls, pierced with loopholes for musketry, all of which have been filled in save one, in what is now the sitting-room, which is preserved as a memento of olden times and of the antiquity of the dwelling. Situated just where the road from Sing Sing to Croton Landing crosses the wide mouth of the Croton River, where that stream empties into the Hudson, it commands a magnificent view of the broad Tappan Sea. In former times the ferry across the Croton River mouth, which was the only means of reaching the country above without making a wide detour, had its northern terminus near the mansion. During the first ten years after its construction the house was probably occupied by the proprietor only as a temporary residence when visiting his lands; but later it was enlarged and improved to become suitable for the purpose of a manor house and the accommodation of the numerous family of its wealthy owner. It has re-

mained in the possession of the Van Cortlandts continuously since the time of Stephanus, and has always been used as a habitation by some member of the family. Near it is the Van Cortlandt burial ground, a small, square inclosure, where a number of the most eminent descendants of Stephanus, including the noted General and Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt of the Revolution, are interred.

Apart from the erection of this dwelling, and of mills for the benefit of his existing and prospective tenants, Van Cortlandt accomplished little in the way of developing his estate. On the 17th of June, 1697, the whole was established as the Lordship and Manor of Cortlandt, by royal letters patent from Governor Fletcher, a quit-rent of "forty shillings current money" to be paid annually to the governor "on the feast day of Annunciation of our Blessed Virgin Mary," "in lieu and stead of all other rents, services, dues, duties, and demands whatsoever." Van Cortlandt died at the early age of fifty-seven, three years and one-half after the issuance of this manor grant. Judging from the well-known character of the man, it may readily be believed, in the words of the historian of the "Manors of Westchester County," that "had he lived to be seventy-five or eighty years old, like so very many of his descendants in every generation, instead of dying at fifty-seven, leaving a large family, mostly minors, it is probable that he would have left his manor as flourishing and as populous in proportion as that of Rensselaerswyck at the same date." The great distance of Cortlandt Manor from New York City and its surrounding settlements, as well as its difficulty of access from the country immediately below on account of the obstruction presented by the Croton, delayed for many years the occupation of its lands; and so meagre was its population that it was not until 1734 that the Manor of Cortlandt availed itself of the privilege conferred in the grant of sending a representative to the general assembly. The first settlements were in the neighborhood of Croton and Peekskill. The Indians continued numerous, though for the most part peaceable, until an advanced period in the eighteenth century.

Stephanus had fourteen children,[1] of whom eleven were living at

[1] 1. Johannes, married Anne Sophia Van Schaack, and left one child, Gertrude, who married Philip Verplanck, grandson of Abraham Isaacsen Verplanck, the first of that name in America. 2. Margaret, married Colonel Samuel Bayard, only son of Nicholas Bayard, the youngest of the three nephews of Governor Stuyvesant. 3. Ann, married Etienne (Stephen) de Lancey, founder of the de Lancey family of New York City and Westchester County. 4. Oliver, died a bachelor. 5. Maria (Mary), married, first, Kilaen Van Rensselaer, fourth patroon and first manorial lord of Rensselaerswyck. 6. Gertrude, died unmarried. 7. Philip, married Catherine de Peyster, daughter of the first Abraham; from this couple sprang the eldest line of Van Cortlandts, now British subjects. 8. Stephen, married Catalina Staats; these were the ancestors of the "Van Cortlandts of Second River" (the Passaic), N. J., now extinct in the males. 9. Gertrude, married Colonel Henry Beekman; no issue. 10.



LOOKING ACROSS THE RIVER FROM ABOVE PEEKSKILL.

the time of the father's death; and he devised the manor lands to them in equal shares, excepting that the eldest, Johannes, received, in addition to his equal portion, the whole of the peninsula of Verplanck's Point. (This peninsula was so called for Philip Verplanck, grandson of Johannes, who inherited it, and in whose family it continued until sold to a New York syndicate in the first half of the present century.) One of the eleven children, Oliver Van Cortlandt, dying without issue in 1706, bequeathed his share equally among his brothers and sisters and their heirs. The ten remaining heirs kept the property intact and undivided until 1730, when a division was determined upon, which followed in due course. Cortlandt Manor remained a separate political division (embracing also, for purposes of representation in the assembly, the Ryke and the Kranklyte patents) until divided into townships by the New York State act of 1788. The original townships carved out of it were Cortlandt, Yorktown, Stephentown (now Somers), Salem (now North Salem and Lewisboro), and about a third of Poundridge. In area it was the largest of the six Westchester County manors, considerably exceeding in this respect the Manor of Philipseburgh, which in its turn was several times larger than the four other manors (Pelham, Scarsdale, Fordham, and Morrisania) combined. Its eastern boundary was fixed in the governor's grant at a distance twenty miles from the Hudson, and coincided at the time with the boundary line between New York and Connecticut; but the ultimate State line, as adjusted by compromise under the "Oblong" arrangement, ran somewhat to the east of it; so that the extreme northeastern portion of the county, as well as a part of the extreme northwestern section, was never included in this manor.

VAN CORTLANDT MANSION, NEAR KINGSBRIDGE.

Jacobus Van Cortlandt, younger brother of Stephanus and an-

Gysbert, died young. 11. Elizabeth, died young. 12. Elizabeth, 2d, married Rev. William Skinner, of Perth Amboy, N. J. 13. Catharine, married Andrew Johnston, of New Jersey. 14. Cornelia, married John Schuyler, of Albany; these were the progenitors of the Schuylers descended from General Philip, who was their son, and from his brothers and sisters. (The above is taken from Edward Floyd de Lancey's History of the Manors.)

cestor of the so-called Yonkers branch of the Van Cortlandt family, was born on the 7th of July, 1658, and on the 7th of May, 1691, married Eva Philipse, adopted daughter of the first Frederick Philipse. In 1699 he purchased from his father-in-law fifty acres of choice land in the "Lower Yonkers," a property which he increased to several hundred acres by subsequent purchases. Out of this land was erected the historic Van Cortlandt estate, about a mile above Kingsbridge. He left the property to his son, Frederick, who married a daughter of Augustus Jay (ancestor of Chief Justice John Jay). Frederick built in 1748 the fine Van Cortlandt mansion, which, together with the then existing residue of the estate, was purchased by the City of New York in 1889, the land being converted into a public park (Van Cortlandt Park) and the mansion placed in the custody of the Colonial Dames of the State of New York, and by them utilized for the purposes of a historical museum.

Jacobus Van Cortlandt, the ancestor of the Yonkers Van Cortlandts, also owned a large estate in the Town of Bedford, part of which descended to Chief Justice John Jay and is still in the possession of the Jay family.

Our narrative, from the period when the active acquisition of the lands of Westchester County began, about the time of the English conquest (1664), has naturally followed the course of the progressive new purchases and occupation running from the seat of the already settled localities on the Sound westward and northward along the formerly unpurchased or undeveloped shores of the Harlem River, Spuyten Duyvil Creek, and the Hudson. Pursuing this natural course, our attention has been mainly claimed by the great land grants of Morrisania, Fordham, Philipseburgh, and Cortlandt Manors, extending consecutively from near the mouth of the Bronx to Anthony's Nose, and covering substantially the whole of the western half and northern section of the county. The reader has, of course, borne in mind that throughout the period we have traversed in tracing the originial land acquisitions under English rule in the western division of the county—that is, a period reaching to the end of the seventeenth century,—the more complete settlement of the already well-occupied eastern division was steadily proceeding, and, besides resulting in the constant upbuilding of the little communities on the Sound, was incidentally bringing all previously neglected districts of the interior, up to the confines of Philipse's and Van Cortlandt's lands, under definite private ownership, and distributing through them an enterprising and energetic element of new settlers. To this onward movement from the east the inhabitants of all the existing patents from Westchester town to Byram Point contributed;

and, moreover, the people of the adjoining parts of Connecticut continued to manifest a hearty interest and to share in the work of occupation and development. As will be shown later, much of the most notable enterprise undertaken from the east was by certain communities of settlers, or by individuals having only comparatively small personal interests, as distinguished from large landed proprietors. Indeed, notwithstanding the presence of two quite extensive and very solidly founded manor grants on the Sound (Pelham and Scarsdale), the general character of the original settlement and succeeding history of the eastern division of Westchester County differs totally from that of the western, in that the former represents mainly the results of communal and minor individual interest and activity, while the latter sprang essentially from manorial aspiration, proprietorship, and patronage.

But in recurring to the history of the eastern portions of the county and of the gradual movement of settlers thence into the interior, we shall first review the progress of events in the two large proprietary estates of that division: the Pell estate, which, when last noticed, had been erected into a manor under the lordship of its founder, Thomas Pell; and the estate of John Richbell, of Mamaroneck, transmitted after his death to his wife, Ann, and from her purchased by Caleb Heathcote, who soon afterward procured its erection into the Manor of Scarsdale. So many of our immediately preceding pages have been devoted to the origin and early history of Fordham, Morrisania, Philipseburgh, and Cortlandt Manors, that similar accounts of the two remaining manors may very fittingly follow here. This, with some general observations, will complete what is necessary to be said about the foundations of the manors of Westchester County.

CHAPTER IX

PELHAM MANOR AND NEW ROCHELLE—CALEB HEATHCOTE AND SCARSDALE MANOR—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE MANORS

HOMAS PELL died in the month of September, 1669, three years after obtaining from Governor Nicolls the manorial patent for his magnificent estate on the Sound, stretching from Hutchinson's River to Richbell's Mamaroneck grant. Leaving no issue, he willed all his possessions, excepting certain personal bequests, to his nephew, John Pell, then residing in England, the only son of his only brother, the Rev. John Pell, D.D. Doctor Pell, Thomas's brother, was a man of brilliant intellectual accomplishments, served as ambassador to Switzerland under Cromwell, and subsequently took orders in the Church of England. But despite his talents he had faults of temperament which prevented him from advancing in the church, and being of an improvident disposition he wasted his property to such a degree that he was committed to the King's Bench Prison for debt. To his son, John, the golden inheritance from the rich uncle in America must have been singularly welcome.

John Pell, the successor of Thomas in the "lordship" of Pelham Manor, was born on the 3d of February, 1643. He arrived in America and entered into his proprietorship in the summer of 1670. On the 25th of October, 1687, a new royal patent of Pelham Manor was issued to him by Governor Dongan, the reason for this proceeding being, as stated in the patent, that he desired "a more full and firme grant and confirmation" of his lands. The bounds of the manor as specified in the new instrument were precisely the same as those prescribed in the Nicolls patent to his uncle—Hutchinson's River on the south and Cedar Tree or Gravelly Brook on the north, with the neighboring islands; but the dignities attaching to the manorial lordship were somewhat more elaborately defined, and instead of paying to the royal governor as quit-rent "one lamb on the first day of May," as had been required of Thomas Pell, he was to pay "twenty shillings, good and lawful money of this province," "on the five and twentyeth day of the month of March." He married (1685) Rachel, daughter of Philip Pinkney, one of the first ten proprietors of East-

chester. He resided on his estate, and seems to have taken an active and influential interest in public matters related to Westchester County, having been appointed by Governor Andros (August 25, 1688) the first judge of Westchester County, and serving as delegate from our county in the provincial assembly from 1691 to 1695. He died in 1702. The tradition is that he perished in a gale while upon a pleasure excursion in his yacht off City Island.

The most notable event of John Pell's administration of his manor was the conveyance by him through the celebrated Jacob Leisler of six thousand acres as a place of settlement for the Huguenots—a transaction out of which resulted the erection of the Town of New Rochelle.

The Edict of Nantes, a decree granting a measure of liberty to the Protestants of France, promulgated in 1598 by King Henry IV., was on the 22d of October, 1685, revoked by Louis XIV., and by that act of state policy the conditions of life in the French kingdom were made quite intolerable to most persons of steadfast Protestant faith. For some years previously to the revocation numerous French Protestants had begun to seek homes in foreign lands, especially America; and after 1685 the emigration grew to large proportions. A great many of the Huguenots came to New York City. Several of the leaders of the sect abroad entered into correspondence with Leisler (known to them as a responsible merchant and influential citizen of New York and, moreover, a man of strong liberal principles), with a view to the purchase by him as agent of eligible land for the establishment of a Huguenot colony. It happened that a number of the Huguenot immigrants in New York City, looking about them for suitable places of residence, had in 1686 and 1687 chosen and secured from John Pell parcels of land in that portion of Pelham Manor now occupied by the present City of New Rochelle. From this circumstance Leisler, as the constituted agent of the Huguenots, was led to locate the settlement at that place. He entered into negotiations with Pell, and on the 20th of September, 1689, "John Pell and Rachel his wife" conveyed to him, "in consideration of the sum of sixteen hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling, current silver money of this province," "all that tract of land lying and being within said Manor of Pelham, containing six thousand acres of land, and also one hundred acres of land more, which the said John Pell and Rachel his wife do freely give and grant for the French church erected, or to be erected, by the inhabitants of the said tract of land, or by their assignees, being butted and bounded as herein is after expressed, beginning at the west side of a certain white oak tree, marked on all four sides, standing at high water mark at the

south end of Hog Neck, by shoals, harbour, and runs northwesterly through the great fresh meadow lying between the road and the Sound, and from the north side of the said meadow to run from thence due north to Bronckes river, which is the west division line between the said John Pell's land and the aforesaid tract, bounded on the southeasterly by the Sound and Salt Water, and to run east-northerly to a certain piece of salt meadow lying at the salt creek which runneth up to Cedar Tree brook, or Gravelly brook, and is the bounds to Southern. Bounded on the east by a line that runs from said meadow northwesterly by marked trees, to a certain black oak tree standing a little below the road, marked on four sides, and from thence to run due north four miles and a half, more or less, and from the north side of the said west line, ending at Broncke's river, and from thence to run easterly till it meets with the north end of the said eastern most bounds, together with all and singular the islands and the islets before the said tract of land lying and being in the sound and salt water," etc. This was an absolute deed of sale of the property. The sum paid for it, £1,675, was extraordinarily large, in comparison with the usual amounts given in those times for unimproved landed property, and is a demonstration of the entirely substantial character of the settlement of New Rochelle at its very foundation. In addition to the purchase money, "said Jacob Leisler, his heirs and assigns," were to yield and pay "unto the said John Pell, his heirs and assigns, lords of the said Manor of Pelham, to the assigns of them or him, or their or either of them, as an acknowledgment to the lords of the said manor, *one fat calf on every four and twentieth day of June*, yearly and every year forever—if demanded." This proviso was incorporated conformably with the customs of the times, which required the vouchsafing of peculiar courtesies to the lords of manors on the part of individuals upon whom they bestowed their lands. The ceremony of the presentation of the fat calf was duly observed for many years, and was always made a festival occasion.

Although the deed of sale specified the Bronx River as the westernmost boundary of the tract, its bounds as finally established stopped at Hutchinson's River or creek. The six thousand acres comprised the whole northern section of the manor, Pell retaining the southern portion, a wedge-shaped territory, about one-half less in area than the part conveyed to Leisler.

Shortly after the consummation of the purchase, Leisler began to release the lands to the Huguenots, and the place was settled with reasonable rapidity. It was called New Rochelle in honor of La Rochelle in France, a community prominently identified with the

Huguenot cause in the religious wars. From the first the French refugees proved themselves most desirable additions to the population of our county, and the entire history of New Rochelle is a gratifying record of progress.

It will be remembered that John Richbell's original purchase from the Indians of what is now the Township of Mamaroneck—a purchase confirmed to him at the time by the Dutch authorities, and later by the English governor, Lovelace—comprised three necks on the Sound between the Mamaroneck River and Thomas Pell's lands, and that the interior extension of the purchase was twenty miles northward "into the woods." Of the three necks, called the East, Middle, and West Necks, the first was deeded by Richbell to his mother-in-law, Margery Parsons, and by her immediately conveyed to his wife, Ann; but the latter two were mortgaged and finally lost to Richbell's estate. These Middle and West Necks, with their prolongation into the interior, formed a triangular tract of land owned by several persons, which lay wedge-shaped between the Manor of Pelham, at the southwest, and what later became the Manor of Scarsdale, at the northeast. The East Neck, terminating at the mouth of the Mamaroneck River, continued to be the property of Mrs. Richbell until its sale by her to Caleb Heathcote, in 1697. It formed the nucleus of Scarsdale Manor, erected in 1701. It is of interest, before coming to the period of Heathcote's proprietorship, to glance at the origin of the village of Mamaroneck, which we have omitted to do in our account of Richbell's connection with this section.

OLD GUION PLACE, NEW ROCHELLE.

Soon after procuring his English patent (1668), John Richbell and his wife set apart for the purpose of allotments, or house lots, a strip of land running from the Mamaroneck River westward along the harbor shore, and fronting on the old Westchester path. These lots were eight in number: one he reserved for himself, one he deeded as a gift to John Basset (1669), and the others he leased or sold. Among the purchasers was Henry Disbrough, or Disbrow, in 1676, who the next year erected on his lot the famous Disbrow house. Travelers along the Boston Post Road may still see, on the western outskirts of Mamaroneck, a stone chimney, all that remains of this structure. The ruin is remarkable for its great size, giving an idea

of the enormous fireplaces in use at the time when the house was built. It is said that the Disbrow house is one of the landmarks described by James Fenimore Cooper (who lived in Mamaroneck) in the "Spy," and that a secret cupboard in the chimney served as a hiding place for Harvey Birch, the hero of that story. The strip devoted by Richbell to the Mamaroneck house lots was called "Richbell's two-mile bounds," from the fact that each lot ran two miles "northwards into the woods." Such was the beginning of the venerable village of Mamaroneck. For many years, however, only a very few settlers lived there, and in an instrument drawn as late as 1707, by "the freeholders of Mamaroneck" in common, the names of only eight persons appear as signers.

Just before his death John Richbell was engaged in a controversy with the townspeople of Rye concerning the ownership of a tract called by the Indians Quaroppas, which had already become known among the whites as "the White Plains." This land was unquestionably embraced within the limits of Richbell's original purchase, described as running northward twenty miles into the woods; but in 1683 the people of Rye bought the same White Plains district from the Indians claiming its proprietorship. At that time the New York and Connecticut boundary agreement of 1664 was still in force, whereby the dividing line between the two provinces started at the mouth of the Mamaroneck River and ran north-northwest. Under the then existing boundary division, therefore, Rye was still a part of Connecticut, and, moreover, the White Plains tract also fell on the Connecticut side. This circumstance, strengthened by the incorporating of it within the Rye limits while the old boundary understanding still prevailed, enabled the Rye men to advance plausible pretensions to it when, very soon afterward (in fact, only six days subsequently), a new boundary line was fixed, beginning at the mouth of the Byram River, which gave both the White Plains and Rye to New York. The claim set up by Rye to the White Plains caused Richbell's title in the upward reaches of his twenty-mile patent to assume a decidedly cloudy aspect; and to the confusion thus brought about was due the comparatively limited range of

ANCIENT DISBROW HOUSE, MAMARONECK.

the bounds of the Manor of Scarsdale, which otherwise would have run twenty miles north from the mouth of the Mamaroneck River, instead of stopping short at the White Plains.

After Richbell's death (July 26, 1684), his widow continued in quiet possession of the estate, making no efforts to further develop or improve it, and, with the exception of a renewed protest against the intrusion of the Rye men in the White Plains tract, doing nothing in the way of asserting her proprietary rights outside of the East Neck, where, of course, they were unquestioned. In 1696 she gave to Caleb Heathcote, of the Town of Westchester, her written consent to his procuring from the Indians deeds of confirmation of the old Richbell patent; and in the same year Governor Fletcher granted to Colonel Heathcote a license authorizing him to buy vacant and unappropriated lands in Westchester County and to extinguish the title of the natives. On December 23, 1697, Heathcote bought from Mrs. Richbell her entire landed estate for £600, New York currency. Availing himself of the rights and privileges thus acquired, he not only became the founder and lord of an organized manor, but embarked in comprehensive original purchases of the interior lands of Westchester County, which ultimately gave him, in association with others, the title to most of the county between the Manors of Cortlandt on the north, Philipseburgh on the west, Scarsdale on the south, and the Connecticut line on the east. These latter purchases, made under Governor Fletcher's license of 1696, were entirely disconnected from his manor grant of Scarsdale, and resulted in extensive new patents, which are known in the history of the county as the "Three Great Patents of Central Westchester," named respectively the West, Middle, and East Patents, and having an aggregate area of some seventy thousand acres. The history of the Three Patents belongs, however, with our account of Colonel Heathcote as one of the great early proprietors, and will receive brief notice after the story of Scarsdale Manor has been told.

Caleb Heathcote was born in Chesterfield, Derbyshire, England, in 1665, and was the sixth of the seven sons of Gilbert Heathcote, gentleman, of that place. "The family was an ancient one, the first of whom there is authoritative mention having been a master of the Mint under Richard II." His father, Gilbert, was a Roundhead and stanch adherent of the Parliament in the civil wars, serving creditably in the Parliamentary army. He held the office of mayor of Chesterfield. All of the seven sons became successful merchants. The eldest, Sir Gilbert, was "Lord Mayor of London, member of Parliament, one of the founders and the first governor of the Bank of England, knighted by Queen Anne, and created a baronet

in 1732 by George II." His descendants have ever since belonged to the British aristocracy, and his grandson, the third Sir Gilbert, was raised to the peerage as Baron Aveland. Another son, Samuel, was the progenitor of the Baronets Heathcote, of Harsley Park, County of Hampshire.

Caleb came to America about 1691, making his home in New York and pursuing trade there. It is said that his removal to this country was occasioned by an unfortunate love affair, his bride-elect having broken off her engagement with him to marry his brother Gilbert. He immediately became a prominent man in the city and province, and served at various times in a number of important offices, among them being those of surveyor-general of His Majesty's customs for the eastern district of North America, judge of the Court of Admiralty for the provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, member of the governor's council, mayor of New York City, judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Westchester County, colonel of the Westchester County militia, and mayor of the borough Town of Westchester. It was from his connection with the military that he obtained his title of "Colonel," by which he was always known. He was mayor of New York at the same time that his brother Gilbert was Lord Mayor of London. He was firmly attached to the Church of England, and probably did more than any other man of his times to promote its dominance in New York, being one of the founders of the parish of Trinity Church in New York City, and the leading person in establishing the parishes of Westchester, Eastchester, and Rye in Westchester County. As lord of Scarsdale Manor he caused that manor to be constituted one of the precincts of the parish of Rye, of which he was chosen warden and vestryman. He is described by a contemporary writer as "a gentleman of rare qualities, excellent temper, and virtuous life and conversation."

CALEB HEATHCOTE.

At an early period of his residence in New York, Heathcote began to take a decided interest in the advantages offered by this county,

and bought property both in the Town of Westchester and Eastchester patent. In 1696, through his influence, Westchester was created a "borough town," patterned in all particulars after the old English borough towns. It is noteworthy that only two borough towns were ever established in New York Province, one being Westchester and the other Schenectady. Westchester's town charter, dated April 16, 1696, conferred the "municipal privileges of a mayor and aldermen and assistants, and the additional one of a representative of its own in the assembly of the province"; and Colonel Heathcote was appointed its first mayor. It was in this same year, as we have seen, that he took the steps which led to the creation of the Manor of Scarsdale and to the great purchases by him and associates of the vacant and unappropriated lands in the central part of Westchester County which comprised the "Three Patents."

By the terms of Mrs. Richbell's conveyance to him of the Richbell estate in 1697, he succeeded to all of her property rights, both on the East Neck and in the interior region patented to her husband by Governor Lovelace, running northward "twenty miles into the woods." This conveyance did not include, however, the "allotments" previously made to various persons in the "two-mile bounds" (upon which the foundations of the Village of Mamaroneck had already been begun); and there was also a small tract of thirty acres on what is now de Lancey's Neck, previously deeded by Mrs. Richbell to James Mott, which Colonel Heathcote did not acquire. With these exceptions, he became the absolute owner of all the lands in Westchester County left by John Richbell at his death. Preparatory to his application for a manorial grant, he procured Indian confirmations of his title to various portions of the property thus bought; and he also extended its limits southward to the Eastchester patent by purchasing from the Indians all the country between the headwaters of the Hutchinson River and the Bronx, a strip known as the Fox Meadows.

On the 21st of March, 1701, letters patent for the Manor of Scarsdale were issued to Caleb Heathcote by Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan. Its bounds are not very clearly described in that document. According to the spirit of the grant, its northward projection was to be a distance of twenty miles, as in the original Richbell patent; but an express proviso was made that no further title should be given to Heathcote than that which he "already hath to ye lands called ye White Plains, which is in dispute between ye said Caleb Heathcote and some of the inhabitants of the Town of Rye." In point of fact, Scarsdale Manor was always limited at the north by the White Plains tract, Heathcote never having been able to legally establish

his ownership of the disputed lands. The northern line of the manor followed the Mamaroneck River from its mouth for about two miles, and thence proceeded to the Bronx. At the west and east it was bordered, respectively, by the Bronx and the Sound. On the south it was bounded by the wedge-shaped private lands already mentioned, by the extreme northern corner of the old Pelham Manor (included in the New Rochelle purchase of the Huguenots), and by the Eastchester patent. The annual quit-rent fixed in the grant was "five pounds current money of New Yorke, upon the Nativity of our Lord."

The manor was called Scarsdale by its proprietor after that portion of Derbyshire in England where he was born—a locality known as "the Hundred of Scarsdale." Although his proprietary interest in the town lots of Mamaroneck was confined to his personal ownership of two of them, he was always regarded by the settlers there as the controlling spirit of the place, and he gave much attention to the promotion of its development and welfare.

Concerning the improvements made by him upon the manor, and his general administration of it, we quote from the account written by his descendant, Edward F. de Lancey:

> Colonel Heathcote established a grist mill on the Mamaroneck River near the original bridge crossed by the "Old Westchester Path," and a sawmill high up on that river, now the site of the present Mamaroneck Water Works, upon which site there continued to be a mill of some kind until it was bought two years ago [1884] to establish those works. He made leases at different points throughout the manor, but did not sell in fee many farms, though always ready and willing to do so, the whole number of the deeds for the latter on record being only thirteen during the twenty-three years or thereabout which elapsed between his purchase from Mrs. Richbell and his death. Some of these farms, however, were of great extent. He did not establish, as far as now known, any manor courts under his right to do so. The population was so scant, and the manor, like all others in the county, being subject to the judicial provisions of the provincial legislative acts, there was really no occasion for them. He personally attended to all duties and matters connected with his manor and his tenants, never having appointed any steward of the manor. Papers still in existence show that his tenants were in the habit of coming to him for aid and counsel in their most private affairs, especially in the settlement of family disputes, and he was often called upon to draw their wills. . . . .
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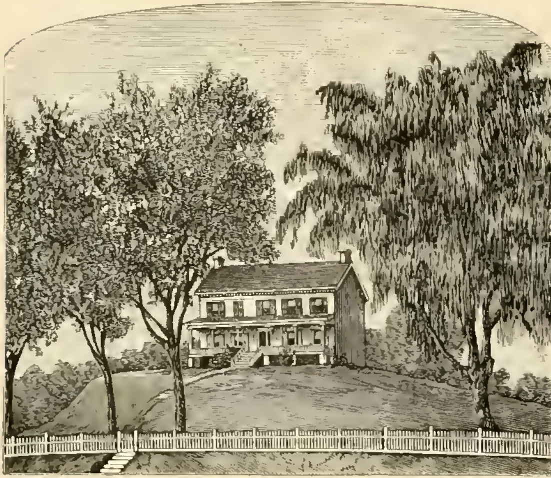
> Upon the eminence at the head of the [Mamaroneck] Harbor, still called Heathcote Hill, he built a large double brick manor house in the style of that day in England, with all the accompanying offices and outbuildings, including the American addition of negro quarters in accordance with the laws, habits, and customs of the period. Here he lived during the remainder of his life, which terminated on the 28th of February, 1720-1, in his fifty-sixth year. The house stood till some six or seven years before the American Revolution, occupied, however, only by tenants after the death of his widow in 1736. Later it was accidentally destroyed by fire. The present double frame building standing on a portion of the old site was built in 1792 by the late John Peter de Lancey, a grandson of Colonel Heathcote, who had succeeded to the property.

Colonel Heathcote married Martha, daughter of the distinguished William Smith ("Tangier" Smith), of Saint George's Manor, Long Island, who was chief justice and president of the council of the

province. They had six children, two sons and four daughters, but both the sons and two of the daughters died in early life. Thus Caleb Heathcote left no descendants in the male line. One of his daughters, Anne, married James de Lancey, afterward royal chief justice and governor of New York, the progenitor of the present de Lanceys of Westchester County. The other surviving daughter, Martha, became the wife of Lewis Johnston, of Perth Amboy, N. J. The descendants of this branch have never been identified with our county. Mrs. de Lancey and Mrs. Johnston inherited from their father the whole of the manor property in equal shares. Various parcels were gradually disposed of by the two heirs, and in 1775 a general partition sale was held, under which both the de Lancey and Johnston interests were divided up among numerous purchasers. Scarsdale Manor, as it existed before the partition, comprehended the present Towns of Mamaroneck and Scarsdale, with a small part of Harrison.



"HEATHCOTE HILL."

The reader will remember that Heathcote, in addition to buying the Richbell estate and some adjacent Indian lands, called the Fox Meadows (the latter being secured in order to extend the limits of his proposed manor southward to the Eastchester boundary), procured from Governor Fletcher a license to purchase vacant and unappropriated land in Westchester County, and extinguish the title of the natives. Under this license, dated October 12, 1696, he, with a number of associates, bought up practically all of the county that still remained in the possession of its aboriginal owners—that is, all of the previously unpurchased portions bounded on the south by Harrison's Purchase and Scarsdale Manor (or, rather, Harrison's Purchase and the disputed White Plains tract), on the east by Connecticut, on the north by Cortlandt Manor, and on the west by Philipseburgh Manor. In the aggregate, the purchases thus made embraced about seventy thousand acres, or some twelve thousand seven hundred acres of so-called "improvable land," and they were

largely confirmed to Heathcote and his associates in three patents issued by Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, known as the West, Middle, and East Patents. The West Patent, dated February 14, 1701, to Robert Walter and nine other patentees, included all of the large angle between Philipseburgh and Cortlandt Manors, and stretched eastwardly to the Bryam River and the Town of Bedford. It contained five thousand acres of improvable land. The Middle Patent, dated February 17, 1701, to Caleb Heathcote and twelve others, extended from the West Patent to the Mianus River, and had fifteen hundred acres of improvable land. The East Patent, the largest of the three, embracing sixty-two hundred acres of improvable land, was granted on the 20th of March, 1701, to R. Walter and ten others, and covered much of the northeastern section of the county.

In the purchases consolidated in these three patents Heathcote was the original mover, but had the co-operation of several other active parties, notably Robert Walter and Joseph Horton. Heathcote, with a view to protecting his individual interests already acquired in the deed from Mrs. Richbell (which transferred to him such rights as she and her husband had previously possessed "northward twenty miles into the woods"), had a proviso inserted in each of the new patent deeds reserving to himself any lands possibly included in these purchases whereof he might already be the owner. The first of the purchases leading up to the three patents was made by him personally, October 19, 1696 (seven days after the procurement of his license from Governor Fletcher), from Pathunck, Wampus, Cohawney, and five other Indians. This is known as "Wampus's Land Deed," or the "North Castle Indian Deed," and was "for and in consideration of 100 pounds good and lawful money of New York." Among the names of Indian chiefs participating in the sales of the northern-central Westchester lands to Heathcote and his associates is the familiar one of Katonah. None of the three patents was ever erected into a manor or developed as any recognized separate domain or sphere of settlement. All the lands comprised in them were gradually disposed of to incoming individual aggregations of settlers wishing to enlarge their limits. As an example of this process, the tract known as the Middle Patent, or Whitefields, was in 1732 sub-divided, by agreement of the surviving patentees, into thirteen lots, having a total estimated value of £1,989, upon which, in 1739, fifteen settlers were living; and in 1765 final settlement with the individual occupants of the lands (at that time twenty-six in number) was effected by the proprietors on the basis of nine shillings per acre.

All the Three Patents were granted in the same year (1701) that the Manor of Scarsdale was erected. With the purchases upon which this manor and the Three Patents were constructed, the original acquisition of great areas of land in Westchester County by individual proprietors came to an end, there being, indeed, no more "vacant and unappropriated" soil to be absorbed. It may therefore be said that with the beginning of the eighteenth century, but not until then, the whole of our county had come under definite tenure—a period of some seventy-five years after the first organized settlement on Manhattan Island having been required for that eventuality. With the exception of a few localities of quite restricted area—namely, on the Sound the Rye, Harrison, Mamaroneck, New Rochelle, Eastchester, and Westchester tracts and settlements; on the upper Hudson the Ryke and Kranckhyte patents, upon which the village of Peekskill has been built; and in the interior the disputed White Plains lands, the Bedford tract, and some minor strips bought or occupied by men from the older settlements on the Sound,—all of Westchester County, as originally conveyed by the Indians under deeds of sale to the whites, was parceled out into a small number of great estates or patents representing imposing single proprietorships, as distinguished from ordinary homestead lots or moderate tracts taken up incidentally to the progress of bona fide settlement. These great original proprietorships were, indeed, only nine in number, as follows: (1) Cortlandt Manor, the property of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, which went after his death to his children and was by them preserved intact for many years; (2) Philipseburgh Manor, founded by Frederick Philipse and retained as a whole by the Philipse family until confiscated in Revolutionary times; (3) Fordham Manor, established by John Archer, subsequently forfeited for mortgage indebtedness to Cornelis Steenwyck, and by him and his wife willed to the Nether Dutch Congregation in New York, which continued in sole ownership of it until the middle of the eighteenth century; (4) Morrisania Manor, the old "Bronxland," built up into a single estate by Colonel Lewis Morris, by him devised to his nephew, Lewis Morris the younger, who had the property erected into a manor, and whose descendants continued to own it entire for generations; (5) Pelham Manor, originally, as established under Thomas Pell, its first lord, an estate of 9,166 acres, but by his nephew John, the second lord, divided into two sections, whereof one (the larger division) was sold to the Huguenots, and the other was preserved as a manor until after the death of the third lord; (6) Scarsdale Manor, the estate of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, which for the most part remained the property of his heirs until sold by partition in 1775; and (7, 8, 9) the

Three Great Patents of Central Westchester, granted to Heathcote and associates on the basis of purchases from the Indians, and by the patentees gradually subsold, mainly to settlers who in the course of time occupied the lands. In the nine estates and patents thus enumerated were contained, at a rough estimate, about 225,000 of the 300,000 acres belonging to the old County of Westchester.

It will be observed that with the single exception of Pelham the six manors of the county long retained their territorial integrity. A small portion of the Manor of Philipseburgh, it is true, was transferred by the Philipses to the younger branch of the Van Cortlandts, but this was a strictly friendly conveyance, the two families being closely allied by marriage. Even in the three manors where no second lord succeeded to exclusive proprietorship—Cortlandt, Fordham, and Scarsdale—sales of the manorial lands in fee to strangers were extremely rare, and it was an almost invariable rule that persons settling upon them, as upon Philipseburgh, Morrisania, and Pelham Manors (where the ownership devolved upon successive single heirs), did not acquire possession of the soil which they occupied, but merely held it as tenants. The disintegration of the manors, and the substitution of small landed proprietorship for tenantry, was therefore a very slow process. Throughout the colonial period tenant farming continued to be the prevailing system of rural economy outside of the few settlements and tracts which from the start were independent of the manor grants—a system which, however, did not operate to the disadvantage of population in the manor lands. Upon this point de Lancey, the historian of the manors, says: "It will give a correct idea of the great extent and thoroughness of the manorial settlement of Westchester County, as well as the satisfactory nature of that method of settlement to its inhabitants, although a surprise, probably, to many readers, when it is stated that in the year 1769 one-third of the population of the county lived on the two manors of Cortlandt and Philipseburgh alone. The manors of Fordham, Morrisania, Pelham, and Scarsdale, lying nearer to the City of New York than these two, and more accessible than either, save only the lower end of Philipseburgh, were, if anything, much more settled. It is safe to say that upward of five-eighths of the people of Westchester County in 1769 were inhabitants of the six manors."

The distinguishing characteristics of the manors demand notice here, although our space does not permit any elaborate treatment of this particular subject.[1] First, it should be understood that the manors, one and all, were only ordinary landed estates, granted to

[1] Readers desiring a more detailed account are referred to Edward Floyd de Lancey's "Origin and History of the Manors," in Scharf's "History of Westchester County."

certain English subjects in America who, while popularly styled "lords" of the manors, enjoyed no distinguished rank whatever, and were in no way elevated titularly, by virtue of their manorial proprietorships, above the common people. In no case was a manorial grant in Westchester County conferred upon a member of the British nobility, or even upon an individual boasting the minor rank of baronet; and in no case, moreover, was such a grant bestowed in recognition of services to the crown or as a mark of special honor by the sovereign. Without exception, the proprietors of the manors were perfectly plain, untitled gentlemen. Yet, says de Lancey, "we often, at this day, see them written of and hear them spoken of as nobles. 'Lord Philipse' and 'Lord Pell' are familiar examples of this ridiculous blunder in Westchester County. No grant of a feudal manor in England at any time from their first introduction ever carried with it a title, and much less did any grant of a New York freehold manor ever do so. Both related to land only. The term Lord of a Manor is a technical one, and means simply the owner, the possessor of a manor—nothing more. Its use as a title is simply a mark of intense or ignorant republican provincialism. 'Lord' as a prefix to a manor owner's name was never used in England nor in the Province of New York."

The manor was a very ancient institution in England, but by the statute of *quia emptores*, enacted in 1290, the erection of new manors in that kingdom was forever put to an end. The old English manors, founded in the Middle Ages, were of course based upon the feudal system, involving military service by the fief at the will of his lord, and, in general, the complete subjection of the fief. The whole feudal system of land tenure having been abolished by the statute of Charles II. in 1660, and the system of "free and common socage" (meaning the right to hold land unvexed by the obligation of feudal service) having been substituted in its stead, New York, both as a proprietary province under the Duke of York and subsequently as a royal province, never exhibited any traces of feudality in the matter of land tenures, but always had an absolutely free yeomanry. But it was never contemplated that New York or any of the other provinces in America should develop a characteristically democratic organization of government or basis of society. Titled persons were sent to rule over them, and, particularly in New York, there was a manifest tendency to render the general aspect of administration and social life as congenial as possible to people of high birth and elegant breeding. Moreover, there being no provision for the creation of an American titled aristocracy, it was deemed expedient to offer some encouragement to men of aristocratic desires, and the institu-

tion of the manor was selected as the most practicable concession to the aristocratic instinct—a concession which, while carrying with it no title of nobility, did carry a certain weighty dignity, based upon the one universally recognized foundation for all true original aristocracy—large landed proprietorship, coupled with formally constituted authority. The establishment of new manors in England was discontinued by the statute of 1290 for the sole reason that at that period no crown lands remained out of which such additional manors could be formed, the essential preliminary to a manor being a land grant by the sovereign to a subject. But in the American provinces, where extensive unacquired lands were still awaiting tenure, the manor system was capable of wide application at discretion; and in New York and some of the other provinces it was the policy of the English government from the beginning to encourage the organization of manors. "The charter of Pennsylvania," said the learned Chief Judge Denio of the New York Court of Appeals, in his opinion in the Rensselaerswyck case, "empowered Penn, the patentee, to erect manors and to alien and grant parts of the lands to such purchasers as might wish to purchase, 'their heirs and assigns, *to be held of the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns*, by such services, customs, and rents as should seem fit to said William Penn, etc., and *not immediately of the said King Charles, his heirs or successors*,' notwithstanding the statute of *quia emptores*." Similarly in New York, the manor grants issued during the time that it remained a proprietary province (namely, those to Thomas Pell in 1666 and to John Archer in 1671) were made by the authority and in the name of the Duke of York as proprietor, and not of the king. After New York was changed into a royal province, the manor grants were continued by the authority and in the name of the king.

The privileges attaching to the manor grants in Westchester County varied. All of them, however, had one fundamental characteristic. Each manor was, in very precise language, appointed to be a separate and independent organization or jurisdiction, entirely detached from other established political divisions. To give the reader an idea of the formality with which such separation was made, we reproduce the wording of one of the manor grants upon this point, which is a fair specimen. In his letters patent to John Archer for the Manor of Fordham, Governor Lovelace says: "I doe grant unto ye said John Archer, his heirs and assigns, that the house which he shall erect, together with ye said parcel of land and premises, shall be forever hereafter held, claimed, reputed and be *an entire and enfranchised township, manor, and place of itself*, and shall always, from time to time and at all times hereafter, have, hold, and

enjoy like and equal privileges and immunities with any town enfranchised or manor within this government, and *shall in no manner or way be subordinate or belonging unto, have any dependence upon, or in any wise be under the rule, order, or direction of any riding, township, place, or jurisdiction, either upon the main or Long Island.*"

Thus, first of all, and as its great essential characteristic, the manorial estate was always made a political entity. As such it was under the government of its proprietor and his subordinates, who, however, in all their acts were subject to the general laws of the land, simply applying those laws as circumstances and conditions required. According to the theory of the old English manors, a so-called "Court Baron" was an indispensable attachment of every manor—that is, a court for the trial of civil cases, over which the lord or his steward presided, the jurors being chosen from among the freehold tenants. There was also usually a so-called "Court Leet," which has been described as "a court of record having a similar jurisdiction to the old sheriff's 'Tourns' or migratory courts held by the sheriff in the different districts or 'hundreds' of his county, for the punishment of minor offenses and the preservation of the peace," which was provided for in order that the lords of manors "might administer justice to their tenants at home." In all the Westchester County manor grants, except Fordham, authority is given to the grantee to hold "one Court Leet and one Court Baron." This privilege was not always availed of; for example, we have seen that in the Manor of Scarsdale the manorial courts were never organized. It is worthy of note in this connection that among the manor lords of Westchester County were several of the early judges of the province, including John Pell (second lord of Pelham Manor), who was the first judge of Westchester County; Caleb Heathcote, of Scarsdale Manor, who served as county judge for twenty-seven years, and was also an admiralty judge; Lewis Morris, of Morrisania, one of the most famous of the royal chief justices; and the second Fred-

GOVERNOR LOVELACE.

erick Philipse, who was a puisne judge of the Supreme Court. To this list should be added the name of the celebrated chief justice and royal governor, James de Lancey, who married the eldest daughter of Caleb Heathcote. In addition to their civil functions, the proprietors of four of the manors (Cortlandt, Philipseburgh, Pelham, and Morrisania) enjoyed the right of advowson and church patronage, under which they had the power to exercise controlling influence in church matters within their domains. The prevailing sectarian tendencies of different localities in Westchester County during the colonial era and for many years subsequently were owing mainly to the particular religious preferences and activities of the respective manor lords of those localities. In Westchester, Eastchester, and Rye the Church of England early secured a firm foundation through the zeal of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, of Scarsdale, who was its earnest supporter. A similar influence, with a similar result, was exercised in the Yonkers land by the second Frederick Philipse, who had been educated in England, where he became attached to the Established Church, and who as proprietor of the lower part of Philipseburgh Manor founded Saint John's Church at Yonkers, which to this day maintains the leading position in that community. On the other hand, at Tarrytown, on the upper part of Philipseburgh Manor, the Dutch Reformed Church enjoyed supremacy from the beginning, on account of the patronage accorded it by the first lord and by his son and successor in that division of the manor, Adolph.

Upon one of the Westchester manors, Cortlandt, was bestowed an extraordinary privilege: that of being represented in the general assembly of the province by a special member. This privilege was granted to no other manor of New York, except Rensselaerswyck and Livingston, although it was enjoyed also by the two borough towns, Westchester and Schenectady. But it was provided that the exercise of the privilege, so far as Cortlandt Manor was concerned, was not to begin until twenty years after the grant (*i. e.*, in 1717). At the expiration of that time, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, his heirs or assigns, had full authority to "return and send a discreet inhabitant in and of the said manor to be a representative of the said manor in every assembly," who should "be received into the house of representatives of assembly as a member of the said house, to have and enjoy such privilege as the other representatives returned and sent from any other county and manors." Cortlandt Manor did not, however, choose a representative in the assembly until 1734, when Philip Verplanck was elected to sit for it. He continued to serve in that capacity for thirty-four years, being succeeded by Pierre Van Cortlandt, who remained a member of the

assembly until 1775. Notwithstanding the exceptional privilege of representation given to Cortlandt Manor as a manor, the other manors of Westchester County were equally able to make their influence felt in that body. In addition to the special members from Cortlandt Manor and Westchester town, the county as a whole was entitled to representation by two general delegates. Heathcote, John Pell, the Philipses, and the Morrises all sat at various times for the county.

The original purpose of the manor grants being to encourage the development of the semi-aristocratic system for which they provided, no onerous charges in the way of special taxation were assessed upon the manor proprietors. In each grant was incorporated a provision for the payment of annual "quit-rent" to the provincial government, but the amount fixed was in every case merely nominal. The various quit-rents exacted were, for the Manor of Pelham, as originally patented to Thomas Pell, "one lamb on the first day of May (if the lamb shall be demanded)"; for Pelham, as repatented to John Pell, "twenty shillings, good and lawful money of this province, at the City of New York, on the five and twentieth day of March"; for Fordham, "twenty bushels of good peas, upon the first day of March, when it shall be demanded"; for Philipseburgh, "on the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, . . . the annual rent of four pounds twelve shillings current money of our said province"; for Morrisania, "on the feast day of the Annunciation of our Blessed Virgin, . . . the annual rent of six shillings"; for Cortlandt, "on the feast day of our Blessed Virgin Mary, the yearly rent of forty shillings, current money of our said province"; and for Scarsdale, "five pounds current money of New York, upon the nativity of our Lord." Appended to most of the quit-rent leases was the significant statement that the prescribed payment was to be "in lieu of all rents, services, and demands whatever," apparently inserted to emphasize the well-understood fact that the manor grants were strictly in the line of public policy, and were in no way intended to become a source of revenue to the government.

The importance of the manorial proprietorships in Westchester County, in their relations to its political and social character and to its eventful history for a hundred years, can not be overestimated. All the founders of the six manors were men of forceful traits, native ability, and wide influence. With a single exception,[1] they left their estates, entirely undiminished and unimpaired, either to children or to immediate kinsmen, who in turn, by their personal characters and

[1] John Archer, of Fordham. In consequence of financial complications, his manor did not remain in his family. Yet the Archer family continued to be a respectable and useful one in the country.

qualities, as well as by their marital alliances, solidified the already substantial foundations which had been laid, and greatly strengthened the social position and enlarged the spheres of their families. To enumerate the marriages contracted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the male and female lines, by the Van Cortlandts, the Philipses, the Morrises, the Pells, and the descendants of Caleb Heathcote, would involve almost a complete recapitulation of the more conspicuous and wealthy New York families of the entire colonial period, besides many prominent families of other provinces. To the Westchester manorial families belonged some of the most noted and influential Americans of their times—men of shining talents, fascinating manners, masterful energy, and splendid achievement; statesmen, orators, judges, and soldiers—who were among the principal popular leaders and civic officials of the province and who won renown both in the public service and in the field during the Revolution. Alike to the patriot cause and the Tory faction these families contributed powerful and illustrious supporters. As the issues between the colonies and Great Britain became more closely drawn, and the inevitable struggle approached, the influences of the representative members of the Westchester families were thrown partly on one side and partly on the other. The tenants in each case were controlled largely by the proprietor, and thus an acute division of sentiment and sympathies was occasioned which, in connection with the unique geographical position of this county in its relations to the contending forces of the Revolution, caused it to be torn by constant broils and to be devastated by innumerable conflicts and depredations. Remembering that the old manorial families of Westchester County rested upon an original foundation of very recognizable aristocratic dignity, which was made possible only by monarchical institutions; that the pride of lineage had, at the time of the Revolution, been nourished for the larger part of a century; and that the disposition of attachment to the king naturally arising from these conditions had been much strengthened by continuous intermarriage with other families of high social pretension and political conservatism, it seems at this day remarkable, or at least a source of peculiar satisfaction, that their preferences and efforts were, on the whole, rather for the popular cause than against it. Even in the formative period of the Revolution, before passions had been stirred by experience and example, and before actual emergency impelled men to put aside caution, it was distinctly apparent that the Tory party was the weaker, both numerically and in point of leadership; and at a very early period of the war, notwithstanding the loss of New York City to the American army and the retreat of

Washington into New Jersey, Toryism became an unwholesome thing throughout much the larger part of Westchester County. The influence of the Tory landlords, even upon their own tenantry, was, indeed, a constantly diminishing factor, while that of the patriotic leaders steadily grew. This could not have been the case if the weight of sentiment among the principal families of the county had not been genuinely on the side of American freedom.

CHAPTER X

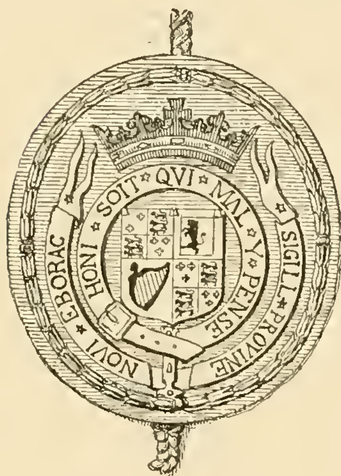
GENERAL HISTORICAL REVIEW TO THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—COMPLETION OF THE WORK OF ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT

N tracing to the beginning of the eighteenth century the history of the great land purchases and manor erections, only incidental allusion has been made to the general history of the times during the first few decades which followed the surrender of New Netherland by the Dutch, and to the coincident progress of such settlements as were not directly associated with the manorial estates. After briefly summarizing the general history of the province and the county during that period, we shall complete the account of original local settlement. The narrative as a whole will then proceed more uniformly and rapidly.

Richard Nicolls, the first of the English governors, continued in office until 1668, when he was succeeded by Francis Lovelace. During Nicolls's administration, the old Dutch land patents throughout the province were reissued, being altered only so as to provide for allegiance to the Duke of York and the government of England, instead of the Dutch West India Company and the government of the United Netherlands; the boundary line between New York and Connecticut was provisionally established, although upon a basis soon to be totally repudiated; and the code known as "the Duke's Laws," for the general government of the province, was adopted. This code "established a very unmistakable autocracy, making the governor's will supreme, and leaving neither officers nor measures to the choice of the people." Among its detailed features were "trial by jury, equal taxation, tenure of land from the Duke of York, no religious establishment but requirement of some church form, freedom of religion to all professing Christianity, obligatory service in each parish on Sunday, a recognition of negro slavery under certain restrictions, and general liability to military duty."

The legitimacy and propriety of owning negro slaves was never questioned in New York or elsewhere in America in those days. Bondmen, both black and white, were brought here during the earliest period of settlement by the Dutch; and with the arrival of Director

Kieft, in 1638, the practice of furnishing negroes to all who desired them had become a thoroughly established one. A distinct article providing for the furnishing of blacks to settlers was incorporated in the "Freedoms and Exemptions" of the Dutch West India Company, a series of regulations adopted to promote colonization. All the leading English families who came to the province after the conquest owned negroes, both as laborers and as house servants. Colonel Lewis Morris, as has been noticed in another place, possessed at his death sixty-six negroes, of an aggregate value of £844; and the household slaves left by the first Frederick Philipse, in 1702, as shown by an inventory of his estate, numbered forty. According to a census of the year 1703, says a historian of New York City, there was "hardly a family that did not have from half a dozen to a dozen or more in their service." This custom of regarding negroes as absolute property was, moreover, viewed with entire and unquestioning approval in the mother country at that period. In a curious document drawn up by "the Committee of the Council of Foreigne Plantations," about 1683, "certaine propositions for the better accommodating the Foreigne Plantations with servants" are duly formulated. They are prefaced with the statement that "it being universally agreed that people are the foundations and improvement of all plantations, and that people are encreased principally by sending of servants thither, it is necessary that a settled course be taken for the furnishing them with servants." "Servants," it is next stated, "are either blacks or whites," and the status of the former is defined as follows: "Blacks are such as are brought by waye of trade and are sould at about £20 a head one with another, and are the principall and most usefull appurtenances of a plantation, and are such as are perpetuall servants." It would be difficult to find in the literature of slavery under English rule a more accurate and ingenuous definition of the position of the negro as understood in olden times.



DUKE OF YORK'S SEAL.

Lovelace, who succeeded Nicolls as governor in 1668, continued his predecessor's liberal policy toward the Dutch population, and administered affairs successfully and smoothly until suddenly forced to resurrender the province to its original owners in 1673. During his incumbency the settlers in our county rapidly increased. He

took an active interest in improving the means of communication between the outlying localities and New York City. He strongly urged upon the people of Harlem village the necessity of building a good wagon road to the fort, and at an early period of his government the ferry service at Kingsbridge was inaugurated. From his time dates the opening of the first regular route of travel to Connecticut, what was later improved into the Boston Post Road. "Once a month, beginning with January 1, 1673, the postman, mounted upon a goodly horse, which had to carry him as far as Hartford, collected the accumulated mail into his saddlebags. At Hartford he took another horse, and wended his way as best he might through woods and swamps, across rivers, and along Indian trails, if he was happy enough to find such. On his return, the city coffee-house received his precious burden, and upon a broad table the various missives were displayed and delivered when paid for."[1] The beginning of these regular trips between New York and the New England colonies was, of course, an event of great importance to all the settlers in the eastern part of Westchester County, and the road was steadily developed into a substantial thoroughfare for vehicles.

GOVERNOR DONGAN.

Louis XIV. of France, having determined to crush the Dutch Republic for interfering with some of his designs of statecraft, induced Charles II. of England to join him in that enterprise. The Netherlands, however, opposed a powerful and eventually successful resistance to the allies, both on land and sea. The dykes were opened, the Prince of Orange, who had been invested with supreme authority, brilliantly defended his country against the invader at every point, and the French armies were forced to retire. The Dutch navy, triumphing over both the French and English fleets, in a number of decisive engagements, soon entered upon a course of aggression beyond the seas. A squadron under Admirals Evertsen and Binckes, after making a successful descent in the West Indies, proceeded to New York, anchoring off Sandy Hook on July 29, 1673. Governor Lovelace was away at the time, upon business relating to our county, in connection with the new Boston Post Road. Some resistance was offered, which was speedily overcome, the English garrison capitulated, and soon Dutch authority was restored full-

[1] Van Pelt's Hist. of the Greater New York, I., 67.

fledged throughout the Province of New York. The city was renamed New Orange, in honor of the prince, and Captain Anthony Colve was installed as governor. He immediately took measures to put the city in a capital condition of defense. To that end, and for the general purposes of his government, he caused the estates of the citizens to be appraised, and taxed them accordingly. It was as an incident of this proceeding that Frederick Philipse was ascertained to be the wealthiest inhabitant, with a fortune of 80,000 guilders. One of Colve's summary acts was his attempted confiscation of the property of the infant Lewis Morris, which he was prevented from accomplishing by the skillful address of Colonel Morris. The governor very promptly notified the settlements of the existence of the new régime, and demanded their obedient submission. One of the first to receive his attention in this regard was Westchester, or Oostdorp, whose recalcitrant behavior at the advent of the English in 1664 will be recalled by the reader. To the citizens of that backslidden town Colve, on August 13, sent notification to appear before him and his council without delay, "together with their constables' staves and English flags, and they would, if circumstances permitted, be furnished with the prince's colors in place of the British ensign." Needless to say, this command was complied with, and the Westchester men were warned that "in future they should demean themselves as loyal subjects." The government of the place was reorganized on the Dutch plan, with a new set of magistrates and new local regulations, among which was the requirement that the people should be of the Reformed Christian religion in uniformity with the Synod of Dort, or at least well-affectioned thereunto. The village of Fordham, also, was constrained to adapt its local affairs to the new conditions. Colve caused its citizens to nominate to him six of their number best qualified to act as magistrates, all of whom should be of the Reformed Christian religion, and at least one-half men of Dutch nationality. This action as to Fordham, however, was in part the result of the initiative of the people of the place, who desired a new status of village government. The secretary of the province under Colve, it is worthy of mention, was Cornelius Steenwyck, who subsequently became the owner of the Manor of Fordham.

During the Dutch restoration, which lasted fifteen months, New York province (or the Province of New Orange, as it was styled) did not revert to the proprietorship of the Dutch West India Company, but was subject direct and solely to the States-General of the Netherlands. The great commercial corporation which had settled it and ruled it for forty-one years had fallen upon unprosperous times. The affluent condition of the company during its early career was mainly

due to its revenues from the prizes of war and from wealthy captured provinces in the West Indies and South America. These revenues were cut off by the conclusion of peace with Spain, and its affairs began to decline, until "finally its liabilities exceeded its assets by more than five millions of florins. Various schemes were proposed and tried to save it from bankruptcy or dissolution, but none availed to ward off disaster. In 1673 it was practically extinct, but it was not until 1674 that it was officially dissolved." Such was the melancholy end of this magnificent organization, which came to pass in the very year that Dutch authority, after a fitful period of renewal, was terminated forever in New York.

Early in 1674, by the Treaty of Westminster, peace was restored between England and Holland, each party agreeing to return to the other whatever possessions had been conquered during the war. On November 10 of that year New York was peacefully handed over to the representative of the Duke of York, Edmund Andros, who assumed its government. This new change was attended by no further inconvenience to the citizens than the obligation to take the oath of allegiance to England.

Nothing of importance in the general concerns of the province after the resumption of English rule requires our notice until 1683. In that year two events of great consequence occurred—first, the division of New York into counties, and, second, the revision of the New York and Connecticut boundary agreement of 1664.

On the 17th of October, 1683, the first legislative assembly in the history of New York convened in New York City. It was summoned by the new governor, Thomas Dongan, who "came with instructions to allow the people in their various towns to elect representatives to a general assembly, which was to constitute a sort of lower house, with the governor's council as the upper house of legislation, the governor acting as the sovereign to approve or veto the bills passed. The assembly was to meet once in three years at least, and to number not more than eighteen members." This first New York assembly consisted of fourteen representatives, of whom four were from Westchester, as follows: Thomas Hunt, Sr., John Palmer, Richard Ponton, and William Richardson.[1] The assembly passed an act, approved by the governor on November 1, from which we quote the pertinent portion: "Having taken into consideracon the necessity of divideing the province into respective countyes for the better governing and setleing Courts in the same, Bee It Enacted by the Governour, Councell and Representatives, and by authority of the same, That the said Province bee divided into twelve Countyes, as fol-

[1] "Civil History of Westchester County," by Rev. William J. Cumming, Scharf, I., 647.

loweth: . . . The Countye of Westchester, to contain West and East Chester, Bronx Land, Ffordham, Anne Hooks Neck [Pelham Neck], Richbell's [de Lancey's Neck], Miniford's Island [City Island], and all the Land on the Maine to the Eastward of Manhattan's Island, as farr as the Government Extends, and the Yonckers Land and Northwards along Hudson's River as far as the High Lands." The other eleven counties named and erected were New York, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Dutchess, Orange, Ulster, and Albany, with Duke's and Cornwall, the latter two embracing territory now belonging to the States of Massachusetts and Maine,[1] but at that time the property of the Duke of York. It was also provided that there should be a high sheriff in each county, and that courts should be established, including town courts, county courts, a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and a Court of Chancery, the Supreme Court of the province consisting of the governor and council. Westchester was appointed to be the shire town, or county seat, of the county. It continued as such until after the burning of the courthouse (February 4, 1758), when White Plains was selected. By one of the acts passed by the assembly of 1683, entitled "An act for the more orderly hearing and determining matters of controversy," courts of session for Westchester County were directed to be held on the first Tuesdays of June and December, one at Westchester and the other at Eastchester; and on the first Wednesday of December a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery was to be held. The County Court of Westchester County did not begin its existence until 1688, when John Pell was appointed its first judge. The first high sheriff of the county, Benjamin Collier, was, however, appointed almost immediately (November 9, 1683), and in 1684 a county clerk, John Rider, was appointed. From the beginning, all the principal officers were appointive, and held their places during the pleasure of the governor, excepting only representatives in the general assembly, who were chosen by the people.

One of the chief enactments of the assembly of 1683 was a proposed "Charter of Liberties and Priviledges, granted by his Royal Highness to the Inhabitants of New York and its dependencies," which, however, was disapproved when transmitted to England. Indeed, before the time for the convening of the second general assembly arrived, this representative body was abolished altogether, the Duke of York having mounted the throne as James II. and having come to the conclusion that it was not expedient for the people of the province to participate in its government. It was not until 1691,

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[1] Duke's County embraced Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth Island, and No Man's Land; and Cornwall County comprised Pemaquid and adjacent territory in Maine.

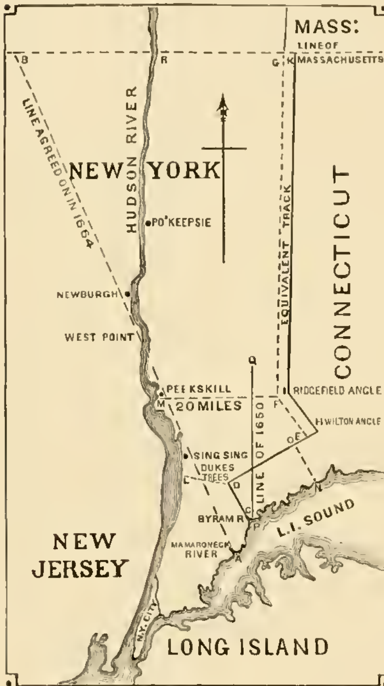
after the accession of William and Mary, that the assembly again came together, to continue as a permanent institution.

The basis of the New York and Connecticut boundary agreement of October, 1664, as understood by Governor Nicolls and as uniformly insisted upon by the New York provincial government, was a line starting at a point on the Sound twenty miles from the Hudson River. It was represented to Nicolls by the Connecticut commissioners that this point was at the mouth of the Mamaroneck River—a very convenient place, moreover, from the Connecticut point of view, for the line to begin, since it would just take in the Rye settlement. So the starting point was fixed at the Mamaroneck's mouth, whence the boundary was to run north-northwest until it should intersect the southern line of Massachusetts. Here, again, great injustice was done to New York; for this north-northwest line would cut the Hudson below the Highlands, utterly dismembering the Province of New York, and giving to Connecticut all of the river above the Highlands, including the settlements at Albany and other places along the stream. Of course such a division, when its true nature became realized, could not be submitted to. But there was no immediate occasion for a different adjustment. New York at that period was not at all disposed to claim Rye, which, from the beginning, had belonged without question to the jurisdiction of Connecticut; and as for the interior, it mattered little for the time being how far Connecticut's nominal boundary reached, as no settlements had yet been begun there, and even private proprietary interests on the part of subjects of New York (excepting only Richbell's patent) had not yet come into being. The whole matter was left in abeyance for nineteen years.

A new boundary, substantially the one now existing, was established by articles concluded between Governor Dongan and council of New York and the governor and delegates of Connecticut on the 24th day of November, 1683. Important concessions were made on both sides. New York demanded, as the fundamental thing, that the original intention of a twenty-mile distance from the Hudson should be adhered to; and, moreover, that the boundary should run north and south, or parallel to the Hudson, instead of north-northwest—a demand to which Connecticut yielded. On the other hand, it was conceded to Connecticut that she should retain her older settlements on the Sound, extending as far westward as the limits of the Town of Greenwich, or the mouth of the Byram River; but as this arrangement would cut off from New York a considerable territory along the Sound that rightfully belonged to her under the twenty-mile agreement, the deprivation thus suffered was to be com-

pensated for by assigning to New York an "equivalent tract" (*i. e.*, a tract equal in area to the surrendered Sound lands) along the whole extent of the fundamental north and south boundary.

The divisional line traced in conformity with these mutual concessions is probably the most curious of American State boundaries, and must be an inexplicable puzzle to all persons not familiar with the historical facts which we have recited. It has no fewer than five points of departure. After following the Byram River for a short distance, it abruptly leaves that stream and runs in a straight direction northwest; then, forming a right angle, goes northeast; then returns again at a right angle to northwest; and finally, at a very obtuse angle, proceeds in a continuous course to the Massachusetts boundary. But however eccentric in appearance, it was constructed with strict reference to a fair and regular division of territory under the terms of the compromise and the peculiar conditions of existing settlement which made such a compromise necessary.



VARIOUS BOUNDARY LINES.

Beginning at the mouth of the Byram River, the line, as thus decided upon in 1683, ran up that stream as far as the head of tidewater (about a mile and a half), where was a "wading-place" crossed by a road, and where stood a rock known as "The Great Stone at the Wading-place." From this point as a natural boundary mark it went north-northwest to a distance eight miles from the Sound, which was deemed to be a reasonable northward limit for the Connecticut Sound settlements. From here, making a right angle, the line paralleled the general course of the shore of the Sound for twelve miles. Thus the strip on the Sound set off to Connecticut formed a parallelogram eight by twelve miles. But as the eastern termination of the twelve-mile line was beyond the twenty-mile distance from the Hudson, another north-northwest line was drawn from that termination, which, after running some eight miles, came to a point distant from the Hudson the required twenty miles. Here began the straight line to the Massachusetts border, pursuing a course parallel to the

general direction of the Hudson River. Along these latter two sections of the boundary, the so-called "equivalent tract" or "Oblong," having an area of 61,440 acres, was, in recompense for the Sound settlements which New York surrendered, taken from Connecticut and given to New York; and as thus rectified the whole north and south boundary line, beginning at the northeast corner of the Connecticut parallelogram, was located some two miles to the eastward of the basic twenty-mile distance originally agreed upon.

The settlements on the Sound which fell to Connecticut by this determination of the boundary were five in number—Greenwich, Stamford, Darien, New Canaan, and Norwalk. A sixth settlement, Rye, which had previously belonged to Connecticut, was for the most part transferred to New York, although a portion of its lands fell on the Connecticut side of the line. It was in large measure owing to the aggressiveness of the Rye settlers, and to the questions arising out of the territorial claims made by the Town of Rye as the westernmost locality of Connecticut, that the boundary matter was forced to an issue in 1683. The Rye people, conceiving that the Connecticut colony extended all the way to the Hudson River, complained to the legislature of Connecticut about the purchases or pretensions of New York citizens along the Hudson which came to their notice; and the Connecticut governor brought the subject to the attention of the governor of New York and urged a settlement. And now, under the new boundary treaty of the two provinces, Rye itself was rudely sundered from its parent colony and made a part of New York. This was extremely repugnant to the settlers of Rye, who, indeed, continued to deem themselves as belonging to Connecticut, and ultimately, rather than submit to the government of New York, when that government took certain steps distasteful to them, boldly revolted against its authority and organized the famous "Rye Rebellion." Nor was Rye the only settlement founded by Connecticut men and governed by Connecticut which, against its will, was incorporated in New York. The history of the Town of Bedford is almost as interesting in this respect as that of Rye. Previously to 1683 the Bedford settlement had been begun by Stamford men, and for years after the boundary agreement of that year, Bedford, like Rye, was much disaffected toward New York. It was an active party to the "Rye Rebellion."

The boundary line fixed by interprovincial agreement on the 24th of November, 1683, was approved by the legislature of Connecticut on the 8th of May, 1684, and a surveyor was appointed to lay off the line. This surveyor, with the co-operation of officers from New York, traced the first sections of the boundary as far as the termination

of the agreed line parallel to the Sound. Thus the territory retained by Connecticut on the Sound was formally marked off without delay; but the "equivalent tract" or "Oblong" to which New York was entitled was not apportioned upon that occasion, although its approximate width was calculated and indicated by the surveyors. The new boundary, while accepted by the two provinces, did not receive ratification in England, probably because no special attention was paid to the matter; and the lack of such ratification enabled Connecticut, after the revolt of Rye and Bedford, to contend that the whole arrangement was without legal effect, and to insist that it be passed upon by the king before it could be considered binding. It was accordingly taken to King William for final decision, who in March, 1700, confirmed it, ordering Rye and Bedford to return to the jurisdiction of New York; and on the 10th of October following the two towns were, by the legislature of Connecticut, absolved from all allegiance to that colony.

So far as the political status of Rye and Bedford was concerned, this forever ended all doubt on that point; but the exact location of the boundary line along each of its various sections still continued a subject of dispute, and, in fact, the controversy did not end until the present generation. The history of this dispute of two hundred years' standing may conveniently be completed in the present connection. We quote from the excellent summary of it given in the Rev. Mr. Baird's "History of Rye":

After various failures to effect a settlement, New York and Connecticut selected commissioners, who met at Rye in April, 1725, and began the work of marking the boundary. They started at "the Great Stone at the Wading-place," which had been designated as the point of beginning forty-one years before. Their survey was extended as far as that of 1684, to "the Duke's Trees," at the northwest angle of the Town of Greenwich, where three white oaks had been marked as the termination of the former survey. Here the work was suspended for want of funds, and it was not resumed until the spring of 1731. The survey was then completed to the Massachusetts line; the "equivalent tract" or "Oblong" was measured and "set off to New York," and the line dividing the Province of New York from the Colony of Connecticut was designated by monuments at intervals of two miles. "The Great Rock at the Wading-place" may still be found at the northeastern end of the bridge crossing the Byram River. Starting at this rock, the boundary line strikes across the King Street and follows the course of that road for about two miles. At the distance of five miles from the Wading-place it crosses Blind Brook near the head of that stream at an angle which terminates the territory of Rye. The famous "Duke's Trees" are about two miles north of this point.

The boundary line laid down in 1731 remained without disturbance until 1855, when the question arose as to its existing definiteness. On some portions of the line the marks had disappeared, and along the whole distance the greatest uncertainty existed. Residents near the border refrained from voting in either State, while officers of justice and tax collectors hesitated to exercise their authority up to any well-defined limit. These circumstances were taken advantage of by those wishing to evade the payment of taxes or the enforcement of the law. In May, 1855, the General Assembly of Connecticut took steps to have the true position of the boundary line ascertained, by means of a new survey and the erection of new monuments. In the following year the New York legislature took similar action, and the com-

missioners appointed under the several acts employed an engineer to run the line. The commissioners could not agree, however, as to the method of running the line, and nothing was done. In August, 1859, new commissioners were appointed on the part of each State, but, owing to the tenacity with which Connecticut adhered to the claim that a straight line should be run,[1] regardless of existing monuments to indicate the original course, no agreement could be reached.

The last step taken in the matter occurred in 1860. On the 3d of April in that year the legislature of New York passed an act empowering the commissioners formerly appointed "to survey and mark with suitable monuments" the "line between the two States, as fixed by the survey of 1731." They were to give due notice of their purpose to the commissioners of Connecticut, inviting them to join in the duties imposed upon them. But in case of their refusal or neglect to do so, they were to proceed alone and perform the work assigned. The commissioners of New York, acting under these instructions, held several conferences with those of Connecticut, but the latter adhered inflexibly to the principle that the boundary to be established must be a straight one. The commissioners from New York therefore pursued the course enjoined upon them. They fixed and marked the boundary line between the two States, placing monuments along its course, at intervals of one mile, from the Massachusetts line to the mouth of the Byram River. This work was undertaken on the 8th of June, 1860, and was completed in the autumn of that year. On December 5, 1879, this line was agreed to by the legislatures of New York and Connecticut, and confirmed by congress during the session of 1880–81.

The existence of New York as a proprietary province, belonging to James, Duke of York, terminated in 1685, when, Charles II. having died without leaving legitimate issue, James, his brother, succeeded to the sovereignty. This was an event of considerable importance, not alone for New York, but also for the colonies of New England and New Jersey. New York at once lost its separate status as a proprietary province, and became, like the New England and New Jersey possessions of Great Britain, an ordinary province of the crown. Governor Dongan, identified with so many conspicuous measures of change and progress in New York, now originated the proposition for uniting the colonies of New Jersey, New York, and New England under a single government. "By reason of the different proprietorships of the various colonies, no uniform rule of import or export duties prevailed. An article heavily taxed in New York might be free in New Jersey or Connecticut. The customs at New York suffered greatly, and trade was thrown into much confusion by reason of vessels running over to the New Jersey shore of the river and there unloading their goods. These were gradually smuggled into New York, and sold at a price below that of articles which had honestly passed the custom-house. Dongan, therefore, urged the expediency of consolidating all the king's colonies from the Delaware to and including Connecticut and Massachusetts."[2] Despite some local opposition this was done, and in 1688 Sir Edmund

[1] The representatives of Connecticut contended for a straight line between the two extreme points, fifty-three miles apart, because the old monuments and marks upon the line were generally removed, and the original line could not be traced with any certainty by reference to them. On the other hand, the commissioners of New York considered their authority limited to "ascertaining" the boundary as originally defined.- Scharf, i., 5.

[2] Van Pelt's Hist. of the Greater New York, i., 80.

Andros was appointed the first governor of the combined provinces, with headquarters in Boston. A lieutenant-governor, Colonel Francis Nicholson, was deputized to take charge of the separate affairs of the Province of New York. The old governor's council was retained, although nothing was as yet done toward reviving the assembly. Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson's councilors were Anthony Brockholst, Frederick Philipse, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and Nicholas Bayard. Dongan, before being superseded, granted to the City of New York, in 1686, its first charter as a corporation, under the style of "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York," the city having two years previously been divided into wards and made to include the whole of Manhattan Island. This advance step taken by the city is fairly representative of the general development which had fairly begun at that period—a development to which Westchester County contributed its share.

The reign of James, the last of the Stuart monarchs, was brief. Three years after he ascended the throne the people of England, weary of the tyranny, corruption, and religious intolerance of his dynasty, rose against him, and received with open arms the Protestant William, Prince of Orange, who, as the husband of Mary, one of the daughters of James, was eligible to rule over them. It was a bloodless revolution. In February, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen. James, after making a stand in Ireland, where he fought the disastrous battle of the Boyne, fled to Catholic France.

The news of the landing of William stirred the American colonies profoundly. Aside from their natural preference for a Protestant king, they apprehended that the dethroned James would enlist in his cause the power of France, and that they would soon have to deal with a French invasion. James's officials were accordingly treated without ceremony. In Boston Governor Andros was, in April, 1689, deposed and cast into prison. In New York Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson, having by unguarded behavior and unbecoming language provoked popular resentment and distrust, found himself confronted by the determined hostility of the captains of the training bands, who, in June, compelled him to vacate his office and return to England. The province was thus left without a head, and the people were quite unwilling to intrust affairs to the council, composed as it was of the old royal favorites. The training band captains, assuming temporary authority in the name of the people, called a convention of delegates from all the counties, which assembled on June 26, and appointed a committee of safety. By this committee Jacob Leisler, one of the captains and a prominent member of the

community, was placed in military command of the province, and the citizens were called upon to come together and choose by popular election a successor to Stephanus Van Cortlandt in the mayoralty of the city, which they did accordingly. Finally, in December, by virtue of a letter from their majesties, addressed to "Francis Nicholson, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in our Province of New York, *and in his absence to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws,*" Leisler, at the direction of the committee of safety, assumed the functions of lieutenant-governor *pro tempore*, in addition to those of military commander. The committee, consisting of eight members, now transformed itself, at Leisler's request, into a gubernatorial council.

This unprecedented and peculiar régime lasted for a little more than a year after Leisler's elevation to the executive office, or nearly two years from the time of Nicholson's deposition. Born of a popular uprising, it was in its entire character, spirit, and conduct a people's government. This was one of the principal charges brought against it by the opposing aristocratic party, who, however, did not vouchsafe it so reputable a name, but styled it an organization of "the rabble." The leading members of Nicholson's council—Bayard, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt—not only lent no countenance to the training band captains, the committee of safety, or the popularly chosen lieutenant-governor, but boldly opposed each step in the new order of things. Bayard, the most active of the three, was arrested by Leisler's order in January, 1690, tried, and condemned to death for treason on the ground of his opposition to the king's representative; but suing for pardon, he received a commutation of his sentence. Philipse, at the beginning of the troubles, left the city, but returned, and, conducting himself with tolerable prudence, was not molested. Van Cortlandt, who was not only one of Nicholson's councilors, but mayor of New York, at first remained at his post, and after the choice of his successor by the elective process declined to recognize the act as legal and refused to deliver up his books and seals. At the time of Bayard's arrest, fearing a like fate, he saved himself by hasty flight. It is an interesting fact that Leisler was related by marriage to both Van Cortlandt and Bayard; and Philipse also became of kin to Leisler's family by marrying Van Cortlandt's sister. Yet so intense were the passions of the times that these ties of relationship counted for nothing, and Leisler's own kinsmen were the most bitter and unrelenting of the enemies who resisted him during the days of his authority and pursued him to ignominious death after his downfall.

Late in 1690 King William appointed Colonel Henry Sloughter as

Fort William July 31th: 1690: —

Ensigne John Stedman —

Sr having Perused your Comission & Partly understand your grievance & threatning of your authority for having punctualy observed ye Same according to ye result & Covenant made with Conecticut Plymouth & Boston & by ye two Latter absolutely Brooke I have here Inclosed sent you ye result attested also ye Copy of ye letter delivered to me by Conecticutts agents wch may be of Service to You I send you also two Evidences whereby it may apeare what Inclinations Livingstone had for our Shiping whereby can be judged what may be Expected from him for his Interest also one Evidence how he declared to have had ye Copy of his Maties Letter for this province wch he Could not have had Except it had been broken up by ye messenger ye Livingstone is ye person to whome much Credit is given & wth whome much is Consulted in Your Parts Concerning ye Albany — Expedition ther is good Ground to suspect him & mr Allyn that some Private Instruction is given to ye Capn Contrary ago: Commission & Covent: I Could send You what we had — agst Mr Allyn of wch we have Complained to Your authority but not regarded but I am Loth to be ye Cause of Disordr in Your Parts therefore forbear & if our forces where not departed for your so faithfull, honest & neigbourly — observing Your Comission & therefore blamed would have willingly Commissionated You. You deserving a better Place I shall Certainly think on You if any Occasion offers & so sone I shall see albany Proceeding shall send You all what may be Judged needfull for You I have writt to ye Governor in Yor favour & acquainted him that I was Sensible of ye abuses You received therein After my respects I Remain //

Yor friend —

Jacob Leisler

FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM LEISLER.

his royal governor for New York, with Major Richard Ingoldsby as lieutenant-governor. Ingoldsby was the first to arrive, and demanded the transfer of the government to himself, a demand with which Leisler refused to comply, because Ingoldsby was unable to show proper credentials.

This misunderstanding was followed by an unfortunate attack upon the royal troops by Leisler's followers, and, although he disavowed responsibility for the manifestation, it was charged up to him as one of his offenses. Upon the arrival of Governor Sloughter, in March, 1691, he was imprisoned, and then, by swift proceedings, sentenced to die the death of a traitor. On May 17, less than two months after giving up the reins of government, he was hanged, together with his son-in-law, Jacob Milbourne. No appeal of his case to England was permitted, a melancholy circumstance in view of the action of Parliament four years later in formally reversing his attainder of treason after a dispassionate review of all the facts.

The name of Jacob Leisler is conspicuously and honorably identified with the early history of Westchester County through his purchase and sale to the Huguenots, already noticed, of about two-thirds of the old Manor of Pelham, a tract of some six thousand acres. There is no doubt that in making this purchase and in disposing of the lands to the French religious refugees he was animated entirely by unselfish and sympathetic considerations. A German Protestant by birth, and, moreover, the son of a clergyman of the Reformed Church, he became known in New York as a zealous supporter and promoter of the Protestant religion. It was in consequence of the reputation which he thus enjoyed that the Huguenots, before emigrating to New York, applied to him to select and secure a suitable locality for their contemplated settlement. As a few individual Huguenots had already built homes on Pelham Manor, that quarter was already indicated as the one to be chosen. In the original purchase from John and Rachel Pell, September 20, 1689, "Jacob Leisler, of the City of New York, merchant," was the sole person interested; and his conscientious spirit in the transaction is indicated by the significant provision of the deed that, besides the six thousand acres conveyed to him, a parcel of one hundred acres should be set apart from Pell's property as a free gift to the French church. Moreover, he gave for

LEISLER'S TOMB.

the lands the large sum of "sixteen hundred and seventy-five shillings sterling, current silver money of this province," paying the entire amount on the day of purchase—a sum whose comparative magnitude will be appreciated when it is remembered that eight years later Caleb Heathcote, in buying from Mrs. Richbell her title to most of the present Township of Mamaroneck and other lands (having an aggregate area much larger than the New Rochelle tract), paid for his acquisition only £600. Leisler rapidly transferred his whole purchase to the Huguenots, and before his execution they were in full possession of it.

Smith, in his "History of New York," gives the following interesting item: "Leisler's party was strengthened on the 3d of June, 1689, by the addition of six captains and four hundred men in New York, and a company of seventy men from Eastchester, who had all subscribed on that day a solemn declaration to preserve the Protestant religion and the Port of New York for the Prince of Orange and the governor whom the prince might appoint as their protector." The action of the seventy volunteers of our Town of Eastchester in marching down to New York to give their support to Leisler is highly significant. The men of Eastchester were democrats of democrats in all their antecedents, but at the same time were godly and sober citizens, who would not have lightly, or for mere emotional or adventurous reasons, espoused a factional cause. They evidently believed, most completely and ardently, in the righteousness and also the sufficiency of the improvised government. It is indeed impossible to question the sincere and virtuous animus of Leisler's followers.

Leisler, raised to authority by the people, fully recognized the people as the source of power. Notwithstanding the previous abolition of the provincial assembly, he promptly appealed to the representatives of the people when a grave public emergency arose soon after he became acting governor. In February, 1690, the settlement of Schenectady was burned and its inhabitants were massacred by the Indians at the instigation of the French. Leisler at once summoned a general assembly for the purpose of providing means and supplies for retributive measures. In that body Thomas Browne was the delegate from Westchester County.

The influence of Leisler as a plain citizen, before by the stress of events placed in the control of affairs, was uniformly on the side of the public welfare, of intelligence, and progress; and the history of his personal career is that of a vigorous, successful, and honest man, who eminently deserved the position he won. He came to New York in 1660, while the city was still known as New Amsterdam,

being one of a company of fifteen soldiers for the re-enforcement of the garrison. Afterward he traded with the Indians and acquired considerable means. He served under Dongan as one of the commissioners of the Admiralty Court. In 1667 he was one of the jurors in a case of witchcraft tried at Brookhaven, Long Island, against Ralph Hall and his wife, which resulted in acquittal. As one of the captains of the training bands he enjoyed the unusual confidence of the citizen soldiers—a confidence which, because of his reputation in the community, was shared by the public in general when the necessities of the situation constrained them to assume the temporary direction of the government. He was, moreover, sustained throughout his administration by some of the best and most substantial citizens, notwithstanding the opposition and intrigues of the former governing class; and the persistent continuance of a perfectly respectable "Leislerian party" for many years after his tragical end is convincing tribute to the excellence of both his private and civic character. His descendants at this day are very numerous, and have representatives in many of the old and highly respectable families of New York and Westchester County. Included among them are those of the Gouverneur Morris and Wilkins branches of the Morrises of Morrisania. For the pedigree of the Westchester County descendants of Leisler, we refer our readers to Bolton's "History of Westchester County," rev. ed., i., 585.

When at last, in March, 1691, the government of the province was resumed by a direct appointee of the king, Colonel Henry Sloughter, it was ordered that the provincial assembly should be re-established. No time was lost by Governor Sloughter in bringing this to pass; and on April 9, 1691, the second regularly constituted assembly of New York came together, with John Pell, of the Manor of Pelham, and Joseph Theale, of the Town of Rye, sitting as representatives from Westchester County. The assembly "consisted of seventeen members, but was afterwards increased to twenty-seven. . . . By the act of May 8, 1699, the representatives were elected by the freeholders of £10 in value, who were residents of the electoral district at least three months prior to the issue of the act. The elections were held by the sheriff at one place in each county, and voting was *viva voce*. The act of November 25, 1751, directed the sheriff to hold his court of election near the Presbyterian meeting-house at White Plains. Previously it had been held in the southern part of the county, doubtless at Westchester. Catholics could neither vote nor hold office, and at one time the Quakers and Moravians were also virtually disqualified by their unwillingness to take the oath."[1]

[1] Scharf, i., 647.

THE

LAWS & ACTS

OF THE

General Assembly

FOR

Their Majesties Province

OF

NEW-YORK,

As they were Enacted in divers Sessions, the first of which began *April*, the 9th, *Annoq; Domini*, 1691.

At *New-York*,

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford*, Printer to their Majesties, King *William* & Queen *Mary*, 1694.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE EARLIEST VOLUME OF NEW YORK STATUTES.

Excepting the representatives in the general assembly, only the strictly local officers—supervisors, collectors, assessors, and constables—were elective. The most important of these, the supervisors, date from an early period.

By the "Duke's Laws," promulgated in 1665, the Courts of Sessions levied the taxes upon the towns. By an act of the general assembly, passed October 18, 1701 (13th William III.), the justices of the peace, in special or general session, were directed to levy once a year the necessary county and town charges and allowances for their representative in the general assembly, to make provision for the poor, and to issue warrants for the election of two assessors and one collector, and for the collection of taxes. These duties were transferred to a board of supervisors by an act of general assembly passed June 19, 1703 (2d Anne), entitled "An Act for the better explaining and more effectually putting into execution an act of general assembly made in the third year of the reign of their late majesties, King William and Queen Mary, entitled An Act for defraying the publick and necessary charges thro'out this province, and for maintaining the poor and preventing vagabonds." The freeholders and inhabitants of each town were authorized to choose once each year, on the first Tuesday of April (unless otherwise directed), one supervisor, two assessors, and one collector. The supervisors elected were directed to meet in the county town on the first Tuesday of October, ascertain the contingent charges of the county and such sums as were imposed by the laws of the colony, apportion to each town, manor, liberty, jurisdiction, and precinct their respective quotas, and to transmit them to the assessors of the different towns, etc., who should apportion them among the inhabitants. The supervisors were authorized to choose annually a treasurer. The court of sessions was thus relieved of that portion of its duties which was legislative and not judicial. Supervisors had been chosen in several of the towns before the passage of the act of 1703 (Eastchester, 1686; Mamaroneck, 1697; New Rochelle, 1700); but what their duties were it is impossible to state.[1]

During the ten years following the arrival of the first royal governor under King William, and the definite erection of representative government in the province, there was a steady expansion of population, wealth, and enterprise. Sloughter died only two months after Leisler's execution, and was succeeded as governor the next year by Benjamin Fletcher, who was superseded in 1698 by the Earl of Bellomont, one of the best and most conscientious of New York's early colonial rulers. Philipse and Van Cortlandt, who had been sent into retirement by Leisler, were recalled to the council by Sloughter, and both of them thus resumed their old-time prominence. It has already been recorded how Philipse, on account of the notoriety attaching to his connection with unlawful traffic, was finally forced to resign from the council. This traffic, while vexatious to the government officials and increasingly demoralizing, was far from being regarded with general disapprobation by the commercial community of New York. Too many were interested in its gains to admit of such hostility, and, indeed, the large private interests concerned in it were mainly responsible for the extensive proportions to which it grew in the closing years of the seventeenth century. It was not confined to the ordinary forms of smuggling—mere surreptitious importations of taxable European goods,—but included relations of more

[1] Scharf, 615.

or less intimacy with the pirates of the high seas. "The most approved course usually pursued was to load a ship with goods for exchange and sale on the Island of Madagascar. Rum costing two shillings per gallon in New York would fetch fifty to sixty shillings in Madagascar. A pipe of Madeira wine costing nineteen pounds in New York could be sold for three hundred pounds in that distant island. Not that just so much specie would be given for these articles there. But here was the rendezvous of the pirates, or buccaneers, of the Indian Ocean, and the goods they offered in exchange were extremely costly."[1] Probably the principal reason of Governor Fletcher's recall was his tolerance of such intercourse. Bellomont, who followed him, was charged expressly to deal summarily with it; and in consequence, Frederick Philipse found it expedient to terminate his membership in the council, and so avoid disgraceful expulsion. It was as an incident of Bellomont's vigorous policy in this line that Captain William Kidd, whose name and fame have become immortal in the legendary annals of piracy, was arrested, tried, and hanged (May, 1701). Kidd originally appears in the virtuous and noble character of a pirate hunter. A number of particularly respectable and distinguished subscribers (among them King William and Lord Bellomont, at that time not yet governor), having at heart the suppression of piracy, equipped a stanch vessel for Kidd, who was known as a bold and experienced mariner, and sent him forth to search for these evil men wheresoever they might ply their horrid vocation, and scourge them from the seas. As the story runs, he rendered valuable services for a time in this chivalric cause, but later fell into degenerate ways, and himself became a most desperate corsair. His favorite haunts after returning from his cruises were the inlets and islands of Long Island Sound, where he landed his precious cargoes, and, according to tradition, buried his gold, silver, and jewels. It is said that when brought to trial he confided to the authorities the location of a treasure secreted on Gardiner's Island, and that it was duly found and appropriated by them. From the authenticated accounts of Captain Kidd's frequentings of the coast of the Sound, it may safely be said that from time to time he must have steered his bark into some of the numerous places of retreat along the Westchester shore. This, however, is only a reasonable inference. There is nothing to show that he ever had a rendezvous within our waters. In the course of time popular imagination, stimulated by the fiction of his buried wealth, even ascribed to him expeditions up the Hudson River as far as the Highlands. Bolton reproduces a very entertaining account of an attempt during the present century

[1] Van Pelt's Hist. of the Greater New York, i., 98.

to raise a sunken bark off Caldwell's Landing in the Highlands, supposed to have been Captain Kidd's private ship. Some $20,000 was spent in the enterprise.[1] The pre-eminence which Captain Kidd has always enjoyed in the popular imagination is much out of proportion to his achievements. His formal piratical career was at all events very brief. It was in October, 1696, that he was dispatched to hunt down pirates, and at that time he must have had a fairly honest reputation. Less than five years later he met his doom on the gallows. His exceptional popularity as a pirate hero is doubtless due to the fanciful stories of his buried treasures, to which a certain substantial foundation was supposed to have been given by the unearthing of one of them—in all probability the only one—by the authorities.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Manhattan Island had attained a population of nearly six thousand souls, and about one thousand houses had been erected upon it. Westchester County, established upon practically the same boundary lines as exist to-day (considering the county in its original integrity), had acquired the elements of serious development in all its parts. Practically all its land had been appropriated by purchase. Means of convenient communication with New York had been secured, and a bridge across the Spuyten Duyvil Creek built. All of the six manorial estates had been granted by letters patent, and in part settled by tenants, with here and there the foundations of villages laid. The old settlements on the Sound had made steady advancement and new settlers had generally begun to occupy the non-manorial lands in the interior. The progress of the Sound settlements and of interior occupation outside of the manors remains to be glanced at in order to complete the history of the county to the period at which we have arrived.

The Rye settlement, which grew out of purchases made by citizens of Greenwich, Conn., on the New York side of the Byram River, beginning in 1660, flourished from the start, and gradually expanded over all the adjacent country. Included within the Colony of Connecticut by the boundary compact of 1664, there never existed any question as to its political status until, under the new boundary adjustment of 1683, it was detached from Connecticut and incorporated in New York. Even during the aggressive Dutch restoration of 1673-74, although Mamaroneck was summoned to submit and readily yielded, no attempt was made to subdue the people of Rye, who, however, in anticipation of trouble, made preparation for a sturdy resistance, and united with those of Stamford and Greenwich in petitioning the general court for help. From the earliest period of

[1] Bolton, rev. ed., I., 161.

the Rye settlement, even before Rye itself had come into being, and while the founders of the place were still living on Manussing Island in a community known as Hastings, the town had representation in the Connecticut general court at Hartford, and received due attention and care from that body. It was probably due to the privilege of direct representation thus enjoyed, quite as much as to the circumstance of their Connecticut nativity, that the Rye people so stoutly persisted, long after being legally annexed to New York, in holding themselves allegiant to the mother colony, and so bitterly resented the assumption of authority over them by an alien aristocratic government which for a considerable term of years conceded no representative rights whatever to its inhabitants, and even after instituting a general assembly granted no immediate representation to the individual towns.

In enumerating here the various additional purchases of the Rye people, it is not necessary to go into minute particularization regarding the several tracts. In 1662 they bought the territory of the present Town of Harrison—a territory which was subsequently granted by the provincial government of New York to John Harrison and others, and on that account became the bone of contention between the Rye men and the New York authorities, leading to the celebrated revolt. In 1680 and 1681 occurred what were known as "Will's Purchases" from an Indian chief named Lame Will, or Limping Will, extending into the present Town of North Castle. And finally, in 1683, just before the new boundary articles were concluded, the Quaroppas, or White Plains, tract was bought, another purchase destined to be a source of difficulty because of the claim to previous ownership set up by John Richbell and later persevered in by his widow and by her successor in the Richbell estate, Colonel Caleb Heathcote.

It has been mentioned in our account of the boundary revision of 1683 that the aggressive attitude of the Town of Rye in its territorial pretensions as the frontier settlement of Connecticut was one of the principal causes leading to that revision. "May, 1682, John Ogden, of Rye, presented himself before the general court and on behalf of the people complained that sundry persons, and particularly Frederick Philipse, had been making improvements of lands within their bounds. Mr. Philipse had been building mills near Hudson River, encroaching thereby upon the town's territory, which was believed to extend in a northwesterly direction from the mouth of Mamaroneck River to the Hudson, and even beyond. The general court gave Mr. Ogden a letter to the governor of New York, protesting against such proceedings, and reminding him that by the agreement made in 1664 a line running northwest from the mouth of Mamaroneck River to

the Massachusetts line was to be the dividing line between Connecticut and New York."[1] On the 28th of November of the following year, by the new boundary articles, Rye was ceded to New York, and Governor Treat of Connecticut promptly notified the inhabitants of this change. The town, while reluctant to accept the fate appointed for it, desisted from electing deputies to the general court of Connecticut, and did not renew that practice until the "revolt" in 1697. Nevertheless, attempts were made from time to time to secure some sort of official recognition from Connecticut, representatives being dispatched to deal with the governor and general court as to various special matters. A summons from Governor Dongan of New York, in 1685, commanding the Rye settlers to appear before him and prove their titles to the lands which they occupied, was ignored. On the other hand, Rye had the honor of contributing one of the two representatives from Westchester County to the earliest sessions of the New York provincial assembly held after the organization of that body on a permanent basis. Joseph Theale, one of the leading men of Rye, was elected to the New York assembly for the years 1691 to 1694, inclusive, and again for 1697. "For ten years," says Dr. Baird, "disaffection smoldered, the authority of the province was ignored, taxes were paid but irregularly to either government, and whenever possible matters in controversy were carried up to Hartford, and Hartford magistrates came down to perform their functions at Rye. . . . Feuds and dissensions among themselves added to the perplexity of the inhabitants. Some of them, it would appear, sided with the province in the controversy, and hence, doubtless, some of the actions for defamation and other proofs of disturbance which we find on record about this time."

In 1695 a tract of land which for more than thirty years had belonged to the Rye settlers, "situated above Westchester Path, between Blind Brook and Mamaroneck River, and extending as far north as Rye Pond," was bought by a certain John Harrison from an Indian who professed to be "the true owner and proprietor." After having been surveyed by order of Governor Fletcher, of New York, this tract, called "Harrison's Purchase," was patented (June 25, 1696) to Harrison and four associates—William Nicols, Ebenezer Wilson, David Jamison, and Samuel Haight. In vain did the people of Rye protest against so unrighteous a proceeding. The land was wholly unimproved and unsettled, its rightful prior ownership was claimed by the Indian from whom Harrison bought it, and, moreover, the Rye men, by having contemptuously neglected to avail themselves of the opportunity extended to them by Dongan in 1685 to prove their

[1] Baird's Hist. of Rye.

land titles, had incapacitated themselves from establishing a superior title by the records. The issuance of the Harrison patent was followed, about the end of 1696, by a verdict adverse to Rye rendered in the New York courts in a suit brought by Mrs. Ann Richbell against the Rye people for intrusion on the White Plains lands. These two events brought matters to a crisis. Rye seceded from New York, applied to be received back into Connecticut, and, meeting with encouragement, resumed formal connection with the latter government, until by order of the king compelled to abandon it.

RYE AND ASSOCIATED TRACTS.

Rye's petition to the general court of Connecticut, in conjunction with a similar one from Bedford, was submitted on January 19, 1697, and was graciously received. On the 8th of April following an overt manifestation against New York's authority was made at Rye by Major Sellick, of Stamford, "with about fifty dragones, whom he called his life-guard, with their arms presented." The major and his "dragones" presumed to interfere with an election which was being conducted there by Benjamin Collier, high sheriff of Westchester County, for representative in the New York assembly. Apparently no actual violence was done, but the show of force excited strong feeling in New York, and was promptly characterized in very severe terms by the provincial assembly. Governor Fletcher issued a proclamation ordering Rye and Bedford to return to their allegiance, and also entered into communication on the subject with the governor of Connecticut, from whom, however, he

obtained no satisfaction. In addition, Fletcher tried conciliatory measures, dispatching Colonel Caleb Heathcote, one of the members of his council, to Rye, with instructions to do what he could by means of his personal influence toward settling the troubles. Heathcote's report gives a very clear idea of the merits of the controversy, showing that the Rye settlers had only themselves to blame for the loss of the Harrison lands. "I asked them," says Heathcote, "why they did not take out a patent when it was tendered them [by Dongan]. They said they never heard that they could have one. I told them that their argument might pass with such as knew nothing of the matter, but that I knew better; for that to my certain knowledge they might have had a patent had they not rejected it, and that it was so far from being done in haste or in the dark that there was not a boy in the whole town, nor almost in the whole county, but must have heard of it; and that I must always be a witness against them, not only of the many messages they have had from the government about it, but likewise from myself. . . . I told them as to the last purchase wherein I was concerned [that of the Richbell estates, including the White Plains tract], if that gave them any dissatisfaction, that I would not only quit my claim but use my influence in getting them any part of it they should desire. Their answer was they valued not that; it was Harrison's patent that was their ruin."

For three years, 1697 to 1699, inclusive, Rye was represented in the Connecticut general court by regularly elected delegates. During this period and for one year longer, the town was designated officially by its inhabitants as being "in the County of Fairfield." New York made no attempt at coercion, but referred the matters at issue to the king; and in March, 1700, an order of the king in council was issued, not only approving the boundary agreement of 1683-84, but directing the revolted towns "forever thereafter to be and remain under the government of the Province of New York." This decision was, as a matter of course, accepted by all parties as final. Rye never recovered the Harrison purchase, although some of her inhabitants bought land there and became influential in its affairs. Moreover, "until the Revolution the inhabitants of the purchase participated with those of Rye in the transaction of town business, without any other distinction than that of having their own officers for the discharge of local functions"; and Harrison also formed "one of the six precincts of the parish of Rye, under the semi-ecclesiastical system that prevailed." Harrison was settled largely, however, by Quakers from Long Island. The White Plains dispute was not determined adversely to Rye. Caleb Heathcote, while never in

legal form relinquishing his claim to "the White Plains," did not attempt to enforce it, and, indeed, uniformly treated the Rye people interested with generous fairness. He consented to the insertion in the letters patent for his Manor of Scarsdale of a clause expressly withholding from him any further title to the White Plains than that which he already possessed. The Rye settlers of White Plains always retained the lands which they acquired there, and at length, in 1722, obtained a patent for the whole tract of 4,435 acres. "White Plains," says Dr. Baird, "drew largely on the strength of the community of Rye. . . . Some branches of nearly all the ancient families established themselves there, and, indeed, those families are now represented there more numerously than in the parent settlement."

According to the "Lists of Persons and Estates" kept by the general court of Connecticut, there were in Rye in 1665 twenty-five "persons," possessed of estates valued at £1,211; in 1683, forty-seven, worth £2,339; and in 1699, sixty, worth £3,306. By "persons" in this connection are probably to be understood heads of families. The population of Rye, including White Plains, in 1712, as shown by an enumeration then taken, was 516, the town being, next to Westchester (which had 572 inhabitants), the most populous in the county.

A celebrated fact in connection with the history of Rye during the first half of the eighteenth century is the establishment of the ferry to Oyster Bay, Long Island. This was authorized by royal letters patent, dated the 18th of July, 1739, to John Budd, Hachaliah Brown, and Jonathan Brown. The fare fixed for "every person" using the ferry was one shilling and six pence; and in addition rates of carriage for a great variety of articles were specified. For the privilege thus conferred upon them, the patentees paid an annual quit-rent of two shillings and six pence. The operation of this ferry was very instrumental in contributing to the growth of population in the towns of Rye and Harrison, and in the central portions of the county.

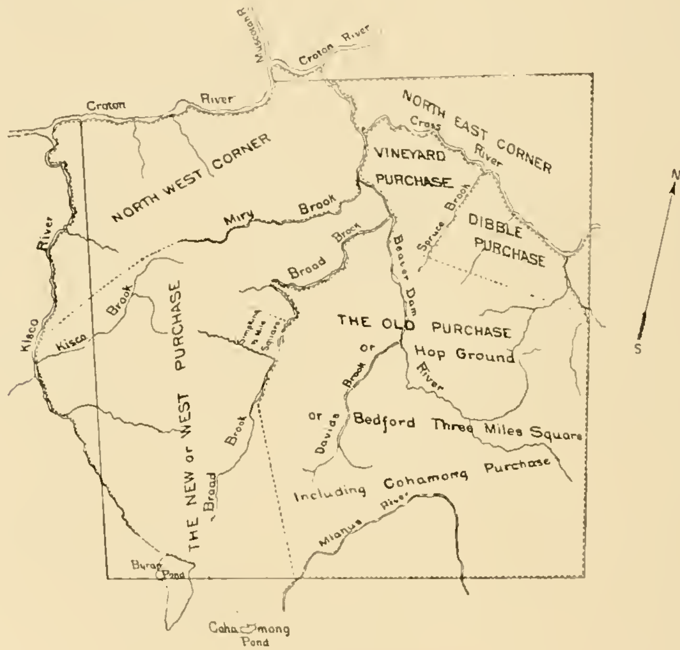
The early history of White Plains has been so frequently referred to in the course of our narrative that this subject may be dismissed here with a brief summary. By virtue of the grants to John Richbell, issued both by the Dutch government and the first English governor, it was long claimed that White Plains (or "the White Plains," as originally and for many years called) was included in the Richbell lands running northward from the Mamaroneck River "twenty miles into the woods." Indeed, for nearly forty years after the first appearance there of settlers, or intending settlers, the legal title to this region remained undetermined. On November 22,

1683, six days before the signing of the new boundary articles between New York and Connecticut, the enterprising men of Rye purchased the whole tract, known by the Indian name of Quaroppas, from the native chiefs who at that time professed to own it. Thus Rye came under the government of New York with a very plausible title to the White Plains. Gradually Rye men began to occupy the lands—a movement that attracted the attention of Mrs. Richbell, who in 1696 brought an ejectment suit and obtained a favorable verdict, which, however, was not enforced. During the lifetime of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, successor to Mrs. Richbell's rights and proprietor of Scarsdale Manor, nothing was done toward settling the question of ownership. Heathcote died on the 28th of February, 1721, and soon afterward active measures were begun by the White Plains settlers toward securing a patent from the government. In this endeavor they were put to considerable vexation and expense by the authorities. "Three times were they compelled to make surveys of their goodly land, three times required to notify the owners of adjoining lands that such surveys were about to be made, and all to furnish pretexts for oppressive charges by the officers of the governor's council."[1] The royal patent was finally granted on the 13th of March, 1722, to Joseph Budd and others. It was for "All that said tract or parcel of land, situate, lying, and being in the County of Westchester, commonly known by the name of the White Plains." Among the names of the settlers at that period mentioned in the official documents we find the following: Daniel Brundage, Joseph Hunt, Joseph Budd, John Hoit, Caleb Hyatt, Humphrey Underhill, Joseph Purdy, George Lane, Daniel Lane, Moses Knapp, John Horton, David Horton, Jonathan Lynch, Peter Hatfield, James Travis, Isaac Covert, Benjamin Brown, John Turner, David Ogden, and William Yeomans. This list is but a partial one, being confined to the patentees. "At the time this patent was issued," says the author of the chapter on White Plains in Scharf's History, "Broadway, with its home-lots, had long been established." After the procurement of the patent the population increased so rapidly that "in 1725 the inhabitants assumed an independent organization, elected officers, and proceeded to manage their own affairs."

In the progress of this History, we have so far followed the movements of settlement and development along closely connecting lines. It has thus happened that the settlement of the Town of Bedford, which, under a strictly chronological arrangement, should have received notice among the comparatively early events, has not as yet been traced, or even referred to, except in the merest incidental manner.

[1] "History of White Plains," by Josiah S. Mitchell, Scharf, I., 721.

Bedford, as one of the ancient towns of the county, presents unique aspects. It is the only one of the first settlements having an inland location, and the only one whose original history stands quite apart from that of the remainder of the county, with no associations or relations binding it to other Westchester settlements of early origin and respectable importance. In common with Westchester, Eastchester, Pelham, and Rye, it was settled by Connecticut people; but, unlike these communities, it was by its isolation in the northern central portion of the county removed completely from New York environment and influence. Bedford, at least until within recent times,



MAP OF BEDFORD.

is to be regarded as a purely New England village accidentally absorbed by New York.

What is now the Township of Bedford was a portion of the purchase made by Nathaniel Turner, for the New Haven colony, July 1, 1640, of a tract of land eight miles long on the Sound and extending sixteen miles into the wilderness to the northwest. Upon that tract the village of Stamford was begun in 1641; and in 1655 its interior extension was repurchased from the Indians by the people of Stamford. No attempt at settlement on the portion of the tract now known as Bedford town was made until 1680. In that year the Town

of Stamford granted to twenty-two Stamford men[1] the lands known as the "Hop Grounds" lying "at the north end of Stamford bounds." Under this grant the beneficiaries, on the 23d of December, 1680, bought from Katonah, Rockaway, and several other Indians, the territory in question, 7,673 acres, for the value of £46 16s. 6d. The purchase thus made became known as "Bedford Three Miles Square." The whole of the southeastern portion of the present township—something more than one-third of the whole township in area—was included in it. Subsequent purchases were added at various times, the last being effected on the 23d of January, 1722, for a consideration of £20. The various deeds of sale from the natives during the eighty-two years from 1640 to 1722 were signed, altogether, by thirty-five Indians.

According to Dr. Baird in his "History of the Bedford Church," the original settlers were nearly all the sons of English Puritans, founders of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and there is no authority for the statement that they came from Bedfordshire, England, and from that circumstance gave the town its name. The name Bedford, says Dr. Baird, was probably bestowed by the general court of Connecticut, in accordance with the principle adopted many years before, intending, as they quaintly expressed it, "thereby to keep and leave to posterity the memorial of several places of note in our dear native country of England." In March, 1681, house-lots were laid out, under a rule providing that each man's lot be "proportionable in quantity to what it lacks in quality." The other lands were divided on the same principle. The house-lots adjoined one another on the village street, it being deemed advisable for the settlers to live close together as a precaution in case of Indian attack. May 12 the general court at Hartford officially recognized the settlement, and recommended that "there be a suitable loot laid out for ye first minister of ye place, and a loot for ye ministry to be and belong to ye ministry forever." This pious injunction was promptly obeyed, and as early as December, 1681, the town took steps to procure a minister. The general court, on May 16, 1682, issued an order to the effect that "Upon the petition of the people of the Hop Ground, this court doth grant them the priviledge of a plantation, and doe order that the name of the towne shall henceforth be called Bedford." Joseph Theale was appointed as the "chiefe military officer for the training band," and Abram Ambler as magistrate.

[1] Richard Ambler, Abraham Ambler, Joseph Theale, Daniel Weed, Eleazer Slawson, John Wescot, Jonathan Petit, John Cross, John Miller, Nicholas Webster, Richard Ayres, William Clark, Jonas Seely, Joseph Stevens, Daniel Jones, Thomas Pannoyer, John Holmes, Jr., Benjamin Stevens, John Green, Sr., David Waterbury, Samuel Weed, and Jonathan Kilborn.

New proprietors were gradually admitted upon paying forty shillings each for shares in the undivided lands. About the end of the first year Joshua Webb was received as an inhabitant upon the understanding that he would erect and operate a mill. This arrangement was carried out, the mill being built on the Mianus River. All the newcomers for very many years were New England people.

Notwithstanding the exclusion of Bedford from Connecticut by the provisions of the boundary agreement of 1683-84, Bedford continued to recognize the sole authority of Connecticut. Her people, like those of Rye, disregarded the summons of Governor Dongan of New York in 1685, to take out patents for their lands, although this omission did not, as in the case of Rye, cause them any ultimate loss of territory. Frequent applications were, however, made to the Connecticut authorities for a town patent; and on May 21, 1697, after Bedford and Rye had been taken under the protection of that colony, these efforts were finally rewarded. The Connecticut patent for Bedford issued on that date was to "John Miller, Senr., Daniel Simkins, Zachariah Roberts, Cornelius Seely, Jeremiah Andrews, John Westcoate, John Miller, Junr., John Helmes, Junr., and the rest of the present proprietors of Bedford," and in it the tract was described as follows: "All those lands, boath meadows, swamps and uplands, within these abuttments, viz.: Southerly on the bounds of the township of Stamford; Westerly on the wilderness; Northerly on the wilderness; and easterly on the wilderness, or land not yet laid out. Every of which sides is six miles in length, to witt: from the east side westerly, and from the south side northerly, and is a township of six miles square, or six miles on every side, which said lands have been by purchase or otherwise, lawfully obtained of the Indian native proprietors." April 8, 1704, this Connecticut patent was confirmed by New York, an annual quit-rent of £5 being provided for.

By reference to a map of the manors of Westchester County it will be observed that the northern section of Bedford Patent overlaps Cortlandt Manor, taking a quite considerable area from that manor. On the other hand, Stephanus Van Cortlandt's manor grant, dated June 17, 1697, called for a southern boundary beginning at the mouth of the Croton River and running due east "twenty English miles"—that is, in a continuous line from the Hudson River to Connecticut. This interception of the southern boundary of Cortlandt Manor by the Bedford Patent requires explanation.

At the time when the Cortlandt Manor grant was issued the Bedford Patent for a tract six miles square based upon Stamford bounds on the south, as conferred by the general court of Connecticut, was already in existence, having, in fact, been obtained some six weeks

previously. Consequently, says a Bedford historian, "when Van Cortlandt's surveyor, working on his 'due east' line, was advancing through Bedford, he was doubtless apprised by our settlers that he was on Connecticut soil. No use to go farther; so he ran his line around the north side of Bedford, leaving her out of the Van Cortlandt Manor."[1] Indeed, Van Cortlandt or his heirs, fully accepting the claims of the Bedford people regarding their northern limits, built along those limits, to indicate the line of separation between Bedford and the manor, a solid stone wall, much of which still remains. This wall is to-day, says the writer from whom we have just quoted, "undoubtedly the most notable landmark in this part of the county," and "for nearly two miles extends right across the country, without regard to the lay of the ground, broken only by two highways, and until lately with not even a barway through it."

By the census of 1712 Bedford was given a population of 172. There are reasons, however, for supposing that this was an under-enumeration. It is noteworthy that no slaves were then owned in Bedford, "the people here being too poor at that early date to indulge in such luxuries."

Early in the eighteenth century Jacobus Van Cortlandt, son of Oloff Stevense Van Cortlandt, and younger brother of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, of Cortlandt Manor, became one of the principal landed proprietors of Bedford. This was the same Jacobus Van Cortlandt who married Eva, adopted daughter of the first Frederick Philipse, and founded the Van Cortlandt estate of the Little or Lower Yonkers, above Kingsbridge. He purchased lands of the Indians and settlers of Bedford as late as 1714, and his landed possessions in the town ultimately amounted to 5,115 acres, which he bequeathed to his son Frederick Van Cortlandt, of the Lower Yonkers, and his three daughters, Margaret, wife of Abraham de Peyster; Anne, wife of John Chambers, and Mary, wife of Peter Jay. The whole of the original estate was partitioned in 1743. Frederick Van Cortlandt receiving 1,424 acres, Abraham de Peyster 1,110 acres, John Chambers 1,282 acres, and Peter Jay 1,299 acres. Upon the death of Peter Jay (1782) his share was divided among his sons, Peter, Frederick, and John (the chief justice). John Jay subsequently became the sole proprietor of the Bedford estate, and after his retirement from public life made it his home, dying in the old Jay mansion in 1829. He was succeeded in the proprietorship by his son, the distinguished Judge William Jay, who in turn was succeeded by his son, the Hon. John Jay.

The great "West, Middle, and East Patents" of central West-

[1] "History of Bedford," by Joseph Barrett. Scharf, ii., 596.

chester, which we have already described, secured by Caleb Heathcote and others from Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan in 1701, were among the foundations upon which such portions of the county north of the White Plains and Harrison tracts as were not included in the Rye and Bedford Patents and the Philipseburgh and Cortlandt Manor grants were settled. The West Patent, known as "Wampus's Land Deed," or the "North Castle Indian Deed," based upon a purchase from the Indians made by Heathcote in 1696, but not patented until February 14, 1702, was bounded on the east by the Byram River and the Bedford line, on the north by the Croton River, and at the west took in all the wedge-shaped land between Philipseburgh and Cortlandt Manors, forming an acute angle on the Hudson at the Croton's mouth. Its northern boundary, however, was subsequently removed from the Croton to the southern line of Cortlandt Manor, in order to conform to the Cortlandt Manor grant. Out of the West Patent was erected much of the Town of North Castle. The patentees, ten in number, included men of prominence and influence in the province, whose "interest was not that of settlers seeking a home, but merely that of speculators." The lands began to be settled about 1718-20 by Quaker farmers from Long Island, who came by way of Harrison's purchase, and whose descendants to this day belong to the principal families of that section of our county, among them the Haights, Weekses, Carpenters, Suttons, Quimbys, Hunts, Birdsalls, Barneses, and Havilands. In August, 1712, the settlers petitioned Governor Burnett to incorporate their lands into a township, mentioning in that document that their number comprised thirty men able to bear arms. Letters patent were soon afterward issued for the Town of North Castle. In addition to the lands represented by the West Patent, North Castle originally embraced a portion of the Middle Patent and also a separate grant made in 1706 to Ann Bridges, Roger Mompesson, and seven others.[1] It even encroached on the bounds of the East Patent, covering a considerable part of the present Town of Poundridge. The number of settlers increased rapidly, and we are informed that at the time of its division by the setting off of New Castle "it was the second town in the county in assessed valuation, ranking next to Westchester in that respect, and the first in population."[2] Inasmuch as North Castle lay entirely in the interior, and quite remote from New York City, its exceptional prosperity is

[1] This grant lay between the West and Middle Patents. Ann Bridges was the wife of Chief Justice John Bridges. Roger Mompesson was chief justice of the province at the time. One of their associates in the patent was Thomas Wenham, a member of the governor's council.

[2] "History of New Castle," by Joseph Barrett, Scharf, ii., 615.

a striking proof of the fact that the wealth of our county had its origin exclusively in the agricultural interest.

The old Town of Salem, now constituting the Towns of North Salem and Lewisboro, also has an interesting early history, on account of the inclusion in it of all of the lands of the "Oblong," or "Equivalent Tract." It will be remembered that the Oblong was not laid off and monumented until 1731. In 1709 twenty-five citizens of Connecticut (mostly residents of Norwalk) obtained from the government of that colony the grant of what is known as the Ridgefield Patent, whose western boundary was the New York State line, at that time supposed to be twenty miles from the Hudson. After the measuring off of the Oblong, the Ridgefield patentees, discovering that a portion of their property lay in New York State, petitioned the New York authorities for a patent for fifty thousand acres within the Oblong bounds, which was duly granted, June 8, 1731. These patentees were headed by the Rev. Thomas Hawley, and are described in the document as "inhabitants of ye town of Ridgefield." These Oblong acres subsequently became the eastern portion of the original Town of Salem, whereof the western portion was taken from Cortlandt Manor.

The Town of Poundridge was settled by farming people from Connecticut, who began to take up lands within its borders in the latter part of the first half of the eighteenth century. The name comes "from the ancient 'Indian pound,' which formerly stood at the foot of a high ridge a little south of the present locality known as Poundridge, where the Indians set their traps for wild game." The first settler is supposed to have been Deacon John Fancher. He came in 1730. In 1741 Joseph Lockwood, James Brown, David Potts, Ebenezer Scofield, and others from Stamford, made a settlement on the site of the present village. The Lockwood family was long the most prominent one in the town. From an early period the settlers of Poundridge united the handicraft of shoemaking to their rural pursuits. They "went to the 'shoe-shops' in the adjoining towns, received their work cut out, and took it home, each one making the whole article, whether boot or shoe."[1] The decline in the population of the town since 1850 is largely due to the unprofitableness of this ancient industry, consequent upon the use of machinery for the manufacture of shoes.

[1] George Thatcher Smith, in Scharf, ii., 563.

CHAPTER XI

A GLANCE AT THE BOROUGH TOWN OF WESTCHESTER

HE earliest enumeration of the inhabitants of the Province of New York was made in 1698 "by the high sheriffs and justices of the peace in each respective county," at the direction of Governor Bellomont. It showed a total population of 18,067, including 2,170 negroes, of whom 1,063 (917 whites and 146 negroes) were in Westchester County. At that date Westchester was the fifth in rank among the ten counties embraced within the present limits of New York State, being exceeded by New York, Suffolk, Kings, Queens, and Albany. At the next census, taken in 1703, Westchester's population had increased to 1,946; in 1712, to 2,815; and in 1723, to 4,409. Thus in the first quarter of a century after the county as a whole had begun to display a general settled condition the number of its inhabitants had increased threefold. In 1731 its people were 6,033; in 1737, 6,745; in 1746, 9,235; in 1749, 10,703; in 1756, 13,257; and in 1771 (the last of the colonial censuses), 21,745.

The following details from the census of 1712 show the distribution of population throughout the various civil divisions then existing:

Westchester	572
Eastchester	300
Rye	516
New Rochelle	304
Yonkers	260
Philipseburgh	348
Mamaroneck	84
Morrisania	62
Pelham	62
Bedford	172
Cortlandt Manor	91
Ryke's Patent (Peekskill)	32
Scarsdale	12
	2,815

The portions of the county styled Yonkers and Philipseburgh at that period were, respectively, the lower and upper divisions of Phil-

ipseburgh Manor, the former being presided over by Frederick Philipse, 2d, and the latter by Adolph Philipse, his uncle. After the uncle's death, the whole manor was reunited under Frederick Philipse, 2d, and continued as a single political division until after the Revolution. To the above-named civil divisions of 1712, the only new ones added during the remaining sixty odd years of the colonial era were White Plains, North Castle, Salem, and Poundridge.

Under this census the ancient Town of Westchester led all the other localities of the county in population, with 572 inhabitants, having, indeed, a very decided preponderance over every community except Rye, which numbered 516 souls. But it must be borne in mind that in 1712 Rye as a political division included certainly the White Plains and Harrison tracts; and probably not a few settlers dispersed through the interior sections of the county not as yet comprehended in definitely named settlements were counted also in the Rye enumeration.

We have referred in various connections to the peculiar privilege bestowed upon the Town of Westchester by its erection in 1696 into a borough, a privilege enjoyed by only one other community of New York Province (Schenectady) from the beginning to the end of the colonial period. It was entirely fitting that Westchester should be singled out for this distinction. It was the seat of the earliest organized and successful English settlement in the province north of the Harlem River, dating back to 1654 (and probably earlier); it gave its name to the great County of Westchester, and it had always been a rural community of exceptional respectability and progressiveness. Detached from the jurisdiction of Manhattan Island by a broad river, it occupied an isolated position, and its local affairs were thus incapable of being connected with those of the island. Moreover, Westchester, with its attached locality of West Farms, was peculiarly justified in appealing for special privileges, in view of the exceptional functions that had been conferred upon the adjacent manorial lands of Morrisania, Fordham, Philipseburgh, and Pelham. These lands had been erected into "entire and enfranchised townships, manors, and places by themselves," for the gratification of wealthy individual proprietors. On the other hand, here was a thriving democratic town, whose settlement antedated that of any of the manorial estates, and which was more important than any of them in the matter of population and development. It was reasonable in such circumstances to demand for it some unusual political advantages.

Westchester received its first town patent from Governor Nicolls on the 15th of February, 1667. In that instrument "all ye rights and

privileges belonging to a town within this government" were bestowed upon the patentees. In 1686 it was deemed advisable by the inhabitants to procure a second patent, which was accordingly issued (January 6) by Governor Dongan. Under this second patent twelve men[1] were designated as the "Trustees of the Freeholders and Commonalty of the Town of Westchester," these trustees being constituted as "one body corporate and politick." In order to dispose forever of any possible hostile claims to lands within their town limits on the ground of irregularities or defects in the original purchases from the Indians, the trustees, on the 27th of May, 1692, obtained a final deed of sale from four Indians—Maminepoe, Wampage (alias Ann Hook), Chrohamanthense, and Mamertekoh—by which the latter, for the consideration of goods valued at £8 4s 6d, released unconditionally to the "county town of Westchester" whatever proprietary pretensions they had to its territory. Also steps were taken by the trustees to mark off the northern bounds of the town, where it adjoined "Mr. Pell's purchase." The records of the town were kept with regularity from 1657. As early as 1678 a bridge had been built joining Throgg's Neck to the mainland.[2] The political limits of the town were always understood and expressed as extending from the westernmost part of Bronxland to "Mr. Pell's purchase," and thus Cornell's Neck, West Farms, and Morrisania Manor belonged to the political territory of the town. Indeed, the proprietors of Cornell's Neck (the Willetts), as also the various families constituting the settlement of West Farms, were at all times thoroughly identified with the local concerns of Westchester town.

In 1670 the good people of Westchester were somewhat exercised by the appearance of a supposed witch amongst them. An order appears in the Assize Book, dated July 7, 1670, for the removal of one "Katherine Harrison late of Wethersfield in his Maties Colony of Connecticott widdow." In this order it is related that "contrary to ye consent & good liking of ye Towne she would settle amongst them & she being reputed to be a person lyeing und^{r} ye supposicion of Witchcraft hath given some cause of apprehension to ye Inhabitants there." Accordingly, the constable and overseers are directed to notify her to remove out of the precincts "in some short tyme," and also to admonish her to "returne to ye place of her former abode." Subsequently, however, Katherine Harrison was fully exonerated.

[1] William Richardson, John Hunt, Edward Waters, Robert Huestis, Richard Ponton, William Barnes, John Bughie, John Bailey, John Tudor, John Ferris, Joseph Palmer, and Thomas Baxter.

[2] In this connection the following entry from the town records, dated July 9, 1678, is of interest: "It is ordered that ye bridge betwixt Throgg's Necke and the Towne be maintained and upheld by a rate to be levied and assissed upon all persons and estates that are putt in the county rate belonging to the Township of Westchester, East Chester excepted."

A fact of curious interest, illustrating in a striking way the active enterprise which characterized the Town of Westchester and its associated districts from the beginning, has been brought to the attention of the present writer by the kindness of the Rev. Theodore A. Leggett, D.D., of Staten Island, a descendant of one of the West Farms patentees. We have seen that Elizabeth Richardson, daughter of Thomas Richardson, co-patentee with Edward Jessup of West Farms (1666), married Gabriel Leggett. Gabriel had a brother, John Leggett, who also was a landed proprietor in the section embraced in the political bounds of Westchester town. John Leggett was a shipbuilder, and under date of November 30, 1676, he executed a bill of sale reading as follows: "John Leggett of Westchester, within the Province of N. Y., shipright, to Jacob Leysler of N. Y. City, merchant, a good Puick, or ship, Susannah of New York, now laying in this harbour, *and by said Leggett built in Bronck's river near Westchester*, together with masts, Lay boat, and other materials." Thus the shipbuilding industry was introduced at the mouth of the Bronx as early as 1676 (probably earlier)—that is, seven years or more before the organization of the County of Westchester. This John Leggett, builder of the "Susannah," died in the West Indies in 1679. It is interesting to note that he named as his executor the first Frederick Philipse, with whom he seems to have sustained a business partnership of some kind, and to whom he bequeathed the sum of thirty pounds sterling.

Upon the organization of our county, in 1683, Westchester was appointed to be its shire-town, and in legislative acts passed shortly after the regular institution of parliamentary government in the province this community was the object of respectful attention. By an act passed May 11, 1693, "a public and open market" was appointed to be held every Wednesday at Westchester; and it was enacted that "there shall likewise be held and kept twice yearly and every year a fair, to which fair it shall and may be likewise lawful for all and every person to go and frequent, . . . the first to be kept at the Town of Westchester in the said county on the second Tuesday of May and to end on the Friday following, being in all four days, inclusive, and no longer; and the second fair to be kept at Rye in the said county on the second Tuesday in October yearly, and to end the Friday following," etc.

From the foregoing survey of the progress of Westchester town up to the time of its conversion into a borough, the reader will see that it had well earned the right to that honor. The royal charter constituting it a borough town is a very elaborate document, which if reproduced entire would occupy some fifteen of our pages. It

bears date the 16th of April, 1696, and is signed by Governor Benjamin Fletcher. After instancing the previous grants of patents to the town and describing it with extreme and redundant particularity (its bounds being specified as the westernmost part of "Brunks land" at the west and the westernmost line of "Mr. Pell's pattent" at the east), the charter provides that the former Town of Westchester shall in future be styled "the borrough and town of Westchester." The requirement is made that the local authorities shall pay annually to the governor of New York, on the 25th day of March, "the sum of thirty shillings current money of N. York" as quit-rent. It is directed that the freeholders shall elect annually twelve trustees, whose duties shall be confined to disposing of any undivided lands within the town. Next follows the provision that "in the s^d^ town corporate there shall be a body politick consisting of a mayor, six aldermen, and six assistants, or common council, . . . to be called and known by the name of the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the borough and town of W. Chester." Colonel Caleb Heathcote is appointed as the first mayor, with "William Barns, Jno. Stuert, William Willett, Thos. Baxter, Josiah Stuert, and Jno. Baily, gents.," as aldermen, and "Israel Honeywell, Robert Hustis, Sam'l Hustis, Sam'l Ferris, Daniel Turner, and Miles Oakley, gents.," as assistants. But these offices, after the expiration of the first year, are declared to be elective, and are to be filled annually by a majority vote of the freeholders on the first Monday of May. Provision is made for the continuance of the weekly market, and two yearly fairs (instead of one, as previously provided) are to be held at Westchester, the first in May and the second in October. Retail liquor sellers are to be licensed at the discretion of the mayor, the annual license fee exacted being such sum of money as the licensee "shall agree for, not exceeding the sum of 20s." Finally the "mayor, aldermen, and common council" are authorized "to return and send one discreet burgess of the s^d^ town and borough into every general assembly hereafter to be summoned or holden within this our province of N. York."

Caleb Heathcote, as mayor, organized the government of the borough town on the 6th of June, 1696. In October of that year he presented the corporation with an official seal. The first representative in the assembly was Josiah Hunt, who served from 1702 to 1710. The subsequent representatives were Lewis Morris, Sr. (1710-28), Gilbert Willett (1728-32), Lewis Morris, Jr. (1732-50), Peter de Lancey (1750-68), Lewis Morris, 3d (1769), John de Lancey (1769-72), and Isaac Wilkins (1772-75)—all men of distinction, force, and influential family connections. The official style of "the Borough and

Numb. 48.

THE New-York Gazette

From *September* 26. to Monday *October* 3. 1726.

A List of the Names of the present Representatives Elected and chosen by the several Cities and Counties in this Colony to serve in General Assembly.

For the City and County of New-York,
A*Dolph Philipse*, Esq; Speaker.
Stephen De Lancey, Esq;
Capt. *Gerrit Van Horne*,
Capt. *Anthony Rutgress*,
For the City and County of Albany,
Coll. *Myndert Schuyler*, *Ryer Gerritse*, Esq;
Capt. *Jacob Glen*,
Capt. *Jeremiah Ransläer*,
Mr. *Robert Livingston*, jun.
For the County of Ulster,
Coll. *Abraham Gaasbeck Chambers*,
Mr. *Albert Pawling*,
For Dutchess County,
Mr. *Henry Beekman*,
Mr. *Johannes van Kleck*
For the Burrough of *Westchester*,
Coll. *Lewis Morris*.
For the County of *Westchester*,
Coll. *William Willet*,
Major *Fredrick Philipse*.
For *Queens County*,
Coll. *Isaac Hicks*,
Capt. *Benjamin Hicks*.
For *Kings County*,
Coll. *Richard Stillwell*.
Capt. *Samuel Gerritse*;
For *Suffolk County*,
Capt. *Epenetus Plat*,
Mr. *Samuel Hutchinson*.
For *Richmond County*,
Mr. *Richard Merril*.
Mr. *John Le Count*.
For *Orange County*.
Capt. *Lancaster Syms*,
Capt. *Cornelius Haring*.

Which Representatives being convened in General Assembly, on the 27th of *September* his Excellency the Governour made the following Speech to them, *viz.*

Gentlemen;

THE Choice which the People of this Province have so lately made of you to Represent them, gives Me a fresh Opportunity of knowing their Sentiments and Inclinations; I have always endeavoured to promote their Interest to the utmost of my Ability, and it will add to my Pleasure to do it in the manner which they themselves desire.

When you enquire into the state of the present Revenue, I believe you will find it insufficient to answer the usual Expence for the Support of the Government. And considering the Flourishing and Encreasing Condition of the Colony, it would be to its Dishonour, as well as Disadvantage, to lessen the Encouragement that has been given to the necessary Officers of the Government. I depend on your Readiness to the best of Kings, who has shewn, during the whole course of His Reign, That *the constant Employment of His Thoughts, and the most earnest Wishes of His Heart, tend wholly to the Securing to His Subjects their just Rights and Advantages.* You need not fear that any of His Servants will dare to abuse the Confidence reposed in them, when they must expect, that their Neglect of Duty or Abuse of Trust, will draw upon them His just Displeasure.

You will find, that the Supply last provided for Finishing the new Apartments in the Fort, has been imployed with the utmost Frugality; and I hope, that by the same Management, the Repairs of the Roof of the Chappel and the Barracks, which are in a Condition entirely Ruinous, will require no very large Sum, tho' it is plain, that the Charge of doing it will encrease considerably, if it is delay'd any longer than the next Spring, which Obliges Me to Recommend it to your Care at present, that Provision may be made for so pressing and necessary a Work.

I must Remind you, that your Agent continues his Diligence in watching over the Interests of the Province, tho' he has remain'd a long time without any Allowance; so generous a Conduct, on his part, will not fail of engaging you to take care that his past Services may not go unrewarded, and that so useful a Person may be fixed in your Service, and a settled Provision made for his Encouragement.

I shall lay before you my late Conferences with the *Six Nations*, in which I flatter my self, that I have contributed not a little to fix them in their Duty to His Majesty, their Affection to this Government, and their just Apprehensions of the ill Designs of the People of *Canada*, in Fortifying so near to them at *Jagara*. I have sent a fit Person to reside among the *Senneka's* this Winter, who is not permitted to Trade, and will thereby have the more weight and credit with them.

FROM AN EARLY NEWSPAPER, SHOWING MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Town of Westchester" was not abolished until 1785, when, by a legislative act, it was changed to "the Township of Westchester."

Westchester borough was the birthplace in our county of the institution of the Established Church of England. On this point Mr. Fordham Morris, in his essay on "The Borough Town of Westchester," takes occasion to correct some mistaken popular impressions.

Some (he says) have likened this ancient town to those of New England and Long Island, while others, zealous members of the Episcopal Church, have tried to make themselves and others believe that the town was a reproduction of an English parish of the eighteenth century, such as we read of in the *Spectator* or the tales of Fielding and Smollett. They fancy the squire in his high-backed pew, the parson in his wig, gown, and surplice, telling the congregation its duty to their Maker, and also as to the tithes, the royal family, the House of Hanover, and the Protestant succession. Neither is a correct similitude. The officials, though elected, were subject to the governor's approval, and no rigid rule as to church membership prevailed as in the New England towns. The town, not the church wardens and vestry, attended to most of the temporalities, such as highways and bridges, and though the vestry levied the church rates, the town built and paid for the church, and in very late colonial times released its interest in the church property to the rector, church wardens, and vestry. Though the church was supported partially by a tax, the schoolmaster was supported by the borough, but until post-Revolutionary times the poor were a parish charge. Though an act for settling orthodox ministers in the province was passed shortly after the establishment of the English colonial system (for of course, the English was the orthodox church in colonial times), those sons of Cromwellian soldiers, Quaker refugees, and Independents did not at first take kindly to a State church, and good Parson Bartow . . . did not even wear a surplice. Many of the people were gradually won over to mother church, so far as a student can judge from reading the good minister's letters to the Society in England, more by his own loving kindness and self-respect rather than any inherent love those hard-working farmers had for the Church of England. Besides, the Quakers had established their meeting-house in the town almost as early as the Church of England edifice was erected, and its graveyard is still to be found, adjoining the Episcopal churchyard, though the meeting-house and those who were moved by the Spirit within it have long since departed.

In a previous chapter, in connection with our account of the foundation of the settlement of Westchester, we have reproduced from the journal of one of the Dutch commissioners who visited the place in 1656 a description of the forms of worship then in vogue there, from which it appears that there was no officiating clergyman, and that the exercises were conducted in homely fashion. Not until 1684 was any formal measure taken to procure a minister. It was then voted in town meeting (April 2) "that the Justices and Vestrymen of Westchester, Eastchester, and Yonckers do accept of Mr. Warham Mather as our minister for one whole year; and that he shall have sixty pound, in country produce at money price, for his salary, and that he shall be paid every quarter." Apparently the arrangement was not effected, or at least did not endure for long; for in 1692 the town voted that "there shall be an orthodox minister, as soon as possible may be," and requested Colonel Caleb Heathcote, "in his travels in New England," to procure one.

September 21, 1693, the provincial assembly of New York passed an ecclesiastical act, under which Westchester County was divided

into two parishes, Westchester and Rye, the former to include the Towns of Westchester, Eastchester, and Yonkers, and the Manor of Pelham, and the latter the Towns of Rye, Mamaroneck, and Bedford. Westchester was required to raise £50 yearly for the minister's support, and to elect on the second Tuesday of January ten vestrymen and two church wardens. In 1695 the Rev. Warham Mather was engaged as the Church of England clergyman at Westchester. He was succeeded in 1702 by the Rev. John Bartow, a missionary of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, newly arrived from England, who continued to officiate until his death, in 1726. He was a man of excellent learning and high character, and his letters (of which numerous ones are reproduced by Bolton) are of much interest to students of the early conditions in Westchester County. The orthodox church at Westchester was formally chartered under the name of Saint Peter's by Lieutenant-Governor Clarke in 1762.

Eastchester, incorporated in the parish of Westchester by the act of 1693, was made a separate parish in 1700. From early times Eastchester parish was known as Saint Paul's. To this day the Westchester and Eastchester Episcopalian churches preserve their original names of Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's, respectively. The present Saint Peter's Church edifice in Westchester village is entirely modern, but Saint Paul's in Eastchester dates from about 1764, and is one of the most interesting of the old-time structures in our county.

This is not the connection, however, in which to relate the church history of Westchester County, or even to note with particularity the local facts of church and religious concerns in the Town of Westchester and its associated localities, interesting though those facts are. We are occupied with the general story of Westchester County on broad lines. It has been fitting to intercept our general narrative for a glance at the borough Town of Westchester, whose creation constitutes one of the essential phases of the general history of the county. Having discharged this duty in as succinct a manner as possible, we now proceed with the broader narrative.

The local history of Westchester County from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the Revolution involves nothing remarkable, aside from the aspects of the peculiar character from the first assumed by the county which have been described in our account of the origin and erection of the great manorial estates. Following the lines of development naturally resulting from its selection as the seat of wealthy and influential landed proprietors, Westchester County very soon took a prominent position on this account, and, through the powerful and distinguished men whose homes and in-

terests were within its borders, exerted an influence of the first importance, both upon current public affairs and in the shaping of issues and conditions which were to lead to grand events. The history of Westchester County, as a county, during this period, is one of steady and reputable growth, but is not specially distinguishable from that of other rural New York counties. No large towns were built up, and aside from political contests nothing of exciting interest or unusual significance transpired to attract general attention to the county or to become memorable in a large way. The purely internal history of Westchester County for three-quarters of a century following the comparative completion of its settlement comprehends, indeed, nothing more than the ordinary chronicles of a few scattered communities and of a mixed land-owning and farming population, living together in circumstances of good understanding and of pleasing though quite uneventful prosperity and progress. It is in the general historical associations attaching to the careers of representative Westchester men that the broad interest of our county's story up to the events antecedent to the Revolution is found.

CHAPTER XII

THE ELECTION ON THE GREEN AT EASTCHESTER, 1733

HE estate of Morrisania, established by Colonel Lewis Morris, of the island of Barbadoes, upon the foundations of the old Dutch Bronxland grant—an estate consisting of nearly two thousand acres,—was inherited at the colonel's death, in 1691, by his nephew, Lewis, who at that time had just come of age. Young Lewis Morris as a boy was of a vivacious and somewhat wayward disposition, and, tiring of the humdrum life in the home of his uncle, a stern old Covenanter and rigid Quaker, ran away and roamed about in the world until his craving for a more animated existence had been pretty well gratified. He first went to Virginia, and then to Jamaica, trying to support himself as a copyist and in other ways, and finally returned, tractable enough, to his uncle's roof. The old gentleman not only granted him full pardon, but promptly took an interest in procuring a suitable wife for him, with the result that, in November, 1691, he received the hand of Isabella, daughter of James Graham, Esq., attorney-general and one of the principal men of the province. Being his uncle's sole heir, he inherited not only the Morrisania estate, but the large tract of land which Colonel Morris had bought in Monmouth County, N. J. Turning his attention to the interests of the latter property, he took up his residence on that portion of it call Tintern. Here, it is said, was established the first iron mill in this country. He at once took an active part in public affairs in New Jersey. In 1692 he was appointed a judge of the Court of Common Right in East Jersey, and he also became a member of the council of Governor Hamilton. He did not, however, neglect his property in New York. Following the example of other large land-owners, he had his Westchester County estate erected into the "Lordship or Manor of Morrisania." This was done by letters patent granted to him on the 8th of May, 1697, by Governor Fletcher, wherein authority was given him and his successors to hold a court leet and court baron, to exercise jurisdiction over all waifs, estrays, wrecks, deodands, goods, or felons happening and being within the

manor limits, and to enjoy the advowson and right of patronage over all churches in the manor. It was a considerable time, however, before the Manor of Morrisania became largely tenanted. At the census of 1712 its population was only sixty-two. This was probably due in part to the preference manifested by its young lord, during the first years of his proprietorship, for residence and political activity in New Jersey, and in part to his disinclination during that period to take any particularly vigorous measures toward tenanting its lands. It was not until 1710 that Lewis Morris was first elected to represent Westchester Borough in the general assembly of New York.

A man of ardent temperament, fine talents, high ambitions, and abundant wealth, and one of the new-fledged manorial "lords" of the province, it would not have been surprising if Morris had from the beginning of his career associated himself with the ultra-aristocratic party and had uniformly confined his sympathies and activities to the aristocratic sphere. There were few encouragements in those times for the development of independent and lofty civic character. All high positions were appointive, depending upon the favor of the royal governor, who was as likely as not to be a man utterly corrupt, mercenary, and unscrupulous. But from an early period of his public life, Morris displayed a bold and aggressive spirit, and an especial contempt for consequences when, in his judgment, opposition to the acts of the governors became a matter of duty. The son of a captain in Cromwell's army, and reared from infancy by an uncle who had fought with distinction on the same side and who was characterized by particularly inflexible personal conscientiousness, his birth and training gave him, moreover, instincts of vigorous hostility to arrogant and selfish despotism. It can not be doubted that this latter element of his character was the chief contributing influence which led him, at the zenith of his career, to sacrifice his elevated position and stake his entire reputation in the cause of righteous resistance to official tyranny, an act which, as we shall presently see, was the occasion of the first grand assertion of the principle of American liberty.

After the appointment of Jeremiah Basse as governor of New Jersey, in 1698, Morris was one of the principal leaders of the party which refused to acknowledge his authority. He was in consequence expelled from the council and fined £50 for contempt. In 1700, when Hamilton was again made governor of New Jersey, Morris was appointed president of the council. In this position he strongly advocated the surrender of the proprietary government of New Jersey to the crown, persuaded the New Jersey proprietors to lend their cooperation to the project, and went to England to urge the reform

upon the queen. His proposals were received with favor, and he was nominated for the governorship of New Jersey under the new arrangement; but as it was finally decided to appoint a single governor for the two provinces of New York and New Jersey, Lord Cornbury, a cousin of Queen Anne, being chosen for that post, Morris's appointment was not confirmed. He was, however, placed in the council. This was in 1703. As one of Cornbury's councilors he made an honorable record of uncompromising antagonism to that most corrupt, tyrannical, and villainous of New York's colonial governors. Smith, the Tory historian of New York—certainly not a prejudiced authority in this particular connection,—says of Lord Cornbury: "We never had a governor so universally detested, nor any who so richly deserved the public abhorrence. In spite of his noble descent, his behavior was trifling, mean, and extravagant. It was not uncommon for him to dress in a woman's habit, and then to patrol the fort in which he lived. Such freaks of low humor exposed him to the universal contempt of the whole people. Their indignation was kindled by his despotic rule, savage bigotry, insatiable avarice, and injustice, not only to the public, but even to his private creditors." In brief, he plundered the public treasury, converted subscription funds to his personal uses, and borrowed sums right and left, which he coolly repudiated. After his removal from the office of governor he was arrested and imprisoned for debt in New York; but by the death of his father, the Earl of Clarendon, he became a member of the House of Lords, a dignity which carried with it exemption from being held for debt, whereof he took advantage to decamp without settling with his creditors. Morris, as a member of the council, became at once a thorn in Cornbury's side. The governor removed him in 1704. By order of Queen Anne he was reinstated the next year, only to be again and permanently dismissed by Cornbury. He then, as a member of the New Jersey legislature, put himself, with Gordon and Jennings, at the head of the party that sought to drive Cornbury from office. To this end resolutions were passed detailing the evils and infamies of his administra-

CORNBURY IN WOMAN'S DRESS.

tion, which were sent to England and resulted in Cornbury's recall (1708). During the brief rule of Lord Lovelace, Morris again sat in the council; but under Lovelace's successor, Ingoldsby, he was once more suspended because of personal unacceptability to the executive.

Finally, in 1710, a governor was sent over with whom Morris was able to establish the most satisfactory relations, both official and personal—the noted General Robert Hunter. His arrival is memorable in New York provincial annals because of the great Palatinate immigration of which it marked the beginning. Some three thousand Palatinates—refugees from the Palatine or Pfalz provinces of Germany, whom continual wars and religious persecutions had driven from their homes—sailed with Governor Hunter from Plymouth, England. The vessels bearing them were separated by terrible storms at sea, and hundreds of the immigrants died before port was reached. These Palatine immigrants and their countrymen who followed them were distributed mainly among the central and upper Hudson River counties—Orange, Ulster, and Dutchess—and throughout the Mohawk Valley. But very many of them naturally remained in New York City, and from there gradually made their way into the surrounding country. Individual Palatine families sought homes from time to time in Westchester County, but our county was not one of the chosen places of colonization for these people, and no Palatinate settlements were established here.

Hunter was an entirely different manner of man from the governors who preceded him. He boasted no dazzling ancestry. As a lad he was apprenticed to an apothecary, but left that employment to enter the army, as a private, without either money or influence. Possessing marked natural abilities, he soon attracted the attention of his superiors, and was steadily promoted until he attained the rank of brigadier-general. He associated and corresponded on terms of intimacy with the celebrated literary characters of that sparkling age, and, although not himself a man of great pretensions, had very excellent parts, especially "a pleasant wit, and was never more happy in his sallies, as he wrote to his friend Dean Swift, than when he was most annoyed." In Lewis Morris he found a congenial soul. The two collaborated in the composition of a farce entitled "Androborus," which hit off the peculiarities of some of their opponents in a lively fashion. Morris was promptly installed by Hunter as president of the council. It was in 1710, the year of Hunter's assumption of the governorship, that he entered the New York assembly as a delegate from the borough Town of Westchester, and in that body he at once became a zealous supporter of the governor. In this championship he strongly opposed the popular party, which resisted

I A B do sincerely promise and swear that I will
Second ———— So help

I A B do swear that I do from my heart abhor detest and abjure a
excommunicated or deprived by the pope or any authority of the See of
And I do declare that no foreign prince person prelate State or potent
Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm ————

I A B do truly and sincerely Acknowledge profess testify and declar
Second is lawful and rightfull King of this realm and all other his Majesty
believe in my Conscience that the person pretended to be prince of Wales
upon himself the Stile and title of King of England by the Name of James the
Great Britain hath not any right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of this Rea
any Allegiance or Obedience to him And I do swear that I will bear faith a
utmost of my power against all Traiterous Conspiracies and Attempts
do my utmost Endeavours to disclose and make known to his Majesty and
against him or any of them And I do faithfully promise to the utmost of
the said James and all other persons whatsoever Which succession by
securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject] is and stands limite
Heirs of her Body being protestants. And all these things I do plainly
spoken and according to the plain and Common sence and unders
Reservation whatsoever And I do make this Recognition Acknow
truly upon the true faith of a Christian ————

Cadwallader Colden Samuel Jones Jn.
John Cruger Jo. Rippund Dan
Geo. Munson

THE

and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King George the

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and heretical that damnable doctrine and position that princes
be deposed or murthered by their Subjects or any other whatsoever
ought to have any Jurisdiction power Superiority preeminence or
— So help me God ——————————

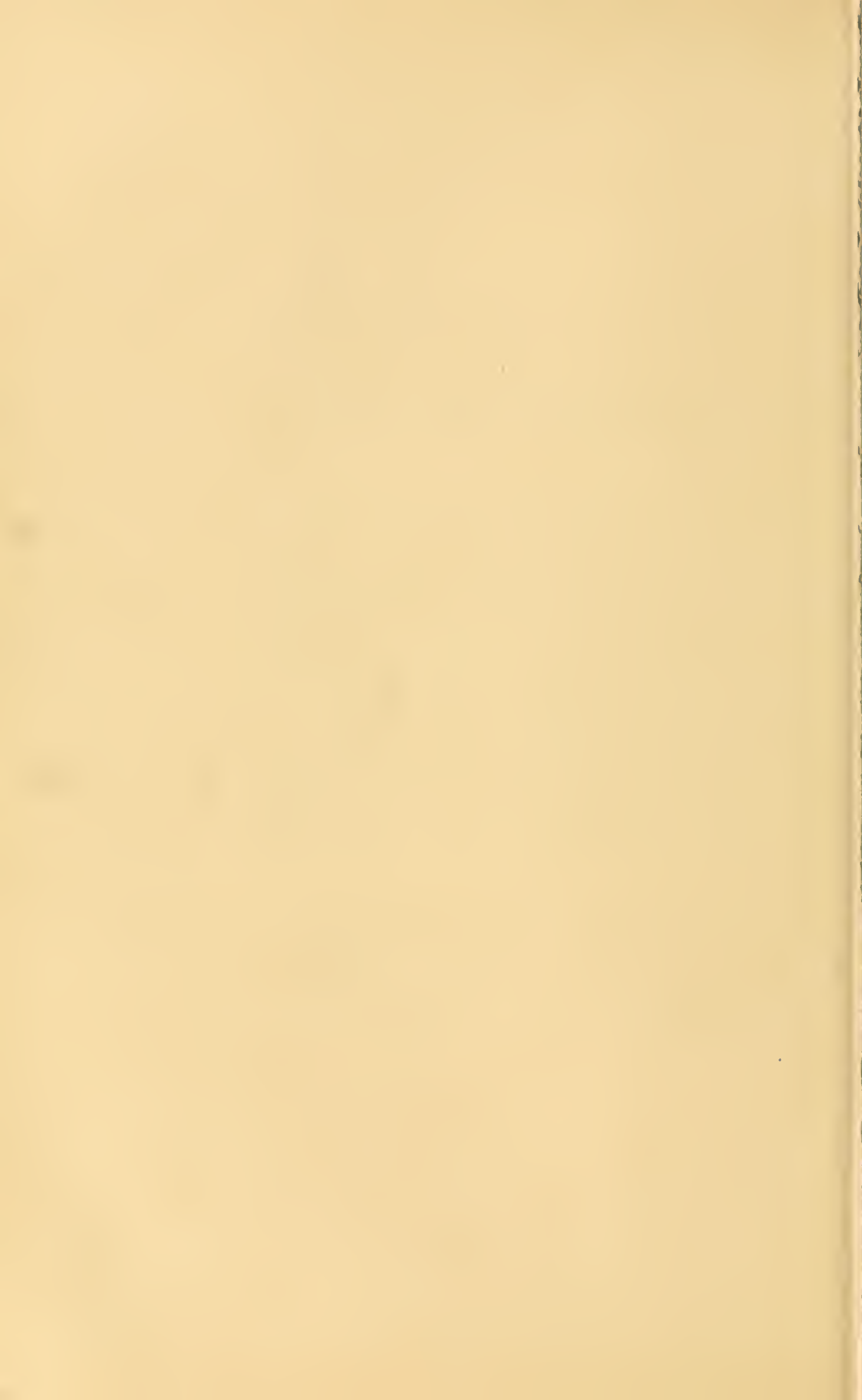
nscience before God and the world that our Sovereign Lord King George the
thereunto belonging And I do solemnly and sincerely declare that I do
e of the late King James and since his decease pretending to be and taking
Scotland by the name of James the Eighth or the Stile and Title of King of
her the Dominions thereto belonging And I do renounce refuse and abjure
nce to his Majesty King George the Second and him will defend to the
which shall be made against his person Crown and dignity And I will
all Treasons and Traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know to be
to support maintain and defend the Succession of the Crown against him
tituled [An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown and better
ncess Sophia Electoress and Dutchess Dowager of Hanover and the
rely acknowledge and swear according to these express words by me
the same words without any Equivocation Mental Evasion or Secret
Abjuration Renunciation and promise heartily willingly and
— So help me God ——————————

Robt. R. Livingston — Oliver De Lancey

Lewis Morris — Geo: Clinton

W. Johnson

r.



the governor's desire for the granting of supplies in bulk and for a number of years at once, and "insisted upon granting supplies of money only from year to year, and with applications specified, thus fixing the salaries for governor and other officials only per annum and by name, so that obnoxious persons were in danger of being left unpaid." The issue was a radical one, and gave rise to strong feeling on both sides. It is a curious fact that Lewis Morris, whose chief claim to remembrance is his identification with the great popular agitation of a later period, whereof, indeed, he was one of the heroes, was, in this early controversy between the "Court party" and the people, the mainstay of the former. Moreover, the warmth of his advocacy of the governor's cause was such that, on account of violent language in the course of debate, he was expelled from the assembly. He was thereupon re-elected to his seat by his Westchester constituents.

Morris was appointed to the office of chief justice of New York by Governor Hunter on the 13th of March, 1715. He still continued to sit for Westchester Borough in the assembly, and did not retire from that body until 1728. His Westchester County colleagues in the assembly during his eighteen years of service for the borough from 1710 to 1728 were Joseph Budd, Joseph Drake, John Hoite, Josiah Hunt, Jonathan Odell, Edmund Ward, William Willet, Frederick Philipse, 2d, and Adolph Philipse. As chief justice he served uninterruptedly until August 21, 1733, when, on account of his attitude in the Van Dam case, he was removed by Governor Cosby, and James de Lancey, the son-in-law of Caleb Heathcote, of Scarsdale Manor, was named in his stead.

The affairs of the Province of New York moved along smoothly enough, excepting for the differences between the assembly and the executive, from the time of Hunter's appointment as governor, in 1710, until the arrival of Cosby, in August, 1732. Hunter was succeeded by William Burnet, also a highly polished and amiable man, with whom Morris sustained relations quite as friendly and agreeable as with Hunter. Burnet was followed by Colonel John Montgomerie, remembered as the grantor of the Montgomerie Charter of New York City, who died suddenly on the 1st of July, 1731, a victim, as is supposed, of a smallpox epidemic then raging.

At the head of Montgomerie's council, occupying that position by virtue of his long service as a councilor, covering a period of twenty-nine years, was an old and very respected New York merchant, Rip Van Dam. He was, as his name indicates, a thorough Dutchman, and was a typical representative of the thrifty and solid Dutch trading-class, who, notwithstanding the English conquest and the

changes brought about by it, had never ceased to enjoy the highest standing in the community and to share in the government of the city and province. A native American (having been born in Albany), he was an entirely self-made man, modest, honest, and public spirited. It also stood to his credit that he was the father of a family of fifteen children.[1] Pending the selection of a new governor by the appointive power in England, Van Dam, in his capacity of president of the council, became vested with the authority of acting chief magistrate. None of the complicated circumstances attending the like elevation of the unfortunate Leisler forty years before existed at this time. The regularity of his official succession was beyond question, no factional controversy of any sort resulted from it, and, indeed, the whole public viewed with satisfaction the temporary exercise of power by a native citizen of so much respectability.

RIP VAN DAM.

The citizen-governor continued to administer affairs for thirteen months, duly turning over the office to his chosen successor, William Cosby, in the month of August, 1732. This Cosby was another Cornbury—narrow, vain, avaricious, unprincipled, contemptible, and tyrannical. He had previously been governor of the Island of Minorca, using the opportunities of that position to promote his private financial interests. After his appointment as governor of New York, while still in England, he had been paid fees and perquisites amounting to several thousand pounds as his due, although he had not yet begun to perform the functions of the place. From Van Dam's accounts he found, to his great disgust, that the *pro tempore* governor had drawn and pocketed the entire salary belonging to the position during the thirteen months of his occupancy of it. Such ridiculous conduct on the part of a mere acting governor, who was only a plain, merchandizing citizen and Dutchman, could not be submitted to by the sensitive Cosby. He demanded that Rip Van Dam should deliver over to him one-half of the salary thus taken. Van Dam shrewdly responded that he would cheerfully do so if Cosby would, on his part, relinquish half the fees that had been paid him

[1] One of his sons, Rip Van Dam, Jr., married Judith Bayard, a granddaughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt. This couple had a daughter, Margaret Van Dam, who married William Cockroft, of New York City, whose brother James was the ancestor of the present Cockroft family of Sing Sing.

for the same period. Cosby scornfully refused to listen to so impudent a proposal, and Van Dam stubbornly declined to accept any less equitable terms. This unseemly dispute over a paltry matter of salary led to official proceedings of the most peculiar and arbitrary nature, which aroused the people to strong resentment, and out of which was developed a question of popular right as fundamental and weighty as any that ever came up for decision in colonial times.

Governor Cosby, still determined to wring the money from the obstinate Van Dam, was now compelled to resort to the forms of law to compass that end. Not content to leave the case to the decision of the ordinary courts of the province, he proceeded to erect a Court of Chancery for its trial. Equity courts, of which the governor was *ex officio* chancellor, had always been extremely distasteful to the people, and being constituted by the exclusive act of the executive, without the consent of the legislature, were, according to the best legal opinion, tribunals of at least doubtful authority. The assumption of the powers of chancellor by former governors had given rise to intense popular discontent, and the more intelligent predecessors of Cosby had shrunk from attempting to exercise them, except quite sparingly. But Cosby recognized no such scruples of prudence. He designated three of the Supreme Court judges—Chief Justice Morris, Frederick Philipse, and James de Lancey—as equity judges to act in the Van Dam prosecution, stopping short only of the extreme measure of personally sitting at the head of the court as chancellor. Van Dam's counsel, William Smith "the elder," and James Alexander, when the cause came up, boldly denied the legality of the court, maintaining that the governor and council were utterly without power to organize such a body. To the great astonishment of Judges Philipse and de Lancey, Chief Justice Morris at once held with Smith and Alexander, and, on the ground that the Equity Court was a tribunal of irregular creation, delivered a decision in favor of Van Dam. This, of course, brought matters to a crisis. Cosby, incensed at the act of the chief justice, wrote to him in decidedly discourteous terms, requesting a copy of his opinion. Morris, in transmitting the document to him, accompanied it with a communication couched in strong but dignified language. "This, sir," he wrote, "is a copy of the paper I read in court. I have no reason to expect that it or anything that I can say will be at all grateful or have any weight with your Excellency, after the answer I received to a message I did myself the honor to send you, concerning an ordinance you were about to make for establishing a Court of Equity in the Supreme Court as being in my opinion contrary to law, which I begged might be delayed till I could be heard on that head. I thought myself

well in the duty of my office in sending this message, and hope I do not flatter myself in thinking I shall be justified in it by your superiors, as well as mine. The answer your Excellency was pleased to send me was, that I need not give myself any trouble about that affair, that you would neither receive a visit nor any message from me, that you would neither rely upon my integrity nor depend on my judgment, that you thought me a person not at all fit to be trusted with any concerns relating to the king, that ever since your coming to the government I had treated you both as to your person and as the king's representative with slight, rudeness, and impertinence; that you did not desire to hear or see anything further of me." Defending himself against the various charges and intimations made by the governor, he reminds his excellency that "if judges can be so intimidated as not to dare to give any opinion but what is pleasing to a governor and agreeable to his private views," the people of the province must suffer in fortune or even life. In relation to the accusation of inattention or want of politeness, and other personal matters, he adds these pointed words: "If a bow awkwardly made, or anything of that kind, or some defect in ceremonial in addressing you, has occasioned that remark, I beg it may be attributed to want of courtly education, or to anything else rather than to want of respect to his Majesty's representative. As to my integrity, I have given you no occasion to call it in question. I have been in office almost twenty years. My hands were never soiled with a bribe, nor am I conscious to myself that power or poverty hath been able to induce me to be partial in favor of either of them; and as I have no reason to expect any favor from you, so I am neither afraid nor ashamed to stand the test of the strictest inquiry you can make concerning my conduct. I have served the public faithfully and honestly, according to the best of my knowledge, and I dare and do appeal to it for my justification." Cosby, without ceremony, now deprived Morris of his office by handing to

the young James de Lancey a notice of his appointment as chief justice.

Morris was removed from the chief justiceship on the 21st of August, 1733. Five years previously he had terminated his long service in the New York assembly. Thus, after more than forty years of connection with public affairs, interrupted only by brief suspensions from office during his early career, he was now retired to private life. From the beginning of Cosby's arbitrary proceedings in the Van Dam matter, the indignation of the people had been powerfully stirred. Always opposed to the institution of the Court of Chancery, the extemporization of that tribunal by Cosby for the special purpose of procuring a judgment in his own favor was an outrage deeply offensive to their sense of decency and right; and the rude expulsion of Chief Justice Morris from the bench, because of his unwillingness to be a party to such a flagrant transaction, was, in their eyes, a deliberate and insolent attempt at despotic power. Morris was universally regarded as a victim of official tyranny, and the people were not slow to find in his personality a rallying point for the effective expression of their feeling. He was urged to stand as a candidate for the assembly at the coming election, a demand to which he willingly acceded, offering himself for the suffrages of the electors of Westchester County, William Willet, one of the members for the county, having retired in his favor. The other representative of the county at that time was Frederick Philipse. Lewis Morris, Jr., son of the chief justice, had been elected the preceding year to sit for the Borough of Westchester.

The resulting election, held on the 29th of October, on "the Green" at the Town of Eastchester, was probably the most notable one in the whole colonial history of Westchester County. The elaborate and graphic description of it, published in the first number of the famous New York *Weekly Journal*, November 5, 1733, is undoubtedly familiar to many of our readers, having been frequently reproduced. This description gives, however, so interesting a picture of the political customs of the times, and, in its entirety, is so pertinent to our narrative, that we copy it here without abridgment:

October 29, 1733.

On this day, Lewis Morris, Esq., late Chief Justice of this Province, was by a majority of voices elected a Representative from the County of Westchester. It was an Election of great Expectation; the Court and the County's interest was exerted (as is said) to the utmost. I shall give my readers a particular account of it. Nicholas Cooper, Esq., High Sheriff of the said County, having by papers affixed to the Church of Eastchester and other public places, given notice of the Day and Place of Election, without mentioning any time of Day when it was to be done, which made the Electors on the side of the late Judge very suspicious that some Fraud was intended—to prevent which about fifty of them kept watch upon and about the Green at Eastchester (the Place of Election) from 12 o'clock the night before till the Morning of the Day. The other Electors, beginning to move on Sunday

afternoon and evening, so as to be at New Rochelle by Midnight, their way lay through Harrison's Purchase, the Inhabitants of which provided for their Entertainment as they passed each house in their way, having a table plentifully covered for that Purpose. About midnight they all met at the house of William Le Court at New Rochelle, whose house not being large enough to entertain so great a number, a large fire was made in the street by which they sat till daylight, at which time they began to move. They were joined on the hill at the East end of the Town by about seventy horse of the Electors of the lower part of the County; and then proceeded toward the place of Election in the following order, viz: First rode two trumpeters and three violins; next, four of the principal Freeholders, one of which carried a banner, on one side of which was affixed in gold capitals "King George" and on the other in golden capitals "Liberty and Law"; next followed the Candidate, Lewis Morris, Esq., then two Colours; and at sun rising they entered upon the Green at Eastchester, followed by above three hundred horse of the principle Freeholders of the County, a greater number than had ever appeared for one man since the settlement of that County.

After having rode three times round the Green, they went to the houses of Joseph Fowler and Mr. Child, who were well prepared for their reception; the late Chief Justice was met on his alighting by several Gentlemen who came there to give their votes for him. About 11 o'clock appeared the Candidate of the other side, William Forster, Esq., the schoolmaster, appointed by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, and lately made, by commission from his Excellency the present Governor, Clerk of the Peace and Common Pleas in that County; which commission it is said he purchased for the valuable consideration of one hundred pistoles given the Governor. Next came two ensigns borne by two of the Freeholders; then followed the Honourable James De Lancey, Esq., Chief Justice of the Province of New York, and the Honourable Frederick Phillipse, Esq., Second Judge of the said Province and Baron of the Exchequer, attended by about a hundred and seventy horse of the Freeholders and friends of the said Forster and the two Judges; they entered the Green on the East side; and riding twice round it, their word was "No Land Tax."

As they passed, the second Judge civilly saluted the late Chief Justice by taking off his hat, which the late Judge returned in the same manner, some of the late Judge's party crying out "No Excise," and one of them was heard to say (though not by the Judge), "No Pretender," upon which Forster, the Candidate, replied, "I will take notice of you." They after that retired to the house of Mr. Baker, which was prepared to receive and entertain them. About an hour after, the High Sheriff came to town, finely mounted; the housings and holster caps being scarlet, richly laced with silver. Upon his approach, the Electors on both sides went into the Green, where they were to elect, and, after having read his Majesty's writ, bid the Electors proceed to a choice, which they did, and a great majority appeared for Mr. Morris, the late Judge; upon which a poll was demanded, but by whom is not known to the relator, though it was said by many to be done by the Sheriff himself.

Morris, the Candidate, several times asked the sheriff upon whose side the majority appeared, but could get no other reply but that a poll must be had; and, accordingly, after about two hours' delay in getting benches, chairs and tables, they began to poll. Soon after, one of those called Quakers, a man of known worth and estate, came to give his vote for the late Judge. Upon this, Forster and the two Fowlers, Moses and William, chosen by him to be inspectors, questioned his having an estate, and required of the Sheriff to tender him the book to swear in due form of law, which he refused to do, but offered to take his solemn affirmation, which both by the laws of England and of this Province was indulged to the people called Quakers, and had always been practiced from the first election of representatives in this Province to this time, and never refused, but the Sheriff was deaf to all that could be alleged on that side; and, notwithstanding that he was told by the late Chief Justice and James Alexander, Esq., one of his Majesty's Council and Councillor at Law, and by William Smith, Esq., Councillor at Law, that such a procedure was contrary to law, and a violent attempt of the liberties of the people, he still persisted in refusing the said Quaker to vote, and in like manner did refuse seven-and-thirty Quakers more—men of known and visible estates.

This Cooper, now High Sheriff of the said County, is said not only to be a stranger in that County, but not having a foot of land or other visible estate in it, unless very lately granted, and it is believed he had not wherewithal to purchase any. The polling had not long been continued before Mr. Edward Stephens, a man of a very considerable estate in the

said County, did openly, in the hearing of all the Freeholders there assembled, charge William Forster, Esq., the Candidate on the other side, with being a Jacobite, and in the interest of the Pretender, and that he should say to Mr. William Willet (a person of good estate and known integrity, who was at that time present and ready to make oath to the truth of what was said) that true it was that he had not taken the oaths to his Majesty King George, and enjoyed a place in the Government under him which gave him his bread; yet notwithstanding that, should King James come into England he should think himself obliged to go there and fight for him. This was loudly and strongly urged to Forster's face, who denied it to be true; and no more was said of it at that time.

About 11 o'clock that night the poll was closed, and it stood thus:

For the Late Chief Justice	231
The Quakers	38
	269
For William Forster, Esq.	151
The Difference	118
Total	269

So that the late Chief Justice carried it by a great majority without the Quakers. Upon closing the poll the other candidate, Forster, and the Sheriff, wished the late Chief Justice much joy. Forster said he hoped the late Judge would not think the worse of him for setting up against him, to which the Judge replied he believed he was put upon it against his inclinations, but that he was highly blamable, and who did or should know better for putting the Sheriff, who was a stranger and ignorant upon such matters, upon making so violent an attempt upon the liberty of the people, which would expose him to ruin if he were worth £10,000, if the people aggrieved should commence suit against him. The people made a loud huzza, which the late Chief Judge blamed very much, as what he thought not right. Forster replied he took no notice of what the common people did, since Mr. Morris did not put them upon the doing of it. The indentures being sealed, the whole body of Electors waited on their new Representative to his lodgings with trumpets sounding and violins playing, and in a little time took their leave of him, and thus ended the Election to the general satisfaction.

The rallying cries of the two parties, "No Land Tax" and "No Excise," related to a current political issue of some importance. Philipse had opposed the levying of quit-rents on his manor, which his partisans termed a "land tax," and instead of it had advocated the raising of revenue by excise duties. This issue, however, was only an incidental one in the great contest of 1733. Quit-rents had always been exceedingly objectionable to the rural population, and excise duties were almost equally unpopular. As the Philipse and de Lancey party chose to take their stand against the so-called land tax, the Morrisites met them by raising the counter issue of no excise. But in reality it was a contest on the sole question of the governor's outrageous abuse of authority, and as such it became a perfect test of the disposition and readiness of the people to shake off the fetters of an odious government and to array themselves for free institutions. There was no mistaking the true nature of the emergency, and the minds of the people were not to be confused by the pretense that it was an ordinary struggle over the opposing doctrines

of "land tax" and "excise." All the government influence was arrayed against Morris, and with a formality and determination most conspicuous. The Morris party, on the other hand, stood just as unmistakably and resolutely for the principle of popular defiance of oppressive government. The electors of the county were conscious that the verdict which they were called upon to render would have the greatest moral weight, and would be taken as a crucial test of the state of public opinion. In these circumstances, emphatic as was the majority for Morris, the character and composition of his following were even more significant than the mere proportions of his vote. We are told that his supporters from the lower part of the county "numbered only about seventy horse." The remainder came from far and wide, contributed by every portion of the county except the borough Town of Westchester, which was a constituency by itself, and the Manor of Philipseburgh, which, under the influence of its proprietor, was a unit for his antagonist. From Pelham and New Rochelle to the remotest parts of the Manor of Cortlandt the word had gone forth to gather on the Green at Eastchester early on the morning of Monday, the 29th of October. Even the Quakers, the strictest of Sabbath observers, joined in the throng which began to move thither on Sunday morning and afternoon. It was a spontaneous assembling of the people to register their votes in a great cause. On the other hand, the government candidate commanded practically no support, except that which was directly subordinate to the will of the powerful landlord Philipse and the influence of Chief Justice de Lancey. This support was in the aggregate of no mean proportions, but when measured against the sentiment of the untrameled people of the county it was utterly overborne.

The cry of the Morris party, "No Pretender!" and the altercation about the supposed Jacobite principles of Forster afford added illustration of the fundamental character of the contest. At that period the exiled Stuarts were still scheming to make their way back to the throne of England. In the minds of the plain people, particularly in the American colonies, the associations of the degraded dynasty were entirely those of oppressive rule, licentiousness, corruption, and religious intolerance. No severer political reproach could attach to an American subject (especially if he sought elective office) than the suspicion of being a Jacobite or supporter of the Stuart Pretender. Hence the alacrity with which that reproach was flung at the government candidate by the democratic Morrisites. With such an accumulation of aristocratic sins upon him, it was truly an inconvenient position in which Forster stood when he faced the Westchester yeomanry.

The newspaper report of the election reproduced above was written by a printer from New York, one John Peter Zenger, who had gone to Eastchester to witness the struggle, and doubtless intended his account of it for the columns of the New York *Weekly Gazette*, at that time the only newspaper in the province. The first number of the *Gazette* appeared on October 16, 1725, under the direction of William Bradford, who was originally a printer in Philadelphia, but since 1693 had been government printer in New York on a salary of £40 per annum over and above what he might earn at his craft. The *Gazette*, naturally a government organ, had, throughout the Van Dam controversy, been scrupulously careful to print nothing objectionable to the governor and his partisans; and Zenger's strongly pro-Morris report of the Westchester County election was therefore quite unadapted for insertion in it. It is said that Zenger, before returning to New York, showed his manuscript to a leading Friend, who, referring to the Quaker vote, said: "Send me eight-and-thirty copies." At all events, he at once took steps to begin the publication of a rival newspaper; and a week later the first issue of the New York *Weekly Journal* came from the press. The election report accompanied the edition proper as a broadside, or supplement; and, in addition, appeared the following notable piece of news:

OLD DUTCH CHURCH, NASSAU STREET.

On Wednesday, the 31st of October, the late Chief Justice, but now Representative, landed in this city about five o'clock at the Ferry stairs. On his landing he was saluted by a General Fire of the guns from the merchant vessels lying in the Roads, and was received by great numbers of the most considerable Merchants and Inhabitants of the city, and by them with loud acclamations of the people as he walked in the streets, conducted to the Black Horse Tavern [northwest corner of Smith Street, now William, and Garden Street, now Exchange Place], where a handsome entertainment was prepared for him at the charge of the gentlemen who received him, and in the middle of one side of the room was fixed a tablet with golden Capitals, "King George, Liberty and Law."

Indeed, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed among all classes of the people except those immediately identified with the governor's cause, and the news was hailed with rejoicing in distant parts of the country. The bells of the Middle Dutch Church, on Nassau Street, of which Rip Van Dam was a member, rang out a jubilant peal, and the bellringer, to commemorate the event, carved deep in the wooden wall of the cupola the inscription "L. M. Oct. 31, A.D. 1733," which could still be deciphered at the time when that ancient edifice was dismantled, some twenty years ago.

Zenger's attendance as a self-constituted reporter at the election at Eastchester, and his resulting establishment of the New York *Weekly Journal*, led to a train of remarkable consequences. Like Leisler, Zenger was a German by birth—a typical representative of the early class of alien immigrants who came to America to better their condition, and readily adapted themselves to the institutions which they found here. He came over as a lad in the Palatinate immigration of 1710, served as an apprentice at the printing trade with William Bradford for eight years, and later opened a printing office of his own, which was located on Stone Street, near the corner of Whitehall. Zealously devoted to the principles of the anti-Cosby party, he embarked boldly in his opposition newspaper publishing venture without weighing and doubtless without caring for the considerations of caution which naturally should have suggested themselves to a person assuming such a responsibility in those times of very limited license for the press. He was immediately supported and encouraged by the foremost leaders of the popular party—men like Van Dam, Morris, and the two most eminent New York lawyers of the period, James Alexander and William Smith, both of whom had been present in Morris's behalf at the Westchester County election. These and others furnished him, for his paper, numerous able and aggressive articles upon topics germane to the absorbing question of popular rights, which were printed over *noms de plume*. The tone of the *Weekly Journal* gradually became more direct, personalities were indulged in, and unsparing poetical effusions, of very manifestly personal application to the governor and his creatures, were provided from time to time for a smiling public. Governor Cosby endured these wicked polemics and exacerbating satires, though not without much misery of soul, for the space of about a year. Then, unable longer to restrain his rage, he resolved to crush the atrocious sheet forever and to visit condign punishment upon its owner.

In this undertaking the governor had the cordial assistance of Chief Justice de Lancey, who applied to the grand jury to find an indictment against Zenger. But that body, made up from the ranks of the people, ignored the demand. Next, Cosby caused his council to send to the general assembly a message on the subject of the scurrilous publications. The assembly, no more complaisant than the grand jury, calmly laid the matter on the table. Finally, in consequence of some new and particularly flagitious publications, de Lancey procured from the grand jury a presentment against the special numbers of the paper containing them, which were accordingly burned by the hangman. But what was most desired, the indictment of Zenger, was still refused. He was nevertheless arrested on an in-

formation for libel, and, after languishing in prison several months, was brought to trial on a charge of printing matter that was "false, scandalous, and seditious." His counsel, Alexander and Smith, courageously took the ground that the whole proceedings before de Lancey were illegal, inasmuch as the new chief justice had been appointed by the mere executive act of the governor, without the consent of the council. De Lancey met this contention by summarily disbarring the two lawyers. With their exit from the scene the entire defense seemed doomed to fall to the ground, as there was no other sufficiently able lawyer in New York to take it up. In this emergency Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, an advocate of consummate intellectual qualities and fascinating eloquence, and the Nestor of the whole colonial bar, was persuaded to come to New York and assume the defense of the unfortunate printer. Hamilton admitted the publication of the matters complained of, but demanded that witnesses be summoned to prove them libelous. This was not to the taste of the chief justice, and was denied on the principle that "the greater the truth, the greater the libel." Thereupon, accepting with good grace the ruling of the court, Hamilton proceeded to address a powerful plea to the jury as judges both of the law and the facts.

ANDREW HAMILTON.

He urged them, as patriots and freemen, to dismiss all prejudice from their minds and determine from the facts whether the accused had not really published the truth, or what represented legitimate public opinion, which he had the right to do and which there was need of doing under a free government. "I make no doubt," said he, in prophetic words, "but your upright conduct this day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempts of tyranny, and, by an impartial and incorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors that

to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the liberty of both exposing and opposing arbitrary power in these parts of the world, at least by speaking and writing truth." To this unanswerable argument the jury responded by an almost immediate verdict of acquittal. Hamilton was hailed by the people with acclaims even more enthusiastic and flattering than those which had greeted Morris. He was presented by the common council with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and upon his departure for Philadelphia a salute was fired in his honor. It was in the month of August, 1735, that this crowning victory of the people over their tyrannous governor was won—just two years after the humiliation of Chief Justice Morris.

The Zenger verdict established forever the principle of the liberty of the press in America. During the long controversy and agitation which preceded it, the people had familiarized themselves with the doctrine of resistance to tyrants. "If all governors are to be reverenced," said one of the writers in Zenger's *Journal*, "why not the Turk and old Muley, or Nero?" It became decidedly the fashion to exalt the people above their rulers, and to make pungent retorts to those who urged the old ideas of obedience to authority. In the spirit of political independence nurtured and matured during that period, reflective historical writers have recognized one of the earliest foundations of the American Revolution. That spirit, as an active force, underwent a suspension after the realization of its immediate object, only to be revived, however, with increased energy, when the issues antecedent to the Revolution began to take shape. From that October day, when the people of Westchester County gathered in front of the old Eastchester church to rebuke the presumption of the royal governor, the ultimate attitude of New York concerning any question of popular right never could have been in doubt. The sentiment so emphatically expressed by Westchester County was most heartily sustained by the people of New York City whenever the citizens of that municipality had opportunity to make their attitude felt. The public bodies of the city were uniformly opposed to Cosby's attempts. In September, 1734, when the agitation arising out of the Van Dam matter, Morris's dismissal, and the course of the *Weekly Journal* was at its height, an election for aldermen and assistants was held, at which only one of the government candidates was successful. As we have seen, the grand jury from first to last refused to indict Zenger; and the common council was equally refractory when demands were made upon it by the governor, and at the happy termination of the Zenger prosecution celebrated the grand popular victory by awarding the highest public honors to

THE
New-York Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestick.

MUNDAY November 12, 1733.

Mr. *Zenger.*

INcert the following in your next, and you'll oblige your Friend,

CATO.

Mira temporum felicitas ubi sentiri quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere licit.

Tacit.

THE Liberty of the Press is a Subject of the greatest Importance, and in which every Individual is as much concern'd as he is in any other Part of Liberty: Therefore it will not be improper to communicate to the Publick the Sentiments of a late excellent Writer upon this Point. such is the Elegance and Perspicuity of his Writings, such the inimitable Force of his Reasoning, that it will be difficult to say any Thing new that he has not said, or not to say that much worse which he has said.

There are two Sorts of Monarchies, an absolute and a limited one. In the first, the Liberty of the Press can never be maintained, it is inconsistent with it; for what absolute Monarch would suffer any Subject to animadvert on his Actions, when it is in his Power to declare the Crime, and to nominate the Punishment? This would make it very dangerous to exercise such a Liberty Besides the Object against which those Pens must be directed, is their Sovereign, the sole supream Majistrate; for there being no Law in those Monarchies, but the Will of the Prince, it makes it necessary for his Ministers to consult his Pleasure, before any Thing can be undertaken: He is therefore properly chargeable with the Grievances of his Subjects, and what the Minister there acts being in Obedience to the Prince, he ought not to incur the Hatred of the People; for it would be hard to impute that to him for a Crime, which is the Fruit of his Allegiance, and for refusing which he might incur the Penalties of Treason. Besides, in an absolute Monarchy, the Will of the Prince being the Law, a Liberty of the Press to complain of Grievances would be complaining against the Law, and the Constitution, to which they have submitted, or have been obliged to submit; and therefore in one Sense, may be said to deserve Punishment, So that under an absolute Monarchy, I say, such a Liberty is inconsistent with the Constitution, having no proper Subject in Politics, on which it might be exercis'd, and if exercis'd would incur a certain Penalty

But in a limited Monarchy, as *England* is, our Laws are known, fixed and established. They are the streight Rule and sure Guide to direct the King, the Ministers, and other his Subjects: And therefore an Offence against the Laws is such an Offence against the Constitution as ought to receive a proper adequate Punishment; the severe

Consti-

PAGE FROM ZENGER'S JOURNAL.

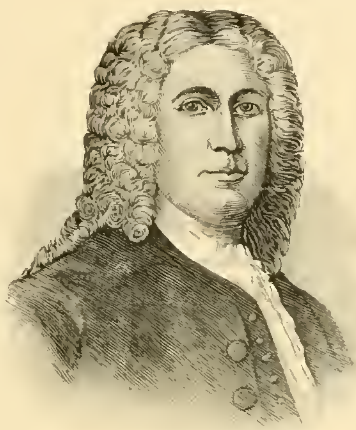
Zenger's lawyer. No other attitude was to have been expected, however, of New York City, with its largely preponderant element of tradespeople and other plain citizens, who were substantially united in opposition to offensive manifestations of power. But in Westchester County, dominated to so great an extent by conservative landlords, the case was widely different. In this county the real battle was fought and won, determining unmistakably the existence of a decisive majority against royal oppression among the people of the province at large. Nothing is more interesting in connection with the Westchester electoral contest of 1733 than the fact that the lines of local division upon which it was fought were precisely the ones that divided the rival Whig and Loyalist factions of the county when they came to make their trial of strength forty years later on the issue of co-operation or non-co-operation with the general cause of the American colonies. At the historic meeting of the freeholders of Westchester County held at White Plains on the 11th of April, 1775, the contending parties were again led by the heads of the Morris and Philipse families—Lewis Morris, 3d, grandson of the chief justice, and Frederick Philipse, 3d, son of the Judge Philipse of Cosby's Court of Chancery. And the result was the same as on the first occasion—a complete triumph for the Morris party, representing, as before, the principle of non-obedience to objectionable government.

Lewis Morris, the deposed chief justice, upon re-entering the assembly became at once the leader of the popular forces in that body. It being decided to send a representative to England to inform the home government of Cosby's bad acts, and if possible get him recalled, Morris was selected to go on that errand. He made the journey in 1734, duly laid the grievances of the colonists before the privy council, and procured a decision pronouncing the grounds of his own removal from the chief justiceship inadequate, but received no further satisfaction. Soon afterward, in 1736, Cosby died. Morris, upon his return to America, was very warmly greeted by the people. Notwithstanding his prominent connection with the events whose history we have traced, and in spite of the comparative failure of his mission to England, he retained the friendship and appreciation of influential men at the British court, and was, in 1738, appointed colonial governor of New Jersey, a position which he continued to hold until his death, May 21, 1746. He left his Morrisania property jointly to his son Lewis and his widow, directing that the whole should go to the former upon the latter's death. His New Jersey property he bequeathed to another son, Robert Hunter Morris, who held, at the time of the father's death, the distinguished office of

chief justice of that province. Lewis Morris, Sr., represented the County of Westchester in the provincial assembly until his appointment as governor of New Jersey, when he resigned, retiring permanently from public life in New York.

Chief Justice Morris gave his Manor of Morrisania to his eldest son, Lewis, third of the name, who was known by his contemporaries, and is referred to in all historical works, as Lewis Morris, Jr. He was the father of Colonel Lewis Morris, the signer of the Declaration of Independence; of the still more noted statesman, Gouverneur Morris; of Judge Richard Morris, successor to John Jay as chief justice of the Supreme Court of New York State; and of General Staats Long Morris, of the British army.

Lewis Morris, Jr., third proprietor and second lord of the Morris estates in Westchester County, was born September 23, 1698. Most of his political career was contemporaneous with that of his father, which it closely resembled in its general characteristics. He was a deputy for Westchester Borough in the general assembly from 1732 to 1750, serving as speaker in 1737. Previously to entering the assembly he had been a member of the governor's council for some years, but had been removed from that body in 1730 because of his determined opposition to the policies of Governor Montgomerie. He was, indeed, quite as heartily disliked by Montgomerie as his father was by Cosby, and apparently for quite similar reasons. In justification of his course in the council he wrote a very able letter to the English government, which is a luminous presentation of the partisan differences of the time. When the great popular issue arose in 1733 on the Van Dam salary question he was a zealous supporter of his father's cause. Cosby, in his denunciatory communications to the Lords of Trade respecting the attitude of Chief Justice Morris, speaks with savage resentment of the son also, who, he says, having "got himself elected an assemblyman for a borough, gave all the opposition he could to the measures the house took to make the government easy." With this wanton behavior of the junior Morris, Cosby continues, the father was well pleased, "wherein without



PETER FANEUIL.

doubt he had an eye on the Boston assembly,[1] whose spirit begins to diffuse itself too much amongst the other provinces." During the absence of the deposed chief justice in England (1734-36) the son took his place here in public leadership. After Cosby's death, early in 1736, an animated controversy sprang up concerning the legality of the accession of Clarke, at that time president of the council, to the position of lieutenant-governor, the popular faction declaring his assumption of power to be irregular. This was the occasion of numerous official letters of complaint by the unhappy lieutenant-governor. He related how Morris and his son, Van Dam, Smith, and Alexander had by their long-continued acts "wrought the people to a pitch of rebellion." "These are the men," he said, "who declaim against the king's prerogative, who poison the minds of the people, who libel the governor and all in authority in weekly printed papers, and who have endeavored to distress the governor in his just administration." He went so far as to recommend, as a drastic remedy, that the younger Morris and others be sent to England for sedition, a thing which he regretted he could not venture to do without orders, because "forbidden by His Majesty's instructions to send any prisoners to England without sufficient proof of their crimes to be transmitted with them." They were a worrisome set, these Morrises, to royal governors having a fancy for arbitrary power and a strong distaste for popular interference with their executive ease.

The younger Morris was also a judge of the Court of Admiralty, and at one time a judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. He was twice married, his first wife being Catherine Staats, and his second Sarah Gouverneur. Like his father, he possessed a positive temperament, an unbending will, and a rather domineering manner. His uncompromising disposition in all matters of opinion and feeling is well illustrated by the celebrated direction given in his will regarding the education of his son Gouverneur. "It is my wish," he says, "that my son Gouverneur shall have the best education that can be furnished him in England or America, but my express will and directions are that under no circumstances shall he be sent to the Colony of Connecticut for that purpose, lest in his youth he should imbibe that low craft and cunning so incident to the people of that country, and which are so interwoven in their constitution that they can not conceal it from the world, though many of them, under the sanctified garb of religion, have attempted to impose themselves upon the world as honest men."

[1] It was during the period of the events recorded in this chapter that Faneuil Hall, identified so conspicuously with the subsequent agitation for American liberty, was built in Boston. Peter Faneuil, for whom it was named, was a native of our Town of New Rochelle, whence he went to Boston in the year 1720, at the age of eighteen. His uncle Andrew was a wealthy merchant of that city, and Peter obtained employment with him and inherited his fortune. In 1740 the people of Boston were divided in opinion upon the question of the erection of a new Central Market Hall, and much bitter feeling was aroused. Thereupon, Peter Faneuil, actuated by public spirit, erected Faneuil Hall, and presented it to the city.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ARISTOCRATIC FAMILIES AND THEIR INFLUENCES

HE great Manor of Philipseburgh at the death of its founder, the first Frederick Philipse, November 6, 1702, was divided between two heirs, his son, Adolphus or Adolph, and his grandson, Frederick. Adolph took the northern portion, extending on the south to the present Dobbs Ferry and bounded on the west by the Hudson River, on the north by a line running from the mouth of the Croton to the sources of the Bronx, and on the east by the Bronx River. Frederick's share, also reaching from the Hudson to the Bronx, had for its southern limits Spuyten Duyvil Creek and the line of Fordham Manor. In this divided condition the manor remained until the death of Adolph in 1749, when, as no issue survived him, it was consolidated under the sole ownership of Frederick. By him the whole manor was transmitted at his death in 1751 to his eldest son, the third Frederick, who continued in possession of it until the Revolution.

When the first Frederick Philipse died, the manor had been in existence only nine years. But he had previously devoted many years to the purchase of the estate and its gradual preparation for aristocratic pretensions, had built two mansions, one on the Nepperhan and one on the Pocantico, had established well-equipped mills, and had encouraged the coming of tenants by giving them land on the most liberal terms. After the erection of the manor he was active in various ways in improving the property and promoting its availability for permanent settlement. He built across the Spuyten Duyvil Creek, in 1694, the first bridge connecting the mainland with Manhattan Island, which has been known from that day to this as the King's Bridge. Having established his permanent country residence at Castle Philipse, on the present site of Tarrytown, he built near there the first church in the western section of the county—the far-famed Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow.[1] In a communication from

[1] See p. 163. While the present History has been going through the press, there has been published a little book entitled, "First Record Book of the Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow, Organized in 1697, and now the First Reformed Church of Tarrytown, N. Y. An original translation of its brief historical matter, and a reproduction, faithful to the letter of every personal and local name, of its four great registers of members, consistorymen, baptisms, and marriages, from its organization to the end of the eighteenth century. Translated and copied from the original, and carefully proof-read, by Rev. David Cole, D.D., Yonkers, N. Y."

Governor Bellomont to the Lords of Trade, written in 1698, it is stated that at that time there were not more than twenty "poor families" in the whole Manor of Philipseburgh; but there are strong reasons for regarding this as an utterly unreliable estimate. Bellomont was a governor of reform tendencies, and was particularly unsparing in his denunciations of the enormous land grants of his predecessors. He naturally wished to make these grants appear in as bad a light as possible, and so, in writing upon the subject to his superiors, represented that practically nothing had been done by the grantees toward populating their lands. It is unquestionable that the first lord of the manor laid substantial foundations for its development and transmitted it to his successors in a condition of reasonably good preparedness for rapid progress. At the census of 1712, only ten years after his death, the population of Philipseburgh Manor was 608—more than one-fifth of the whole population of the county.

GOVERNOR BELLOMONT.

All of the first Frederick's children were the offspring of his first wife, Margaret Hardenbrook De Vries. His second wife, Catherina, a sister of Stephanus Van Cortlandt and widow of John Dervall, survived him many years, dying in 1730. She lived with her stepson, Adolph, at Castle Philipse, and was universally beloved for her gentle and pious character. In the records of the Sleepy Hollow church she is spoken of as "the Right Honorable, Godfearing, very wise and prudent Lady Catherine Philipse." By her will she left to the congregation of that church a chalice bearing her name, a baptismal bowl, and a damask cloth.

Both Adolph and Frederick, the surviving male heirs of the first lord, were men of mark and influence, not only as Westchester County landlords, but in the general concerns of the province. Adolph was his second son and Frederick his grandson—the only child of his eldest son, Philip, who died on the Island of Barbadoes in 1700.

Adolph Philipse was born in New York City, November 15, 1665. He was reared to mercantile pursuits, and according to all accounts was, like his father, a shrewd and successful man of affairs. From old official documents it appears that he was his father's trusted and active lieutenant in the conduct of delicate transactions with the piratical skippers of the Indian Ocean. Notorious as were the rela-

tions which Philipse and others sustained with the pirates, it was of course not safe for the pirate ships to attempt to deliver their cargoes at New York, or even to rendezvous within too close proximity to that port. It was the custom to dispatch from New York vessels to meet them at more or less distant points along the coast, which vessels, after receiving their valuable merchandise, would either return to the vicinity of New York and await opportunity to smuggle the stuff in, or sail to Europe and dispose of it there. Adolph was the discreet representative of the house of Philipse in the management of these important details. In a memorable report of the British Board of Trade, October 19, 1698, on the connections subsisting between the New York merchants and the pirates, the operations of the clever Adolph in one instance are explicitly described. A ship or sloop called the "Frederick," belonging to Frederick Philipse, at that time "one of his Majesty's Council of New York," was, "upon expectation of a vessel from Madagascar," sent out under the conduct of Adolph Philipse. This was "upon pretence of a voyage to Virginia, but really to cruize at sea, in order to meet the said vessel from Madagascar. Upon meeting of that vessel great parcells of East India goods were by direction of the said Adolphus Philipse taken out of her, and put aboard the said sloop 'Frederick,' with which, by his order, she sayled to Delaware Bay and lay there privately. He in ye meanwhile returned in the Madagascar ship (having then only negroes on board) to New York, and after some days came again to the 'Frederick' sloop in Delaware Bay. There the said sloop delivered some small part of East India cargo, and from thence, by his direction, sayled with the rest (North about Scotland) to Hamburgh, where some seizure having been made by Sir Paul Ricaut (His Majesty's Resident there), and the men sent hither (London), they have each of them severally made depositions relating to that matter before Sir Charles Hedges, Judge of the Admirality. We observe that Cornelius Jacobs (the master) appears to be the same Capn. Jacobs who is named to have traded with the Pirates." Relations with the pirates on the part of Frederick and Adolph Philipse being thus established to the satisfaction of the authorities in England, both father and son fell under the disfavor of the government. Frederick Philipse was forced to give up the seat in the council which he had held for a score of years; and Adolph, who had been nominated for membership in that body a short time previously by Governor Bellomont, was pronounced unworthy of such an honor, and his name was withdrawn. But the disgrace was only a passing cloud. No judicial proceedings were taken against either of the Philipses. The

father died soon after, and the son was graciously forgiven in due time.

Adolph Philipse in the year before this episode of the "Frederick" had become on his own account one of the principal land owners of the province. On the 17th of June, 1697, Governor Fletcher granted to him a patent (known historically as "The Great Highland Patent") for the territory immediately above Westchester County, running from the Hudson to the Connecticut line, a distance of some twenty miles, and extending northward about twelve miles. Out of the patent thus conferred Putnam County (then a portion of Dutchess County) has since been erected. The sole consideration charged for the grant was a "Yearly Rent of twenty Shillings Currant money of our said Province," payable upon the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Adolph Philipse, at his death, left the Highland Patent, with all his other landed possessions, to his nephew, the second Frederick, who divided it equally among his three children—Frederick (3d), Mary, wife of Roger Morris, a colonel in the British army, and Susannah, wife of Colonel Beverly Robinson, also a noted Tory. The whole patent was partitioned off into three parts and nine lots, each child receiving one-third part and three lots. The lots acquired by Colonel Robinson and Major Morris, says Blake in his "History of Putnam County," were confiscated by the legislature, but the reversionary interest was not affected by this action, and that interest was purchased of the heirs for $100,000 by the first John Jacob Astor, who ten years afterward received for it from the State of New York $500,000 in State stock at six per cent.

GOVERNOR BURNET.

After the death of his father, Adolph became the head of the family, a position which he divided with his nephew, Frederick, when the latter came of age. On the 7th of February, 1705, he was appointed a member of the governor's council, and in 1718 he was made one of the commissioners for running the boundary line between New York and Connecticut. He was removed from the council in 1721, on the representation of Governor Burnet, for opposing the continuance of the assembly after His Excellency's arrival. In 1722 he was elected a member of the assembly from Westchester County, of which body he was chosen speaker in 1725. He sat for West-

chester County until the election of 1726, being then returned as one of the four members from New York City. He occupied the speaker's chair until 1737, when he lost his seat; but at an election held soon afterward to fill a vacancy from the city he was once more returned, although, it was charged, only by means of the "most barefaced villany" practiced in his behalf by the sheriff. He was again chosen speaker in 1739, and remained as such until 1745, when, at the age of eighty, his legislative career was terminated. He died in 1749. He was never married.

It is thus seen that Adolph Philipse was one of the most important public characters of his times, being speaker of the assembly for eighteen years. His retirement as a member for Westchester County was in the interest of his nephew, Frederick, who promptly took the seat that he vacated, retaining it without any interruption for twenty-four years.

In the memories of the people of Westchester County the name of Philipse is, from the political point of view, identified exclusively with the idea of ultra devotion to royal authority in the person of the king's constituted representative. It is hence an extremely curious fact that, six years before the removal of Lewis Morris from the chief justiceship, Adolph Philipse, the senior member of this family, gave his voice and exercised his official power in exactly the same cause as that to which Morris became a martyr—the cause of opposition to the Court of Chancery as an extra-constitutional organization, none the less (indeed, all the more) illegal and odious because finding its sole warrant for existence in the governor's prerogative. In 1727 we find Governor Burnet bitterly complaining to the Lords of Trade about some "extraordinary resolves" concerning the Court of Chancery, "which," he says, "was all done at the suggestion of their speaker, who had lately lost a cause in chancery." Philipse, he continues, had "the least reason of any man to disown the Court of Chancery, for he himself was a member of council when that court was established by the council and when the Lords of Trade approved that establishment, and he himself three years ago being cast in a suit at common law brought it into chancery and obtained some relief from it." Burnet intimates that the conduct of Speaker Philipse in this matter was not occasioned by any high sense of principle, but was merely personal; and certainly Philipse had no cause in this connection, or regarding any other question of policy, to make himself specially complaisant toward Governor Burnet, who had procured his dismissal from the council. On the other hand, antagonism to the Court of Chancery was emphatically a popular cause, only less so in degree (because of the less emergent circumstances)

in Burnet's time than in Cosby's; and whatever personal motives may have influenced Philipse's course, that course could not be separated from association with the popular feeling. Adolph Philipse, moreover, was never an intense partisan; and his long-continued service as speaker of the assembly is sufficient testimony to the general fairness and acceptability of his political disposition. He always adhered to the simple religious faith in which he had been brought up, that of the Dutch Reformed Church, although the Church of England increasingly claimed the attachment of the rich, powerful, and ambitious; and it occasioned grievous regret to the Episcopalians that a man of his prominence should be so conspicu-

SAINT JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH, YONKERS.

ously unidentified with "the" Church. His public character has been summed up in words of unqualified approval by the eminent patriot and statesman, John Jay. "He was," says Jay, "a man of superior talents, well educated, sedate, highly respected, and popular. Except that he was penurious, I have heard nothing to his disadvantage."

Frederick Philipse, 2d, co-heir with his uncle Adolph under the will of the first lord of the manor, was born on the Island of Barbadoes in 1695. His parents were Philip, eldest son of Frederick and Margaret Philipse, and Maria, daughter of Governor Sparks, of Barbadoes. Philip Philipse, born in New York City in 1663, went to

Barbadoes to reside on an estate of his father's called Spring Head. Frederick was the only child, and was left an orphan at the age of five. His grandfather, who was still living, thereupon sold the Barbadoes property, and the boy was sent to England to be reared by his mother's people. There he remained until his early manhood, enjoying every educational and social advantage which wealth and distinguished connections could give. Although from these associations he derived marked aristocratic predilections, which, in turn, were inbred in his children, and became the cause of their undoing in the evil days of the Revolution, his character, as thus formed, was that of an accomplished and amiable gentleman, quite free from corrupt and arrogant traits. By his tenants and the public he was always known as "Lord" Philipse, and his personality well corresponded to his title. "He was," says Mrs. Lamb, "polished in his manners, hospitable, generous, cordial, manly. His cultivated European tastes were soon distinguishable in his improvements. The manor house swelled into thrice its former size, and was beautiful in innumerable ways. The two entrances on the new eastern front were ornamented with eight columns and corresponding pilasters. A broad, velvety lawn appeared skirted by garden terraces, horse chestnuts, and the old Albany and New York Post Road, above which rose Locust Hill. To the right and left were laid out gardens and grounds, in which flourished valuable trees and choice shrubs and flowers, and through which, in all directions, stretched graveled walks, bordered with box. To the west the greensward sloped gradually toward the river, dotted with fine specimens of ornamental trees, and was emparked and stocked with deer. The roof of the manor house was surmounted by a heavy line of balustrade, forming a terrace, which commanded an extensive view. The interior of the new part was elaborately finished. The walls were wainscoted, and the ceilings highly ornamented in arabesque work. The marble mantels were imported from England, and were curious specimens of ancient art in the way of carving. The main halls of the entrance were about fourteen feet wide, and the superb staircases, with their mahogany handrails and balusters, were proportionately broad. The city establishment of the family was, in its interior arrangements, quite as pretentious as the manor house, and it was where the courtly aristocracy of the province were wont to meet in gay and joyous throng." "It was he," says Allison in his "History of Yonkers," "who enlarged the Manor House on the Nepperhan in 1745, by extending it to the north, changing its front to the east, and giving it its imposing array of windows, its too por-

ticoes as now seen, and its surrounding balustrade, from which views of the river and the Palisades are commanded."

About the time of his return to America to claim his inheritance, young Frederick was married to Joanna, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Anthony Brockholst, who also had been tenderly reared in England. During the first few years of his residence on his estate he took no part in public life. But from the time of his first election to the assembly, in 1726, until his death, in 1751, he was constantly in official position. His career in the assembly was not specially noteworthy. Despite the rivalry of the Morrises, who stood for political views radically opposed to his own, his seat in the assembly seems never to have been imperiled. It was an understood thing in Westchester County for more than half a century that one of the county members should always be a Philipse. He was appointed by Governor Montgomerie on June 24, 1731, third judge of the Supreme Court of the province, and on August 21, 1733, by the removal of Morris from the chief justiceship and the elevation of de Lancey to that office, he became second judge, continuing as such until his death. He was also, from 1735 until his death, judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Westchester County.

In opposing Chief Justice Morris and siding with de Lancey upon the question of the legality of the Court of Chancery appointed to try the Van Dam case, Frederick Philipse followed the natural bent of his sympathies. It is related in Governor Cosby's official letter to the home government concerning Morris's famous decision that Justice Philipse, in common with Justice de Lancey, heard "with astonishment" the abrupt declaration by the chief justice that the Court of Chancery was not a legal tribunal; and this no doubt was a quite faithful representation of his mental attitude on that trying occasion. Whatever may be thought of the conduct of the ambitious de Lancey, Philipse's action was unmistakably ingenuous. It probably never occurred to him to doubt the perfect regularity and sufficiency of a court which had been set over the people at the discretion of the king's governor and his advisers. Philipse's career on the bench, excepting in this single case, was uneventful and wholly acceptable. After the Van Dam decision the Supreme Court was dominated by the individuality of de Lancey, as it had previously been by that of Morris, and the function of a second judge was not an onerous one. Judge Philipse is described in an official communication from the council to the English government as "a very worthy gentleman of plentiful fortune and good education."

On his manor—or rather his section of the manor, for it was only during the last two years of his life, after the death of his uncle

Adolph, that he enjoyed possession of the whole property—he ruled with much appreciation of his proprietary dignity and corresponding observance of ceremony, but to the uniform satisfaction of his tenants. He displayed none of the puffed-up characteristics of the parvenue lord, but was kind, approachable, moderate, and good to the poor. He presided in person over the manorial court. The inhabitants of the estate, except his immediate household, continued to be tenant farmers. He is said to have had fifty family servants, of whom thirty were whites and twenty were negro slaves. He was a devoted member of the Church of England, and was the founder of Saint John's Episcopal Church of Yonkers. But it was not until after his death that that church had its beginning; during his life he was content at such times of the year as he resided in the Manor House to worship at the family altar, his tenants being under the missionary care of the Parish of Westchester. The first Church of England minister established at Westchester whose duties included visitations of the Yonkers portion of Philipseburgh Manor was the Rev. Mr. Bartow. He died in 1726. "As often as he could," says a contemporaneous church writer, "he visited Yonkers. A large congregation, chiefly of Dutch people, came to hear him. There was no church built here, so they assembled for divine worship at the house of Mr. Joseph Bebits, and sometimes in a barn when empty." That this unsatisfactory condition of things was permitted by the second lord to continue throughout his lifetime, although meanwhile he made the most elaborate expenditures upon his manorial mansion and grounds, must be set down positively to his discredit. When, finally, by his will he directed his executors to expend £400 for the erection of a church, he took care to specify that the money should come out of the rentals from the tenants. He donated, however, a farm, with residence and outbuildings, lying east of the Sawmill River, as a glebe for the minister. The church was promptly built (1752-53) by his heir.

He died in 1751. He had ten children, of whom only four—Frederick, Philip, Susanna, and Mary—grew to maturity. Frederick was the third and last lord of the manor; Philip died in 1768, leaving three children; and Susanna and Mary, as already noted, married, respectively, Colonel Beverly Robinson and Major Roger Morris. This Mary was the celebrated Mary Philipse for whom George Washington, according to some of his biographers, formed in his youth a romantic attachment.

The Manor of Scarsdale, patented to Colonel Caleb Heathcote in 1701, had only a nominal continuance after his death (1721). He left no male heir to take a personal interest in the development of the

property as one of the great family estates of Westchester County, and thus Scarsdale never ranked with the other manors. It was preserved intact, however, under the joint proprietorship of Heathcote's two daughters, until just before the Revolution, when its lands were disposed of to various persons by partition sale. Its progress in population, although very slow at first, was ultimately about the same as that of the ordinary rural sections of the county. The village of Mamaroneck, lying within its borders, but not belonging to the manorial estate, enjoyed steady but slow growth as one of the old communities on the Sound.

Heathcote's daughters, Ann and Martha, married, respectively, James de Lancey, of New York City, and Dr. Lewis Johnston, of Perth Amboy, N. J. Of these two men, the latter requires no special notice in our pages; but de Lancey has more than ordinary claims upon our attention. This remarkable man, besides being the son-in-law of Heathcote, was a grandson of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, the founder of Van Cortlandt Manor, and therefore may be regarded as one of Westchester's sons. As the husband of Ann Heathcote he became a large Westchester County land owner. The de Lancey family of the county, descended in part from him and in part from his brother Peter, is one to which uncommon historical interest attaches.

DE LANCEY ARMS.

His father, Stephen de Lancey, a descendant in the Huguenot branch of an ancient and noble French house, fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and in 1686 arrived in New York with a capital of £300. Embarking in mercantile pursuits, he soon amassed wealth and gained a very influential position, not only in the commercial community of New York, but in the government. He was a member of the general assembly for many years, was a vestryman of Trinity Church in New York, and was noted for his public-spirited interest in the concerns of the city. He was a warm friend of the Huguenots of New Rochelle. In 1700 he married Ann, second daughter of Stephanus Van Cortlandt. James de Lancey, the future chief justice and governor, was their eldest son, born in New York City, November 27, 1703.

James was educated at the University of Cambridge, England. In 1729 he was appointed a member of the governor's council, succeeding John Barberie, who was his uncle by marriage. In 1731 he was made an associate justice of the Supreme Court, and in 1733, at the age of thirty, was promoted to the chief justiceship. Whatever may have been the determining reasons for his support of Governor Cosby

and antagonism of Chief Justice Morris in the Van Dam case, he unhesitatingly followed to its logical conclusion the course that he adopted upon that occasion. Of a very proud nature, he deeply resented the assumption by the other side of superior virtue and superior regard for liberty and law. Morris was a man of positive traits, and by the exercise of unquestioned judicial authority had grown dictatorial in his old age. Incensed at the attitude of his young associate justices, both of whom were still in their thirties, he did not hesitate to make known his personal views of their conduct. "On the day after the Van Dam decision," writes Governor Cosby to the Duke of Newcastle, "the chief justice, coming to court, told those two judges, openly and publicly upon the bench before a numerous audience, that their reasons for their opinion were mean, weak, and futile; that they were only his assistants, giving them to understand that their opinions, or rather judgments, were of no signification." One can imagine how the haughty spirit of de Lancey must have chafed under such language. Although the quarrel resulted in the dismissal of Morris and his own appointment to the vacated office, he had to suffer for two years the humiliation of extreme unpopularity and of utter failure to compel acceptation for his official orders and rulings in the further developments of the controversy. The grand jury, despite his strenuous and repeated application, refused to indict Zenger, and on the final trial of that arch-libeler the jury in the case contemptuously scorned the urgent instructions given them by the chief justice to find against the accused, and instantly rendered a verdict of not guilty amid the rapturous applause of the assembled populace.

But after the subsidence of the passions of that exciting period, the real worth of de Lancey's character became by degrees appreciated. Strong-willed and ambitious, he was yet a man of perfect honesty and openness, free from all meanness and low craft and servility to the great. To the manliest of personal qualities he added brilliant abilities, an extraordinary capacity for public affairs, and an affability and grace of manner which made him an object of general admiration and affection. During the administration of the royal Governor Clinton, father of Sir Henry Clinton, he severed his connections with the "court party" and was consequently regarded with scant favor by the executive and his adherents. He was appointed to the office of lieutenant-governor by the proper authority in England, but Clinton revengefully withheld the commission for six years, delivering it to him only upon the eve of his own permanent retirement. This happened in October, 1753, when the newly appointed governor, Sir Danvers Osborn, arrived. A very few days later Osborn committed suicide, and de Lancey thus became acting governor. He held the po-

sition until 1755, serving so acceptably that when another vacancy occurred in 1757 the home government permitted him to practically succeed to the full dignity of governor, having decided to make no new appointment to the place during his lifetime. Thus de Lancey was the first native American to serve regularly as governor of the Province of New York, as his grandfather, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, was the first to hold the office of mayor of New York City. He died on the 30th of July, 1760, being at that time both governor and chief justice of New York.

Governor de Lancey had three sons who grew up—James, Stephen, and John Peter. James was prominent politically after his father's death until the Revolution, and then became a Tory; he married a daughter of Chief Justice William Allen, of Pennsylvania; two of his sons were officers in the British military and naval service. Stephen received from his father as a gift what is now the Town of North Salem in this county (which came to the elder de Lancey as his share in the Manor of Cortlandt). It was under his land sales that that town was settled. He built a large double dwelling, later converted into the North Salem Academy, where many distinguished men (including Governor Daniel D. Tompkins and Chancellor Kent) have been educated. John Peter was the ancestor of the Mamaroneck de Lanceys. He received a military education in England, and fought on the British side in the Revolution, but after the war retired from the army and returned to America, taking up his residence on the Heathcote estates on Scarsdale Manor, which he inherited from his mother, and where he built the dwelling still known as Heathcote Hill. He married Elizabeth Floyd, daughter of Colonel Richard Floyd, of Long Island, and among his children were Bishop William Heathcote de Lancey, of Western New York, and Susan Augusta de Lancey, who married James Fenimore Cooper.

A young brother of Governor de Lancey, Peter, was politically prominent in Westchester County, and left a numerous family, several of whom became noted or made advantageous marital alliances. He lived at West Farms and was known as "Peter of the Mills." He represented the borough Town of Westchester in the assembly from 1750 to 1768. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Governor Cadwallader Colden. Among his children were John, who sat in the assembly for Westchester Borough from 1768 to 1775, and was high sheriff of the county in 1769-70; James, high sheriff from 1770 to 1777, the famous colonel of the Westchester Light Horse (British), who after the Revolution lived and died a refugee in Nova Scotia; and Oliver, of West Farms, a lieutenant in the British navy, who resigned his com-

G² R

By the Honourable

JAMES DE LANCEY, Eſq;

His Majeſty's Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over the Province of New-York, *and the Territories depending thereon in* America.

A Proclamation.

WHEREAS it appears, That certain Perſons reſiding on or near the Eaſtern Borders of this Province, have entered into a Combination to diſpoſſeſs *Robert Livingſton*, jun. Eſq; Proprietor of the *Manor of Livingſton*, within this Province, and the Tenants holding under him, of the Lands compriſed within the ſaid Manor, under Pretence of Title from the Government of the *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, as alſo of an Indian Purchaſe lately made by the ſaid Perſons; altho' tis moſt notorous that the ſaid Manor hath, 'til very lately, been peaceably held and enjoyed by the ſaid *Robert Livingſton*, and his Anceſtors, for Seventy Years laſt paſt. Five Years before the Charter [illegible] Bay, upon which only 'tis conceived the ſaid Government can legally found their Claim. Notwithſtanding which clear and manifeſt Right on the Part of this Government, the ſaid Perſons, not content with their former Intruſions on His Majeſty's Lands within the ſame, firſt began to carry their Deſigns into Execution, by endeavouring to corrupt and turn Mr. *Livingſton's* own Tenants againſt him, in which they ſo far ſucceeded, that ſeveral Perſons, who 'til within a few Years held Lands as Tenants under, and paid their Rents to him, now keep Poſſeſſion of the Lands in Defiance of, and ſet up a pretended Right againſt him, under the Government of the *Maſſachuſetts Bay*, and the aforementioned Indian Purchaſe; by which illegal Proceedings, ſupported with Force, the Courſe of Juſtice hath been obſtructed, the Lives of ſeveral of his Majeſty's Subjects loſt, and private Property infringed and greatly injured. And Whereas Thirty One of ſuch evil minded Perſons, in order to proſecute their unjuſt Deſigns, on the 7th Day of *May* laſt, armed and riotouſly aſſembled themſelves at *Tackhanick*, at the Houſe of *Jonathan Darbie*, which ſtands at the Diſtance of not more than Eighteen Miles from *Hudſon's* River, among whom were the ſaid *Jonathan Darbie*, alſo *Johannes Reeſe*, *Hendrick Bruſie*, *Joſeph Vangelder*, and his Brother, ſaid to be *Andries Vangelder*, *Samuel Taylor*, *Ebenezer Taylor*, and *Andries J. Reeſe*, and being ſo riotouſly aſſembled, were commanded to diſperſe by the Deputy Sheriff of the County, in the Preſence of one of His Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, two Conſtables, and other Perſons who came thither with the ſaid *Robert Livingſton*, to ſuppreſs the Riot, and diſperſe the Rioters; four only of whom went off, the others ſhutting themſelves up in the ſaid *Darby's* Houſe, in which there were Loop Holes, fired through the ſame, and before they diſperſed, ſeveral were wounded on both Sides, one of whom died in about an Hour thereafter, and another ſome Time after, of the Wounds they then received. IN Order therefore to put a Stop as much as may be to Proceedings, the Conſequences whereof have already been fatal to ſome, and which, if not timely prevented, may ſtill be productive of the worſt Evils to others; and to eſtabliſh and keep up Peace and a good Underſtanding among the Borderers, till this unhappy Controverſy ſhall be ſettled in a legal Courſe: I HAVE thought fit, with the Advice of His Majeſty's Council, to iſſue this Proclamation, Hereby in His Majeſty's Name, ſtrictly enjoining all His Majeſty's good Subjects in this Province, to forbear and reſtrain from ſuch violent and unjuſt Proceedings, as every Inſtance of that Nature will be puniſhed with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law. AND that the Offenders before named may be brought to Juſtice, the Sheriffs of the Counties of *Albany* and *Dutcheſs* and all other Officers therein, are hereby commanded and required to apprehend the ſaid *Jonathan Darbie*, *Johannes Reeſe*, *Hendrick Bruſie*, *Joſeph Vangelder*, *Samuel Taylor*, *Ebenezer Taylor*, and *Andries J. Rees*, and all and every of their Aſſociates, who ſhall appear to have been aiding or abetting the ſaid Offenders in the Riot aforeſaid; and them and every of them to keep, or cauſe to be committed in ſafe Cuſtody, in the County Goal, until delivered by due Courſe of Law: And in like Manner, to apprehend and keep in ſafe Cuſtody all and every other Perſon and Perſons who ſhall hereafter be guilty of ſuch riotous and illegal Practices. And all His Majeſty's Subjects in the ſaid Counties of *Albany* and *Dutcheſs*, are to give due Aſſiſtance to the ſaid Sheriffs within their reſpective Counties, who are hereby impowered and required, if neceſſary, to ſummon the Poſſe, or whole Power of the County, for putting the Premiſes in Execution.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Fort-George, *in the City of* New-York, *the Eighth Day of* June, *One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Fifty Seven, in the Thirtieth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord* GEORGE *the Second, by the Grace of GOD, of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith, and ſo forth.*

By His Honour's Command,
Gw. Banyar, Dep. Secy.

JAMES DE LANCEY.

GOD Save the KING.

PROCLAMATION SIGNED BY DE LANCEY.

mission rather than fight against his native land, and, returning to this country, spent the remainder of his life at Westchester.

Another brother of Governor de Lancey, Oliver, was a conspicuous figure in public life until the end of the colonial régime, although never connected with Westchester County. In the Revolution he was the British commander of the Department of Long Island, and raised three regiments, known as "De Lancey's Battalion," of which he was brigadier-general. His descendants contracted brilliant marriages with English families.

Governor de Lancey had two sisters—Susan, who married Admiral Sir Peter Warren, and Anne, who became the wife of John Watts, Sr., whose son became county judge of Westchester County.

The de Lancey family, as a whole, was emphatically pro-British in the American struggle for independence, and contributed many brave officers to the armies of the king. In this latter respect the de Lanceys contrast with the Philipses, who, while Tory to the heart's core, were not fighters, and kept themselves at a safe distance from the scenes of carnage. Yet an element of the de Lanceys belonged to the patriot side, and leading members of the family who took up arms for Great Britain became reconciled to the situation after the recognition of independence, and made themselves acceptable citizens of the republic. The family has always since been honorably connected with Westchester County.

The Manor of Cortlandt, devised by Stephanus Van Cortlandt at his death, in 1700, to his eleven surviving children in equal shares (except that his eldest son, Johannes, received, in addition to his equal portion, what is now Verplanck's Point on the Hudson, a tract of some twenty-five hundred acres), remained undivided for many years. The family was a very united one. The widow of Stephanus, Gertrude Schuyler, outlived her husband twenty-three years, and it was tacitly agreed that during her lifetime nothing should be done toward splitting up the estate. Meanwhile one of the eleven heirs, Oliver, died childless, willing his interest to his brothers and sisters. The manor thenceforth, until its final dismemberment, comprised ten proprietary interests. Although after the death of Stephanus there was always a recognized "head" of the Van Cortlandt family, there was never a second "lord" of the manor.

Johannes, the eldest son of Stephanus, died at a comparatively early age, leaving one child, Gertrude, who married Philip Verplanck, a descendant of one of the early Dutch settlers of New Amsterdam[1] and a man of varied abilities. Among his accomplishments

[1] Abraham Isaacsen Verplanck, or Planck. He was one of the instigators of the Dutch war of retaliation against the Indians (1643-1645). Verplanck's Point was named for Philip Verplanck, who has descendants still living in this county. The Verplancks of Fishkill-on-the-Hudson belong to another branch of the family.

was an expert knowledge of surveying. By articles of agreement entered into by the Van Cortlandt heirs in November, 1730, Philip Verplanck was appointed to survey and lay out the manor into thirty lots. This commission was duly executed, although Verplanck's survey was confined to the portion of the manor north of the Croton River. The lots were soon afterward conveyed to the several parties in interest by partition deeds, appraisals of value having been made by Daniel and Samuel Purdy, who were specially selected for that purpose. The following table shows the number of acres and their estimated value at this time (1733) apportioned for each share:

NAMES.	ACRES.	VALUES IN NEW YORK MONEY.
Philip Verplanck[1]	6,831	£973
Margaret Bayard[2]	7,398	948
Stephen de Lancey[3]	7,377	999
Philip Van Cortlandt	6,648	975
Stephen Van Cortlandt	6,894	972
John Miln[4]	7,714	988
Gertrude Beekman[5]	8,062	912
William Skinner[6]	8,163	951
Andrew Johnston[7]	9,023	889
John Schuyler, Jr.[8]	7,364	1,018
	75,474	£9,625

[1] Grandson of Johannes Van Cortlandt.
[2] Margaret Van Cortlandt, wife of Colonel Samuel Bayard.
[3] Husband of Ann Van Cortlandt.
[4] Second husband of Maria Van Cortlandt.
[5] Husband of Gertrude Van Cortlandt.
[6] Husband of Elizabeth Van Cortlandt.
[7] Husband of Catherine Van Cortlandt.
[8] Husband of Cornelia Van Cortlandt.

Thus in 1733 all of Westchester County north of the Croton River, and between that stream and the Connecticut line, having an aggregate area of over seventy-five thousand acres, was appraised for the paltry sum of $48,000. This territory now includes the Towns of Cortlandt, Yorktown, Somers, North Salem, Lewisboro, and a portion of Poundridge, whose combined taxable value amounts to not a few millions.

In 1753 the manor lands south of the Croton River were divided. The heirs-at-law, entering into enjoyment of their individual properties as partitioned to them, gradually leased the lands to settlers or sold them in fee. The subsequent history of the whole great Van Cortlandt estate, from the proprietary point of view, is well represented by that of the share which fell to young Stephen de Lancey, the son of the chief justice—a share, as already mentioned, embracing nearly all of the present Town of North Salem. We quote from Mr. Edward Floyd de Lancey's "History of the Manors":

Chief Justice de Lancey in 1744 conveyed them (his Cortlandt Manor lots), as a gift, to his second son, Stephen. Stephen a few years later began their settlement, and brought in

VIEW FROM ABOVE PEEKSKILL, LOOKING SOUTH AND WEST.

many farmers and some mechanics. The whole tract was laid out into farms, rectangular in shape, of two hundred acres each as a rule. These were leased for long terms of years at low rents, the highest not being more than £10 and the lowest about £2 or £3. The rent rolls and map showed the farms, which were all numbered, the tenants' names, and the rent payable by each. It was always understood that the tenants might buy "the soil right," as the fee was termed, at any time the parties could agree upon price. In practice, however, the tenants did not begin to apply for the fee till about the time of the Revolution, and then but rarely. After that event more were sold to applicants, but many farms continued in the families of the tenants till late in this century. The last, which had descended to himself and the widow of a deceased brother, the writer sold in 1875, after the expiration of a lease for ninety-nine years. The same system of leasing out their lots in farms was carried out by all the other owners of the manor lands. Some sold the fee of their lands at an early day to relatives, who thus increased their holdings. Others retained them.

Notwithstanding the complete partition of the estate, the "Lordship and Mannour" of Cortlandt, as erected by letters patent from Governor Fletcher in 1697, did not in any respect lose its original identity or the peculiar privileges bestowed upon it by the terms of that grant. It continued to be a distinct political division, and, indeed, was separated from the remainder of Westchester County in an even more formal way than any of the other manors, since it enjoyed the exceptional right of sending its own exclusive representative to the provincial assembly. It was not until 1788, under the régime of the State of New York, when Westchester County was divided into townships, that Cortlandt Manor ceased to exist.

The apportionment to this manor of a separate assembly representative was conditioned upon the proviso that no such representative should be chosen until the year 1717. In point of fact, the manor did not elect its first delegate to the assembly until 1734. Philip Verplanck was then chosen. Early in his career in that body he brought in a bill directing that "one supervisor, one treasurer, two assessors, and one collector" should be elected annually by the people of the manor, which was passed. In 1756, on account of increasing population, the election of two constables was authorized—one for the portion of the manor near the Hudson River and the other for the interior sections. In 1768 the number of constables was increased to three. Ryck's Patent (Peekskill) acquired in 1770 the privilege of choosing its own local officers independently of the manor, although the inhabitants of this settlement still joined with the people of the manor in electing the member of assembly. Verplanck represented Cortlandt Manor for the remarkable period of thirty-four years, his successor being Pierre Van Cortlandt, who served during the remainder of the colonial era.

After the death of Johannes and Oliver, the first and second sons of Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Philip Van Cortlandt, the third son, became the head of the family. He was born in 1683. He was a merchant in New York, and has been described as "a man

of clear head, of good abilities, and possessed of great decision of character." From 1730 until his death (1746) he was a member of the gubernatorial council. His eldest son, Stephen, died young, leaving a son, Philip, who succeeded as the next head of the family. But this second Philip, preferring a military life, entered the British army, in which he had a long career, fighting against American freedom in the Revolution.[1] His uncle Pierre (youngest son of the first Philip and grandson of Stephanus) ultimately became the leading member of the Van Cortlandt family resident on the manor.

Pierre Van Cortlandt's is one of the great names of Westchester County, second, indeed, to none in all the illustrious and noble array. This is not the place for a particular account of his career, which, in its more distinctive features, is connected with the events of the Revolutionary and subsequent periods. When those events come to be treated we shall see that in the almost balanced condition of sentiment in this country at the time of the Revolution, his was probably the determining influence. Others led the political hosts for independence, but Van Cortlandt's support, calmly and unpretendingly given, though with all resoluteness and conviction, was a factor that counted for quite as much as the activities of the agitators. Not an old man, and yet arrived at an age of gravity; not a politician in the common sense, but well experienced in public affairs and having a reputation for great judiciousness and virtuous love of truth and right; the head of a family as reputable and as highly and widely connected as any in the province, his example was of inestimable moral value to a cause which, in this county at least, had little need for vehement and aggressive advocates, but much for courageous upholders from among the dignified and conservative classes of society. His services to the patriot movement began in the colonial assembly, of which he was a member, and from that time until after the organization of the government of the United States he was one of the most earnest, useful, and prominent promoters of political independence and stable republican institutions. His private life was identified almost exclusively with Westchester County. Born on the 10th of January, 1712, he lived on the manor from boyhood, taking an active part at an early age in the family interests. His father, Philip, bequeathed to him "all that

[1] He was the ancestor of the English branch of the Van Cortlandts the "eldest" branch. At the termination of the war, he went to England to reside, and died at Hailsham, in 1814. He had twenty-three children, twelve of whom reached maturity, the sons all attaining high rank in the British army and the daughters marrying into the best English and Scotch families. The present Lord Elphinstone, one of the Queen's lords in waiting, is a great-grandson of Colonel Van Cortlandt. Of the English branch no male descendant of the name is living.—*The Van Cortlandt Family, by Mrs. Pierre E. Van Cortlandt, Scharf, ii.*, 128.

my house and farm or lott of land,—being the east town lott from Teller's Point extending all along Croton River, together with the Ferry House and ferry thereunto belonging." He married Joanna, daughter of Gilbert Livingston and granddaughter of Robert, the first lord of Livingston Manor; and in September, 1749, he made the manor house his permanent place of abode. There were born all of his children, four sons and three daughters, of whom Philip, the distinguished General Philip Van Cortlandt of the Revolutionary army, was the eldest. Those were palmy days for the old manor house. Cadwallader Colden, writing to his wife in 1753, said: "I have had a very pleasant ride from Fishkill to Van Cortlandt, where I lodged, passing easily through the mountains. Young Pierre and his charming wife keep up the hospitality of the house equal to his late father." His time was largely devoted to caring for the interests of the numerous Van Cortlandt heirs in connection with the manor lands—a very responsible business, involving many delicate matters. He died in the manor house on the 1st of May, 1814, being aged more than ninety-three years. He lies buried in the cemetery of the Van Cortlandts. The following is the inscription on his tomb:

"Mark the perfect man and behold the upright ; for the end of that man is peace."

In memory of the Honorable Pierre Van Cortlandt, late Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York, and President of the Convention that formed the Constitution thereof during the Revolutionary war with Great Britain. He departed this life on the first day of May, 1814, in the ninety-fourth year of his age.

He was a patriot of the first order, zealous to the last for the Liberties of his Country.

A man of exemplary Virtues ; kind as a neighbor, fond and indulgent as a Parent—An honest man, ever the friend of the Poor.

Respected and beloved, the simplicity of his private life was that of an ancient Patriarch. He died a bright witness of that perfect Love which casts out the fear of Death, putting his trust in the Living God, and with full assurance of Salvation in the redeeming love of Jesus Christ, retaining his recollection to the last and calling upon his Saviour to take him to himself.

The "Yonkers branch" of the Van Cortlandts, founded by the New York merchant, Jacobus Van Cortlandt (a younger son of Oloff Stevense Van Cortlandt), who married Eva, stepdaughter of the first Frederick Philipse, was throughout the colonial era a flourishing race. Jacobus purchased from his father-in-law, Philipse, in 1699, fifty acres, to which he later added several hundred acres more. He promptly began to improve his estate. About 1700 he dammed Tippet's Brook, thus creating the present Van Cortlandt Lake; and probably not long afterward he erected below the dam the Van Cortlandt mill, which until as recent a date as 1889 (when it came into the possession of the City of New York) continued to grind corn for the neighboring farmers. Jacobus in his will bequeathed to his only son, Frederick Van Cortlandt, his farm, "situate, lying, and being in a place

commonly called and known by the name of Little or Lower Yonckers." Frederick (born in 1698) married Francina, daughter of Augustus and Anna Maria (Bayard) Jay, whereby his descendants became of kin to Chief Justice John Jay. It was under Frederick's proprietorship that the Van Cortlandt mansion now in the custody of the Colonial Dames—a dwelling which rivals the Philipse Manor house at Yonkers as a specimen of high-class colonial architecture, and, like the latter, is still in a state of perfect preservation—was constructed.

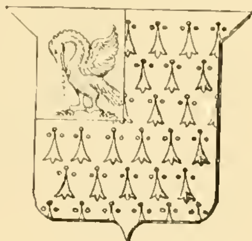
The Van Cortlandt Mansion (we quote from the interesting descriptive pamphlet published by its present custodians) is built of rubble stone, with brick trimmings about the windows. It is unpretentious in appearance, yet possessing a stateliness all its own, which grows upon the visitor. It was erected in 1748 by Frederick Van Cortlandt—a stone on the southwest corner bears the date—and possesses within and without many peculiarities of the last century. . . . The style of architecture of the house is essentially Dutch. The old Dutch builders were thorough masters of their trade, and put up a structure which is as strong to-day as when New York was a colony. All the windows on the front are surmounted by curious corbels, with faces grave or gay, satyrs or humans, but each different from the other. Felix Oldboy innocently asked if they were portraits of the Van Cortlandts, and the owner replied, "Yes, and that the particularly solemn one was taken after he had spent a night with the boys." The window sills are wide and solidly built into the thick stone walls, as was the fashion of the time, and vary somewhat in form in the second story. The side hall and the dining-room, with the rooms above, belong to an addition built a year or two later than the main house, and the "lean-to" is an addition of this century.

Frederick Van Cortlandt and his wife, Francina, had six children, of whom Jacobus, the eldest (born March 3, 1727), became the proprietor of the "Little Yonkers" estate after the father's death, in 1750. This Jacobus (third proprietor) anglicized his name to James; he was the highly respected and prominent Colonel James Van Cortlandt of the Revolution. Though an undoubted patriot, and resident within the British lines, he was not disturbed by the enemy in his possessions, and, indeed, so great was the respect in which his character was held, was able frequently to exercise powerful influence with the British authorities in New York in behalf of his distressed countrymen. He died in 1800 without issue, whereupon the "Little Yonkers" estate passed to his brother, Augustus; and after the death of the latter the principal portion of it (including the mansion) was held, until its purchase by the City of New York, in the family of his daughter Anna, who married Henry White, the White heirs of Augustus assuming the name of Van Cortlandt agreeably to a requirement of his will.

The Manor of Pelham, having been reduced to one-third its original dimensions in consequence of the sale in 1689 by John Pell (second lord) of six thousand acres to the Huguenots of New Rochelle, never subsequently to that time enjoyed very conspicuous rank among the great original landed estates of Westchester County. Moreover, the

successors of John Pell in its "lordship" did not compare in influence or public activity with the descendants of the founders of Morrisania, Philipseburgh, Van Cortlandt, and Scarsdale Manors; and the roll of members of the colonial assembly from Westchester County during the eighteenth century does not contain the name of a single Pell. However, the manor was preserved as such until the death of the last "lord," Joseph Pell, in 1776; and the Pells in their various branches were always a numerous and respectable family, contracting advantageous marital alliances in both the male and female lines. The principal person of the Pell name in later colonial and Revolutionary times was Philip Pell, a conscientious, able, and prominent patriot, who represented the State of New York in the continental congress of 1788, served as judge-advocate of the American army, and after the war was sheriff of the county, his son, Philip Pell, Jr., serving for many years as surrogate.

A family of very notable importance in political activity and representative character for many years—rivaling, indeed, the Morrises, Philipses, de Lanceys, and Van Cortlandts—was the ancient Willett family of Cornell's Neck on the Sound. The plantation of Cornell's Neck, identical with the present Clason's Point, was granted to Thomas Cornell, a former colonist of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, by the Dutch director, Kieft, in 1646. This was the third recorded land grant in point of time within the borders of what subsequently became Westchester County, being antedated only by the grants to Jonas Bronck of Bronxland and to John Throckmorton and associates of Throgg's Neck. From Thomas Cornell the estate passed successively to his widow, to his two daughters, Sarah and Rebecca, and to his grandson, William Willett, son of his eldest daughter, Sarah, by her first husband, Thomas Willett. William Willett (born 1644) in 1667 obtained from the first English governor, Nicolls, a new patent to Cornell's Neck. He made his abode there, apparently, soon afterward, and lived in quiet enjoyment of his handsome property until his death, in 1701. He was one of the first aldermen of the borough Town of Westchester. Having no descendants—in fact, he never married—he left Cornell's Neck to his younger brother, the noted Colonel Thomas Willett, of Flushing. The latter at once (March 28, 1701) conveyed it to his eldest son, William, expressing among his reasons for that act his desire for "the advancement and preferment of ye" said son. The "advancement and preferment" of



PELL ARMS.

the second William Willett transpired immediately; for in the same year he was elected a delegate from Westchester County to the provincial assembly, in which capacity he served almost continuously until his death (1733). This is a circumstance of peculiar consequence when it is remembered that Cornell's Neck was comprised within the limits of the borough Town of Westchester, which regularly elected a deputy of its own to the assembly. William Willett must have been a particularly forceful character to have commanded the suffrages of the county for a generation, notwithstanding his residence in the exceptionally favored borough town. He was thoroughly identified with the popular party. We have seen in a previous chapter that when the great issue of the abuse of the governor's prerogative arose, and a test of popular sentiment was instituted by causing the deposed Chief Justice Morris to stand for the assembly, William Willett resigned his seat in that body to afford opportunity for the desired test; and also that he was one of the most zealous of Morris's partisans at the famous electoral contest on the Eastchester Green. In addition to his distinguished career in the assembly, he was the successor of Caleb Heathcote (1721) as county judge of Westchester County and colonel of the Westchester County militia. His eldest son, William Willett, 3d, also sat in the assembly for the county (1738), and was appointed colonel of the militia. This third William's brother, Gilbert Willett, was sheriff of the county from 1723 to 1727, and represented Westchester Borough in the assembly from 1728 to his death, in 1732. The two brothers were joint proprietors of Cornell's Neck, which in the next generation became the exclusive property of Gilbert's son, Isaac Willett, after whose death it was owned by his widow, finally being distributed amongst various heirs.

OLD DUTCH CHURCH, FORDHAM.

CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE STAMP ACT TO THE LAST SESSION OF THE COLONIAL ASSEMBLY

THE theory and practice of colonial self-government were of no sudden development in the Province of New York. Still less were they the result of mere observation and imitation of bold examples set by the people of other British colonies in America. In the earliest days of English rule, the people of New York were not only ready for any measure of self-government that might be granted to them, but were eager and aggressive in demanding the privileges of free men. Under the proprietary rule of that despotic prince, James, Duke of York, after nearly twenty years of exclusively personal administration through his gubernatorial representative, the province was, in 1683, conceded a certain share in the government by the erection of a legislative assembly. The very first act passed by that body was a proposed "Charter of Liberties and Privileges granted by his Royal Highness to the Inhabitants of New York and its dependencies," which was entirely in the line of popular participation in the direction of affairs and popular limitation of the functions of the executive. The Duke of York considered the manifestations of the assembly of 1683 so inconsistent with his notions of essentially prerogative government for the province that the New York legislature was never again convened while he retained authority, either during the remainder of the proprietary period or during his reign as king of England. The liberty-desiring people of the province harbored no kindly feeling for James as proprietor or James as sovereign, and when the news arrived of the Revolution of 1688 and the accession under liberal auspices of William, Prince of Orange, they hailed it with joy, treated James's lieutenant-governor, Nicholson, with scant courtesy, and finally expelled him from his post and organized a temporary government of their own which had all the character and effect of a purely republican régime, although without the slightest taint or suspicion of anarchy. And this popular government of 1689-91, while originating in force, was in no sense a military institution. The chiefs of the training-bands, who were responsible for it in the first instance, immediately summoned a popular assembly, which appointed a strictly civil council of safety. By the will of the general governing body

established with so much courage yet decorum, Jacob Leisler took the principal charge of affairs. The whole policy of Leisler and his associates was that of conscientious republican rulers, who, it is true, held the government in trust for the new king of England, but held it as constituted representatives of the people, whose will, pending the definite expression of the will of the lawful sovereign, they deemed paramount. In a vital public emergency, with which they were quite competent to deal if they had chosen, they preferred to leave the matter to the people, and accordingly called a new legislative assembly. Regarding the existing government of the City of New York as unadapted to the changed order of things, they did not, however, presume to reorganize it by the use of appointive powers, but ordered a popular election for the choice of a new mayor and aldermen. The spirit and transactions of the Leisler period afford convincing evidence of the very early preparedness of the people of New York for political independence, and also of their perfect capacity for its orderly and creditable exercise. There is no better established fact than this in American colonial history.

After the restitution of the provincial assembly as a permanent parliament by William III. in 1691, the people ardently availed themselves of the resources provided by that body for defending such rights as they possessed against royal invasion, for harassing arbitrary or objectionable governors, and for gradually asserting the broad principle of American liberty. The government of the province was modeled upon that of England, with important differences. The assembly corresponded to the house of commons, to which, as a representative elective body of the people at large, it bore a perfect similitude. The council took the place of both the house of lords and the ministerial cabinet, being in theory partly a higher chamber and partly a body of executive advisers. It was in practice wholly subservient to the governor, since its members were appointable and removable by the home government in England, subject singly to his recommendation. By the entire absence of a "government of the day," executive power was concentrated in the hands of the governor, who, unless a man of exceptionally virtuous and moderate character (which seldom happened), was therefore under strong temptation to regard himself as a ruler to whom uncommon individual authority

belonged in the natural order of things. But this condition operated powerfully to make of the assembly not merely a counterpoise in the government, but an irreconcilable antagonistic force. As there was no established ministry responsible to the assembly and capable of reversal by it on the merits of administrative acts and policies, the assembly was not a highly organized and nicely related department in a carefully adjusted scheme of government, but stood with great formality on an independent footing. The result was that, instead of being a co-operative factor in the business of managing the province, it held itself in an attitude of confirmed reserve toward the executive. It was a substantial repetition of the feud between the parliament and the king, with the difference that, while that unhappy feud in the mother country endured for only a brief comparative period, its simulacrum in New York covered the entire time of the existence of the province.

To the New York assembly, as to the British house of commons, was reserved the exclusive right to originate money bills, which, moreover, were unamendable by the council. This power was early appreciated by the people as their great safeguard against effectual tyranny, and in the case of every governor of unacceptable behavior they enforced it with unsparing rigidity. Holding the purse-strings, they could exceedingly embarrass the haughtiest governor, and, in fact, there was a perpetual irritation between the executive and the legislature on the subject of grants of supplies. Governor after governor was sent over from England with express instructions to correct these exasperating practices, but dismal failure resulted in every instance. To such a pitch had the resolute spirit of the colonists reached after sixty years of representative government, that upon the arrival of the royal Governor Osborn, in 1753, he was greeted by the city corporation with an address in which was expressed the significant expectation that he would be as "averse from countenancing as we from brooking any infringements of our inestimable liberties." It happened that Osborn had been particularly directed by the British government to curb the aggressive tendencies of the colonists. He was a man of peculiarly sensitive soul, and the use of such terms in an official address of welcome from the capital of the province over which he was to rule greatly disturbed him. Inquiring of some of the principal men about the general political conditions, he was told of the extreme obstinacy of the assembly, notably in the matter of voting supplies—an obstinacy from which it would never recede one step, however commanded, wheedled, or threatened. It was well established at the time that Governor Osborn's sensational suicide was due to despondency over the gloomy prospect thus held

before him. A tragical episode of another kind, the "battle of Golden Hill," New York City (January 19 and 20, 1770), resulting in the shedding of the first blood of the Revolution, is directly traceable to the grim policy of the New York provincial assembly in relation to money grants. The assembly had persistently refused to provide certain articles, such as beer and cider, for the use of the British garrison quartered in New York City, and this conduct had greatly incensed the soldiery, who had borne themselves toward the populace of the city with a particularly swaggering demeanor, besides committing overt acts of serious offensiveness. Hence arose extreme bad feeling, terminating in the Golden Hill affair. It was also as a consequence of the assembly's course in the controversy about supplies for the troops that the extraordinary act of parliament suspending the business of the New York assembly on the ground of insubordination was passed (October, 1767). This act was "for restraining and prohibiting the governor, council, and house of representatives of the Province of New York, until provision shall have been made for furnishing the king's troops with all the necessaries required by law, from passing or assenting to any act of assembly, vote, or resolution for any other purpose."

Compared, however, with the general disposition of the masses of the people, the course of the assembly toward the crown and its official representatives was eminently respectful and amiable. The provincial assembly of New York was always entirely loyal to the king in its professions, and also in its true spirit; and even to the last days of its last session, when the clouds of war were about to spread over the land, was averse from being otherwise regarded. It was a relatively small legislative body, never having more than thirty members; and it uniformly contained a large proportionate element of gentlemen of wealth, culture, and select social connections, who, while differing on public questions, and especially on the great question of colonial rights, had an abiding respect for the forms of attachment to the crown so long as those forms were not abrogated. Indeed, despite the characteristic stubbornness of the assembly toward the governors, it was not wholly unamenable to executive persuasion, even upon critical occasions of popular feeling. Concerning the burning issue of supplies for the troops, which was coincident with the Stamp Act agitation, it first assumed a position of uncompromising resistance, refusing to furnish not only beer and cider, but such absolutely necessary articles as fuel, lights, bedding, cooking utensils, and salt as well. Yet from this radical stand it gradually receded, granting first one item and then another. The measure of parliament practically extinguishing the New York assembly—

which was an act of diabolical tyranny if ever there was one—was met not with scornful defiance, but with submission! It is true that the assembly continued to give sufficient trouble to the governor, but it caused quite as much dissatisfaction to the revolutionary spirits among the citizens, who could not brook the thought that the representative body of the people should be in the least subservient to their assumed masters. In the vacillating record of the assembly is certainly to be found the explanation of the general impression which has always existed and probably never will be quite removed, that New York was comparatively a conservative and reluctant factor in the movement of the thirteen colonies for independence—an impression which is most unjust, not to be encouraged for a moment by any historical student who impartially examines the evidences of the true disposition of the people of New York Province throughout colonial times.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

The several conspicuous examples of this characteristic popular disposition which have been noted in the progress of our narrative need not be multiplied here. A few words respecting its more important special relations are, however, necessary to a proper understanding of general conditions before resuming the thread of the story.

Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, who occupied the chief magistracy of the province for most of the time from de Lancey's death until the Revolution—an able and well-intentioned man, but an extremist in the assertion of the prerogatives of the crown,—very instructively summed up the partisan situation in one of his official reports to the British ministry. Writing on the 21st of February, 1770, soon after the Golden Hill conflict, he said: "The persons who appear on these occasions are of inferior rank, but it is not doubted that they are directed by some persons of distinction in this place. It is likewise thought they are encouraged by some persons of note in England. They consist chiefly of dissenters, who are very numerous, especially in the country, and have a great influence over the country members of the assembly. The most active among them are independents from New England, or educated there, and of republican principles." On the other hand, said Governor Colden, "the friends of government are of the Church

of England, the Lutherans, and the old Dutch congregation, with several Presbyterians." From this classification the great preponderance of aggressive sentiment in the province is a very manifest fact. The "dissenters" were, indeed, overwhelmingly in the majority. Even in our County of Westchester, where powerful influences were arrayed on the side of the Church of England, its adherents did not compare in numbers with those of other denominations. According to a list compiled by the Rev. W. S. Coffey, of Mount Vernon, of the church edifices erected in this county previously to the Revolution, only seven of those structures belonged to the Church of England, while nineteen were built by other congregations, including "Independents," Friends, Presbyterians, Huguenots, Reformed Dutch, and Reformed Protestant. Governor Colden's enumeration of the Lutherans, the old Dutch, and "several Presbyterians" among the "friends of government" is merely a recognition that Toryism did not wholly depend for support upon the aristocratic church. The Lutherans, or Germans, and the "old Dutch," belonging to an alien race, deliberate, slow, easily satisfied with moderately free institutions, accustomed by all their traditions to live under authority without very jealously scrutinizing its nature or limiting its bounds, had ways of thinking quite foreign to those of the restless propagandists of American liberty, whom, indeed, they neither understood nor desired to understand. It was not a quarrel of these German and Dutch aliens; as a rule, they felt only a languid interest in it, and held aloof from it until forced to choose sides, when, as a rule, following the conservative instincts of their natures, they preferred the side of established order to that of revolutionary convulsion. They really constituted a passive element, and were loyalists mainly in the sense that they were not disturbers of the prevailing conditions. As for the "several Presbyterians" claimed by Governor Colden as belonging to the anti-revolutionary party, his application of that diminutive numerical to them was well chosen. In earlier times the name "Presbyterians" was generic for all who were not of the "Court" party—that is, for all who arrayed themselves politically against the "Episcopalian," or arrogant ruling, class—the Church of England having been the institution of those who cherished peculiarly their British breeding and antecedents, holding themselves as a superior society amid a mixed citizenship of colonials, and, consistently with such pretensions, forming an always reliable prop for the crown and the crown's officers. To be a "Presbyterian" in the political meaning of the word in New York at that early period was to be identified with the factious populace, the populace of Smith and Alexander, Chief Justice Morris and Peter Zenger, al-

though that populace was far too respectably led for the designation ever to have been one of derision. Later, the party names Whig and Tory came into vogue. At the time when Governor Colden made the above quoted analysis of popular sentiment in the province the Presbyterian religious sect, like every other non-conformist English-speaking denomination, was almost solidly against British oppression, with only here and there an influential opponent of the popular cause.

Nor did the defenders of the crown at all hazards make up in relative influence and ability what they lacked so distressingly in numbers. With all their boasts of superiority, the Tories of New York have left few names remarkable for anything more meritorious than proud faithfulness to the British monarchy, which faithfulness, moreover—as, for example, in the lamentable case of our Frederick Philipse,—was prompted quite as often by miscalculating conceptions of the chances of the war as by nervous scorn for sordid self-interest. On the other hand, the contributions made by New York to the roll of Revolutionary patriots of the more eminent order are impressively numerous. From whatever aspect the state of political society in New York on the eve of the Revolution is viewed, the advantage was with the friends of freedom.

KING GEORGE III.

The immediate causes of the Revolution were the enactments of parliament for taxing the colonies, the uncompromising resistance with which these measures were met in America, and the consequent resentment of Great Britain, leading to new manifestations of various kinds. The triumphant conclusion of the French and Indian War, by which Canada was wrested from France and made a part of the colonial empire of England, was an unmixed blessing for the people of the thirteen colonies. It put an end forever to a con-

dition which had been a standing menace to their peace and prosperity—the existence of a hostile neighbor at the north. The colonists had cheerfully borne their part in the great achievement, and, if properly appealed to, would have discharged as cheerfully their share of the resulting indebtedness. But the British government had grown weary of submitting to the caprices of the colonial assemblies in the matter of money grants, and, in looking to America after the close of the war for financial assistance on a substantial scale, resolved to make that necessity the occasion of some decided changes in the former order of things. The changes determined upon were, in their essential details, startling innovations. The assemblies were required to abandon their old practice of limiting, in amount or as to time, the supplies demanded by the governors, and to obediently vote them without discussion. They were to vote the civil list first of all and without question, which meant that all the royal officers were to be made independent of any disfavor conceived toward them by the popular assemblies; and, as a logical sequel to this, tenure of office was to be in future at the royal pleasure, without reference to "good behavior." In order that the operation of these and other plans might not be interfered with by possibly conflicting provisions in existing colonial charters, all such charters were put to an end. The drastic navigation laws, which had always been a crying grievance, were to be rigidly enforced. Finally, the colonies were to be taxed directly by parliament, through the medium of stamped paper, whose use was to be obligatory in all mercantile transactions, and even for marriage licenses. And as a means for compelling acquiescence in the new regulations a standing army of ten thousand men was to be sent over and quartered on the Americans, who were required to pay toward its maintenance some £100,000 annually, or one-third of the entire cost. There was a pretense that the purpose of the troops was to afford protection to the colonists, but no one was deceived by it.

Early in the year 1765 the Stamp Act was introduced in parliament, and on the 22d of March it received the signature of the king. The time appointed for its taking effect was the 1st of November. As soon as the news of its passage reached America, measures were set on foot for offering as effective an opposition as possible to its enforcement. Communications on the subject were exchanged by the various colonial assemblies; and it was decided to hold a general congress of the colonies to discuss the matter and to take steps for united action. This body came together on October 7 in the assembly chamber of the city hall in New York, twenty-eight delegates being in attendance, representing nine of the thirteen colonies.

The delegates from New York were John Cruger, Robert R. Livingston, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, and Leonard Lispenard. Strong resolutions were adopted, as well as petitions to the king, the house of lords, and the house of commons, for the repeal of the act. On October 23 the ship bearing New York's consignment of the stamped paper arrived in the harbor. This was the signal for aggressive popular demonstrations, which were so formidable and were attended by such significant evidences of the determination of the people to prevent the enforcement of the act and of the general co-operation of the merchants in that purpose, that the government did not dare attempt its execution. Indeed, the first packages of stamped paper were, at the request of the citizens, turned over to the city corporation for "safe keeping," and upon the arrival of a second shipment from England the vessel bringing it was boarded by a deputation of the people and the packages were taken ashore and burned. But the most powerful weapon used by the inhabitants of New York against the Stamp Act was the celebrated "Non-Importation Agreement." This was adopted on the evening of October 31, 1765, by some two hundred New York merchants, at a meeting held in Burns's coffee house. They pledged themselves to import no goods from England until the Stamp Act should be repealed. The merchants of Philadelphia adopted a like agreement on November 7, and those of Boston on December 1. The consequences were immediately felt by the shipping public in England, and were so disastrous that pressure was brought to bear upon parliament, which resulted in the repeal of the act on February 22, 1766, less than a year after its promulgation. The event caused great rejoicing in the City of New York. The king's birthday, the 4th of June, was made the occasion of a grand celebration, one of whose incidents was the erection of a liberty pole under the auspices of the Sons of Liberty. This organization was a secret confraternity of the more radical element of the people, with ramifications throughout the colonies. It appears to have been full fledged at the time of the taking effect of the Stamp Act, since the thoroughly organized resistance to the act which was offered by the people at large was uniformly traceable to its members. The Sons of Liberty were the mainstay of the whole popular agitation against British oppression and in favor of American independence from the time of the passage of the Stamp Act until the championship of their cause became the business of armies in the field.

The Stamp Act repeal was followed by a year of quiet. But in May, 1767, another parliamentary scheme for taxing the colonies was instituted, which imposed port duties on many articles of com-

mon use, including glass, paper, lead, painters' colors, and tea. Although intense feeling was excited throughout the colonies by the new law, two years passed by before a systematic policy of effective opposition was entered upon. Then, in the spring of 1769, the merchants of New York again met and formulated a second Non-Importation Agreement, under which no English goods, with but few exceptions, were to be purchased so long as the duties should remain in force. The mercantile communities of Philadelphia and Boston were somewhat tardy in assenting to this instrument, but by the fall they gave in their adhesion. Again the British ministry, appalled at the falling off in American trade, was forced to yield, and in 1770 all the duties objected to, except that on tea, were annulled. Meantime New York, while observing to the letter the obligations of the Non-Importation Agreement, had great cause of complaint against Boston and Philadelphia, where it was secretly violated on a large scale by the merchants. Exasperated at this lack of faith, the New Yorkers, after the abrogation of all the taxes except on tea, retired from the agreement, which thereafter fell to the ground in the other cities as well. It was, however, generally understood that no tea should be imported whilst the tax endured—an understanding which, despite the greater historic fame in that connection enjoyed by Boston on account of her so-called "Tea Party," was executed with equal determination and success in New York. For some three years practically all the tea bought in America was from England's European commercial rivals. Finally, in 1773, the British cabinet attempted a master stroke. They rescinded the large export duty taxed on tea leaving British ports, retaining, however, the small import duty of three pence per pound on American importations of the article. The Boston Tea Party occurred on the 16th of December, 1773. Up to that date no tea had arrived at New York, but more than a month previously careful arrangements had been made by the Sons of Liberty and others to prevent the landing

WILLIAM PITT.

of any and all the packages that should be brought there. Two tea ships, the "Nancy" and the "London," came into port the next April. One of them was obliged to return to England without delivering her cargo, and the other was boarded by the Sons of Liberty, who, breaking open the chests, threw the tea into the East River.

The rejection of the tea by Boston had already made it manifest to the king and his ministers that no plan for taxing the colonies by direct action of parliament could succeed through the operation of the ordinary forms of law, and that the time had come to resort to extremities. Early in 1774 an act known as the Boston Port Bill was passed—a punitive measure, designed to coerce the city by closing her port. News of the proceedings reached New York on the 12th of May. It was instantly recognized that a like fate was undoubtedly in store for New York, and accordingly a great meeting was held, under the joint auspices of the Sons of Liberty and the more dignified classes of the community, presided over by Isaac Low, a prominent merchant, a leading member of the Church of England, and, although a sympathizer with the cause of liberty, well known for his comparatively moderate principles. Out of this meeting resulted the formation of the New York "Committee of Correspondence," consisting of fifty-one members, which assumed the direction of the popular movement throughout the province, and whence the measures taken for organizing the country districts in behalf of American liberties emanated. From the creation of the committee of correspondence dates the beginning of the first established means for bringing the patriotic sentiment of Westchester County into active co-operation with that of the American people at large.

In that truly astonishing production, the late Henry B. Dawson's "Westchester County During the American Revolution,"[1] a labored attempt is made to establish the reasonableness of the author's favorite dogma that the Revolution was a grievous offense to the good and loyal people of our county, and found little or no favor among them, at least in the formative state of things. Mr. Dawson regards it as scandalously improbable that the honest, discreet, humble, and virtuous inhabitants of this strictly rural county, fearing God and loving their lawful king, could have had anything in common with the greedy, smuggling merchants and unblushing political dema-

[1] Although this performance of Dawson's is very elaborate, it is really but a fragment, terminating with the battle of White Plains. It was undertaken by its author as a contribution to Scharf's History, and occupies two hundred and eighty pages of the first volume of that work. Notwithstanding the enormous labor manifestly expended upon it, it possesses little interest for the general reader, being prodigiously formal in its style and burdened with excessive redundancies. It is pre-eminently one of the curiosities of historical literature.

gogues of New York City, who stirred up the naughty rebellion and prepared woe and havoc for the poor, loyal countryman. "Such a community as that which constituted the County of Westchester," says he, "a community of well-situated, intelligent, and well-to-do farmers, diligently and discreetly attending to its own affairs, without the disturbing influences of any village or county coterie, has generally been distinguished for its rigid conservatism in all its relations; and such a community has always been more inclined to maintain those various long-continued, well-settled, and generally satisfactory relations with more than ordinary tenacity, preferring very often to continue an existing inconvenience or an intangible wrong, to which it had become accustomed, rather than to accept, in its stead, the possibility of an advantage, indefinitely promised, in an untried and uncertain change." This curious theory he supports in his application of it to Westchester County by the single tangible statement that "there is not any known evidence of the existence, at any time, of any material excitement among these farmers, on any subject." It is of course unprofitable to discuss either the general proposition of Mr. Dawson concerning the uniform natural conservatism of intelligent rural communities, or his claim that this county had always before the Revolution been exempt from political excitement. In view, however, of Mr. Dawson's reputation as a minute and entirely well-meaning historical writer—a reputation appreciated especially by his many surviving friends in Westchester County,—his study of our Revolutionary period can not, in a work on the general history of the county, escape the passing criticism which its spirit merits, as, on the other hand, the abundant historical data that we owe to his researches can not escape grateful recognition. It is greatly to be regretted that to an essay prepared with so much painstaking he should, on grounds not only the most unjustified but the most trivial, have given a general tendency of such extreme unacceptability to American readers. We have characterized his performance as astonishing, and we know of no other fitting term to be applied to a cynically pro-Tory account by an American historian, more than a century after the Revolutionary War, of the course of that struggle in a county distinguished for prompt acceptance and unfaltering and self-sacrificing support of the issue of liberty under the most difficult and menacing circumstances imaginable.

During the ten years from the passage of the Stamp Act, in 1765, to the end of the provincial assembly, in 1775, the county (including the Manor of Cortlandt and the borough Town of Westchester) was

represented in the assembly, for longer or briefer periods, by Colonel Frederick Philipse (3d), Peter de Lancey and John, his brother, Judge John Thomas, Philip Verplanck, Pierre Van Cortlandt, Isaac Wilkins, and Colonel Lewis Morris (3d). Philipse and Thomas served continuously throughout that period, both sitting for the county. Van Cortlandt succeeded Verplanck as member from Cortlandt Manor. Morris was a delegate for only one year. The de Lanceys and Wilkins were from Westchester Borough, Wilkins being assemblyman during the four closing years (1772-75). James de Lancey, son of Peter and a nephew of the chief justice, in addition to his duties as high sheriff of Westchester County, represented a New York City constituency during the period in question. With the names of Philipse, the de Lanceys, Van Cortlandt, and Morris the reader is already familiar. They will recur prominently in the succeeding pages. Philipse and James de Lancey were stanch opponents of the whole Revolutionary programme; Van Cortlandt and Morris were as stanch supporters of it. John Thomas was judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Westchester County in 1737-39, and again from 1765 to 1776. He was a son of the Rev. John Thomas, a missionary and rector of the Church of England. Judge Thomas was a very prominent citizen of Rye, and one of the most consistent and valuable advocates of independence, dying a martyr to the cause in a prison in New York City in 1777. Isaac Wilkins, of Castle Hill Neck, in the Borough of Westchester, was a brother-in-law of Lewis and Gouverneur Morris, but was on the opposite side politically. He was one of the leaders of the conservative forces in the last provincial assembly, and was suspected of being the author of the noted Tory tracts published over the signature of "A. W. Farmer." He acted as spokesman for the motley adherents of "Great George, our King," at the county meeting at White Plains in April, 1775, and two months later fled to England. After a varied career, which comprehended a prolonged residence (subsequently to the war) among the forlorn refugee Loyalists in Nova Scotia, he returned in 1798 to Westchester and became rector of Saint Peter's Church. In the historic assembly of 1775, when the issues for and against aggressive resistance to England were sharply drawn, Westchester County's representatives were Van Cortlandt, Thomas, Philipse, and Wilkins.

It is thus seen that, as concerns representation in the assembly, the opposing parties of liberty and loyalty were exactly balanced in this county. On the one side were Pierre Van Cortlandt and Judge Thomas; on the other, Frederick Philipse and Isaac Wilkins. Philipse, of course, had at his back the whole of his great manor. Wilkins really represented the de Lancey interest, which controlled the Bor-

ough of Westchester, where also a Tory mayor, Nathaniel Underhill, grandson of the "redoubtable" Captain John, presided. Against this powerful conservative combination stood the Morrises in the extreme southern part of the county, Judge Thomas, representing no landed estates but the simple yeomanry of Rye, Harrison's Purchase, and the central sections, and Pierre Van Cortlandt, the head of the great Van Cortlandt family. The popular side, therefore, comprised diverse elements. The Morrises were known chiefly as an aggressive political family, with a well-defined following, but hardly adapted to attract the normally conservative or as yet undecided classes. Thomas represented a constituency of sturdy settlers, mostly of New England antecedents and largely belonging to zealous religious sects. Van Cortlandt was in all respects a match for Philipse and the de Lanceys, to whatever elevation of dignity or social importance they pretended; and it was his personality which gave to the Revolutionary movement in Westchester County a far different aspect than that of a mere propaganda of agitators. His support of the cause stamped it necessarily as one demanding the most respectful consideration of honest and intelligent men; for it was beyond question that his attachment to it was wholly due to a conception of its singular righteousness and of his high duty. He was no new convert, but had stood for the rights of the colonies from the beginning. The arts of the tempter and briber had, moreover, been practiced upon him in the British interest. The late Mrs. Pierre E. Van Cortlandt, in her historical account of the Van Cortlandt family, tells how he nobly rebuked the royal Governor Tryon when approached by that personage with corrupt offers:

ISAAC WILKINS.

In 1774 Governor Tryon came to Croton, ostensibly on a visit of courtesy, bringing with him his wife, Miss Watts, a daughter of the Hon. John Watts (a kinsman of the Van Cortlandts), and Colonel Fanning, his secretary. They remained for a night at the Manor House, and the next morning Governor Tryon proposed a walk. They all proceeded to one of the highest points on the estate, and, pausing, Tryon announced to the listening Van Cortlandt the great favors that would be granted to him if he would espouse the royal cause and give his adhesion to the king and the parliament. Large grants of land would be added to his estate, and Tryon hinted that a title might be bestowed. Van Cortlandt answered that "he was chosen a representative by unanimous approbation of a people who placed confidence in his integrity to use all his ability for their benefit and the good of his country as a true patriot, which line of conduct he was determined to pursue." Tryon, finding persuasion and

bribes vain, turned to Colonel Fanning with the brief remark, "I find our business here must terminate, for nothing can be effected in this place"; and after hasty farewells they embarked on their sloop and returned to New York.

After the appointment of the committee of correspondence by the meeting held in New York in May, 1774, events moved rapidly forward to a crisis. Boston, having received earlier news of the closing of her port, had taken action on the matter two or three days before New York, and at a public meeting presided over by Samuel Adams had adopted a resolution appealing for the united support of the colonies in a new Non-Importation Agreement. On the afternoon of Tuesday, the 17th of May, Paul Revere passed through Westchester County, along the old Boston Post Road, bearing dispatches from the Boston citizens to their brethren in New York and Philadelphia. New York responded immediately with a recommendation for a new colonial congress, which was adopted. The people of New York City on July 4 elected as delegates to that body Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Low, James Duane, and John Jay.

John Jay, who on this occasion made his first appearance in a high representative capacity, was reared from infancy in Westchester County and began among us his career as a lawyer. His great-grandfather, Pierre Jay, a Huguenot of La Rochelle, France, emigrated to England during the troublous times of Catholic persecution, leaving a son, Augustus, who came to New York about 1686, married Anna Maria Bayard, daughter of Balthazar Bayard, and led a prosperous life as a merchant. Augustus's son, Peter, after acquiring a competency in business pursuits in the city, purchased a farm in our Town of Rye, where he lived with his numerous family for the remainder of his days. He is described by Smith, the Tory historian of New York, as "a gentleman of opulence, character, and reputation," and by Baird, the historian of Rye, as "a man of sincere and fervent piety, of cheerful temper, warm affections, and strong good sense." He married Mary, daughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt and granddaughter of Oloff Stevense Van Cortlandt and the first Frederick Philipse. Their eighth child was John Jay, born in New York City, December 12, 1745. He lived with his parents throughout his childhood and youth in the homestead at Rye—"a long, low building, but one room deep and eighty feet wide, having attained this size to meet the wants of a numerous family." He was educated at King's College (now Columbia), taking the bachelor of arts degree in 1764, and, after being admitted to the bar, entered upon a professional career in which he soon gained a reputation as one of the most brilliant and intellectual men in New York. He

took a leading part in the public discussion of the questions between the colonies and the mother country, holding aloof from the radical and noisy politicians, but enjoying the unbounded confidence and admiration of the judicious friends of American independence. By the time matters had become shaped for the inevitable, he stood foremost among the well-balanced and sagacious patriots of New York. In 1774 he married Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, daughter of William Livingston. After the completion of his illustrious public career, he retired to an estate in the Town of Bedford, this county, where he died.[1] He was the father of the eminent and beloved Judge William Jay, of our county bench, and the grandfather of the late distinguished statesman, John Jay, also a prominent Westchester County character. One of the features of the Town of Rye is the cemetery of the Jay family, in which stands a monument to the memory of the great chief justice.

AUGUSTUS JAY.

The committee of correspondence in New York City, soon after its organization, opened communication with the rural counties. A subcommittee of five (John Jay being one of its members) was appointed on the 30th of May "to write a circular letter to the supervisors in the different counties, acquainting them of the appointment of this committee, and submitting to the consideration of the inhabitants of the counties whether it could not be expedient for them to appoint persons to correspond with this committee upon matters relative to the purposes for which they were appointed." A circular letter was accordingly written, of which thirty copies were sent to the treasurer of Westchester County, with a request to distribute them among "the supervisors of the several districts." It is not known whether this was done. At all events, nothing resulted, as no replies from Westchester County appear among the records of the committee. But in July a second circular was sent, which met with a different treatment from this county. It communicated informa-

[1] The Jay homestead at Bedford, says Bolton, "for four generations the residence and estate of the Jay family," descended to them "from their ancestor, Jacobus Van Cortlandt, who purchased it of the Indian sachem Katoonah, in 1703." (Rev. ed., i., 77.)

tion of the election of delegates to the approaching congress by the City and County of New York, and requested the other counties either to appoint additional delegates of their own or to signify their willingness that the delegates already chosen in the city should act for them also, on the understanding that whatever number of representatives should appear from this province at the congress they would be entitled to but one vote. Pursuant to this second circular a Westchester County convention was called to meet in the courthouse at White Plains, on the 22d of August, various towns and districts choosing local delegates to represent them. The Towns of Rye and Westchester held particularly well-attended meetings for that purpose and adopted rousing resolutions. The Rye delegation was headed by John Thomas, Jr., and the Westchester by Colonel Lewis Morris. It is noteworthy, however, that both the Rye and Westchester resolutions, although expressing the views of the two most radical political leaders in the county, were emphatic in the assertion of loyalty to the king—so far removed from the public mind was the thought of rebellion. Upon this point the Rye people said: "That they think it their greatest happiness to live under the illustrious House of Hanover; and that they will steadfastly and uniformly bear true and faithful allegiance to His Majesty, King George the Third, under the enjoyment of their constitutional rights and privileges as fellow-subjects with those of England." And the Westchester citizens declared: "That we do and will bear true allegiance to His Majesty, George the Third, King of Great Britain, etc., according to the British Constitution."

The county convention at White Plains on August 22, 1774, was not a specially important body, at least from the standpoint of its proceedings. The most interesting thing in connection with it is that its presiding officer was Frederick Philipse, the Tory "lord," who, less than a year later, was to lead his tenant clans at the same place, though in very different circumstances and emergencies, in a vain protest against a repetition of the same political action for which he now stood the chief sponsor. There was no dissident element in the convention, and by unanimous consent the five men previously elected by the people of New York City as delegates to the general congress were accepted as delegates for the County of Westchester likewise.

The general congress of the colonies, the first held since the Stamp Act congress of 1765, assembled in Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774, and continued in session until October 26. It proved in every way worthy of the great occasion which called it into being, and the result of its deliberations was to immensely stimulate dis-

cussion throughout the colonies and to strengthen the resolution and hope of the people. It prepared and issued a declaration of rights, advised the adoption of a third Non-Importation Agreement, and made provision for the election in each colony of delegates to another congress, which was appointed to meet on the 10th of May, 1775.

The citizens of Westchester County, having made a beginning in the matter of public action on the rising questions of the day, soon commenced to display a lively interest in their narrower consideration. This interest found expression in all the varying degrees of radicalism, moderation, timidity, and protest. The public prints of the times contain a number of communications from Westchester County, some of them in the form of avowals or disavowals, formally signed, and some in that of anonymous newspaper articles advocating one set of opinions or another with more or less zeal and dexterity. One of the earliest and most notable of these documents is a communication from Rye, dated September 24, 1774, and published October 13 in Rivington's *New York Gazetteer*. It is an emphatic protest against the agitation of the period, as follows:

> We, the subscribers, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Town of Rye, in the County of Westchester, being much concerned with the unhappy situation of public affairs, think it our Duty to our King and Country, to Declare that we have not been concerned in any Resolutions entered into or measures taken, with regard to the Disputes at present subsisting with the Mother Country; we also testify our dislike to many hot and furious Proceedings, in consequence of said Disputes, which we think are more likely to ruin this once happy Country, than remove Grievances, if any there are.
>
> We also declare our great Desire and full Resolution to live and die peaceable Subjects to our Gracious Sovereign, King George the Third, and his Laws.

Then follow eighty-three signatures, headed by Isaac Gidney. Evidently some local pressure hostile to the Thomas interest was brought to bear upon the conservative element of the Rye people; and evidently, also, not a few of the signers had been overpersuaded, for in Rivington's next issue appears a humble disclaimer, signed by fifteen of them, who say that, after mature deliberation, they are fully convinced that in indorsing the former paper they "acted preposterously and without properly adverting to the matter in dispute," and "do utterly disclaim every part thereof, except our expressions of Loyalty to the King and Obedience to the Constitutional Laws of the Realm."

A "Weaver in Harrison's Purchase" writes to Holt's *New York Journal* of December 22, 1774, combating the sophisms of the Tory pamphleteer, "A. W. Farmer"; and letters from correspondents in Cortlandt Manor, representing both sides, appear in Rivington's *Gazetteer* and Gaines's *New York Gazette* during the early months of 1775.

Some of this newspaper discussion by Westchester contributors is couched in very strong terms. Indeed, there is abundant evidence that nowhere in America were stronger passions aroused by the unfortunate divisions of the period than among the farmers of Westchester County. When the final conflict came, both parties in the county were ripe for the most bitter persecutions and the most revengeful reprisals, which frequently recognized neither neighborly considerations nor the sacred ties of blood.

CHAPTER XV

WESTCHESTER COUNTY IN LINE FOR INDEPENDENCE—EVENTS TO JULY 9, 1776

HAT was destined to be the last session of the general assembly of the Province of New York convened on the 10th of January, 1775, in New York City. Although the general aspect of affairs had undergone no improvement since the adjournment of the Philadelphia congress—and, indeed, the tendency had been toward a further estrangement from Great Britain, especially through the operation of the "Association" recommended by the congress,—the state of the public mind was rather that of expectancy than of active revolt. Lexington had not yet been fought, and there had been no new overt act of any very sensational nature on the part of the British ministry. It was still the devout hope of good men that a reconciliation might eventually be accomplished. In these circumstances the conservative leaders of the New York assembly—among whom James de Lancey, Frederick Philipse, and Isaac Wilkins were conspicuous—had every advantage throughout the session, uniformly commanding a majority against the proposals of the radicals. Resolutions extending thanks to the New York delegates to the Philadelphia congress, commending the New York merchants for their self-sacrificing observance of the "Association," and favoring the election of delegates from New York to the next general congress, were voted down. On questions involving a division the vote was usually fifteen to ten, Pierre Van Cortlandt and John Thomas being invariably among the minority. But the house framed and passed a state of grievances, petition to the king, memorial to the lords, and representation or remonstrance to the commons, to which little or no exception could reasonably be taken. These papers were respectful, but comprehensive and firm, and did honor to the leaders of the majority. The complaint made against the assembly of 1775 was not on the score of its positive transactions, but of what it refused to do. It utterly and in the most studied manner ignored the great and spontaneous manifestations of American sentiment, as expressed in such organized agencies of the times as departed from the regular channels of legislation and official administration. This was felt by the impatient people as a sore affront. The closing act of the assem-

bly was the appointment of a "Standing Committee of Correspondence," composed almost exclusively of conservatives, whose functions were strictly limited to observing the proceedings of the British parliament and administration and communicating with the sister colonies thereupon. Of this committee Philipse and Wilkins were made the members for Westchester County.

The assembly having declined to assume the initiative as to the election of the provincial delegates to the approaching general congress, that duty reverted to the still surviving people's committee in New York City. The committee decided that the delegates should be chosen this time not by the individual counties in an independent capacity, but by a provincial convention; and such a convention was called for the 20th of April, the counties being severally requested to send representatives to it. Circular letters to this end were dispatched under date of March 16. There was at that time no committee existing in Westchester County to take cognizance of the notification and summon the necessary county convention or meeting. It hence became needful for some private person or persons interested in the cause to take the lead in the matter. The man for the occasion proved to be Colonel Lewis Morris, who, since the death of his father, in 1762, had been at the head of the Morris family of Morrisania. Colonel Morris was born in 1726, and was graduated at Yale in 1746. While inheriting the political temperament and abilities of his race, he had as yet taken little part in public affairs, preferring the quiet and unostentatious life of a country gentleman. Even in the first movement of protest against the policy of Great Britain organized in this county, resulting in the White Plains convention of August, 1774, he had not been specially conspicuous. But after the refusal of the assembly to identify itself in any manner with the prevailing sentiment, he became profoundly impressed with the importance of immediate and emphatic action by the people in their original capacity. The occasion now presented was one demanding energy and management. It was not to be doubted that the powerful conservative party would exert its influence to the utmost to prevent any radical expression by Westchester County. There was more than a suspicion that this had been done deliberately, though insidiously, in 1774, when Frederick Philipse, the head and front of the conservatives, had been chosen chairman of the county convention, and that representative body, the first of its kind to meet in the county, had adjourned without adopting any aggressive resolutions or appointing a committee of correspondence to co-operate with the one in the city, or making any provision for the calling and assembling of future conventions of the county. With the issues now more closely drawn by the unfriendly

attitude of the provincial assembly, it was certain that Philipse, Wilkins, the de Lanceys, and their friends would assume to again control the course of Westchester County and to keep it well within the former moderate bounds.

Principally through the efforts of Colonel Morris, a temporary committee or caucus for the county was improvised, which on the 28th of March met at White Plains "for the purpose of devising means for taking the sense of the county" relative to the appointment of delegates to the proposed provincial convention. There were present Colonel Lewis Morris, Thomas Hunt, and Abraham Leggett, of Westchester; Theodosius Bartow, James Willis, and Abraham Guion, of New Rochelle; William Sutton, of Mamaroneck; Captain Joseph Drake, Benjamin Drake, Moses Drake, and Stephen Ward, of Eastchester; and James Horton, Jr., of Rye. A call was issued for a general meeting of freeholders of the county, to be held in the court house at White Plains on Tuesday, the 11th of April, and communications were sent to representative persons in every locality, requesting them to give notice to all the freeholders, without exception, "as those who do not appear and vote on that day will be presumed to acquiesce in the sentiment of the majority of those who vote."

THE THIRD FREDERICK PHILIPSE.

Because of the well-known radical views of Colonel Morris and most of his associates, this action at once became a subject of general discussion, causing much disquietude to the opposing faction. Of course no formal objection to the projected meeting could have been

offered, for that would have been not merely a confession of weakness, but highly inconsistent with the professed motives of the conservatives, who claimed to be quite as much devoted as the radicals to the liberties of the country, differing with them only as to methods. The challenge for a test of strength was promptly accepted, and steps were taken throughout the county to make as strong an antagonistic demonstration as possible at White Plains on the appointed day. This was made manifest by an address "To the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of Westchester," which appeared in Rivington's *New York Gazetteer* on the 6th of April, signed "A White Oak," it not being deemed politic by its author or authors to attach any names to it. It is very significant that, while the White Plains call appealed only to the freeholders—that is, to the legally qualified voters exclusively,—the counter-address comprehended the "inhabitants" as well. As a body, the tenant farmers of the Manor of Philipseburgh were not freeholders, but only non-voting "inhabitants"; and of course it would never do, in the coming struggle of the factions, to accept a basis of representation ruling out so considerable an element of support for the programme of which the lord of that manor was the embodiment. The "White Oak" address earnestly recommended a full attendance of "the friends of government and our happy constitution," in order that the proposal to appoint delegates to meet in provincial congress—"a measure so replete with ruin and misery"—might be voted down so far as Westchester County was concerned. They were urged to "Remember the extravagant price we are now obliged to pay for goods purchased of the merchants in consequence of the Non-Importation Agreement," "and," it was added, "when the Non-Exportation Agreement takes place, we shall be in the situation of those who were obliged to make bricks without straw."

Early on the morning of the 11th of April the rival forces began to gather at White Plains. The supporters of the announced business of the day made their headquarters at the tavern kept by Isaac Oakley, and the "friends of government" at the establishment of Captain Hatfield. About noon the former party proceeded to the court house, and, without waiting for the appearance of their friends of the other side, organized a meeting and elected Colonel Lewis Morris chairman. Soon after the opposite faction entered in a body, headed by Colonel Frederick Philipse and Isaac Wilkins, and Mr. Wilkins made a brief statement to the expectant Morrisites. He informed them that, "as they had been unlawfully called together, and for an unlawful purpose, they [the friends of government] did not intend to contest the matter by a poll, which would be tacitly acknowledging

the authority that had summoned them hither; but that they came only with a design to protest against all such disorderly proceedings, and to show their detestation of all unlawful committees and congresses." They then, according to the account of their transactions which their leaders furnished to the press, "declared their determined resolution to continue steadfast in their allegiance to their gracious and merciful sovereign, King George the Third, to submit to lawful authority, and to abide by and support the only true representatives of the people of the colony, the general assembly. Then, giving three huzzas, they returned to Captain Hatfield's, singing as they went, with loyal enthusiasm, the good and animating song of—

"God save great George our King;
Long live our noble King, etc."

The declination of the followers of Philipse and Wilkins to contest the matter by a poll was an unexpected measure of tactics. In the address signed by "White Oak" the friends of government had been expressly solicited to rally at White Plains in order to give their votes on the vital question to be propounded there, and the consequences of failure to attend and declare their sentiments in controlling numbers had been pictured in vivid words. Notwithstanding the organization of the meeting by the Morris party, the conservatives could, of course, have made its proceedings conformable to their will if they had been in the majority. Their preference to retire with nothing more than a protest, and convert themselves into a mere rump, was an act either of political petulance or studied discretion. The reasonable conclusion is that they were with good cause apprehensive of the result of a vote, and that their experienced leaders decided upon the safer course of a dignified retreat.

The radicals in the court house, being left to themselves, put through the programme arranged for them with expedition and enthusiasm. By a unanimous vote it was agreed to unite with the other counties in sending delegates to the proposed provincial convention, and eight delegates were accordingly chosen, as follows: Colonel Lewis Morris and Dr. Robert Graham, of Westchester; Stephen Ward, of Eastchester; Colonel James Holmes and Jonathan Platt, of Bedford; John Thomas, Jr., of Rye; and Samuel Drake and Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Manor of Cortlandt. Resolutions were adopted extending thanks to "the virtuous minority of the general assembly of this province, and particularly to John Thomas and Pierre Van Cortlandt, Esquires, two of our representatives, for their firm attachment to and zeal for, on a late occasion, the preservation of the union of the colonies and the rights and liberties of America," and also thanking "the delegates who composed the late congress for the essential

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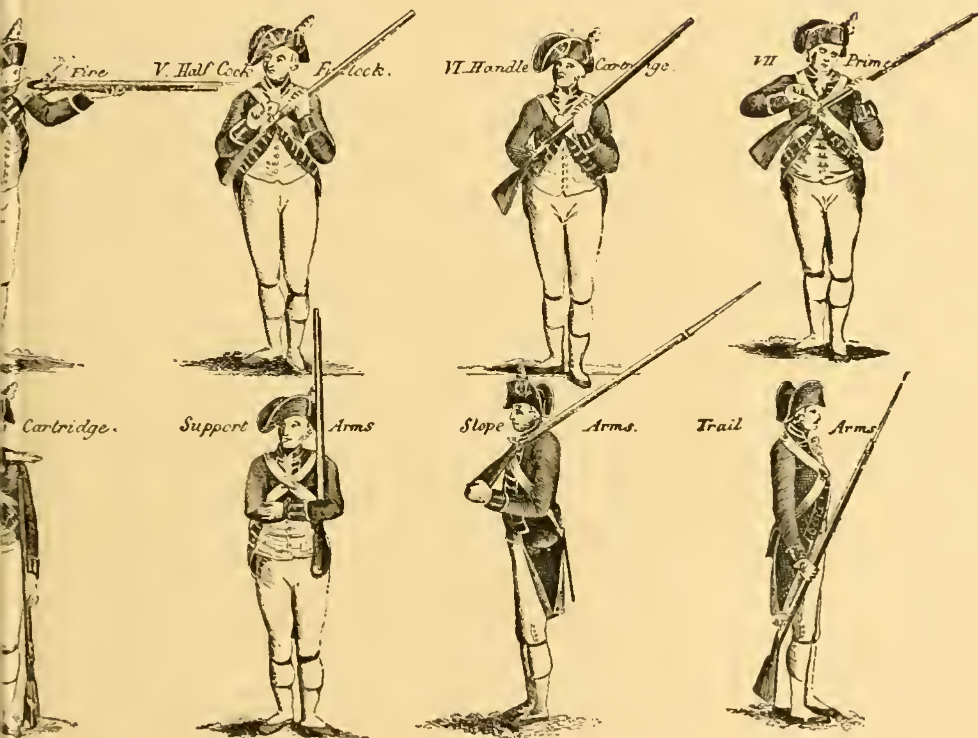

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RICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

services they have rendered to America." The meeting then adjourned with three cheers for the king.

The "friends of government," after leaving the court house, organized an independent meeting and adopted the following declaration, to which all present signed their names:

> We, the undersigned, freeholders and inhabitants of the County of Westchester, having assembled at the White Plains in consequence of certain advertisements, do now declare that we met here to express our honest abhorrence of all unlawful congresses and committees, and that we are determined at the hazard of our lives and properties to support the king and the constitution, and that we acknowledge no representatives but the general assembly, to whose wisdom and integrity we submit the guardianship of our rights and liberties.

There were in all three hundred and twelve signers to this document, headed by Frederick Philipse, Isaac Wilkins, the Revs. Samuel Seabury and Luke Babcock, Judges Jonathan Fowler and Caleb Fowler, and several other prominent persons, including Mayor Nathaniel Underhill, of the Borough of Westchester, and Philip Pell, of Pelham Manor.

The patriotic meeting at White Plains was conducted with perfect decorum, and, in spite of the aggressive speech of Mr. Wilkins against "disorderly proceedings" and "unlawful committees and congresses," Colonel Morris and his adherents had the good taste to refrain from all violent or vindictive expressions or doings on that occasion. Also in his published report of the events of the day Colonel Morris abstained from language that could possibly give offense, confining himself to a dispassionate narrative of facts. But the "friends of government" were not so moderate. They caused an elaborate statement to be printed in the New York press, filled with animadversions of an exasperating nature. In this statement, which appeared in Rivington's paper on the 20th of April, the day after the battle of Lexington, it was charged that the meeting held at the court house had, by assuming to represent the true sentiment of Westchester County, imposed upon the world and insulted the "loyal County of Westchester" in a most barefaced manner"; that it was "the act of a few individuals unlawfully assembled," and that it was well known that at least two-thirds of the inhabitants of the county were "friends to order and government, and opposed to committees and all unlawful combinations." The ire of Colonel Morris was aroused by such reflections and allegations, and in a communication to the press published soon afterward he replied with great vigor and cutting satire, also subjecting the list of signers to a merciless analysis. "I shall pass over," said he, "the many little embellishments with which the author's fancy has endeavored to decorate his narrative; nor is it necessary to call in question the reality of that loyal enthusiasm by which it

was said these good people were influenced; and I really wish it had been the fact, because when inconsistencies and fooleries result from inebriety or enthusiasm, they merit our pity and escape indignation and resentment. Much pains, I confess, were on that day taken to make temporary enthusiasts, and with other exhilarating spirit than the spirit of loyalty. To give the appearance of dignity to these curious and very orderly protestors, the author has been very mindful to annex every man's addition to his name, upon a presumption perhaps that it would derive weight from the title of Mayor, Esquire, Captain, Lieutenant, Judge, etc. But it is not easy to conceive why the publisher should be less civil to the clergy than to the gentry or commonalty. Samuel Seabury and Luke Babcock certainly ought not to have been sent into the world floating on a newspaper in that plain way. The one is the Rev. Mr. Samuel Seabury, rector of the united parishes of East and West Chester, and one of the missionaries for propagating the Gospel, and not politicks, in foreign parts, etc., etc.; the other is the Rev. Mr. Luke Babcock, who preaches and prays for Colonel Philipse and his tenants at Philipseburgh." In his analysis of the signers of the protest he showed that no fewer than one hundred and seventy of the three hundred and twelve were persons not possessing the least pretensions to a vote, many of them being lads under age; while of the one hundred and forty-two who were freeholders many held lands at the will of Colonel Philipse, "so that," he concluded, "very few independent freeholders objected to the appointment of deputies." The accuracy of this analysis was never challenged; and it thus appears that with all the advantages of prestige enjoyed by the conservative leaders they were able to muster scarcely a hundred disinterested voters in opposition to a political programme which they had announced to be "replete with ruin and misery." Moreover, several formal recantations of the protest by persons who had signed it followed, showing that, as in the case of the Rye protestants of the year before, various individuals who had been drawn into support of Tory principles were speedily brought to a realizing sense of the odiousness of their behavior. Among the recanters was Jonathan Fowler, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the county, who, in a published card, declared that "upon mature deliberation and more full knowledge of the matter" he had come to the conclusion that the sentiments expressed in the protest were "not only injurious to our present cause, but likewise offensive to our fellow-colonists," and therefore repudiated and testified his abhorrence of them.

The New York provincial convention for the appointment of delegates to the congress at Philadelphia met in New York City on the

20th of April. All the representatives for Westchester County selected by the meeting at White Plains were in attendance excepting Jonathan Platt and Colonel James Holmes. A delegation of twelve men—five from New York County and one each from Kings, Suffolk, Orange, Albany, Ulster, Westchester, and Dutchess Counties—was chosen to represent the province. The delegate for Westchester County was Colonel Lewis Morris. John Jay was re-elected as a delegate for New York City. The convention adjourned on the 22d.

On the morning of the next day, Sunday, April 23, 1775, the news of the battle of Lexington was received by the people of our county

THE NEWS OF LEXINGTON.

residing along the Boston Post Road from the express rider who had been dispatched to bear it as far as New York. Spread from mouth to mouth throughout the county, it everywhere intensified the passions which had been stirred by the local political events of the previous few weeks. Already incensed at the arrogant bearing of the conservative party, which had just been freshly illustrated by the injudicious narrative of the proceedings at White Plains that the leaders of that party had inserted in the New York newspapers, the patriotic element was aroused by this alarming intelligence to bitterness and aggression. Numerous were the interviews held with signers of the protest who were supposed to be open to persuasion,

and with all individuals of previously uncertain tendencies. A week later Judge Jonathan Fowler published his meek recantation, and even the bold spirit of Isaac Wilkins, the eloquent leader of the ma-

NEW-YORK, COMMITTEE-CHAMBER,

WEDNESDAY, 26th April, 1775.

THE Committee having taken into Consideration the Commotions occasioned by the sanguinary Measures pursued by the British Ministry, and that the Powers with which this Committee is invested, respect only the Association. are unanimously of Opinion, That a new Committee be elected by the Freeholders and Freemen of this City and County,, for the present unhappy Exigency of Affairs, as well as to observe the Conduct of all Persons touching the Association; That the said Committee consist of 100 Persons; that 33 be a Quorum. and that they dissolve within a Fortnight next after the End of the next Sessions of the Continental Congress. And that the Sense of the Freeholders and Freemen of this City and County, upon this Subject, may be better procured and ascertained, the Committee are further unanimously of Opinion, That the Polls be taken on Friday Morning next, at 9 o'Clock, at the usual Places of Election in each Ward, under the Inspection of the two Vestrymen of each Ward, and two of this Committee, or any two of the four; and that at the said Elections the Votes of the Freemen and Freeholders, be taken on the following Questions, viz. Whether such New Committee shall be constituted; and if *Yea*, of whom it shall consist. And this Committee is further unanimously of Opinion, That at the present alarming Juncture, it is highly adviseable that a Provincial Congress be immediately summoned; and that it be recommended to the Freeholders and Freemen of this City and County, to choose at the same Time that they vote for the New Committee aforesaid, Twenty Deputies to represent them at the said Congress. And that a Letter be forthwith prepared and dispatched to all the Counties, requesting them to unite with us in forming a Provincial Congress, and to appoint their Deputies without Delay, to meet at New-York, on Monday the 22d of May next.

By Order of the Committee,

ISAAC LOW, *Chairman.*

FACSIMILE OF NEW YORK COMMITTEE CIRCULAR AFTER THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

jority in the provincial assembly, yielded itself to the inevitable. Against Wilkins particularly severe animosity was cherished. It was he who, at White Plains, had denounced the patriotic assemblage as disorderly and unlawful, and common report attributed to

him the authorship of the protesting "narrative," with its offensive assumptions and impudent characterizations. The public resentment toward him was so deep, and was manifested with such activity, that without delay he formed the resolution to leave the country. This was announced in an open letter addressed to "My Countrymen," dated New York, May 3, 1775. The precipitation of his flight may be judged from his statement that he left behind "everything that is dear to me—my wife, my children, my friends, and my property." He avowed that he was actuated not by fear or a consciousness of having done wrong, but by an unwillingness to become involved in the fratricidal strife that was impending. "I leave America, and every endearing connection," he concluded, "because I will not raise my hand against my Sovereign, nor will I draw my sword against my Country; when I can conscientiously draw it in her favour, my life shall be chearfully devoted to her service."

In New York City, the center of political agitation and management, the thrilling news from Lexington evoked more energetic and aggressive measures than had yet been attempted. Although a provincial convention had just been held, and a continental congress was about to meet, it was decided to summon a provincial congress; and a call was promptly issued for such a body to meet in New York City on the 22d of May and "deliberate upon and from time to time to direct such measures as may be expedient for our common safety." In the circular sent to the counties the gravity of the situation was pointed out in strong language, and for the first time the hint of war was given to the people of the colony. Westchester County responded to this new appeal by holding a meeting at White Plains on the 8th of May, James Van Cortlandt, of the Borough of Westchester, occupying the chair. It appointed a permanent county committee of ninety persons, twenty of whom were empowered to act for the county, and to that committee was referred the authority to choose the delegates to the proposed congress. The delegates selected under this provision were Gouverneur Morris, Dr. Robert Graham, Colonel Lewis Graham, and Colonel James Van Cortlandt, all of the Town of Westchester; Stephen Ward and Joseph Drake, of Eastchester; Major Philip Van Cortlandt, of Cortlandt Manor; Colonel James Holmes, of Bedford; John Thomas, Jr., of Rye; David Dayton, of North Castle; and William Paulding, of Philipseburgh Manor. It is noteworthy that among the results of this White Plains meeting two men whose names were destined to rank among the most important in the annals of Westchester County obtained their first entrance into public life—Gouverneur Morris and Jonathan G. Tompkins. The former headed the delegation to the provincial congress,

and the latter was one of the principal members of the committee of ninety which was created to take charge of affairs in the county.

Gouverneur Morris was the fourth son of Lewis Morris, Jr., and a stepbrother of Colonel Lewis Morris. He was born in 1752, was graduated at Columbia College in 1768, studied law under the preceptorship of William Smith the younger (afterward royal chief justice), and was admitted to the bar in 1771, when only twenty years old. He immediately espoused the cause of the anti-government party, although identifying himself, like Jay, with its more moderate advocates; and it was not until the die had been cast by the introduction of the Declaration of Independence in the continental congress that he took a pronounced position in support of radical doctrines. As a delegate from Westchester County to the provincial congress of 1775 and 1776 he attracted general attention by his abilities, and thenceforward his services were constantly employed in behalf of the nation. His mother was a lady of strong Loyalist prejudices, and Gouverneur's championship of the Revolutionary cause was a great disappointment to her. His sister, Isabella, married Isaac Wilkins, whose melancholy farewell to his countrymen has just been noticed. Gouverneur Morris, being his father's youngest son, did not inherit any portion of the Morrisania estate; but some years after the conclusion of peace with Great Britain he purchased from his brother, General Staats Long Morris, of the British army, all that portion of the ancestral property lying east of Mill Brook. There he resided during the closing years of his life, and died on the 16th of November, 1816.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Jonathan G. Tompkins,[1] of Scarsdale, the father of Governor and Vice-President Daniel D. Tompkins, was a prominent Westchester County figure throughout the Revolution and for many years after. His ancestors emigrated from the north of England to Massachu-

[1] He was born Joshua Tompkins, being so named for his father, who removed to Scarsdale from Westchester Town. One of the family's neighbors in Scarsdale was Captain Jonathan Griffen, a well-to-do farmer, who, being childless, and taking a fancy to young Joshua, adopted him and had him baptized by the name of Jonathan Griffen Tompkins. Captain Griffen conveyed to him a farm of one hundred acres. Jonathan G. Tompkins married a daughter of Caleb Hyatt, a respectable farmer in White Plains.

setts. Besides serving on the county committee, he was supervisor for the Manor of Scarsdale, and later was a member of the committee of safety, a delegate to two provincial congresses, member of the assembly and county judge under the State government, and one of the first regents of the State University. He lived to the venerable age of eighty-seven, dying in 1823.

The second continental congress began its sessions at Philadelphia on the 10th of May. Accepting the proceedings at Lexington and their associated events as acts of war, it immediately began to lay plans for a general armed resistance. Steps were taken for the creation of an army by the enlistment of volunteers, Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, and the preliminary arrangements were made for meeting the expenses of the struggle.

When the New York provincial congress assembled on the 22d of May, the programme of revolution had already been well marked out. This provincial body was equal to the emergency, being fully controlled by the patriotic element, although well balanced in its membership. It entered at once upon the serious business of the hour. By the election of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, an extremist, as its presiding officer, it testified its complete readiness for co-operation with the sister colonies in radical action. Yet it took a firm stand in insisting upon the local autonomy of the Colony of New York, one of its earliest acts being the rejection of a resolution providing for implicit obedience to the continental congress in all matters except those of local police regulation. On the first day of the session provision was made for effective organization in the several counties by the establishing of committees in sympathy with the general plans of the friends of liberty. A plan for a continental currency, submitted and advocated with great ability by Gouverneur Morris, was recommended to the consideration of the continental congress. Finally, detailed arrangements were adopted for putting the province in a state of military defense, for the levying of troops, and for active local administration and supervision in the interest of assuring full exercise of authority by the Revolutionary party and repressing disaffection.

The British garrison in New York had given little trouble to the populace since the Golden Hill affray of January, 1770. During its brief stay in the city after the battle of Lexington it was not reenforced. Although as yet no armed body of colonists had arisen to threaten the British soldiers, it was perfectly understood that the people, and not the garrison, were masters of the local situation, and that at the slightest manifestation of aggression on the part of the troops sanguinary events would be precipitated. The British com-

mander had the good sense to abstain from anything of that nature, and, on the other hand, the populace made no attempt to interfere with him. But this forbearance was about the only instance of moderation displayed in the City of New York at that critical time. The people, under the leadership of the Sons of Liberty, committed overt acts which were in the line of open rebellion. A government storehouse at Turtle Bay was seized, and about one hundred pieces of ordnance were carted to Kingsbridge, which, as the point of communication with the mainland, was instantly recognized as a principal strategic position, demanding intrenchment. Indeed, as early as the 4th of May the New York City committee ordered "that Captain Sears, Captain Randall, and Captain Fleming be a committee to procure proper judges to go and view the ground at or near Kingsbridge, and report to this committee, with all convenient speed, whether it will answer for the purposes intended by it." Thus the very first warlike measure determined upon in this portion of the country had reference to a locality upon the borders of our county.

The supremacy of the popular power in New York was well evidenced by the dictatorial authority assumed and successfully enforced by the committee of one hundred upon the occasion of the departure of the garrison from the city. This event occurred early in June, the frigate "Asia" having come into the harbor with orders to remove the soldiers to Boston. The committee gave its consent to the transaction, with the proviso, however, that the troops should carry away with them no other arms than those upon their own persons. An attempt was made to violate the arbitrary order thus promulgated, and the first detachment that issued from the fort was accompanied by several vehicles loaded with stacks of arms. At the corner of Broad and Beaver Streets a single citizen, Marinus Willett by name, emerged from the crowd, seized the horse of the leading vehicle by the bridle, and commanded the driver to turn back. An altercation now ensued, several prominent gentlemen expressing their opinions—among them Gouverneur Morris, who, consistently with the pacific attitude that he had taken, deprecated Willett's act. But the aggressive faction was represented by well-known spokesmen, having behind them overwhelming numbers of the Sons of Liberty, and they gave it to be understood that unless the arms were left in the city, in obedience to the directions of the committee, blood would flow. The judicious British officer in command yielded to these representations, and the citizens were permitted to appropriate the arms. After that triumphal termination of the matter, Willett mounted one of the carts and delivered an impassioned address to the meek soldiery, exhorting them to desist from the unnatural business of

shedding the blood of their brethren, and promising protection to any of their number who should have the courage to leave the ranks and join the patriotic multitude. History records that one of the men deserted in response to this appeal. In all the preliminary events of the Revolution there is no more dramatic episode than this exploit of Marinus Willett. It is typical of the whole course of the people of New York from the earliest period of the troubles with the mother country—a course of unfaltering aggression, taking no thought of consequences. Willett subsequently became an officer in the American army, and, as we shall see, distinguished himself upon

EXPLOIT OF MARINUS WILLETT.

a notable occasion in repelling a British expedition near Peekskill, in our county.

The continental congress at Philadelphia, pursuing the Revolutionary programme which had been inaugurated at the beginning of its session, early turned its attention to the subject of preparing the Province of New York for defensive and offensive operations. In this connection the fortification of the passes at Kingsbridge and at the entrance to the Highlands, and plans for obstructing the navigation of the Hudson River in case of necessity, received chief consideration. On the 25th of May a number of resolutions pertaining to New York were adopted by the congress, including the following:

That a post be immediately taken and fortified at or near Kingsbridge, in the Colony of New York; and that the ground be chosen with a particular view to prevent the communication between the City of New York and the country from being interrupted by land.

That a post be also taken in the Highlands, on each side of Hudson's River, and batteries erected in such a manner as will most effectually prevent any vessels passing that may be sent to harass the inhabitants on the borders of said river; and that experienced persons be immediately sent to examine said river, in order to discover where it will be most advisable and proper to obstruct the navigation.

These resolves, with others, were communicated to the provincial congress of New York, with instructions to keep them secret. That body referred the two matters to separate committees, which in due time reported plans for carrying the recommendations into effect. The result as to Kingsbridge was the construction of three redoubts, one of which (on Tetard's Hill) was called Fort Independence; and the first intrenchments thus established were soon supplemented by others along the Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil waterway. Fort Washington, on Manhattan Island, overlooking the Hudson at about the foot of 181st Street, was built under the supervision of Colonel Rufus Putnam, of Washington's staff, previously to the British occupation of New York. It was designed to be—and was, in fact—the main defensive position guarding New York City below and the open country above; and Fort Washington and the Kingsbridge defenses were closely interdependent. In addition to its function as a citadel at the northern end of Manhattan Island, Fort Washington covered the passage up the Hudson River, to which end Fort Lee, erected about the same time directly opposite on the New Jersey bank, also contributed.

The committee having in charge the matter of advising as to fortifying both banks of the Hudson in the neighborhood of the Highlands and obstructing the river navigation paved the way for equally important undertakings in that quarter. Expert commissioners who were sent to examine the country laid stress in their report upon the natural military advantages offered by the northwestern section of Westchester County, which, besides guarding the Highlands, was the eastern terminus of the King's Ferry route (at that time the principal means of communication between the Eastern and Southern colonies), and also afforded an excellent road leading into Connecticut. The famous chain across the Hudson at Anthony's Nose was soon afterward manufactured. It is said to have cost £70,000, almost bankrupting the continental treasury, whereas no compensating benefits were derived from it. On two occasions it broke from its own weight. The ill-fated Forts Clinton and Montgomery were constructed in the Highlands on the west side of the river, with Fort Constitution on an island opposite West Point. The erection of Fort Lafayette at Verplanck's Point and Fort Independence at Peekskill (as also of the famous works at Stony Point, opposite Verplanck's)

belongs to a later period. Of the various Revolutionary fortresses in the Highlands and that section, West Point was built last.

In addition to its particular recommendations respecting Kingsbridge, the Highlands, and the Hudson, the continental congress advised New York to have its militia thoroughly armed and trained, and placed in "constant readiness to act at a moment's warning"; and, as a final matter, the colony was summoned to enlist and equip three thousand volunteers, who were to serve until the 31st of December, 1775, unless sooner discharged. In response to the demand for three thousand enlisted men, four regiments were formed, of which one, though known as the Dutchess County regiment, was composed to a considerable extent of Westchester County men. Its colonel was James Holmes, of Bedford, a grandson of one of the original proprietors of that town, who had served with credit as a captain in the French and Indian War. Although, in addition to accepting this commission, Holmes had been a delegate to the provincial congress, and soon afterward served with his command in the invasion of Canada, he subsequently became one of the disaffected, turned Loyalist, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel in the corps of Westchester County Refugees. Philip Van Cortlandt, son of Pierre Van Cortlandt and a leading member of the provincial congress, was made lieutenant-colonel of the Dutchess County regiment. Three of its ten companies were largely from Westchester County.

In the summer of 1775 the provincial congress ordered a complete reorganization of the militia of the colony, and required every member of that body, between the ages of sixteen and fifty, to provide himself with a musket and bayonet, a sword or tomahawk, a cartridge-box to contain twenty-three rounds of cartridges, a knapsack, one pound of gunpowder, and three pounds of balls. There were no regulations as to uniform. Under this order Westchester County thoroughly reconstructed its militia, deposing all officers of unsatisfactory or doubtful antecedents, and electing stanch patriots in their stead.

The battle of Bunker Hill, on the 17th of June, had still farther widened the breach, which, indeed, now seemed incapable of being closed. Three days previously George Washington had been appointed by the continental congress commander-in-chief of the American armies. On June 25 he arrived in New York on his way to the seat of war in Massachusetts, having been met at Newark by a deputation of citizens, of whom Gouverneur Morris was one of the principal members. He stopped over night in the city, and the next morning continued his journey, being escorted for some distance by the

local militia. His route, of course, lay through our county, along the Boston Post Road.

One of the most noteworthy enactments of the provincial congress of 1775 was a series of regulations for preventing and punishing unacceptable acts and language by the Tory element of the province. These regulations were drastic, and, as they were applied with particular severity in Westchester County, a somewhat detailed notice of them is called for. The measure embodying them was adopted on the 26th of August. It prohibited the furnishing of provisions or other necessaries, "contrary to the resolutions of the continental or of this congress," to the ministerial army or navy, as well as communicating by correspondence or otherwise to the British military or naval officers any information prejudicial to the interests or plans of the colonists. Persons accused of offending against the act in these respects were to be brought before the county or city committee, the provincial congress, or the committee of safety, and, if found guilty, were to be disarmed, to forfeit double the value of the articles furnished, and to be imprisoned not to exceed three months. In case of a second offense, the guilty person was to be banished from the colony for seven years. Continuing, the act declared that, "although this congress, having tender regard to the freedom of speech, the rights of conscience, and personal liberty, so far as indulgence in these particulars may be consistent with our general security, yet, for the general safety," it was necessary to sternly punish abuses of such privileges. Consequently all persons were prohibited from opposing or denying "the authority of the continental or this congress, or the committee of safety, or the committees of the respective counties, cities, towns, manors, precincts, or districts in this colony" and from "dissuading any person or persons from obeying the recommendations of the continental or this congress, or the committee of safety, or the committees aforesaid." Suspects were to be tried before the county committees, and, if convicted, were to be disarmed for the first offense and committed to close confinement, at their respective expense, for the second. Committees and militia officers were enjoined to apprehend every person discovered to be enlisted or in arms against the liberties of the country, and to keep him in custody until his fate should be determined by the congress; and the estate of every such individual was to be seized and confiscated.

PHILIPSE ARMS.

Very soon after the passage of this measure the zealous local committeemen in Westchester County began to take steps for its wide-

spread and stringent enforcement. With the autumn of 1775 commenced those numerous acts of information, frequently by neighbor against neighbor, and as frequently violative of every private confidence and decent obligation between man and man, which form so much of the history of our county during the Revolution. In no other county of the province did such abundant and inviting material exist for the exercise of the peculiar activities of the patriotic informer. It is true that Kings, Queens, Suffolk, and Richmond Counties contained a large Loyalist population—perhaps as numerous and important, proportionately, as that of Westchester. But with the capture of New York City in the summer of 1776 these island counties came under the complete protection of the British forces, and their Tory inhabitants were consequently exempted from the inquisitorial observation and regulation through a long term of years which the British sympathizers in Westchester County had to suffer. There is no doubt that many of the individual proceedings in this connection in our county were fully warranted. It should also be remembered that such doings are the inevitable concomitants of war—especially civil war,—even at the present day and under the most enlightened and generous governments. Yet the history of this aspect of the Revolution in Westchester County is peculiarly distressing. The proscriptions were appalling in number, and whatever individual justice, wisdom, or necessity attached to special cases, the characteristic spirit of the Revolutionary authorities was without question merciless. A certain satisfaction, though but a melancholy one, is afforded by the reflection that the British, so far as they had the power to pursue retributive practices here, were even more vindictive in their spirit and barbarous in its execution. The Americans at least seldom burned private mansions or devastated estates, which the British did not fail to do in their raids; and, indeed, the Westchester raids of the British were often exclusively for these precise purposes. Summary arrests by the British in this county of persons not in arms, but deemed obnoxious for political reasons, were also very frequent; and many a Westchester patriot, including some of the most honored sons of the county, perished miserably in the loathsome dungeons and frightful prison-ships which the English commanders maintained for political captives.

The first list of suspects for the County of Westchester reported to the provincial congress was headed by the name of Colonel Frederick Philipse. Another conspicuous person denounced on the same occasion was the Rev. Samuel Seabury, of Eastchester, to whom Colonel Lewis Morris had sarcastically alluded a few months before as a missionary for "propagating the Gospel, and not politicks, in for-

eign parts." Philipse was destined to a brief respite before being summoned to the Revolutionary bar, but Seabury was soon to experience even harsher treatment than that provided for in the sufficiently aggressive provincial act. This initial list comprised altogether thirty-one persons. So far as their individual cases have been traced, documentary evidence has been found showing that at least twenty of the number were duly convicted and cast into prison. A specially interesting case was that of Godfrey Hains, of Rye, denounced by one Eunice Purdy, supposed to have been a revengeful sweetheart, in an affidavit over her mark. Eunice, being sworn "upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God," alleged that Hains had used extremely incendiary language in her hearing against congresses and committees, and moreover had expressed the heinous wish that men-of-war would come along the Sound. Hains was arrested, and, after being examined by the committee at White Plains, was about to be discharged with the mild sentence that he be disarmed; whereupon he defiantly admitted that he possessed arms, but would not reveal their hiding-place. The committee dispatched him to New York, with a letter describing him as a particularly dangerous man. He was confined in the City Hall Prison, and after a time was arraigned before the provincial congress and recommitted to jail. Taking advantage of a favorable opportunity he escaped, and then, with several associates, he loaded a vessel with provisions and sailed for Boston, intending to deliver his supplies to General Howe. The ship was wrecked, its cargo was seized by the Revolutionary government, and Hains was again imprisoned, this time in the Ulster County jail, where a strong guard was placed over him, and where, presumably, he languished long enough for his Tory ardor to become cooled.

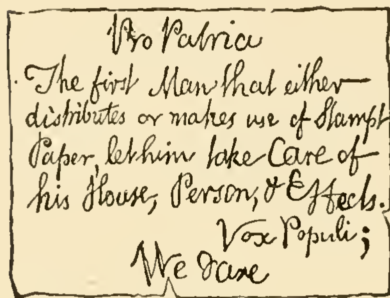
Hains was supposed to have been concerned in a plot to seize the distinguished Judge John Thomas, and other prominent Westchester patriots, and carry them captives to the British general at Boston. Throughout the fall of 1775 there were whisperings of serious Tory conspiracies in Westchester County, which were likely to result at any time in retaliatory measures of a formidable nature. The arrests of Tories had in some instances been resisted by companies of their armed partisans, and in general a spirit of resentment had been manifested which gave considerable uneasiness to the committee. In a letter dated White Plains, the 1st of November, and signed by Jonathan G. Tompkins and others, concerning the rumored plot to abduct Judge Thomas, the president of the provincial congress was besought to take the necessary steps for causing a number of specified persons to appear before that body and testify. "We would not have troubled

the congress," it was added, "about apprehending the above-named persons, but that we look upon ourselves, at present, as too weak to do it without great danger." Remembering that the committee had full power to summon the militia officers to their aid, this is a rather curious confession. It was particularly feared that British vessels of war would appear on the Westchester shore of the Sound and land marines to carry out concerted local Tory plans. Strong feeling had been excited in this county by an order of the committee of safety for the general impressment of arms—that is, the seizure of all fire-pieces belonging to private persons—on the ground that they were needed for the equipment of the troops. The complaints against this order were so bitter that it had to be rescinded after a few sporadic attempts at its enforcement, none of which appear to have been ventured upon in Westchester County. Unfavorable comment was also caused by the bringing of some four hundred militiamen from Connecticut, who were quartered at the northern end of Manhattan Island under the command of General Wooster. There was at the time no enemy in the vicinity of New York, and none expected, and the necessity of employing troops from another colony in the absence of any such emergency could not be explained to the satisfaction of the people. There is no evidence that there was fear of an armed rising in Westchester County, and yet many circumstances of the local situation in the fall of 1775 indicate a well-founded distrust of the Tory faction.

In this position of affairs occurred the celebrated Westchester raid of Captain Isaac Sears, resulting in the apprehension and removal to Connecticut of three of the leading men of the Loyalist party—the Rev. Samuel Seabury, Mayor Nathaniel Underhill, of Westchester Borough, and Judge Jonathan Fowler. Seabury and Underhill were men of undisguised and strong Tory sentiments. Fowler, although he had signed a recantation of expressed views of a similar character, was still regarded with a good deal of suspicion. The three men were leading representatives of the disaffected classes who were giving so much trouble to the Revolutionary committee in Westchester County, and Sears conceived the idea that their simultaneous arrest by means of a dashing expedition would exert a wholesome influence toward the proper regulation of that much Tory-ridden region.

Captain Isaac Sears was a picturesque Revolutionary personage. In the French and Indian War he was in command of a privateer sloop, with which, although it carried but fourteen guns, he attacked a French ship of twenty-four, grappling with it three times but finally being compelled by a storm to abandon his bold attempt. Later, he engaged in shipping pursuits in New York of a more or less ques-

tionable character. At the beginning of the Stamp Act troubles he took the leadership of the Sons of Liberty in that city, and through his many exploits in this connection he came to be popularly known as King Sears. At the time of the Golden Hill conflict between the citizens and the soldiers, in 1770, he was in the thick of the fray, and, finding himself confronted at one stage of it by a fierce grenadier with a bayonet, with great presence of mind and precision of aim hurled a ram's horn at the unfortunate man, which struck him full in the forehead and put him *hors de combat*. Wherever there was an affray Sears was sure to be, always rough and ready and always victorious. As time sped on to the Revolution, he sought to give to his country's cause the benefit also of his co-operation in council, but received not overmuch encouragement in that line from the aristocratic and coldly intellectual Jays, Duanes, Livingstons, and Morrises. Yet as the leading man of the democratic masses he was not to be ignored, and he not only was connected with the New York committee from its organization, but sat in the provincial congress of 1775 as a delegate from the city. Resigning his membership in that body, he went to New Haven, Conn., where, continuing to observe the march of events in New York, he was particularly impressed with the unsuitable spirit of so many citizens of Westchester County, and concluded that a little vigorous correction in that quarter would be entirely apropos.



LIBERTY PLACARD.

With sixteen mounted and armed men, described by a New Haven newspaper of the day as "respectable citizens of this town," Sears set out on the 20th of November for the avowed purpose of an expedition "to East and West Chester, in the Province of New York, to disarm the principal Tories there and secure the persons of Parson Seabury, Judge Fowler, and Lord Underhill." On the way they were joined by Captains Richards, Silleck, and Mead, with about eighty men. At Mamaroneck they burned a sloop that had been purchased by the British governor to convey provisions to the man-of-war "Asia." A detachment of forty men, commanded by Captain Lothrop, was sent to Westchester, which without ceremony took Seabury and Underhill in custody, the main body meantime proceeding to Eastchester and securing Judge Fowler. The three prisoners were dispatched with a guard of twenty to Connecticut. This completed Sears's business in Westchester County, but he had still another reg-

ulating duty to perform. He had long been displeased with the editorial conduct of Rivington's *New York Gazetteer*, and he now rode with his remaining men, a troop of about seventy-five, down to the city, "which they entered at noon-day, with bayonets fixed and the greatest regularity, went down the main streets, and drew up in close order before the printing office of the infamous James Rivington."[1] They completely wrecked the establishment, demolishing the presses and taking away the types; and, having so successfully completed this final part of their mission, remounted, struck up the tune of "Yankee Doodle," and amid the cheers of the populace returned whence they came.

Some incidents of Sears's raid suggest that it was not exclusively an enterprise of patriotic enthusiasm. Certain acts of indecorum were committed, to characterize them by no harsher term. At Seabury's house they broke open his desk, examined and scattered his papers, appropriated some three or four dollars in money, and quite offensively threatened and insulted his daughter. From Fowler's residence they carried away a beaver hat, a silver-mounted horsewhip, and two silver spoons, besides the sword, gun, and pistols which belonged to his official dignity as colonel in the militia. They moreover visited the homes of various Tories along the route, where supposably they did not uniformly resist taking such articles as were to their liking. Our nineteenth century Tory historian, Dawson, in his account of this raid, comments with uncontrolled and terrible excitement upon every phase of it, describing Sears as a cowardly, plundering ruffian of the dirtiest water, and his troopers as diabolical banditti, and insists that they returned to Connecticut laden with spoils. Of this there is no evidence whatever. Abundant evidence does exist that they brought back with them a large and curious collection of arms from Westchester Loyalists of notorious repute. The expedition, however lawless and reprehensible, was a *bona fide* one in the patriot interest, and not an adventure for mere private plunder, although it can not be questioned that some incidental peculating was done. Compared with the villainous doings of the Cowboy and Skinner bands of subsequent years, it was a quite virtuous and legitimate enterprise.

As such it was unhesitatingly regarded by the good people of Connecticut, who right royally welcomed home the returning regulators. The guard having the three prisoners in charge had halted at Horse-

[1] The circumstance, as recorded by the veracious chronicler, that they rode into the city "with bayonets fixed," is powerful evidence of the grimness of the business upon which they were bent. The editor of this History has witnessed many mounted troops going into or in process of action, but does not recall any occasion when fixed bayonets were among their arms.

neck, where on the 27th of November they were joined by the parent band. The next day the whole party took up their triumphal march to New Haven. They were escorted, says the local newspaper from which we have already quoted, "by a number of gentlemen from the westward, the whole making a grand procession. Upon their entrance into town they were saluted with the discharge of two cannons, and received by the inhabitants with every mark of approbation and respect. The company divided into two parts, and concluded the day in festivities and innocent mirth. "Captain Sears," ingenuously adds this patriotic sheet, "returned in company with the other gentlemen, and proposes to spend the winter here, unless publick business should require his presence in New York." It does not appear that any such "publick business," so far as Westchester County was concerned, transpired to interfere with the virtuous captain's amiable arrangements. He does not again figure, at least to the knowledge of the present historian, in the concerns of our county.

Judge Fowler and Mayor Underhill were released in a day or two, after signing papers presented to them by the Connecticut officials, wherein they declared themselves to be heartily sorry for their "inconsiderate conduct," and promised never more to transgress in like manner. But the Rev. Mr. Seabury was not so leniently dealt with. It was widely believed that he was the author of "A. W. Farmer" tracts, so peculiarly offensive to the patriotic sentiment of the times; and however that might be he was undeniably a Tory of the most intractable and odious type. It was remembered with great indignation against him that he had refused to open the church at Eastchester on the day appointed for the continental fast. Finally, he was regarded with deep private resentment by Captain Sears, who suspected him of complicity in a scheme to seize him (Sears) while he was passing through Westchester County on a former occasion, and carry him on board a man-of-war. He was held in confinement for more than a month, at his own financial charge, his prayers to the courts for relief being utterly ignored. At length he submitted an able memorial to the Connecticut legislature, in which he dwelt upon the flagrant illegality of the whele proceedings in his case, and that body presently ordered his release. Returning to Westchester, he found his affairs there in a sorry plight. The private school upon which he had mainly depended for support was completely broken up. He was under a heavy burden of debt, his influence in the community was at an end, and he and his family were obliged to submit to many discourtesies and insults. During the military campaign of 1776 he was obliged to give accommodation in his house to a company of

Revolutionary cavalry, who, says Dawson, consumed or destroyed all the products of his glebe. The poor Tory clergyman finally, in desperation, fled with his wife and six children to the British lines.

Like Isaac Wilkins, also of the Borough of Westchester, Seabury continued a British sympathizer throughout the war; but after the Revolution he returned to America and became bishop of the (Episcopalian) diocese of Connecticut. Wilkins, after a more protracted absence, came back to Westchester Town, and, taking holy orders, was made rector of the same parish of Saint Peter's which his compatriot Seabury vacated in 1776. The question of the authorship of the A. W. Farmer tracts has puzzled many minds; but there is no reasonable doubt that they were written either by Seabury or by Wilkins. They were almost as noted in the polemic literature of their times as was Tom Paine's "Common Sense." Whatever the doubts respecting their authorship, it is certain that the apparent pseudonym "A. W. Farmer" stood for "A Westchester Farmer"; and both Seabury and Wilkins, though persons of polite character, were gentlemen farmers. The detestation in which these tracts were held by the patriotic people is well instanced by a resolution adopted by the committee of safety of Suffolk County, N. Y., February, 1775, in which it was declared "That all those publications which have a tendency to divide us, and thereby weaken our opposition to measures taken to enslave us, ought to be treated with the utmost contempt by every friend to his country; in particular the pamphlet entitled A Friendly Address, &c., and those under the signature of A. W. Farmer, and many others to the same purpose, which are replete with the most impudent falsehoods and the grossest misrepresentations; and that the authors, printers, and abettors of the above and such like publications ought to be esteemed and treated as traitors to their country, and enemies to the liberties of America." A writer in *Dawson's Historical Magazine* (January, 1868) says: "When copies of these pamphlets fell into the hands of the Whigs they were disposed of in such a manner as most emphatically to express detestation of the anonymous authors and their sentiments. Sometimes they were publicly burned with imposing formality, sometimes decorated with tar and feathers (from the turkey buzzard, as 'the fittest emblem of the author's odiousness') and nailed to the whipping-post." In the draft of a document claimed to be in Seabury's own writing, he says that he was the author of a pamphlet entitled "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia," and of other publications which followed, all signed "A. W. Farmer." Dawson, however, after a careful study of the whole subject, concludes that

the burden of evidence favors the opinion that Wilkins was their author.[1]

The provincial congress which assembled in May, 1775, continued in session, with several brief recesses, until the 4th of November, when it adjourned *sine die*. On the 7th of November elections for delegates to a second provincial congress were held in a number of the counties of New York, those in Westchester County occurring, as usual, at White Plains. The representatives chosen were Colonel Lewis Graham, Stephen Ward, Colonel Joseph Drake, Robert Graham, John Thomas, Jr., William Paulding, Major Ebenezer Lockwood,

TEARING DOWN THE KING'S STATUE—NEW YORK CITY.

Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, and Colonel Gilbert Drake, any three of whom were authorized to cast the vote of the county. The new body experienced considerable difficulty in procuring a quorum, and did not enter upon its active business until the 6th of December. This business was in continuation of the aggressive political and military measures, harmonizing with the policies of the continental congress, that had been instituted by the first congress of the province. Like its predecessor, the second congress adjourned temporarily several times, vesting complete administrative authority, during such intervals,

[1] See Scharf, I., 313, *note*.

in a general committee of safety, of which Pierre Van Cortlandt was chairman for some months. The last session of the second provincial congress was held on the 13th of May, 1776.

During its lifetime the general condition of affairs steadily grew more critical, events of commanding importance transpired, and developments of portentous significance to the people of New York and Westchester County resulted. In the early part of this period the invasion of Canada by the American troops was brought to a disastrous end before the walls of Quebec,[1] but the collapse in that quarter was more than compensated for by the surrender of Boston to General Washington in March. Thereupon the war, which had previously been localized in New England, was terminated there for the time being. It needed no keen prevision to forecast its course in the near future. New York City, as the central point of vantage, commanding a waterway which completely divided the rebellious colonies, would unquestionably be attacked as soon as a sufficient expeditionary force for the purpose could be gathered. Any other plan of campaign was unthinkable. New York was the only quarter from which offensive operations could be conducted with equal facility against every section of the country. With New York in their hands, the British would be prepared for any emergency that the strategy of Washington or the fortunes of battle might produce. Absolutely secure against recapture from the sea, since the Americans possessed no fleet, and almost completely incapable of being invested by land, that city would certainly remain theirs to the last. Even if extensive campaigns should fail, and pitched battle after pitched battle should go against them, with New York as a base they could still wage the conflict with great advantage of position. Such was the reasoning which naturally occurred to intelligent men after the fall of Boston, and it was fully sustained by results. If the British had not captured and held New York, it is in every way historically improbable that they could have made even a respectable struggle for

[1] The lamented General Richard Montgomery, whose death in this expedition will always be remembered as one of the capital tragedies of the Revolution, was a resident of our county, and some of the most important associations of the War of Independence cluster around the place where his home stood. It was on the spot now occupied by the residence of William Ogden Giles, at Kingsbridge—the identical spot where Fort Independence was built. About 1772 Montgomery, after several years of service as a captain in the British army, resigned his commission, purchased this land with considerable more, and engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1773 he married one of the aristocratic Livingston family. Montgomery's Kingsbridge house—or rather cottage—was an entirely unpretentious building, a story and a half high. His sister was the Viscountess of Ranelagh. In his will, made at Crown Point, he says: "I give to my sister, Lady Ranelagh, . . . my estate at Kingsbridge, near New York," adding that "my dear sister's large family want all I can spare them." One of the witnesses of this will was the Rev. John Peter Tetard, also of Kingsbridge, whose family gave its name to Tetard's Hill. Rev. Mr. Tetard was a chaplain in one of the regiments belonging to the Canadian expedition.

the retention of the colonies, and, indeed, it is not likely that they would have persevered long in the attempt. In the very act of taking New York they all but annihilated the American nation at one blow, missing by a mere chance the capture of Washington's whole army; and thereafter for a dreary period the distinguishing phases of the War of Independence were complete British prestige and almost as complete American confusion, relieved only by masterly retreat, brilliant triumph in a few minor engagements, and heroic fortitude. Finally the destruction of Burgoyne's army gave an altered aspect to the unequal warfare. But this did not at all reverse conditions. It merely established for the Americans a fighting chance, and decided France to espouse their cause. The principal element of the situation remained the possession of New York by the British. That overwhelming disadvantage could only be neutralized by consecutive successes in campaigns large and small elsewhere, whose net result would be to convince the British statesmen that they could never conquer America. It was a disadvantage that could not be eliminated by the reduction of New York itself, which was never attempted and probably never seriously thought of. On the other hand, if New York had continued American, the British would have been left without any assured standing as combatants. They might have taken the Revolutionary capital, Philadelphia, but that would have been an utterly ridiculous proceeding in view of its untenability as a primary base compared with New York. In such an event, or in any other except the mastery of New York, which, with its inevitable consequences, seemed to establish the supremacy of Great Britain beyond the possibility of dispute, the French alliance would have been a matter of months instead of years.

After the evacuation of New York by its small British garrison, in June, 1775, the city, although in fact fully controlled by the patriot party, remained nominally for a brief time under a divided authority. It is a curious fact that on the same day when Washington arrived in New York *en route* to the army in Massachusetts, the royal Governor Tryon returned there after a short absence, and that both were received with every manifestation of popular respect. But before many weeks Governor Tryon perceived that his residence in the city was perilous. Intimations were given him of a plot to seize his person and arraign him before the provincial congress, which had already begun to take high-handed measures against loyal British subjects. He accordingly fled to a ship in the harbor, from which safe retreat he continued to administer the forms of government until the retaking of the city.

The removal of the guns in the city to Kingsbridge by the Sons

RICHARD MONTGOMERY

Richd Montgomery

of Liberty, after the news of Lexington, was, as we have seen, the first overt demonstration by the Revolutionary element in New York. The guns taken up at that time, and during the next few months, did not include, however, the fine ordnance of the fort. Nevertheless they made a formidable showing as to numbers, although hardly as to serviceability. At Kingsbridge they were divided, by the order of congress, into three parcels, one portion being left there, another sent to Williams's Bridge, and a third to Valentine's Hill, near Kingsbridge.[1] "Before the close of the year 1775," says Dawson, whose facts may generally be accepted without question, "between three and four hundred cannon, of all calibers, grades, and conditions, some of them good and serviceable, others less valuable and less useful, the greater number honeycombed and worthless, unless for old iron, and all of them unmounted and without carriages, were accumulated in three large gatherings, one of about fifty guns being at 'John Williams's,' the Williams's Bridge of the present day, one 'at or near Kingsbridge,' and the third or larger parcel within two hundred and fifty yards of Isaac Valentine's house, the Valentine's Hill of that period as well as this." For a number of months they received no further attention, and were even left unguarded. Their unprotected condition presented an irresistible temptation to some mischievous Tory spirits, who one night in January, 1776, plugged them with large stones, effectually spiking them. This incident threw the county into great excitement, and was the occasion of numerous arrests of suspected citizens of the Towns of Westchester, Eastchester, Mamaroneck, and Yonkers. Soon afterward all the guns were accumulated at Valentine's, unspiked, and placed under guard. Subsequently, during the military administration of the noted and notorious General Charles Lee in New York City, most of the heavy cannon in Fort George and upon the Battery were, in anticipation of the capture of the place by the British, removed to Kingsbridge. These were about two hundred altogether, mostly excellent pieces of artillery. The reply of General Lee to the persons charged with transporting them to Kingsbridge, who complained to him that they could not get sufficient horses for the work, is somewhat celebrated. "Chain twenty damned Tories to each gun," said he, "and let them draw them out and be cursed. It is a proper employment for such villains, and a punishment they deserve for their eternal loyalty they so much boast of."

General Charles Lee, at the time second in command of the conti-

[1] This locality should not be confounded with the eminence of the same name in the present City of Yonkers. The Valentine's Hill at Kingsbridge is located, on old maps, hard by the bridge. Valentine's Hill in Yonkers is the spot where Saint Joseph's Seminary now stands.

nental army, was dispatched by Washington to New York in the latter part of January, 1776, with instructions to put the place "in the best posture of defense the season and circumstances will admit of." In his march through Westchester County he caused numerous dwellings to be entered and searched for arms, which he appropriated and bore away with him for the good of the cause. Dawson pathetically observes that this was indeed a heavy and melancholy visitation of fate upon the wretched farmers of the Boston Post Road, who thus, only a few weeks after being pillaged by the cowardly banditti from Connecticut, were forced to submit to a similar diabolical outrage by an infamous military despot. Lee, establishing himself in New York, entered upon a very energetic régime. Skilled in military science, he constructed defenses which would undoubtedly have proved of considerable utility if the city had been held to resist a siege. One of these defenses, a redoubt on Hoern's Hook, at the mouth of the Harlem River, commanding the Hellgate pass and also the Long Island ferry, was erected by Colonel Samuel Drake's regiment of Westchester County minute men, a body of one hundred and eleven privates and numerous officers. Of this organization it is recorded in an official document that it possessed, when summoned into active duty, no fewer than "four field officers, two captains, thirteen other commissioned officers, and twenty non-commissioned officers"—a most ridiculous state of things, about which Dawson makes merry as illustrating the abominable propensity to office-holding among the so-called "friends of Liberty" in Westchester County. General Lee ordered a rigorous reduction of the staff, and directed the eliminated officers to "return to their county, in order to complete their corps," which were as deficient in numbers as the list of their commanders was enormous.

Enlistments in the continental line were certainly not attended by attractive conditions. By an act of the continental congress, passed January 19, 1776, four battalions were ordered to be raised for the defense of the Colony of New York. The committee of safety, in its instructions to the recruiting officers charged with enlisting men under this act, prescribed that the pay of privates should be $5 per month, and that each should receive, as a bounty, a felt hat, a pair of yarn stockings, a pair of shoes, and, if they could be procured, a hunting-shirt and a blanket. On the other hand, the men were to furnish their own arms, or, if too poor to do so, were to be armed at the public expense, the value of their weapons to be deducted from their pay. Concerning this matter of arms, the following explicit statement was made in a circular letter from the president of the provincial congress: "It is expected that each man furnishes him-

self with a good gun and bayonet, tomahawk, knapsack or haversack, and two bills. But those who are not able to furnish themselves with these arms and accoutrements will be supplied at the public expense, for the payment of which small stoppages will be made out of their monthly pay, till the whole are paid for; then they are to remain the property of the men." Little wonder that the relative numbers of officers and volunteer privates were somewhat disproportionate.

On the 13th of February, 1776, at a meeting in Harrison's Precinct, a cavalry force was organized, Samuel Tredwell being elected captain. This was the beginning of the well-known Westchester Troop of Horse. About the same time there were various enlistments in the county for the infantry service. Local zeal for the cause continued to manifest itself in the ominous forms of information and arrest, and it was even proposed by some Westchester enthusiasts, who doubtless had acquired thorough experience in that particular line at home, to proceed to other counties where Tories notoriously abounded and lay upon them the heavy hand of discipline. One William Miller, of White Plains, in a communication to the committee of safety, informed that honorable body that, as many of the inhabitants of Queens County were behaving themselves in a manner prejudicial to the American cause, he and other "Friends of Liberty in this County" were desirous to go thither and "reduce the Enemies to their Country before they are supported by the Regular Troops." Of course no attention was paid to the offer.

In March, 1776, General Lee was superseded in command in New York City by General Lord Stirling, son of the famous colonial lawyer, James Alexander. He was replaced by General Putnam, who remained in charge until Washington's arrival (April 14).

The second provincial congress expired on the 13th of May, 1776, and the following day was appointed for the assembling of the third. No quorum was obtained, however, until the 18th. The delegates from Westchester County were Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, Colonel Lewis Graham, Colonel Gilbert Drake, Major Ebenezer Lockwood, Gouverneur Morris, William Paulding, Jonathan G. Tompkins, Samuel Haviland, and Peter Fleming. The third provincial congress was the last of the series to sit in the City of New York, where its sessions came to an abrupt end on the 30th of June, the enemy's long-expected fleet having arrived the day before in the bay. Among the members of this congress were John Jay, James Duane, John Alsop, Philip Livingston, and Francis Lewis, who also were representatives from New York City in the continental congress then sitting at Philadelphia.

Although the career of the third congress of the Province of New York was exceedingly brief, its transactions were highly interesting. The reader will observe that its existence coincided with the period of the final deliberations of the continental congress on the subject of independence—a period during which also culminated the startling transformation of the struggle with Great Britain from a principally wordy character, with but a slight physical aspect, into a grim and gigantic war. On the day when this congress suddenly dispersed there were riding in the Lower Bay the advance vessels of a fleet of one hundred and thirty sail—ships-of-the-line, frigates, tenders, and transports—which bore an invading army of thirty-three thousand men, all of them experienced in the business of fighting and magnificently equipped. The representatives of the patriotic people of New York, in legislative body assembled at this critical time, could not have failed to be occupied with the most grave and emergent public business, some of it very naturally reflecting the powerful popular passions of the day.

One of the first acts of the congress was the appointment of a committee "to consider of the ways and means to prevent the dangers to which this colony is exposed by its intestine enemies." Although the committee was headed by one of the principal conservatives of the province, John Alsop, who soon afterward resigned his seat in the continental congress on account of the Declaration of Independence, it brought in a report recommending stringent measures against suspected persons. Rumors of conspiracies by the Tories of New York had long been rife, some of them resting on more substantial foundations than suspicion. Investigations of various alleged transactions by emissaries of Governor Tryon's for providing suspected individuals with arms and ammunition disclosed strong moral evidence in support of the charges. In the month of June the famous "Hickey plot" to poison Washington and other American generals was unearthed; and proofs were found which resulted in the hanging of the chief person accused. In such circumstances, and in view of the crisis of invasion then impending, it is not surprising that the third provincial congress, although comprising in its membership influential men of singularly calm and judicious temperament, who had previously been noted for moderation, was pervaded by a determination to deal summarily with all Tories of the dangerous or irreconcilable type. The Alsop report was followed by an elaborate series of resolutions concerning such characters, wherein a number of them were indicated by name, with directions that they be brought before the congress either by the process of summons or by that of arrest. The specified persons were divided into two

classes—private individuals and officers of the crown. A special committee of the congress, known as the Committee to Detect Conspiracies, was created to deal with all cases. John Jay was made its chairman, and among its members were Gouverneur Morris and Lewis Graham, of Westchester County.

In Westchester County the private persons designated as "suspicious or equivocal" were Frederick Philipse, Caleb Morgan, Nathaniel Underhill, Samuel Merritt, Peter Corne, Peter Huggeford, James Horton, Jr., William Sutton, William Barker, Joshua Purdy, and Absalom Gidney, all of whom were given the opportunity to show their respect for the committee through the medium of a summons, but, in default of appearance, were to be arrested. The committee was directed to inquire as to their guilt or innocence upon the following points: (1) Whether they had afforded aid or sustenance to the British fleets or armies; (2) whether they had been active in dissuading inhabitants from associating for the defense of the united colonies; (3) whether they had decried the value of the continental money and endeavored to prevent its currency; and (4) whether they had been concerned or actually engaged in any schemes to defeat, retard, or oppose the measures in the interest of the united colonies. All found innocent were to be discharged with certificates of character. Those found guilty were, at the discretion of the committee, to be imprisoned or removed under parole from their usual places of residence, or simply released under bonds guaranteeing subsequent good behavior. The only crown officials residing in Westchester County who were named in the resolutions were Solomon Fowler and Richard Morris, neither of whom was found guilty of any offense. Richard Morris was a brother of Colonel Lewis Morris, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a half-brother of Gouverneur Morris. He was judge of the colonial Court of Admiralty, but his designation as a possible foe to the Revolutionary programme seems to have been wholly undeserved. He resigned his crown commission, giving as his reason that he could not conscientiously retain it, and his country-seat at Scarsdale was subsequently burned by the British and his estate devastated. On July 31, 1776, less than two months after he was singled out as a possible traitor, he was unanimously appointed by the fourth provincial congress judge of the High Court

CONTINENTAL SOLDIER.

of Admiralty under the new provisional government. In 1779 he became chief justice of the New York State Supreme Court, succeeding John Jay.

The committee to detect conspiracies began its sessions on the 15th of June, with John Jay as its chairman. It sent summonses to all the Westchester County men named in the resolutions. The limits of our space do not admit of a detailed notice of the action of the committee concerning these various cases, none of which, excepting that of Frederick Philipse, possesses any very important historic interest. The history of Philipse's case may properly be completed in the present connection.

In the summons sent to him he was ordered to appear before the committee on the 3d of July. He sent the following reply:

Philipsborough, July 2, 1776.

Gentlemen:—I was served on Saturday evening last with a paper signed by you, in which you suggest that you are authorized by the Congress to summon certain persons to appear before you, whose conduct had been represented as inimical to the rights of America, of which number you say I am one.

Who it is that has made such a representation, or upon what particular facts it is founded, as you have not stated them it is impossible for me to imagine; but, considering my situation and the near and intimate ties and connections which I have in this country, which can be secured and rendered happy to me only by the real and permanent prosperity of America, I should have hoped that suspicions of this harsh nature would not be easily harboured. However, as they have been thought of weight sufficient to attract the notice of the Congress, I can only observe that, conscious of the uprightness of my intentions and the integrity of my conduct, I would most readily comply with your summons, but that the situation of my health is such as would render it very unadvisable for me to take a journey to New York at this time. I have had the misfortune, gentlemen, of being deprived, totally, of the sight of my left eye; and the other is so much affected and inflamed as to make me very cautious how I expose it, for fear of a total loss of sight. This being my real situation, I must request the favour of you to excuse my attendance to-morrow; but you may rest assured, Gentlemen, that I shall punctually attend, as soon as I can, consistent with my health, flattering myself, in the meantime, that, upon further consideration, you will think that my being a friend to the rights and interests of my native country is a fact so strongly implied as to require no evidence on my part to prove it, until something more substantial than mere suspicion or vague surmises is proved to the contrary.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant,

Frederick Philipse.

To Leonard Gansevoort, Philip Livingston, Thomas Tredwell, Lewis Graham, Gouverneur Morris, Thomas Randall, Esquires.

The terms of this letter, considered apart from Philipse's specific excuse for declining to attend, are entertaining to a degree. Summoned by a Revolutionary tribunal to appear before it and answer the accusation of hostility to American liberty, he recognizes in the situation which confronts him no circumstance of gravity. He delays his reply until the day before the time appointed for his attendance, and the peremptory command sent to him by the committee he alludes to as "a paper . . . in which you suggest that you are authorized," etc. A naïve interpretation, indeed, of a stern Revolu-

tionary summons. Finally, he dismisses the inconvenient matter by flattering himself that the committee really will not require his presence at all. The lord of Philipseburgh Manor deemed himself well within the bounds of political sagacity in treating the committee with such exact though courteous reserve. The overpowering fleet and army of Great Britain had just arrived, the provincial congress was scurrying out of New York City, and, indeed, if Frederick Philipse had been so obliging as to journey to the city on that 3d of July conformably to the "suggestion" which had been conveyed to him, he would have found no committee there to interrogate him.

It does not appear that Philipse was again summoned or that he was ever subjected to any inquisitorial examination. He was, however, compelled to give his parole to guarantee his good behavior. That summer of 1776 was a most critical period for the patriot interests on the banks of the Hudson. British warships were in the river, and it was suspected that they were holding nightly communication with the influential Tories. Washington deemed it expedient to remove Philipse from his manor house on the Nepperhan to a quarter where his presence would not be a possibly disturbing thing. On the 9th of August Philipse, by Washington's order, was taken to New Rochelle. There, says a historian of Yonkers, "he was closely confined, under guard, for eleven days, when he was removed to Connecticut and gave his parole that he would not go beyond the limits of Middletown. He was accompanied by Angevine, his faithful colored valet, who afterward went with Mr. Philipse to England, and survived him but one year. They are interred in the same churchyard. Charley Philips, son of Angevine, lived for many years on the banks of the Hudson, and was sexton of Saint John's Church (Yonkers) forty-five years. After the Philipse family had left Philipseburgh (1777), John Williams, steward of the manor, had possession of the manor until its confiscation, in 1779."[1]

Philipse's undoing was at every stage the consequence of his own deliberate acts. If he had remained discreetly within the American lines until the fortunes of the war were decided, it is highly improbable that the extremity of confiscating his estates would have been resorted to; for he was a man of generally prudent character, with absolutely nothing against him except the conjecture that he preferred the triumph of England. But he was firmly convinced from the beginning that the "rebellion" would be crushed, and he shaped his course accordingly. After his removal to Connecticut he was granted leave to visit New York City, subject to recall. He was sum-

[1] Alison's Hist. of Yonkers, 91.

moned back, but did not come. That settled everything.[1] Shortly afterward the State of New York confiscated his property. He died at Chester, England, in 1785, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of that place, where the following tablet to his memory is to be seen:[2]

Sacred to the Memory
of
Frederick Philipse, Efquire, Late of the
Province of New York ; A Gentleman in Whom
the Various focial, domeftic and Religious
Virtues were eminently United. The Uniform
Rectitude of His conduct commanded the
Efteem of others ; Whilft the Benevolence of His
Heart and Gentleness of His Manners secured
their Love. Firmly attached to His Sovereign
and the British Constitution, He opposed, at
the Hazard of His life, the late Rebellion in
North America ; and for this Faithful discharge
of His Duty to His King and Country He was
Proscribed, and His Estate, one of the Largest in
New York, confifcated, by the usurped Legislature
of that Province. When the British Troops were
withdrawn from New York in 1783 He quitted
A Province to which He had always been an
Ornament and Benefactor, and came to
England, leaving all His Property behind Him ;
which reverse of Fortune He bore with
that calmness, Fortitude and Dignity
which had distinguished Him through
every former stage of Life.
He was born at New York the 12th day of September
in the year 1720 ; and Died in this Place the 30th
day of April, in the Year 1785, Aged 65 Years.

The British government, as a partial recompense to Philipse for his forfeited American estates, paid him a sum equal to about $300,000 of our money.

In addition to summoning or arresting the various individuals specified in the resolutions to which we have alluded, the third provincial congress authorized its committee for the detection of conspiracies to summon or apprehend all other persons deemed dangerous or disaffected, and to use for that purpose not merely detachments of the militia, but troops of the continental line, the latter to be obtained by application to the commander-in-chief. Also the town and district committees were encouraged to exercise zeal and vigilance to the same end, and were empowered to summon or arrest,

[1] A facsimile of this tablet is suspended in a conspicuous place in the Manor Hall in Yonkers. It has always appeared to the editor of the present History that this is in rather questionable taste.

[2] His parole, dated December 23, 1776, was issued by Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut. By its terms he pledged his "faith and word of honor" not to bear arms against the United States, and to return to Connecticut when required by the governor or General Washington so to do.

upon their own responsibility and without waiting for advice from the county committee, everybody whom they regarded with suspicion. Persons thus summoned or arrested by the town and district committees were required to give good security that they would appear before the county committee at its next session, or, in default of such security, were to be committed to custody. It will thus be seen how rigid and detailed were the arrangements, upon the eve of the breaking out of the war in the Colony of New York, for compelling absolute submission everywhere to the will of the Revolutionary authorities, and for visiting swift and condign punishment upon all refractory or sullen spirits. It is needless to remark that there was no relaxation of this severe programme during the progress of the war. Yet the extreme limits of the legal processes put in operation against the Tories were imprisonment or deportation to other parts of the country, with the added punishment later, in special instances, of confiscation of estates. There was no resemblance to the sanguinary scenes of the French Revolution. Life was uniformly respected, unless the offense was of a nature punishable by death under the articles of civilized war.

Some of the common Tory suspects arrested in Westchester County who were deemed dangerous, and therefore not fit persons to go at large, were, for the lack of local prison facilities, sent to the forts in the Highlands and put at hard labor.

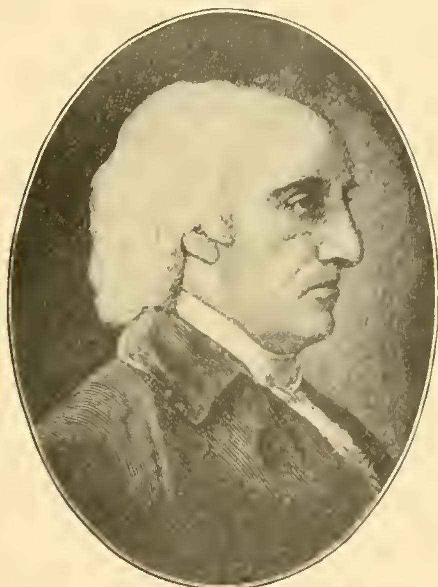
FLAG OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES.

The third provincial congress, as the reader no doubt will remember, was a very short-lived body, extending only from the 18th of May to the 30th of June. It was deliberately planned by the eminent men who were its controlling members to bring its labors promptly to a conclusion, and to have it superseded by a new congress, freshly elected by the people upon the great issue of American independence which was being shaped for ultimate decision at Philadelphia. In anticipation of the Declaration of Independence, the continental congress had, as early as the 10th of May, adopted a preamble and resolution declaring it to be absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good conscience for the people of the colonies longer to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the crown of Great Britain, and recommending to the various colonial assemblies and conventions to take measures for the adoption of "such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general."

The significance of the preamble and resolution was fully appreciated by the provincial congress of New York, whose leaders promptly decided that the responsibility for dealing with the issue of a formal abrogation of the government of Great Britain and of the creation of a new form of government should be referred to an entirely new congress to be elected by the people without delay. Consequently on the 31st of May action was taken summoning the electors of the various counties to meet at an early date and choose delegates to a fourth provincial congress. Meantime steady progress was being made at Philadelphia toward the definite consideration of the subject of American independence, and some of the New York representatives in the continental congress conceived a strong desire for categorical instructions from home as to that vital question. On the 8th day of June four of these representatives—William Floyd, Henry Wisner, Robert R. Livingston, and Francis Lewis—sent a letter to the New York provincial congress, requesting that such instructions be sent them immediately. It was not until the 11th that the latter body complied with the request thus made. It then adopted a series of resolutions whose essential purport was to declare the congress's unwillingness and incapacity to deal with the matter, and to commit it for decision to the people at the forthcoming election for a new provincial congress. The first of these resolutions was an emphatic intimation to the delegates at Philadelphia that they possessed as yet no authority to vote in favor of independence, being to the effect that "the good people of this colony have not, in the opinion of this congress, authorized this congress or the delegates of this colony in the continental congress to declare this colony to be and continue independent of the crown of Great Britain." The whole matter was submitted in most explicit terms to the electors, who were earnestly recommended to vest their representatives in the soon-to-be chosen fourth provincial congress "with full power to deliberate and determine on every question whatever that may concern or affect the interest of this colony, and to conclude upon, ordain, and execute every act and measure which to them shall appear conducive to the happiness, security, and welfare of this colony," and particularly, "by instructions or otherwise, to inform their said deputies of their sentiments relative to the great question of Independency and such other points as they may think proper."

The resolutions of the 11th of June were passed by the provincial congress mainly at the instance of John Jay, who is supposed to have left his seat in the continental congress and become a member of the third provincial congress of New York for the express object of holding the latter body to a judicious course on the subject of

independence pending possible final efforts for reconciliation with the mother country. The resolutions embodied, so far as it was possible for them to do, an absolute prohibition of support of independence by the New York delegates at Philadelphia until further instructions should be dispatched to them. No further instructions were sent up to the time of the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence—the 4th of July. Notwithstanding this condition of things, four of the delegates from New York—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, and our Lewis Morris—had the great courage to ignore the dissuasions of the qualified representatives of the people in their home colony, and sign their names to the immortal instrument. Of this number, there is no room for doubt that the signer contributed by Westchester County was inflexibly resolved upon that line of conduct from the first, and entirely without reference to instructions from home. He did not unite with Floyd, Wisner, Robert R. Livingston, and Lewis in their letter of June 8 soliciting instructions, but deemed himself fully qualified as a duly chosen representative from New York to act upon the measure according to his individual judgment. It can scarcely be questioned that his bold attitude, in which he was joined by the highly respected Philip Livingston, was influential in persuading two of the signers of the communication of June 8 to in like manner set duty above caution. Particularly apropos to the four courageous delegates from New York, in view of the embarrassing circumstances which compassed them about, is the magnificent tribute of the Abbe Raynal to the signers of the Declaration: "With what grandeur, with what enthusiasm, should I not speak of those generous men who erected this grand edifice by their patience, their wisdom, and their courage! Hancock, Franklin, the two Adamses were the greatest actors in the affecting scene; but they were not the only ones. Posterity shall know them all. Their honored names shall be transmitted to it by a happier pen than mine. Brass and marble shall show



LEWIS MORRIS,
Signer of the Declaration of Independence

them to the remotest ages. In beholding them shall the friend of freedom feel his heart palpitate with joy—feel his eyes float in delicious tears. Under the bust of one of them has been written: 'He wrested thunder from Heaven, and the scepter from tyrants.' Of the last words of this eulogy shall all of them partake."

Lewis Morris, Westchester County's signer of the Declaration, after completing the term of service in the continental congress for which he had been elected, retired from that body and was succeeded by his younger brother, Gouverneur. In June, 1776, he was appointed by the New York provincial congress brigadier-general of the militia of Westchester County, and later he was made major-general of militia. Always devoted to agricultural pursuits, he resumed his favorite avocation as soon as peace was restored. He lived to witness the complete realization of all the patriotic aims and governmental principles of which he had been one of the earliest and most radical promoters, and for which he had made conspicuous sacrifices, dying on the 22d day of January, 1798, aged seventy-two.

CHAPTER XVI

THE STATE OF NEW YORK BORN AT WHITE PLAINS—EVENTS TO OCTOBER 12, 1776

HE third provincial congress, in discontinuing its sittings in New York City as a consequence of the sighting of the British fleet, adopted a resolution which provided for its reassembling at White Plains, the county-seat of Westchester County, on Tuesday, the 2d day of July. But it did not again come together, either on that day or subsequently.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 9th of July, representatives from a majority of the counties of New York appeared in the court house in White Plains, and promptly organized the fourth provincial congress, electing General Nathaniel Woodhull as president. From that date until the 27th day of July, White Plains continued to be the seat of the Revolutionary government, which now, for the first time, became the responsible government of a new commonwealth. It was there that the Declaration of Independence was formally proclaimed, that the name of the State of New York was substituted for the ancient designation of the Province of New York, and that the original steps for the organization of the State machinery were taken. To the lasting regret of all who hold venerable associations dear, the historic court house where these ever-memorable events transpired ceased to exist very soon afterward, being burned by some vandal soldiers of Washington's army on the night of the 5th of November, 1776. This original Westchester County court house, as we have already noted, was built after the destruction by fire (February 4, 1758) of the court house in Westchester Town, and was first used by the Court of Common Pleas on the 7th day of November, 1759.[1] The representatives from Westchester County to the important body whose sessions began within its walls on the 9th of July were Colonel Lewis Graham, Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, Major Ebenezer Lock-

[1] To Dr. Robert Graham, who was supervisor of White Plains from 1769 to 1775, and county judge in 1778, is mainly due the credit of having White Plains fixed upon as the county-seat, having the court house building erected, and having the courts removed there from Westchester. He gave to the county the site upon which the court house was erected. His efforts were ably seconded by John Thomas, of Rye, who was then a member of the colonial assembly. Dr. Graham also, at considerable expense, caused two hotels and a country store to be built, and thus gave the county-seat a start.—*Smith's Manual of Westchester County*, 33.

wood, William Paulding, Captain Jonathan Platt, Samuel Haviland, Zebadiah Mills, Colonel Gilbert Drake, Jonathan G. Tompkins, General Lewis Morris, and Gouverneur Morris, all of whom, the Journal records, were in attendance on that historic morning. John Jay also, as a deputy from New York City, was there.

The first business of the day was the consideration of the Declara-

JONATHAN G. TOMPKINS.

tion of Independence, which was referred to a committee headed by John Jay. In the afternoon the following report was brought in and adopted without a dissenting voice:

In Convention of the Representatives
of the State of New York, White Plains,
July 9, 1776.

Resolved, unanimously, That the reasons assigned by the continental congress for declaring the United Colonies free and independent States are cogent and conclusive; and that while we lament the cruel necessity which has rendered that measure unavoidable, we approve the same, and will, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, join the other colonies in supporting it.

Resolved, That a copy of the said Declaration and the foregoing resolution be sent to the chairman of the committee of the County of Westchester, with order to publish the same, with beat of drum, at this place, on Thursday next, and to give directions that it be published, with all convenient speed, in the several districts within the said county; and that copies thereof be forthwith transmitted to the other county committees within the State of New York, with order to cause the same to be published in the several districts of their respective counties.

Resolved, That five hundred copies of the Declaration of Independence, with the two last-mentioned resolutions of this congress for approving and proclaiming the same, be published in handbills and sent to all the county committees in this State.

Resolved, That the delegates of this State, in continental congress, be and they are hereby authorized to consent to and adopt all such measures as they may deem conducive to the happiness and welfare of the United States of America.

On Thursday, the 11th day of July, therefore, "with beat of drum," the official proclamation of the great Declaration on the part of the representatives of the State of New York was made before the old court house at White Plains. There unfortunately existed at the time no local newspaper in the county to record the undoubtedly interesting circumstances attending the grand event.

On the second day of its sessions at White Plains, the "Convention of Representatives of the State of New York" began to consider plans for the organization of the proposed State government, but nothing definite was accomplished in that direction during the continuance of the body at our county-seat. On the 27th of July the convention terminated its sessions at White Plains, and from the 29th of July to the 29th of August it sat at Harlem. A committee of thirteen, of which John Jay was chairman and Gouverneur Morris was a member, was appointed on the 1st of August to take into consideration and report a plan for instituting a form of government. Out of this action resulted the first constitution of the State, which was reported on March 12 and adopted on April 20, 1777. Meantime, and until the new governmental machinery was started, New York remained under exclusive legislative and committee government. The State convention, after leaving Harlem, met successively at Fishkill and Kingston, being dissolved on the 13th of May, 1777. Throughout the critical period which included the successive British occupations of Staten Island, Long Island, and Manhattan Island, and the Westchester County campaign, the convention was indefatigable in performing the manifold onerous duties that belonged to its sphere.

An interesting and significant resolution adopted by the convention while in session at our county-seat (July 15) was the following:

Resolved, unanimously, That it is the opinion of this convention that if his Excellency, General Washington, should think it expedient for the preservation of this State and the general interest of America to abandon the City of New York and withdraw the troops to the north side of Kingsbridge, this convention will cheerfully co-operate with him in every measure that may be necessary—etc.

The proclamation of Independence was of necessity submitted to quietly, though with varied murmurings, by the Tory faction of Westchester County. The local committees everywhere were supreme, and manifestations of an unfriendly nature, even in the form of disfavoring remark, were pretty certain to involve the culprits in difficulty. The name of one bold spirit, who for three weeks persevered in a public attitude of defiance, has come down to us; and before proceeding with the narrative of the momentous events which now crowd thick upon us, this interesting local episode should be recorded.

It is not surprising that the aggressive individual was a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Epenetus Townsend by name, who since 1766 had officiated as a missionary of the Venerable Propagation Society in the Parish of Salem. He was a man of ability, though not of distinguished talents like Parson Seabury, of Westchester. For inveterate devotion to the king and scorn of all rebels he certainly yielded to none in all our County of Westchester. He relates in one of his letters that as early as the end of the year 1773 he began to strongly suspect that "the leaders of opposition to government in America" were aiming at independence; whereupon he undertook to do all that lay in his power, "by preaching, reading the Homilies against Rebellion," and the like, to persuade his people against countenancing such wicked tendencies. "And blessed be God," he exclaims, "I have the satisfaction that the Church people [Episcopalians] in all my parishes [Salem, Ridgefield, and Ridgebury] have almost unanimously—there being three or four exceptions—maintained their loyalty from the first." In May, 1776, he says he was called before the "Rebel Committee of Cortlandt's Manor" and "invited" to join their association. This he indignantly declined to do. Next, he was ordered to furnish blankets for the "Rebel soldiers," and, refusing, was sent under guard to the committee, which, failing to persuade him on the same point, gave orders to search his house and appropriate the desired goods; but happily his wife had safely secreted all they possessed. Then he was directed to pay "upwards of thirty shillings" to the mortified searching party, refused to obey, and was detained under guard until he produced the money. After that he was escorted before the Westchester County committee, on complaint made by the Cortlandt Manor committee, to be examined as to his political principles. These several unpleasant incidents all occurred in the months of May and June, 1776; and considering the respectable and reverend character of Mr. Townsend, together with the circumstance that all but "three or four" of the "Church people" of his parishes were Loyalists, the severity and per-

tinacity with which he was disciplined are forcibly illustrative of the general spirit of the times in Westchester County.

On the Sunday after the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed by the authority of the assembled delegates of the State of New York at White Plains, the Rev. Epenetus Townsend, holding services as usual in his church at Salem, omitted not one jot of the prescribed formularies in relation to the king and the royal family. On the second Sunday he still pursued the even tenor of his duties in this particular; but on the third Sunday, says Bolton, "when in the afternoon he was officiating, and had proceeded some length in the service, a company of armed soldiers—said to have belonged to Colonel Sheldon's regiment, stationed on Keeler's Hill, opposite—marched into the church with drums beating and fifes playing, their guns loaded and bayonets fixed, as if going to battle; and as soon as he commenced reading the collects for the king and royal family they rose to their feet, and the officer commanded him upon the peril of his life to desist. Mr. Townsend immediately stopped reading, closed his prayer-book, descended from the reading-desk, and so the matter passed over without any accident." On the 21st of October following he was sent to Fishkill as an enemy of America, and for six months was kept on parole at his own expense. In the spring of 1777, having refused to take the oath of allegiance to the republic, he was permitted to remove with his "family, apparel, and household furniture" to the British lines, his property in Salem—a very "genteel" one—being confiscated. In 1779 he was appointed chaplain to a Loyalist battalion, which was ordered to Halifax, and he sailed with it thither, accompanied by his wife and five children. His ship foundered, and he and his whole family perished.

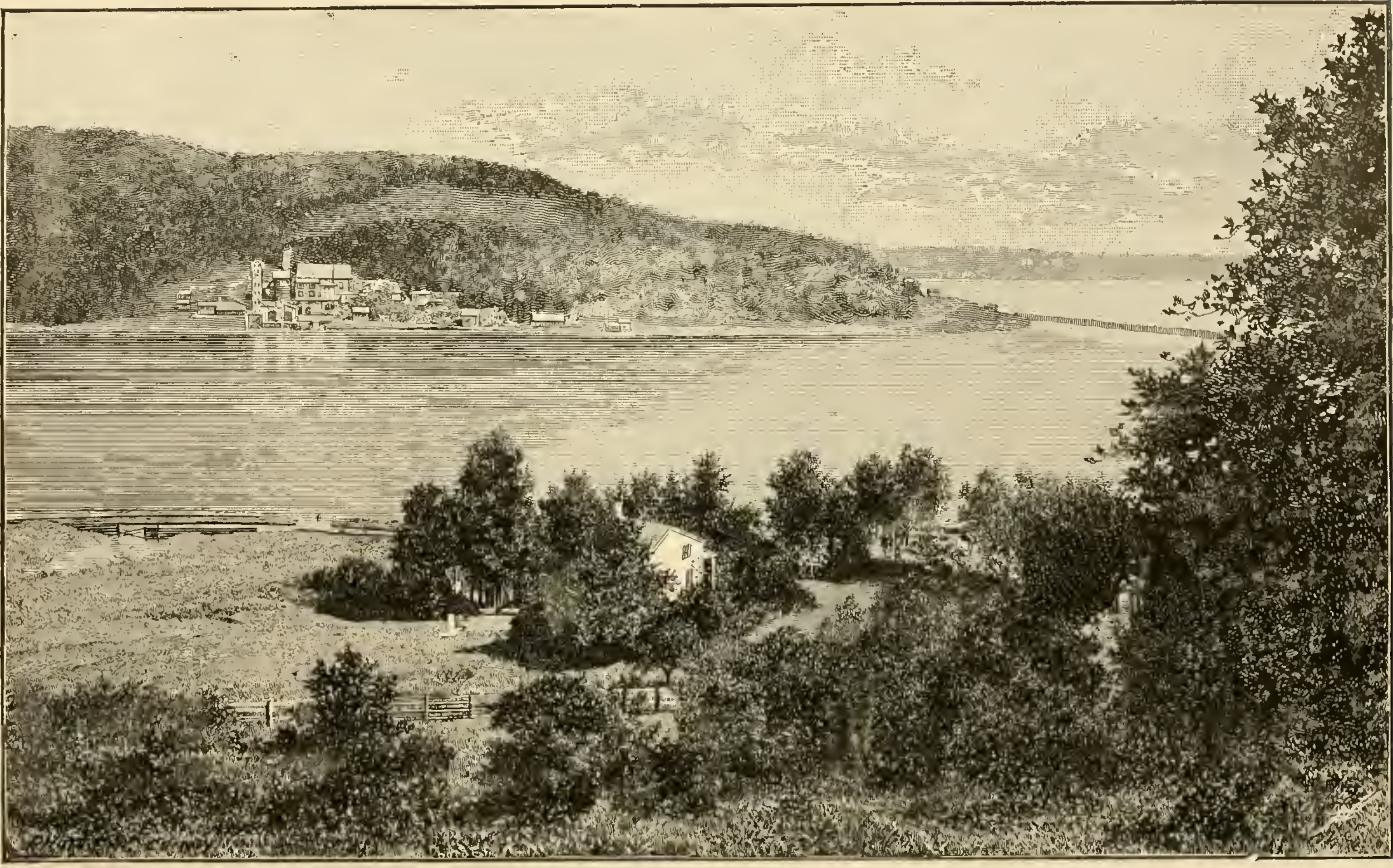
The first vessels of the British expedition against New York, which arrived at Sandy Hook on June 29, were gradually joined by the entire fleet. The united military force comprised the army formerly quartered in Boston (which, after evacuating that place, had been transported to Halifax), some troops from the Southern colonies, a large addition of fresh troops from England, and some fourteen thousand Hessian mercenaries. In the aggregate there were 33,614 men, of whom 24,464 were in condition for battle. It was by far the largest army ever gathered in America during the Revolution. It seemed probable that General Howe's attack on New York would not be in the form of a naval bombardment of the city or of a debarkation of the army on Manhattan Island, but of a movement thither from Long Island. There Washington had caused defenses to be fortified and occupied, whose inner line extended from Gowanus

Creek to Wallabout Bay. General Howe's original intention seems to have been to disembark immediately on Long Island and move to his destination with all possible energy. On July 1 the fleet was brought up to Gravesend Bay (Coney Island), with the evident design of effecting a landing the next morning. But if such was the purpose of the British commander, he promptly abandoned it (being actuated, it is supposed, by the prudential feeling that it would be wisest to await the arrival of the bulk of his forces); and, indeed, it was not until the 22d of August that the landing on Long Island was made. There Washington was granted a respite of seven weeks, which he availed of by perfecting the Long Island defenses and making all practical arrangements for concentrating in that quarter a force capable of resisting the invasion. How nearly this proved fatal to the American cause is a theme that the historians of the Revolution never weary of expatiating upon.

General Howe, in bringing his formidable command to America, had, at least nominally, a double function to discharge. While he grasped the sword with one hand he bore the olive branch in the other. Before proceeding to sanguinary measures he was to proffer terms of reconciliation, which were to include gracious pardon for all acts of rebellion. But toward the end of peace so devoutly to be wished for, he unfortunately was not able to make any progress whatever. One of his first acts was to dispatch an officer under a flag of truce with a letter addressed to "George Washington, Esq.," reminding one of that other historic British impertinence, the official designation of the fallen and captive Emperor Napoleon, after Waterloo, as "General Bonaparte." Howe's messenger, after exchanging the most elegant and amiable courtesies with the American officer who came to meet him, stated that he had a letter for a "Mr." Washington. The other informed him that some unaccountable mistake must have been made, that there was no person answering to such a name in the whole patriot camp. The missive was next produced, and still it was disavowed that the specified private individual had any known existence. The puzzled messenger was fain to return to his chief without accomplishing his laudable object. This was the last offer to spare the erring colonies the fearful chastisement that had so long been threatened.

On the 2d of July the British ships left Gravesend, advanced in stately procession through the Narrows, dropped anchor one by one along the shores of Staten Island, and began to discharge the troops, who, gladly remarks Dawson, were "welcomed by the inhabitants of that beautiful island as their deliverers from the terrible oppression of the Revolutionary powers." Not until the 12th of July was any

formal demonstration against the American foe attempted. Then two vessels, the "Phœnix," of forty-four guns, and the "Rose," of twenty guns, with three tenders, were dispatched on an expedition up the Hudson River. They were fired on by the shore batteries, with little or no effect, and responded by dropping a number of shells into the city, which killed three of Washington's soldiers. Anchoring at Spuyten Duyvil Creek, they got a warm reception from the new batteries which had been planted on Tippet's and Cock's Hills. They then resumed their voyage up stream as far as Tarrytown, where the local company of militia, known as the Associated Company of the upper part of Philipseburgh Manor, showed itself ready for the emergency. That body turned out, under the command of Lieutenant Daniel Martling, and guarded the shore during the night to prevent any possible attempt at landing. But there was no such endeavor; and, although the hostile ships remained opposite Tarrytown for four days, no clash of arms occurred there. Meantime the State convention at White Plains sent supplies of powder and ball to Tarrytown, and also ordered re-enforcements thither. It is very conjecturable that the purpose of the British warships in staying so long at that spot was to carry on communication with the Tories of Philipseburgh Manor and the opposite shore. Washington was concerned about this movement up the Hudson. Referring to it in a letter to the convention dated the 14th, he expressed the opinion that the ships "may have carried up arms and ammunition to be dealt out to those who may favor their cause, and co-operate with them at a fixed time," and urged vigilant action for nipping so dangerous a scheme in the bud. He also apprehended that troops might be on board, intended for the seizure of the important Highland defiles, "in which case the intercourse between the two [American] armies, both by land and water, will be wholly cut off, than which a greater misfortune could hardly befall the province and army." Steps were accordingly taken to guard against such a catastrophe, particular attention being directed toward protecting the road which passed around Anthony's Nose. Solicitude was likewise felt for Kingsbridge, a point of even greater immediate importance. In June Washington had made a personal visit of inspection to Kingsbridge and vicinity, had found the locality to admit of advantageous fortification in seven distinct places, and, "esteeming it a pass of the utmost importance in order to keep open communication with the country," had assigned troops to push forward the defensive works determined upon. On the 2d of July General Mifflin was sent to Kingsbridge to assume charge, and from that time forward there was the utmost activity in and around this spot. The great fear was that



VIEW FROM ABOVE PEEKSKILL, LOOKING SOUTH.

the bridge itself, and with it the Farmers' Bridge, would be destroyed by a boat expedition from the Hudson River, and that a portion of the British army would be coincidently landed in Westchester County, which would have shut up Washington's whole force on Manhattan Island. But these dreaded attempts were never made, and even if they had been the precautions taken would probably have sufficed to counteract them.

It is well known that General Howe placed not a little dependence upon the hope of receiving active co-operation in the field from the loyal inhabitants of the lower counties of this State, and in that hope he was encouraged by assurances which he received from Governor Tryon and others upon his arrival. So far as Westchester County is concerned, no evidence exists that any results to sustain him in such an expectation followed the undoubted attempts to stimulate Tory courage incidental to the dispatch of the "Phœnix" and "Rose" up the Hudson.

Too much praise can not be given the New York State convention for its vigorous and well-considered measures at this time of uncertainty regarding the intentions of the enemy. With the situation below the Harlem River Washington was competent to deal in all its details, but the convention relieved him of much of the responsibility and distraction that would have been involved in caring for the security of the country above. Provisions and other stores having been accumulated in the neighborhood of Peekskill, the convention ordered their removal to places which would be less exposed to danger from possible British landing parties. Militia re-enforcements for Forts Constitution and Montgomery were provided for. One-fourth of the entire militia of Westchester, Dutchess, and Orange Counties was called out, and, in view of the emergency, each militiaman taking the field was granted a bounty of twenty dollars (a generous allowance in the circumstances of the time), with continental pay and subsistence. This whole militia force (Westchester County's contingent being under the command of Colonel Thomas Thomas) was ordered to Peekskill as the strategic point for repelling the expected attack on the Highlands. The convention pledged itself to defray the expenses of any practicable plans for obstructing the navigation of the Hudson and annoying the enemy's ships. Not having sufficient ammunition for the militia, it requested Washington to loan what was needed, promising to replace it at the earliest opportunity. It also advised Washington to use his offices with Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, for the creation of a camp of six thousand men on the Byram River, in the interest of bringing to confusion any schemes of the British for seizing the country above Kingsbridge.

This recommendation was deemed by Washington most excellent, but never bore any fruits.

On the 16th of July the "Phœnix" and "Rose," with their tenders, left Tarrytown and sailed up the river to near Verplanck's Point. Finding that their progress into the Highlands would be prevented by the batteries of Forts Constitution and Montgomery, they merely took soundings, received such information as could be got from sympathizers on shore, and landed small parties here and there, which committed a few minor depredations. Returning slowly down the stream, they soon found that some tolerably lively adventures had been prepared for them by the alert American commander.

At Tarrytown, on the 4th of August, they were boldly engaged by a number of galleys—the "Washington," "Lady Washington," "Spitfire," "Whiting," "Independence," and "Crane"—which Washington had procured from the governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and dispatched for the purpose of annoying the two warships. One of the participants on the American side, in an account of this spirited encounter, says: "We had as hot a fire as, perhaps, was ever known, for an hour and a half. Our commodore, Colonel Tupper, thought it prudent to give the signal for our little fleet to withdraw, after manfully fighting a much superior force for two hours. Never did men behave with more firm, determined spirits than our little crews. One of our tars, being mortally wounded, cried to his messmate: 'I am a dying man; revenge my blood, my boys, and carry me alongside my gun, that I may die there.' We were so preserved by a gracious Providence that in all our galleys we had but two men killed and fourteen wounded, two of which are thought dangerous."

An even more exciting experience was reserved for the "Phœnix," "Rose," and their tenders. Two fire vessels, constructed by Washington's orders, approached them at their anchorage on the night of the 16th of August. The resulting transactions have been picturesquely described by numerous writers, but with many variations as to details. The precise location of this affair of the fire-ships is impossible of determination, so conflicting are the statements on that point. The thrilling scene is variously located off Tarrytown, Dobbs Ferry, Hastings, and Yonkers. According to a very circumstantial account by a principal participant on the American side—Captain Joseph Bass, apparently the navigator of one of the fire-ships,—it occurred not in the jurisdiction of Westchester County but in that of Rockland County, the British vessels, he says, having taken stations on the west side of the river, because of the greater depth of the water there, upon receiving an intimation from some quarter that mischief was impending. The narrative of Captain Bass (originally

published in the *Worcester Magazine* in 1826) is so explicit and in essential respects so intelligent that it seems to us his statement that the event transpired on the west side of the river must be accepted without question. Yet Dawson, after examining numerous original authorities, all carefully cited in his footnotes, gives no suggestion of this; although he does not specifically say that the engagement occurred on the east bank. Again, the individual proceedings and performances of the two fire-ships are strangely confused by different narrators, the exact part borne by one in some accounts being assigned to its companion in others. Leaving aside the minuter details involving discrepancies, which after all are not very material—and, indeed, the whole affair is of no distinct importance in its relation to the progress of general events, although exceedingly interesting as an episode,—we shall confine ourselves to a brief statement of the essential facts, about which there are no disagreements.

The advisability of converting small river craft into fire-ships to attack the enemy's war vessels received early consideration by the State convention after the advent of the British fleet. The subject was assigned to a secret committee, whose practical projects were encouraged by Washington and also by General George Clinton. After the passage of the "Rose," "Phœnix," and their tenders up the river, two fire-ships, or rafts, were fitted out and held in readiness at Spuyten Duyvil Inlet for a favorable opportunity. "The fire-ships," says Ruttenber, whose account is digested from the narrative of Captain Bass, "had been prepared with fagots of the most combustible kinds of wood, which had been dipped in melted pitch, and with bundles of straw cut about a foot long, prepared in the same manner. The fagots and bundles filled the deck and hold as far aft as the cabin, and into this mass of combustible materials was inserted a match, that might be fired by a person in the cabin, who would have to escape through a door cut in the side of the vessel into a whaleboat that was lashed to the quarter of the sloop. Besides these combustibles, there were in each vessel ten or twelve barrels of pitch. A quantity of canvas, amounting to many yards, was cut into strips about a foot in width, then dipped in spirits of turpentine, and hung upon the spars and rigging, extending down to the deck."

On the night of the 16th of August the two fire-ships, commanded (says Dawson) by Captains Fosdick and Thomas, both volunteers from the army, sailed up the river on the serious business for which they had been constructed. They kept in midstream, and in the darkness were unable to detect the enemy's ships, but located them by the cry of the lookouts, "All's well!" and bore down upon them. One of the fire-ships grappled a tender (or "bombketch," according

to Bass), and the other made fast to the "Phœnix." The fires were lighted, and instantly the rafts were aflame. The tender, or bomb-ketch, was burned to the water's edge, and the "Phœnix" seemed in a fair way of total destruction, but was saved by desperate exertions. Nevertheless she was fired in several places, and much of her rigging was cut away so that the flames might not catch it. Most of the crew of the tender perished, and it is supposed that some men on the "Phœnix" were lost. Captain Thomas and five of his men were unable to escape to their whaleboat after applying the match to the combustibles. They jumped into the water and were drowned. Washington's account of this daring and, indeed, very brilliant affair is as follows:

> The night of the 16th two of our fire vessels attempted to burn the ships of war up the river. One of these boarded the "Phœnix," of forty-four guns, and was grappled with her for some minutes, but unluckily she cleared herself. The only damage the enemy sustained was the destruction of one tender. It is agreed on all hands that our people engaged in this affair behaved with great resolution and intrepidity. One of the captains, Thomas, it is to be feared, perished in the attempt, or in making his escape by swimming, as he has not been heard of. His bravery entitled him to a better fate. Though this enterprise did not succeed to our wishes, I incline to think it alarmed the enemy greatly; for this morning (August 18) the "Phœnix" and "Rose," with their two remaining tenders, taking advantage of a brisk and prosperous gale and favorable tide, quitted their stations and have returned and joined the rest of the fleet

With the final sailing away of the British ships on the morning of the 18th of August, the Hudson River, from the bay up, was relieved of the enemy, whose entire fleet was now anchored along the Staten Island shore. It was nearly a month before the much-dreaded vessels of war again ventured above the Battery, and it was not until the 9th of October that the citizens of Westchester County were thrown into renewed apprehension by the reappearance of the unwelcome visitors in their quarter.

The transportation of the invading army from its temporary quarters on Staten Island to Long Island was begun early on the morning of the 22d of August, the landing being effected at Gravesend without opposition. With the details of the battle of Long Island, which presently followed, our narrative is not concerned, and it is sufficient for the purpose of this History to briefly summarize its results. By noon on the 27th of August that disastrous battle ended in complete victory for the British, and Washington, having sustained a heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, retired with his whole remaining force, which, as slightly re-enforced the next day, did not exceed nine thousand, behind his inner intrenchments, stretching, as already noticed, from the Gowanus to the Wallabout. Fronting him was an army of fully twenty thousand, and at any moment the whole tremendous British fleet might enter the East River and cut

off his retreat to Manhattan Island. In such an eventuality his unconditional surrender would be but a question of a brief time, and with it the cause of American independence would in all probability receive its deathblow. The sole problem for Washington to solve was therefore that of the most expeditious possible escape. Without delay he began to make his arrangements. By the evening of the 29th all the available craft in the surrounding waters had been collected and brought to the Brooklyn end of the ferry. The night was fortunately dark, and not a ship of the enemy's had yet appeared in the vicinity, while Howe's army lay before our works in complete ignorance of the design of the American general. One by one the regiments left their posts and were safely transferred to the New York side. At dawn the business was still unfinished, but, happily, a heavy fog obscured river and land. Nevertheless the last boatloads had scarcely left the Brooklyn shore when the British appeared on the scene, and, indeed, their arrival was in time to capture some of the stragglers. It was a narrow escape for the patriot army from the jaws of certain destruction, made possible only by a combination of circumstances which seems providential. It is told that the wife of a Tory named Rapelje, living near the ferry, as soon as the retreating movement began after nightfall, dispatched a negro with information of it to the British camp, but that the messenger, after safely making his way through the American lines, had the ill luck to stumble upon an outpost of Hessian mercenaries, who were unable to understand a word of his language, and, not apprehending that he was a person of any importance, did not turn him over to the British until morning. The battle of Long Island, although in its immediate result to the Americans a terrible defeat, followed by the abandonment of Long Island and of New York City also, was, if thoughtfully reflected upon, a defeat of prodigious ultimate advantage. If Washington had triumphed in that battle, or even if its outcome had been comparatively indecisive, his generals would almost certainly have insisted on standing their ground, and in that event he would almost inevitably have suffered a miserable end on Long Island. It was the completeness of his defeat alone which preserved the army by leaving no course of action open except immediate retreat. Although the loss of New York City also was involved, that, from the American point of view, was more a relief than a catastrophe. Without a fleet, Washington never could have held the city, which, as a base absolutely indispensable for the British to acquire, would have been taken by them in the end, even at the cost of reducing it to ashes. An attempt to hold it could have resulted in nothing but a futile sacrifice of energies, troops, and

money on an enormous scale. It was best that he should be rid of it at once with no greater sacrifice than that incurred in the brief Long Island campaign and the mainly defensive movements that followed it. He was thereby released from a most perilous situation and enabled to withdraw his army into the interior, where it could recruit its strength, improve its discipline, and grasp opportunities as they should be presented in a struggle for liberty which everyone knew must be protracted and could succeed only through endurance.

The first encounter of the Revolution on the soil of Westchester County occurred on the 28th of August in the vicinity of Mamaroneck between a party of Loyalist recruits led by one William Lounsbury and an American force commanded by Captain John Flood, which was sent in pursuit of them. According to the records of the State convention for the 29th of August, 1776, "Mr. Tompkins came into convention and informed that Mr. Lounsbury was come into Westchester County with a commission from General Howe to raise rangers; and that a party of the militia went in pursuit of him, and were under the necessity of killing him, as he would not surrender; another was wounded, and four were taken prisoners—all his recruits." The prisoners were Jacob Schureman, Bloomer Neilson (wounded), Joseph Turner, and Samuel Haines. Lounsbury had been on board the "Phœnix" in the North River, and his enlisting orders were found on his person. Each of his recruits was to receive £3.

On Manhattan Island Washington was still undisputed master, and the British, without any precipitancy but with great thoroughness, proceeded to bring him to another reckoning there. Although the fleet made no attempt to dispose itself around the island for purposes of co-operation with Howe's land forces until several days after the battle of Long Island, two of the warships, with a brig, had on the very day of that battle taken a station above Throgg's Neck. This was an ominous move, suggesting an intention to come up through the East River and seize the numerous strategic points offered by the islands and necks of the river and Sound. Between the 3d and 14th of September a number of the most powerful frigates of the fleet were stationed in the East River, and what are now Randall's and Ward's Islands were occupied. On the 15th the frigates took a position at the head of Kip's Bay and opened a terrific fire upon a selected spot on the shore, under whose cover eighty-four boatloads of soldiers were landed without the least resistance. It is true that Washington had placed a considerable force of Connecticut and Massachusetts troops in that vicinity—eight regiments in all,—but they beat a hasty and decidedly discreditable retreat as soon as the enemy showed himself. With the English army present in force on

Manhattan Island, it was now imperatively necessary for Washington to withdraw his whole command to the northern portion of the island, which he was fortunately able to do, following the Bloomingdale Road on the west side, and camping on the evening of the 15th on Harlem Heights. Here he established his headquarters in the Roger Morris mansion, which afterward became the Jumel mansion, and is still preserved (One Hundred and Sixty-first Street near Saint Nicholas Avenue).

As has already been related, Colonel Roger Morris, the owner of this stately residence, married Mary Philipse, for whose hand Washington himself is said to have been a suitor. Mary was the youngest surviving daughter of Frederick Philipse, the third lord of the manor, and was born on the 3d of July, 1730, nearly two years before Washington saw the light. The romantic story that Washington actually sought her in marriage, and was refused, does not rest on any known foundations: yet there is strong presumptive evidence that he admired her very heartily, and that if opportunity had enabled him to pay diligent court to her he probably would have embraced it. Much as has been written on this subject, nothing that is authentic, so far as we have been able to discover, has been added to Sparks's well-known reference to it. "While in New York in 1756," says Sparks, "Washington was lodged and kindly entertained at the house of Mr. Beverly Robinson, between whom and himself an intimacy of friendship subsisted, which, indeed, continued without change till severed by their opposite fortunes twenty years afterward in the Revolution. It happened that Miss Mary Philipse, a sister of Mrs. Robinson, and a young lady of rare accomplishments, was an inmate in the family. The charms of the lady made a deep impression upon the heart of the Virginia colonel. He went to Boston, returned, and was again welcomed to the hospitality of Mr. Robinson. He lingered there till duty called him away; but he was careful to intrust his secret to a confidential friend, whose letters kept him in-

MARY PHILIPSE.

formed of every important event. In a few months intelligence came that a rival was in the field, and that the consequences could not be answered for if he delayed to renew his visits to New York. Whether time, the bustle of camp, or the scenes of war had moderated his admiration, or whether he despaired of success, is not known. He never saw the lady again till she was married to that same rival, Captain Morris, his former associate in arms and one of Braddock's aids-de-camp." Mary Philipse's husband took a positive stand against the patriot cause in the Revolution, and as a consequence his property in America was confiscated. The lady lived to be ninety-five years old, dying in England in 1825. The Harlem Heights residence was occupied for a time after the Revolution as a tavern, and was then purchased by Stephen Jumel, a wealthy Frenchman, whose widow became the wife of Aaron Burr.

On the 16th of September occurred the lively encounter of Harlem Plains, in which the Americans acquitted themselves well and for the first time in the open field had the satisfaction of putting their adversaries to flight. After that no steps of any general importance were taken on either side for several weeks. The American army continued to occupy its strong position on Harlem Heights, preserving unimpaired, by way of Kingsbridge, its communication with the country above, and fully prepared to move thither in case of emergency. The royal army made no attempt against the American intrenchments, but contented itself with taking possession of the city and throwing up new defenses for its more adequate protection, while gradually making ready to throw itself bodily into Washington's rear, and thus either entrap him or force him to give battle.

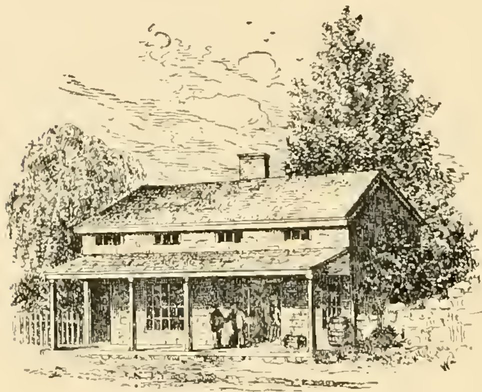
After the defeat on Long Island, the New York State convention, then sitting at Harlem, deeming that place insecure, adjourned to Fishkill. *En route* to the new seat of Revolutionary government sessions were held by the committee of safety at Kingsbridge (August 30), at Mr. Odell's house in Philipseburgh Manor (August 31), and at Mr. Blagge's house at Croton River (August 31). In the weeks that followed the convention adopted a great number of measures incidental to the serious situation, of which many applied specially to Westchester County. We can not here attempt anything more than a mere allusion to some of the more interesting of these measures. Provision was made for removing all the horses, cattle, and other livestock from Manhattan Island and the exposed portions of Westchester County into the interior; the Westchester County farmers were directed to immediately thresh out all their grain, in order to furnish straw for the army; stores were taken from the State maga-

zines in Westchester County and sent to the army; purchases of clothing and other materials for the army were made, and it was ordered that all the bells should be taken from the churches, and all the brass knockers from the doors of houses, so as to accumulate material for the manufacture of cannon in case of need.

On the same day that the British effected their landing on Manhattan Island, the 15th of September, they sent three of their best warships, the "Phoenix," "Roebuck," and "Tartar," up the North River as far as Bloomingdale. There they rode at anchor until the 9th of October, when they pushed farther up, easily passing a *chevaux de frise* that had been constructed with much pains just above Fort Washington. This *chevaux de frise* consisted of a line of sunken craft stretching across the stream, and it was hoped that the obstructions would at least detain the enemy's vessels long enough to admit of their being so destructively played upon by the Fort Washington and Fort Lee batteries as to compel them to turn back. It is true the batteries did some execution, killing and wounding men on each ship; but the obstructions in the river unfortunately began some distance from the shore, leaving an open space of tolerably deep water through which the expedition passed without difficulty and with little delay. The warships proceeded as far as Dobbs Ferry, and later moved up to Tarrytown, where they remained, wholly inactive, throughout the period of the eventful military operations in Westchester County. It does not appear that they accomplished anything except the seizure of a few river craft carrying supplies to the American army, although incidentally they closed the navigation of the lower river to the Americans and perhaps diverted to the Hudson shore of Westchester County some troops that otherwise would have been used to strengthen the continental army. It is the general opinion of historical writers that the real purpose of the British commander in sending them up the stream was to make a feint and cause the Americans to fix their attention upon the Hudson while he was preparing to outflank Washington from the Sound. The incident certainly did produce a vast deal of uneasiness on the American side. We shall recur to this subject in detail later.

While Washington lay encamped on the Heights of Harlem, the whole southern border of Westchester County, stretching from Spuyten Duyvil Creek to the Sound, was protected by a large force under the efficient command of General Heath, with headquarters at Kingsbridge. The defensive works at Kingsbridge and its vicinity, commenced in the spring, had by arduous labor been completed, and now comprised nine well fortified and garrisoned positions, having for their central and most powerful point what was called Fort In-

dependence, on Tetard's Hill, where the farm of General Richard Montgomery then was, and about where the house of William Ogden Giles now stands. It "occupied a most commanding position, overlooking the Albany road on one side and the Boston road on the other," and "had two bastions at the westerly angles." After the battle of Long Island, and previously to the occupation of Manhattan Island by the enemy, General Heath had adopted excellent precautions against a possible landing in Westchester County. Early in September he established a chain of vedettes from Morrisania to Throgg's Neck, so as to provide for immediate information of any hostile movement that might require resistance in force. He also began to render the roads leading from the villages on the Harlem and the Sound impassable to the British artillery by felling trees athwart them and digging deep pits. His division was increased to ten thousand men of all arms (including ineffectives), while about an equal number remained with Washington on Manhattan Island. This disposition shows how important was deemed the business of guarding against the contingency of a sudden attempt to cut off the retreat of the army to the north. The suggestion of the likelihood of such an attempt was received, as we have noted, on the 27th of August, when two British ships and a brig took a station above Throgg's Neck. That was, however, only a preliminary movement, and, although men from the ships were landed on City Island and seized all the cattle they found there, they quickly retired upon the arrival of a regiment sent by General Heath to protect that locality. On the 10th of September, five days before the British army moved upon Washington's forces from Kip's Bay, Montressor's (now Randall's) Island was taken, and a detachment was placed there, with a large amount of stores. The island commanded the Morrisania shore, and Colonel Morris's manor house was within convenient range. Some four hundred of Heath's men were posted along the shore, and for a time there were frequent interchanges of compliments between their sentinels and those of the British on the island. Much irritation was caused on both sides by occasional exchanges of shots between the



OLD BLUE BELL TAVERN.

sentinels, contrary to the regulations of war, and as a result the British commander threatened to cannonade the Morris house. These practices were finally stopped, and it is related that the opposing pickets were afterward "so civil to each other that they used to exchange tobacco by throwing the roll across the creek." On the 24th of September a daring attempt was made to recapture the island. During the preceding night an expedition of two hundred and forty men, loaded on three flatboats, with a fourth boat bearing a small cannon, dropped down the Harlem from Kingsbridge, depending upon the tide to float them up on the island about daybreak. They arrived at the calculated time, with no other misadventure than an unfortunate experience with an American sentry, who, refusing to believe that they were friends, discharged his gun at them, thereby probably alarming the enemy. Yet the endeavor would undoubtedly have succeeded if it had not been for the cowardly behavior of the troops on two of the boats, who at the critical moment failed to land. The heroic party that did land according to programme was easily repulsed and made to retreat, sustaining a loss of fourteen killed and wounded. Among the killed was a very promising young officer, Major Henly, whose death was much lamented.

After this affair of September 24 on Randall's Island, the first encounter of the war along the southern side of Westchester County, there was a period of nearly three weeks during which absolutely no collision worth mentioning occurred between the American and British forces, either on Manhattan Island or in Westchester County or its waters. General Heath was not inactive, however. With keen foresight, he made a careful inspection, on the 3d of October, of the Town of Westchester and the approach to it from the neighboring peninsula of Throgg's Neck (or Frog's Neck, as it was usually called in those days). That peninsula, extending more than two miles into the Sound, was at high tide a complete island, separated from the mainland by Westchester Creek and a marsh, over which were built a plank bridge and a causeway. At the western extremity of the bridge stood a wooden tide-mill, erected (probably in the last decade of the seventeenth century), at his own expense, by Colonel Caleb Heathcote, first mayor of the borough Town of Westchester. At that point also a large quantity of cordwood had been piled up, which General Heath found to be "as advantageously situated to cover a post defending the pass as if constructed for the very purpose." It was a valuable strategic position—a few men posted there could hold an army at bay, and, moreover, as the bridge and causeway communicated direct with the Village of Westchester, it was a very necessary precaution to have them guarded, quite irrespective of the pos-

sibility that Throgg's Neck might prove to be the chosen landing-place of the now daily expected invading host. Accordingly the general—we quote from "Heath's Memoirs"—"directed Colonel Hand, immediately on his return to camp, to fix upon one of the best subaltern officers and twenty-five picked men of his corps, and assign them to this pass, as their alarm post at all times; and in case the enemy made a landing on Frog's Neck to direct this officer immediately to take up the planks of the bridge; to have everything in readiness to set the mill on fire, but not to do it unless the fire of the riflemen should appear insufficient to check the advance of the enemy on the causeway; to assign another party to the head of the creek; to re-enforce both, in case the enemy landed; and that he should be supported." Upon the arrangements thus made were to depend, a few days later, perhaps the very salvation of the American army. Of the fight which occurred there, Mr. Fordham Morris, in his "History of the Town of Westchester," appropriately says that it was the "Lexington of Westchester," and that it is to be "hoped that the wealth and patriotism of the Town of Westchester will some day cause an appropriate monument to be erected near the bridge in commemoration of the battle of Westchester Creek."[1]

Long before the period at which we have now arrived the whole of the Westchester County militia had been ordered into active service. Some were sent to Peekskill and the Highlands, and some were posted along the Hudson River; but most of them were attached to General Heath's command at Kingsbridge, and were detailed to guard the southern and eastern shore line. It was, in the aggregate, a curious armament that Westchester County contributed to the continental battalions. The State convention, in ordering out these militiamen, directed that if any of the men were without arms they should bring "a shovel, a pickaxe, or scythe, straightened and fixed on a pole." They were, moreover, to take with them all "disarmed and disaffected (Tory) male inhabitants between sixteen and fifty-five years of age," who were to make themselves useful as "fatigue men"; and persons of this description who resisted orders were to be summarily court-martialed. The State convention evidently did not cherish a high opinion of the efficiency of the farmer soldiery.

[1] The mill stood at the southwestern end of the stone bridge which now connects Throgg's Neck with the mainland. It was destroyed by fire early in December, 1874. To the last it was in a good state of preservation for its age, and was still in use for grinding grain. "The old mill," writes a venerable resident of the locality to the present historian, "was sided in with shingles, and a man living here in 1849 told me he assisted in re-covering it many years before, and found under the shingles then covering it another covering, pierced in many places with bullet holes." About a third of a mile from the bridge, on the premises of Mr. Brainerd T. Harrington, grape-shot were found as late as 1866. These evidently were some of the missiles fired over by the American artillery.

In a letter to General Washington, dated the 10th of October, its committee of safety urged him to take measures of his own for guarding against landings by the enemy at all points, adding that "no reliance at all can be placed on the militia of Westchester County." But this was no exclusive reflection upon the soldierly qualities of the men of our county, the raw rural militia of all sections naturally receiving like criticism. In numerous communications written during those perilous days Washington wrote with agony of soul about the miserable subject of the militia. "The militia," he said in a letter to the president of the continental congress, "instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies at a time." And in a letter to his brother he gave the following vivid account of the situation: "The dependence which the congress have placed upon the militia has already greatly injured and, I fear, will totally ruin our cause. Being subject to no control themselves, they introduce disorder among the troops whom we have attempted to discipline, while the change in their living brings on sickness, and this causes an impatience to get home, which spreads universally and introduces abominable desertions. In short, it is not in the power of words to describe the task I have to perform."

Notwithstanding the terrible emergencies with which Washington was confronted, his effective force after his escape to the Heights of Harlem (September 16) showed a diminishing tendency. On the 21st of September the whole army, including General Heath's command, comprised (exclusive of officers) about 16,100 men fit for duty; on the 30th of September, about 15,100; and on the 5th of October, about 14,500. These, besides embracing a large proportion of crude militiamen who were an element of weakness, were encumbered by thousands of sick. On the other hand, General Howe had at his disposal for the invasion of Westchester County, after leaving behind him ample garrisons, as well as all his sick, an army many thousands larger—all professional soldiers. The contrasting conditions are thus powerfully summarized in the notorious Joseph Galloway's "Letters to a Nobleman": "The British army was commanded by able and experienced officers; the rebel by men destitute of military skill or experience, and, for the most part, taken from mechanic arts or the plough. The first were possessed of the best appointments, and more than they could use; and the other of the worst, and less than they wanted. The one were attended by the ablest surgeons and physicians, healthy and high-spirited; the other were neglected in their

health, clothing, and pay, were sickly, and constantly murmuring and dissatisfied. And the one were veteran troops, carrying victory and conquest wheresoever they were led; the other were new raised and undisciplined, a panic-struck and defeated enemy wherever attacked. Such is the true comparative difference between the force sent to suppress and that which supported the rebellion."

CHAPTER XVII

THE CAMPAIGN AND BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS

ENERAL HOWE'S determination to move his army into Westchester County by way of the East River and Long Island Sound was perfectly guarded from Washington's knowledge. In all the official correspondence on the American side up to the day of Howe's landing in our county (October 12), there appears not the slightest inkling of the real designs of the British commander. Indeed, during the days when Howe was making the final preparations for his grand coup, American attention was absorbed by the successful passage of the three British frigates (the "Phœnix," "Roebuck," and "Tartar") up the Hudson River past the batteries of the forts and around the *chevaux de frise*, which was deemed a most calamitous occurrence. From the time of the appearance of the British expedition in New York waters the greatest solicitude had been felt for the safety of the whole Hudson Valley; and it seemed scarcely to admit of doubt that the early mastery of the Hudson as far as the Highlands, to be followed by progressive occupation of that most vital region, was a necessary feature of the comprehensive scheme for paralyzing all American resistance which this powerful expedition was manifestly intended to compass. Popular apprehension on this point was stimulated by the action of the British commander in dispatching ships up the Hudson almost immediately after his arrival in New York Bay. During the pause after the bitter American defeat on Long Island, all the conditions seemed to indicate that whatever General Howe's preference might be in the selection of a quarter from which to renew his direct operations against Washington's army, he would at least not neglect to secure a substantial foothold at the essential points along the lower Hudson. Hence the American measures for obstructing the navigation of the river and for protecting the Highland passes. It is of course idle to speculate as to the probable results, in their relations at least to the ultimate fortunes of the war, that would have attended an effective land occupation at this early period of the western part of our county, or even of the very small section from Verplanck's

Point to Anthony's Nose. But it seems an irresistible conclusion that, with the latter strategic section in the hands of the British, and the river from King's Ferry to Spuyten Duyvil Creek patrolled by a detachment from their fleet, the entire theater of war would have been changed and a prime object of the British government—the possession of the Hudson River throughout its course and the consequent division of the colonies—would have been almost completely realized at once. The escape of Washington to New Jersey would then have been cut off, and he would have been obliged to retreat into New England, with the single alternative of waging a defensive local war there or proceeding by a round-about northern route to the middle colonies, where also he would have been under the disability of local confinement, with his lines of eastern communication closed by the Hudson. General Howe's calculations were not, however, so far-reaching; he was engrossed with the immediate business of annihilating the patriot army. He probably felt that the diversion of so large a force as would be necessary to hold the Westchester bank of the Hudson would be an unprofitable division of his strength at the time, and he did not care to risk the losses likely to result in passing numerous warships and transports around the *chevaux de frise* under the guns of Fort Washington and Lee.

GENERAL HOWE.

The final decision of Howe to move on General Washington from the Sound without preliminarily closing the Hudson against him as far north as the Highlands was indeed a reversal of what was expected by the best American opinion. Not that it was seriously supposed Howe's main attack would proceed from the river side of Westchester County. It was not doubted that when he got ready to act he would choose some point on the Sound for his outflanking movement, since that coast was wholly unprotected by American forts or improvised impediments to navigation, and from its low formation afforded perfectly satisfactory conditions for landing, which nowhere existed on the precipitous shores of the Hudson. But there was an apprehension on the American side which amounted to conviction that before making his next movement in force he would secure the navigation of the Hudson; and upon that quarter Ameri-

can attention was fixed with an anxiety which became painful after the easy passage of the *chevaux de frise* by the three hostile ships on the 9th of October.

In a series of noteworthy official letters of that period, whose originals have been placed at the disposal of the editor of the present History, the whole situation from the American point of view is made strikingly clear. After the removal of the migratory State convention from White Plains to Fishkill, that body appointed "a committee of correspondence for the purpose of obtaining intelligence from the army"; and the committee, of which William Duer was the active spirit, made arrangement with Lieutenant-Colonel Tench Tilghman, one of Washington's aides, for a daily letter from army headquarters. The resulting letters extend from the 22d of September to the 21st of October. The originals furnished us, thirty-seven in number, are from the documentary remains of Colonel Tilghman now owned by his descendant, Hon. Oswald Tilghman, of Maryland; and for the most part are the communications of Duer, on behalf of the committee, in reply to Tilghman's notes of information, although a few letters to Tilghman from other members of the committee, together with copies of some of Tilghman's notes to the committee, are comprehended in the collection. The circumstance that most of the letters are from Duer, one of the most intelligent and valuable members of the State convention, and represent in an unstinted way the feelings and opinions entertained in State government quarters about the posture of affairs on the basis of daily news from Washington's army, adds naturally to the interest of the whole correspondence.[1]

The documents begin with a letter from Duer to Tilghman, dated "Fish-Kills, Sept. 22d, 1776," in which the latter is informed of the appointment of the committee and requested to accept the function of headquarters correspondent. The following are extracts from the correspondence up to the date of the landing of the British army in our county:

Duer to Tilghman, September 25. I shall communicate your Letter to the Convention to-morrow who will (I doubt not) be happy to find that their Attention to the Obstruction of Hudson's River meets with General Washington's approbation.

Duer to Tilghman, September 26.—I expect daily to hear of the Enemy's making some great Attempt. It is surely their Business if they hope to make a Campaign any wise honorable to them. Your present station [on Harlem Heights] appears to me extremely advantageous, and I have no doubt but you will give a good account of them should they be hardy enough to attack your Lines. I should have little anxiety were I convinced of the Sufficiency of our Obstructions in Hudson's River. I do not think it improbable that the Enemy may march part of their Force to the Eastern Part of Long Island, and endeavor to transport

[1] The correspondence was printed in detail in the New York *Times* of April 7, 14, 21, and 28, 1895. It includes much subsidiary matter of interest, which, however, not being specially pertinent to our general narrative, must be omitted here.

them across the Sound, in order to come on the Rear of our Works. I dare say however that Precautions will be made here to prevent any Surprise of that Kind.

Duer to Livingston, September 27.—I have heard it reported that near 100 Sail of the Enemy's ships are gone out of the Hook [Sandy Hook]. Is it true? If so, it is far from improbable that they will go round Long Island into the Sound, and Endeavor to Land in the Rear of our Army. From many Circumstances I do not think it improbable they may attempt to land at Sutton's Neck,[1] about 10 miles from Kingsbridge. I flatter myself we shall be on our Guard to prevent any Manoeuvre of this kind.

I expect every Moment to hear of some Attempt at Mount [Fort] Washington, wh' is in my opinion the most Important Post in all America as it commands the Communication betwixt the United States. Is it practicable for the Enemy to get Possession of the high Grounds on the West Side of the River? If they should succeed in an Attempt of that kind —the Garrison in that Post [Fort Lee] would be made very Uneasy. I trust however that our Army would never desert so important a Station without making it the dearest bought Ground wh' the Enemy have hitherto got.

Duer to Tilghman, September 28.—You observe that if the Passage of the North River is sufficiently obstructed that our Lines will keep the Enemy from making any Progress in Front. This is certainly true; but you must recollect that the Sound is, and must ever be, open; and if they should succeed in Landing a Body of Men in Westchester County, they might by drawing lines to the North River as effectually hem us in, as if we were in New York, from Sutton's Neck to the North River (if I am not mistaken) is not above Twelve Miles. . . .

I expect that the Vessells wh the Convention of this State have ordered to Mount [Fort] Washington will be arrived before this letter; no Time I dare say will be lost in sinking them in the proper Channell, since the Success of our Army depends so much on this Measure.

Duer to Tilghman, September 30.—I am extremely happy to hear that you are in so good a Situation for opposing the Enemy should they make an Attempt to force your Lines, and I should be still more so were the Vessells, we have lately sent down, properly Sunk. The Precaution you have taken by breaking up the Roads from the Sound are certainly are very proper; and will of course tend to impede the Motions of the Enemy should they land in that Quarter, wh for my own Part I think may be the Case. . . .

The late Strong Southerly Wind afforded in my Opinion a Strong Temptation to the Enemy to try the Strength of our Chevau de Frise. Probably they esteem them more effectual than we do. May this Sentiment prevail till we have completed these Obstructions.

Duer to Tilghman, October 1.—I am happy to find by your Letter of the 30th ulto. that you are upon a Guard against the Enemys Operations of coming upon your Rear; you may (I think) depend that this will be their Mode of Attack. From the Nature however of the Grounds I think you will be able to make a Formidable Opposition. They ought not, must not, shall not get in your Rear. Should they succeed no Event so fatal could ever befall the American Cause.

I am sorry the Ships have been so long detained; but I hope they will be with you before this arrives. Don't let their Youth or their Beauty plead for them, if there is the least Probability of their rendering the Obstructions in that part of Hudson's River more effectual. I am convinced upon the Maturest Reflection that a Million of Money would be a trifling Compensation for the Loss of the Navigation of Hudson's River.

Duer to Tilghman, October 2.—I can scarcely describe to you my feelings at this interesting Period. What, with the Situation of our Enemies in your Quarter, and the cursed Machinations of our Internal Foes, the Fate of this State hangs on a Single Battle of

[1] The neck of land just below Mamaroneck Harbor. Mamaroneck proved to be the ultimate point on the Sound occupied by the British in their Westchester County campaign—that is, after landing far below, at Throgg's Neck, they slowly advanced, without striking a blow at the Americans or seeking any other object than a satisfactory basic position, to New Rochelle, whence they sent a detachment to the place indicated by Duer as their most available original landing point for effective purposes of strategy.

any Importance. I am happy to find you are securing your Flanks and I hope our best Troops will be ready to give the Enemy a Reception on their Landing. . . .

I hope to hear in your next that the North River is completely obstructed.

Tilghman to Duer, October 3.—Capt. Cook is now up the River cutting Timber for Chevaux de Frise, as he is much wanted here to sink the old Vessels—the General begs that he may be sent down immediately, we are at a Stand for want of him, for as he has Superintended the Matter from the Beginning he best knows the properest places to be obstructed. If the new ships should be found necessary to our Salvation you need not fear their being Sacrificed, but our public Money goes fast enough without using it wantonly.

Duer to Tilghman, October 3.—I am glad you have so nearly completed your Defences in the Front, and hope you will be expeditious in fortifying your Flanks to the Eastward of Harlem River. I think that the Enemy must be meditating some General Attack but as Providence has been generally kind to us I hope they will postpone it till Lee, and Mifflin return to Camp.

Robert Benson to Tilghman, October 5.—Agreeable to your request, our President [of the State convention] dispatched a letter to Capt. Cooke at Poughkeepsie requesting him to repair immediately to Mount [Fort] Washington. He is now at Fishkill Landing on his Way down & is to set out in the Morning with a quantity of Oak Plank &c.

Duer to Tilghman, October 8.—I cannot account for the Enemys Procrastination unless it proceeds from some of their Ships being sent into the Sound round Long Island for the Purpose of making an Attempt to Land in West Chester County.

They never certainly will make any Attempt but on our Flanks?

Tilghman to the committee, October 9.—About 8 O'clock this Morning the Roebuck & Phoenix of 44 Guns each and a Frigate of about 20 Guns got under way from about Bloomingdale, where they have been laying some time, and stood on with an easy Southerly Breeze towards our Chevauz de Frise, which we hoped would have given them some Interruption while our Batteries played upon them. But to our Surprise and Mortification they all ran through without the least difficulty, and without receiving any apparent damage from our Forts, which kept playing on them from both sides of the River. How far they intend up I dont know, but His Excellency thought to give you the earliest Information, that you may put Genl. Clinton upon his Guard at the Highlands, for they may have troops concealed on Board with intent to surprise those Forts. If you have any Stores on the Water Side you had better have them removed or secured in time. Boards especially for which we shall be put to great Streights if the Communication above should be cut off. The Enemy have made no Move on the land Side.

P. S.—Be Pleased to forward this Intelligence up the River and to Albany. The two new Ships are put in near Colo. Phillips's. A party of Artillery with 2 twelve pounders and 100 Rifle Men are sent up to endeavor to secure them.

Duer to Tilghman, October 10.—There is no Event wh could have happened that could have given me more Uneasiness than the Passage of the Enemys Ships up the River. I cannot persuade myself that there only design is to cut off the Communication of Supplies by Water to our Army at Kingsbridge; though that is an Event which will be highly prejudicial to our Army. They certainly mean to send up a Force (if their Ships have not Soldiers already on board) so as to take Possession of the Passes by Land in the Hylands. In this they will be undoubtedly joined by the Villains in Westchester and Dutchess County. It is therefore of the utmost Consequence that a Force should be immediately detached from the Main Body of our Army to occupy these Posts. It is impossible for the Convention to draw out a force which can be depended on from the Counties last mentioned.

By the Influence and Artifices of the Capital Tories of this State the Majority of Inhabitants in those Counties are ripe for a Revolt; many Companies of Men have actually been enlisted in the Enemys service, several of whom are now concealed in the Mountains. From the Frontier Counties little Strength can with Safety be drawn, and that not in Time to prevent such an attempt of the Enemy. These Matters I have in a few Words suggested to the Convention (for my Business on the Committee I am in is so urgent that I have only been a few Minutes in Convention this Day). If they have not wrote to Genl. Washington, let me earnestly entreat that a Force may be immediately sent to the Highlands on this Side.

by this Means you will not only keep up the Communication with the Army, but I verily believe prevent a Revolt in Westchester and Dutchess Counties. . . .

How are you of for Flour, and Salt Provisions? Will it not be wise to lay in Magazines in Time in this Quarter [Fishkill] lest through the Fortune of War our Army should be obliged to retreat to the Highlands?

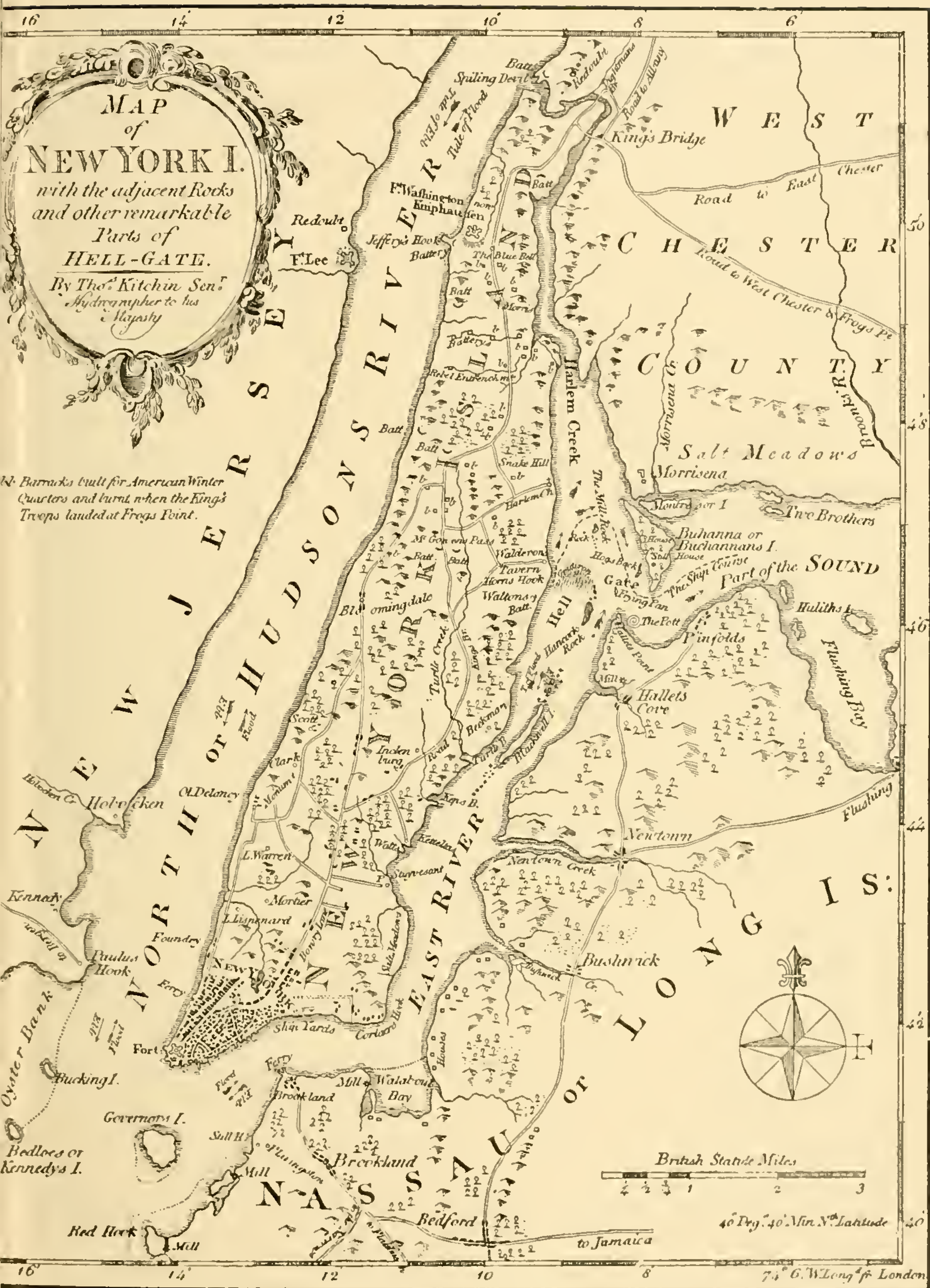
Tilghman to the committee, October 11.—We have no Intelligence of any Troops, either Horse or Foot, going round long Island into the Sound.

Duer to Tilghman, October 12.—Notwithstanding the Enemy had, agreeable to your last Advices, sent no Vessells up the Sound, depend upon it they will endeavor to make an Attack upon your Flanks by means of Hudson's and the East River. Several Examinations wh we have taken mention this as their intended Operation: and indeed it is the only one wh can give them any Probability of Success. If we may give Credit to Intelligence procur'd through the Channell of the Tories, Thursday next is fix'd upon for them to make their Attack, and for their Partisans in this State to Cooperate with them. . . .

You will now have an Anxious Task to watch both the Rivers, and I am afraid all your Vigilance will not be altogether effectual.

Three facts stand out very distinctly from this correspondence—first, that the protection of the Hudson River was the thing of foremost concern to the Americans, even a tentative intrusion of the enemy above Fort Washington causing the direst forebodings of impending preparations for seizing the Westchester river bank as a principal factor of the new British campaign about to be inaugurated; second, that the superior availability of the Sound shore of Westchester County as a departing point for the main body of Howe's army was well appreciated, although there were but vague notions as to Howe's probable intentions in that direction; and third, that Howe's slowness in developing his plans was supposed to indicate that they were much more elaborate than they eventually proved to be, and that they contemplated ultimate connecting operations between river and Sound.

As late as the 11th of October (the very day before Howe's complete disclosure of his project) Colonel Tilghman, writing to the committee of the State convention from the American camp, with full knowledge of such information as Washington himself possessed, made this peculiarly malapropos statement: "We have no intelligence of any troops, either horse or foot, going *round Long Island into the Sound*." Thus up to the last moment Washington was not only quite unsuspicious of the impending blow, but apparently regarded the possibility of a movement against him from the Sound as a still remote eventuality, to be considered for the time only in relation to the rumored departure of an expedition *around* Long Island (that is, around the eastern extremity of the island and thence through the Sound). Well may it be believed, as several historical writers aver, that the intelligence brought to Washington on the morning of October 12 that the whole British army was sailing up the East River and disembarking on Throgg's Neck, completely sur-



MILITARY MAP, 1776.

prised him. We are told by Dawson that he "appears to have given way to despair in view of his powerlessness, and to have become despondent," and that the record of his official acts for the day is remarkable chiefly for singular lack of the active proceedings naturally to have been expected from the commander-in-chief in such an emergency.

It is true that, contrasted with the conditions which would have obtained if Howe had been in possession of the Hudson simultaneously with opening his campaign from the Sound, the situation created by his sudden descent on Throgg's Neck was not without an element of hope. At least, one flank of the American army remained quite unimperiled, which afforded scope for thwarting the designs of the enemy upon the other by the resources of defensive generalship. But aside from that single comforting aspect, the outlook was alarming in an extreme degree. Washington, intrenched on the Heights of Harlem—that is, in the northwestern portion of Manhattan Island,—with New York City below him in the hands of the British, and Howe making ready to fall upon him on his flank, had but three possible courses of action—first, to remain in that position and undergo a siege, which could have resulted in nothing but early capitulation, as he would have had no sources from which to draw supplies; second, to retreat at once across the Hudson River into New Jersey under the protection of Fort Washington and Fort Lee, a programme not to be thought of even if it could have been carried out successfully, since it would have involved abandoning the whole country northward, including the Highlands and consequently the river to its source; or third, to seek a new defensive position at the north, where he could fight the enemy under tolerably advantageous geographical conditions, backed by the Westchester hills and finally by the Highlands, with the King's Ferry route to New Jersey and Philadelphia open. Of these three possible courses, one was equivalent to ruin and another to disgrace, while the third and only feasible one was hedged about by a variety of strangely doubtful and difficult circumstances. In the first place, Washington was under every disadvantage of unpreparedness for such a movement. He was even unprepared in judgment, so unexpectedly did the necessity of considering the matter present itself. It was by no means plain to him at first just what ultimate object Howe's appearance on Throgg's Neck imported, or whether it represented all or even the essential part of the British scheme. A too precipitate retirement to the north on Washington's part would have had the aspect and all the ill moral effect of a cowardly retreat; whereas just on this occasion it was most important for him to gain

some prestige. Finally, when there was no mistaking the fact that Howe's sole aim was to outflank him, he found himself terribly embarrassed in marching to a new position by deficient facilities in the way of teams and wagons for the transportation of his guns and baggage. Indeed, it was not until the 20th of October—eight days after the landing of the British on Westchester soil—that, having at last evacuated his intrenchments on Harlem Heights, Washington had so far moved up his rear as to make his headquarters at Kingsbridge. Moreover, he had to provide for the highly probable emergency of battle along the route, or at least of serious interferences with the progress and integrity of his column. To this end it was necessary to protect himself by a series of intrenched camps at intervals all along the line of march, his destination being White Plains, preappointed by certain circumstances which will be set forth later. Meantime the royal army, as the aggressor, had but to march with reasonable expedition to White Plains—the natural destination for Howe as for Washington, because, in Howe's case, of its central location, and the excellent roads leading thither from the Sound, and the circumstance that all the other roads of the county converged there,—and Washington would be completely hemmed in. In the light of all that followed, the one vital question at the outset of this campaign was, Who should first arrive at and possess White Plains? and the advantage was decidedly with Howe, because he was not hampered by any of the physical difficulties that beset Washington. Such were the elements of the startling Westchester situation whose details we shall now trace with as much brevity as is consistent with clearness.

About daybreak on the morning of Saturday, October 12, 1776,—a very foggy morning,—many boatloads of British troops, led by General Howe in person, embarked at Kip's Bay, Manhattan Island, proceeded through Hellgate and up the Sound, and landed, under the guns of the frigate "Carysfort," on Throgg's Point, where Fort Schuyler now stands. A second large detachment, conveyed by "forty-two sail," was deposited at the same place in the afternoon; and for several days afterward there was a continuous transportation thither of soldiers and all manner of army appointments. Neither the Point nor any part of the Neck was occupied by American troops, but at Westchester causeway and also at the head of the creek, the only localities affording passage to the mainland, the picked riflemen posted about a week previously, through the happy foresight of General Heath, still stood guard. As soon as the presence of the invader on the Neck became known to them, the men at the bridge ripped up its planking; and when the first reconnoitering party of redcoats

approached they gave them the contents of their muskets. The enemy beat a hasty and disorderly retreat; and, although the defenders of the bridge were only twenty-five against many thousands, and the possession of that pass was of supreme importance to General Howe, no serious attempt was made to secure it. He however ordered a breastwork erected, facing the structure. For the rest, he sent out detachments to explore the unknown and mysterious land upon which he had debarked, who, returning, gave him the disheartening information that it was an island, with only one possible crossing-point to the main, a fording-place, where also a party of rebels with rifles of particularly deadly quality disputed the way. In such circumstances Howe was powerless, at least pending the conveyance of intelligence to the American camp, which, of course, resulted in the dispatching of re-enforcements. General Heath "immediately ordered Colonel Prescott, the hero of Bunker Hill, with his regiment, and Captain-Lieutenant Bryant, of the artillery, with a three-pounder, to re-enforce the riflemen at Westchester causeway, and Colonel Graham, of the New York line, with his regiment, and Lieutenant Jackson, of the artillery, with a six-pounder, to re-enforce at the head of the creek; all of which was promptly done." These forces, insignificant though they were in comparison with what Howe could have hurled against them, proved sufficient. He did not care to take the hazard of forcing either pass; and from the 12th to the 18th of October he remained ridiculously penned up on Throgg's Neck by a contemptible few of the starveling continentals who up to that melancholy hour had fled terror-stricken before his ferocious grenadiers. Indeed, his whole programme of entering Westchester County by way of Throgg's Neck had to be abandoned finally; and he was obliged, after six days' delay, to put his army on boats and ship it across Eastchester Bay to Pelham (or Rodman's) Point, a locality not cut off from the main by creeks and marshes and strategic passes.

The responsibility for the selection of Throgg's Neck as the British landing place has been charged to the commander of the fleet, Admiral Lord Howe, General Howe's brother; and in explanation of the choice of that locality it has been urged that a direct landing on Pell's Neck would have been an imprudent measure because of the shallowness of the water at the latter place, preventing the co-operation of any vessel of sufficient battery to cover the landing. But whatever share of the responsibility may be shifted to Admiral Howe, General Howe at least offered no objection to Throgg's Neck, and indeed he subsequently justified its selection. "Four or five days," he said in a speech before an investigating committee of the House of Commons in 1779, "had

70 HEATH's MEMOIRS. [Oct. 1776.

11th.—There was a conſiderable movement among the Britiſh boats below. This afternoon, Gen. Waſhington's pleaſure-boat, coming down the river with a freſh breeze, and a topſail hoiſted, was ſuppoſed, by the artilleriſts at Mount Waſhington, to be one of the Britiſh tenders running down. A 12 pounder was diſcharged at her, which was ſo exactly pointed, as unfortunately to kill three Americans, who were much lamented. The ſame day, ſeveral of Gen. Lincoln's regiments arrived, two of which were poſted on the North River.

12th.—Early in the morning, 80 or 90 Britiſh boats, full of men, ſtood up the ſound, from Montreſors Iſland, Long-Iſland, &c. The troops landed at Frog's Neck, and their advance puſhed towards the cauſeway and bridge, at Weſt-Cheſter mill. Col. Hand's riflemen took up the planks of the bridge, as had been directed, and commenced a firing with their rifles. The Britiſh moved towards the head of the creek, but found here alſo the Americans in poſſeſſion of the paſs. Our General immediately (as he had aſſured Col. Hand he would do) ordered Col. Preſcott, the hero of Bunker Hill, with his regiment, and Capt. Lieut. Bryant of the artillery, with a 3 pounder, to reinforce the riflemen at Weſt-Cheſter cauſeway; and Col. Graham of the New-York line, with his regiment, and Lieut. Jackſon of the artillery, with a 6 pounder, to reinforce at the head of the creek; all of which was promptly done, to the check and diſappointment of the enemy. The Britiſh encamped on the neck. The riflemen and Yagers kept up a ſcattering popping at each other acroſs the marſh; and the Americans on their ſide, and the Britiſh on the other, threw up a work at the end of the cauſeway. Capt. Bryant, now and then, when there was an object, ſaluted the Britiſh with a field-piece.

In

PAGE FROM HEATH'S MEMOIRS.

been unavoidably taken up in landing at Frog's Neck, instead of going at once to Pell's Point, which would have been an imprudent measure, as it could not have been executed without much unnecessary risk." It is difficult to conceive what great risk would have been involved in the latter proceeding, since there was no American post at the point of Pelham Neck on the 12th of October, or, for that matter, on the 18th of October either—the final landing of the British there on the latter date being accomplished without the slightest interference on the part of the Americans, and indeed without being known to them until the advance party of the invaders suddenly showed themselves to the American pickets a full mile and a half above the point. But even granting the force of the special objection to Pelham Neck as an original landing place, one marvels why Throgg's Neck should have been regarded as the only alternative spot. Surely there was adequate depth of water at points farther up the Sound (Mamaroneck Harbor, for instance); and General Howe's sole object being to outflank Washington, it would have been rather an advantage than a disadvantage for him to disembark at a comparatively northernly locality. In whatever aspect the Throgg's Neck landing is viewed, it is hard for the dispassionate mind to regard it otherwise than as a prodigious strategic blunder.[1]

During the six days of Howe's supine occupation of Throgg's Neck, Washington's headquarters were continued at Harlem Heights, where also, in conjunction with the Kingsbridge dependency, the

[1] A glance at the map shows that Throgg's Neck, in a purely geographical sense (not taking into account either its practical insular character or the fact, which must have been known to Howe, that the adjacent country was well guarded by the Americans and its roads had largely been rendered impassable), was about the most unfavorable place that could have been hit upon for initiating a movement to set the royal army down in Washington's rear. It is, indeed, on a due-east line, somewhat south of the Heights of Harlem and Kingsbridge; so that upon Howe's arrival at Throgg's Neck Washington was actually in advance of him along the one open line of movement. The complacency of Washington in remaining in his Harlem Heights and Kingsbridge position until after Howe had pushed northward to Pell's Neck, although six days had elapsed meanwhile, is of itself plain demonstration that Howe blundered egregiously in his choice of ground so far as his intention of outflanking the patriot general was concerned. The civilian Duer, of the State convention, in his correspondence with Washington's headquarters, shows a perfect grasp of the elements of the situation. In a letter to Tilghman, October 14, he writes:

"They [the enemy] could not, I think, have blundered more effectually than by Landing on the Neck of Land they are now on. I should think a small Number of Men with Field Pieces would suffice to prevent their penetrating further into the Country from that Quarter. You say that you think more of the Enemy's Troops are moved up the Sound. I think they will endeavor to Land the Main Body of their Army near Rye and endeavor to surround our Troops from the Sound to the North River." And the next day, writing to Robert Harrison, Washington's secretary, he says:

"I . . . am happy to find you have got the Enemy in so desirable a Situation.

"There appears to me an actual Fatality attending all their Measures. One would have naturally imagined from the Traitors they have among them, who are capable of giving them the most Minute Description of the Grounds in the County of Westchester, that they would have landed much farther to the Eastward [northward]. Had they puzzl'd their Imaginations to discover the worse Place they could not have succeeded better than they have done."

main body of the American army remained. The apparent confusion of mind which he experienced upon being apprised of Howe's landing was not of long duration; and indeed his energetic qualities as a commander were probably never displayed with greater or more judicious attention to detail than throughout the period of the British general's inactivity on the Sound. On the evening of the 12th he rode over to Westchester village and personally inspected the situation, becoming satisfied that it threatened no immediate danger and that his plain duty, pending a further disclosure of the enemy's intentions, was to strengthen his defensive position in every way. At a loss to understand why Throgg's Neck should have been selected if the British purpose was to quickly push into his rear and entrap him, he inclined to the opinion that Howe's final object was to move on his works at Kingsbridge, and that to that end he would presently be supported by a second expedition, to be landed lower down, probably at Morrisania. On the other hand, he was by no means unmindful of the contingency that the grander project might be meditated; but he was convinced that so long as Howe stayed on Throgg's Neck he could afford to wait for actualities. His confidence in his ability to repel a mere movement against Kingsbridge is well reflected in the following extract from a letter written from headquarters on the 13th of October by Lieutenant-Colonel Tilghman to the committee of correspondence of the State convention:

> The Grounds leading from Frogs Point towards our Post at Kingsbridge are as defensible as they can be wished, the Roads are all lined with Stone fences and the adjacent Fields divided off with Stone likewise, which will make it impossible for them to advance their Artillery and Ammunition Waggons by any other Route than the great Roads, and I think if they are well lined with Troops, we may make a considerable slaughter if not discomfit them totally. Our Rifle Men have directions to attend particularly to taking down their Horses, which if done, will impede their March effectually. Our Troops are in good Spirits and seem inclined and determined to dispute every Inch of Ground. *Our Front is now so well secured that we can spare a considerable Number of our best Troops from hence if they are wanted.*
>
> If we are forced from this post we must make the best Retreat we can, but I think this Ground should not be given up but upon the last Extremity.[1]

The cheerful remark in this letter that the commander-in-chief had matters so well in hand as to be able to spare a considerable number of his best troops for purposes other than his own defense against Howe received practical application on the same day by the send-

[1] This letter of Tilghman's was replied to on the 14th, by William Duer. From the citations made in previous pages from the Duer-Tilghman correspondence, the reader will doubtless have been impressed with the perspicacity of Duer's views of the military situation; and the following comment made by him in his letter of the 14th, upon one of Tilghman's optimistic expressions, is a further instance of his discretion:

"I approve much of selling at a dear Price every foot of Ground; but if the Enemy should, by their Manoeuvres, contrive to encircle our Army, and as I before Observed Occupy these Mounts [the Highlands], while their Vessells obstruct the Navigation of Hudson's River and the Sound, there will have no Occasion to hazard a battle. Wants of Supply would, I fear, make us fall an inglorious Sacrifice."

ing off of Colonel Tash's regiment of New Hampshire militia to Fishkill "for the assistance of the committee of safety in holding the disaffected in check." By recurring to the consecutive extracts from the Duer-Tilghman correspondence printed on pp. 359-362, it will be seen that Duer, on the 12th of October, communicated to Washington's headquarters information (or supposed information) which the State convention, by "several examinations" of Tories had obtained, of a concerted plan for a grand British movement upon both flanks of the American army "by means of Hudson's and the East River," in which enterprise "their partisans in this State" were to co-operate—"Thursday next" (the 17th of October) being fixed for the united undertaking. In almost every letter written by Duer to Tilghman during the eventful month from the 22d of September to the 21st of October, mention is made with much particularity and in the bitterest terms of the very numerous Tory conspiracies then rife.[1] Moreover, Washington was constantly apprehending conspirators and suspects, and no one had a keener appreciation than he of the need of strict measures against the seditious Tories. The detachment of a whole regiment from his army for the local purposes of the committee of safety in such critical circumstances as prevailed on the 13th of October is a peculiarly interesting incident. Washington seems also to have been considerably impressed by Duer's intelligence of a general British plan for the 17th of October. The prediction was evidently treasured up at headquarters, for Tilghman, writing to Duer on the 15th, remarks: "The information you furnish concerning the intended operations on Thursday next deserve our highest thanks; it may be false, if it is, there is no harm done, but we shall be better prepared for them if true. It will effectually prevent surprise, the most fatal thing that can befall an Army." And on the 17th he takes occasion to remind his correspondent that "the 17th October is come and nearly passed without the predicted

[1] September 28, he writes that "A Discovery was made sometime ago of a Battalion of Rangers, which was raising in Westchester County to be commanded by Major Rogers, who is for that Purpose commissioned by Lord Howe"; also of the discovery of a company enlisting in Dutchess County, whose muster-roll contained fifty-seven names, "Twenty-five of whom we have already apprehended." October 1, he reports that thirty-two of the latter organization have been taken into custody, and, alluding to other conspirators, says: "I hope Matters may be so managed that two or three of the principal Miscreants who have been taken may be hanged as Spies." October 3, referring to the Tory conspirators captured by Washington, he exclaims: "In the Name of Justice hang two or three of the Villains you have apprehended. They will certainly come under the Denomination of Spies." October 8, he says: "I am sorry to tell you (for the Credit of this State) that the Committee I belong to make daily fresh Discoveries of the Infernal Practices of our Enemies to excite Insurrections amongst the Inhabitants of this State. To-morrow one Company actually enlisted in the Enemy's Service will be march'd to Philadelphia, there to be confined in jail till the Establishment of our Courts enables us to hang the Ring leaders." And on October 10 (see p. 361) he goes so far as to declare that unless vigorous measures are instantly taken a revolt will surely supervene in Westchester and Dutchess Counties.

Blow." Evidently Duer's prophecy for the 17th was one of the various conjoining things which influenced Washington to suspect that Howe's movement to Throgg's Neck was but a part of the enemy's plan, and accordingly to allow a full week to pass by without inaugurating any new plan of his own.

On the morning of the 13th Washington issued a stirring address to the army, probably as characteristic a specimen of his writings of this nature as his career affords: "As the enemy seem now to be endeavoring to strike some stroke before the close of the campaign," said he, "the General most earnestly conjures both officers and men, if they have any love for their country and concern for its liberties and regard to the safety of their parents, wives, children, and countrymen, that they will act with bravery and spirit becoming the cause in which they are engaged; and to encourage and animate them so to do, there is every advantage of ground and situation, so that if we do not conquer it must be our own faults. How much better will it be to die honorably, fighting in the field, than to return home covered with shame and disgrace, even if the cruelty of the enemy should allow you to return! A brave and gallant behavior for a few days, and patience under some little hardships, may save our country and enable us to go into winter quarters with safety and honor."

General Washington lost no time in strengthening Heath's command, which made the force above Kingsbridge the major part of the American army; and troops were posted at all important points so as to check any possible advance of the enemy. On the 14th Major-General Charles Lee arrived from the South, and was assigned by Washington to the chief command in Westchester County—an assignment not to take effect, however, "until he could make himself acquainted with the post, its circumstances, and arrangements of duty," General Heath in the interim retaining the authority which he had administered so conscientiously and ably. At that period Lee was still generally estimated at his own enormous valuation of himself; and it is amusing to note in the public and private correspondence of the time the satisfaction with which the coming of this littlest of little souls, most vile of marplots, and most heinous and despicable of willing though impotent traitors was hailed on account of his supposed majestic genius and scientific qualifications for the

Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.

"I beg my Affectionate Compliments to Genl. Lee," wrote the impressionable but, as we have seen, eminently sensible Duer, in one of his letters (October 15), "whom I sincerely congratulate on his arrival in Camp—partly on account of himself, as he will have it in

his power to reap a fresh Harvest of Laurels, and more on account of this Country wh looks up to him as one of the brave Apostles of her dearest Rights." Lee's machinations to supplant Washington in the supreme command were in course of development at this period, and the gloomy outlook for the American cause, with the appalling record of recent disaster, gave buoyancy to his selfish expectations. His participation in the campaign that followed is best remembered for his sneers and gibes at his commander, which passed from mouth to mouth of his clique, both in the army and in congress. His remark that Washington was conducting the war mainly with the pickax and the spade was circulated with particular enjoyment. Finally, when Washington departed to New Jersey after the battle of White Plains, Lee, left in command in Westchester County, took a course of almost open insubordination.

It was not until the 16th of October that any official decision was arrived at looking to abandonment of the Harlem Heights and Kingsbridge position, and even then the action taken was only in the form of a resolve upon a proposition of policy. A council of war was held at the headquarters of General Lee, the officers in attendance, besides the commander-in-chief, being Major-Generals Lee, Putnam, Heath, Spencer, and Sullivan, Brigadier-Generals Lord Stirling, Mifflin, McDougal, Parsons, Nixon, Wadsworth, Scott, Fellows, George Clinton, and Lincoln, and Colonel Knox, commanding the artillery—to whom Washington, after conveying such information as he possessed respecting the conjectured purpose of the enemy to surround the army, put the following question: "Whether (it having appeared that the obstructions in the North River have proved insufficient, and that the enemy's whole force is now in our rear, at Frog's Point) it is now deemed possible, *in our present situation*, to prevent the enemy from cutting off the communication with the country and compelling us to fight them, at all disadvantages, or surrender prisoners at discretion?" The assembled officers, with the single exception of General George Clinton, replied that "it is not possible to prevent the communication from being cut off; and that one of the consequences mentioned in the question must certainly follow." This of course implied a practically unanimous conclusion on the part of Washington's generals that the "present situation" should be given up. At the same time the expediency of retaining possession of Fort Washington was considered, and all the general officers, most of them influenced doubtless by the desire of congress that this stronghold should be held as long as possible, favored the policy—although Washington's judgment was against it.

Preparations were now begun, though with no special haste, for

securing the withdrawal of the army. Orders were given for putting the roads leading to the north, on the west side of the Bronx River, in good condition. Washington thoroughly familiarized himself with the nature of the country above, and in that connection, on the 16th, carefully examined the ground adjacent to Pelham Neck, which proved to be the next stage in the progress of the enemy. At this early date considerable bodies of troops were advanced as far northward as Valentine's Hill and the Mile Square, both in the present City of Yonkers; and during the subsequent few days detachments were gradually sent forward to establish a line of temporary intrenched camps on the high grounds bordering the west bank of the Bronx all the way to White Plains.[1] Besides, Washington was not unmindful of the chance of danger from the Hudson River. On the 15th two regiments of Massachusetts militia were sent up to Tarrytown to watch the British ships of war lying opposite that place and oppose any attempt to land men from them; and, notwithstanding the previous failure of the *chevaux de frise* at Fort Washington to bar the navigation of the river, and the large expense incident to an attempted completion of that barrier, the work upon it was energetically continued. "We are sinking the Ships as fast as possible," wrote Tilghman to Duer on the 17th; "200 Men are daily employed, but they take an immense Quantity of Stone for the purpose."

Although the ultimate necessity of quitting Manhattan Island and Kingsbridge was not decided on until the 16th, and the beginning of the formal movement was delayed several days longer, the objective point in the coming northward march of the army was well indicated by circumstances beforehand. It happened that the principal magazine of provisions had been accumulated at the village of White Plains, a place not too far removed from the Harlem Heights headquarters and yet at a sufficient distance in the interior to be deemed safe. Moreover, there was a considerable magazine at Rye on the Sound—a decidedly unsafe locality in view of the complete control of that coast by the British fleet; and the removal of the Rye stores to White Plains as the most available spot of safety was therefore a manifest necessity as soon as the general situation became menacing. And finally White Plains commanded the whole country below, and equally the country above, since all the roads centered there; while directly in its rear rose the range of North

[1] In most historical references to Washington's march through Westchester County the impression is given that the intrenched camps along the Bronx were constructed by detachments from the army during its actual progress. But Dawson's remarks on this point (Scharf, I., 427, *note*) seem, to our mind, to establish beyond question that these defensive works were prepared in advance by pioneers detailed for the special purpose.

Castle hills, where the army could be made secure against almost any possible attack in case it should be necessary to fall back farther. These various conditions positively indicated White Plains as the essential point for Washington to reach—even before his actual movement was inaugurated. The stores at White Plains were under the guard of a militia force of some 300 men.

Before proceeding farther in our narrative, we think it indispensable to briefly point out the true character of Washington's movement from Harlem Heights and Kingsbridge to White Plains. It is generally characterized by loose and hasty writers—and not infrequently by more careful ones—as a *retreat*. This is a strange misconception of its nature. It was not a retreat in any proper or admissible sense of the term, but really a deliberate countermove for position, fearless and almost aggressive in its fundamentals. So far from retreating upon the appearance of his foe at Throgg's Neck, Washington did not even retire. He calmly held his original posi-

ON THE MARCH TO WHITE PLAINS.

tion for days, and, in fact, until Howe himself went forward. Then, it being apparent that Howe was marching to flank him, he promptly took measures to counterflank Howe, and executed them with the most admirable judgment and great dispatch and success in view of his circumstances. Regarded strictly in its ultimate complexion, Washington's movement to White Plains was indeed the reverse of a retreat or retirement. If his object had been simply to retire beyond his enemy's reach, he would not have stopped at White Plains, a comparatively exposed locality, but would have gone at once to the North Castle hills, which were practically impregnable with the force he had. But with those hills at his back to resort to in case of need, he was satisfied to offer battle at White Plains, because, with the conditions of ultimate position favorable to him, he deemed it expedient to first fight a battle that he had a fair chance to win. Eventually it was Howe and not Washington who declined the general battle at White Plains, which Washington, by all his preliminary operations, had accepted in advance. We now return to the enemy at Throgg's Neck.

The 18th of October was the day chosen by General Howe for exposing his further intentions. Up to that time he had neither done nor attempted anything but the transportation of his army, with its artillery, equipments, and stores, from New York City to Throgg's Neck. After finding, upon his arrival there on the 12th, that his progress from the Neck to the mainland was disputed by a determined force of Americans, he refrained from all pretensions to ground beyond his little island, but caused earthworks to be constructed, and during the succeeding days " the scattering fire across the marsh continued, and now and then a man was killed." That was all. Finally, at one o'clock on the morning of the 18th, he embarked a portion of his forces on flatboats and had them rowed over to Pelham's or Rodman's Point, on the opposite side of Eastchester Bay. They were successfully landed in the darkness. This was a preliminary movement to secure the ground for his main body, which he put in motion at daylight; and simultaneously he caused an embrasure to be opened in his earthwork facing Westchester causeway, so as to give the Americans the impression that he was preparing to force his way over under a cannonade. The Americans readily concluded that such was his object; and strong re-enforcements were speedily sent forward by General Heath, who soon afterward came to the spot in person to direct the operations. Washington himself presently arrived on the scene; and the course taken by him is of much interest in connection with what our readers already know about his strong and persevering suspicion that Howe's design would eventually prove to be a direct advance on Kingsbridge, with the support of a coöperating expedition from the quarter of Morrisania. Washington, says Heath in his " Memoirs," " ordered him (Heath) to return immediately and have his division formed ready for action, and to take such a position as might appear best calculated to oppose the enemy should they attempt to land another body of troops on Morrisania, which he thought not improbable."

Having distracted the attention of the Americans by his pretended plan of crossing the marsh from Throgg's Neck, Howe dispatched his main body as rapidly as possible to Pell's Point on boats, and the transfer was completed with promptness and in entire safety. Meanwhile the presence of the British vanguard, which had been ferried over in the night, became known to the American force stationed on the neck above, resulting in a series of lively encounters. This American force consisted of the excellent brigade of General James Clinton, which, at the time, was commanded by Colonel Glover. It embraced four regiments, Shepard's, Read's, and Baldwin's, in addition to Glover's (the last being under the temporary command of

Captain Curtis). Its total strength upon this occasion was about 750, and it was equipped with three field pieces, which, however, were not brought into action because of the unevenness of the ground and the nature of the tactics employed. The fact that the American general had the discretion to place so relatively numerous and effective a body on Pell's Neck, despite his lingering belief that the enemy's plans did not contemplate any movement thither, is one among many exceedingly practical and convincing demonstrations of the thoroughness and intelligence with which the patriot forces were disposed from the very beginning of the Westchester campaign.

Colonel Glover was made aware of the presence of the enemy by the sudden approach of his advance guard. He immediately threw forward a captain and forty men to meet them, and in the pause which followed ambuscaded his regiments behind stone walls. He then personally took command of the forty men and marched them to within fifty yards of the place where the foe had come to a standstill. Both sides now fired, several rounds being exchanged. Four of the British party were seen to fall, and of the Americans two were killed and a number wounded. The British were soon re-enforced and charged the Americans, who retreated in good order, leading their pursuers up to where the first ambuscaded regiment (Colonel Read's) lay. The concealed men rose from behind the stone wall and fired with such effect that the advancing column broke and fled without the ceremony of a reply. After a delay of about an hour and a half the enemy again came forward along the roadway, "with what were supposed," says Dawson, "to have been 4,000 men, strengthened with seven pieces of artillery." Colonel Read and his command, still occupying their original position, not only renewed the attack but bravely "maintained their ground until they had thrown seven well-directed volleys into the closed ranks" of the vastly superior enemy, finally retreating across fields and taking up a new position in support of Colonel Shepard's regiment, which was concealed some distance farther along the road. Here the previous proceeding was repeated, seventeen volleys being fired by the Americans before they were dislodged. Next the British came upon the third line of ambuscade, under the command of Colonel Baldwin; but here the opposition offered by the Americans was not prolonged, the nature of the ground permitting the British artillery to be effectively employed. The three regiments, having well performed the duties which fell to them, then retired across Hutchinson's River and up a slope of ground to where the fourth, commanded by Captain Curtis, was stationed, with the three field-pieces. This ended the fighting, although the British cannon continued to belch thunderously at the

disappearing continentals. The brigade, reports Colonel Glover, "after fighting all day, without victuals or drink," fell back at dark to a place three miles in the rear, where they bivouacked, and "lay as a picquet all night, the heavens over us and the earth under us, which was all we had, having left all our baggage at the old encampment we left in the morning." Early the next day they joined the American command quartered in the Mile Square in the Town of Yonkers.

This interesting action, or rather series of actions, occurred on Pelham soil. It served a two-fold purpose—first, to engage and retard the van of the invading army for an entire day; and second, to give the British general a wholesome object-lesson of the mettlesomeness of the American troops and of the well-judged manner in which they had been posted to harass his advance. Dawson, after careful examination of all the known facts, concludes that the number of the enemy actually engaged by Glover and his men could not have been less than 4,000; while the two regiments of Read and Shepard, which sustained practically the entire attack of this army, could not have exceeded 400 rank and file. The American losses, according to official returns, were six men killed and Colonel Shepard and twelve men wounded. The enemy's forces comprised both British regiments and German mercenary chasseurs. The losses to the British regiments (as shown by the returns) were three men killed and two officers and twenty men wounded. As for the mercenaries, no official returns of their losses have been published. Regarding this point we shall permit ourselves to quote at length the observations of Dawson, upon whose facts we have frequently drawn, though usually (and we admit quite deliberately) without reproducing the singularly precise and diligent concatenations of statement and related considerations wherewith he surrounds them.

The reports (he says) of the operations and the casualties of those [mercenary] troops were made to the several sovereign princes, electors, etc., of whom these troops were, respectively, subjects; and, except in some few instances, when individual enterprise has unearthed some of them, the text of those reports and much of the official correspondence remain in their original repositories, unopened and seemingly uncared for.

The reports of deserters, and other unofficial reports, made the total losses, both British and German, from *eight hundred to a thousand men*; and it is difficult to make one believe that four hundred Americans, familiar from their childhood with the use of firearms, sheltered by ample defenses, from which they could fire deliberately and with their pieces rested on the tops of their defenses, could have possibly fired volley after volley into a large body of men, massed in a closely compacted column and cooped up in a narrow country roadway, without having inflicted as extended a damage on those who received their fire as deserter after deserter, to the number of more than half a dozen, on different days, without any connection with each other, severally and separately declared had been inflicted on the enemy's advance on the occasion now under consideration.

Eight hundred to a thousand put *hors de combat* in a running

musketry fight by four hundred continentals, whose total casualties were but nineteen! That was noble work indeed—it was magnificent, and also it was war. But it becomes our virtuous duty as an honorable historian to decently caution the unwary reader here. Dawson's extreme compassionate feeling for the miserable Tories of Westchester County procures naturally from his magnanimous pen a properly respectful reception of the *British* forces sent to their relief by a gracious sovereign; and in this particular he goes so far in several places as to express impatience at the traductions of General Howe as a military commander which so characterize the writings of American partisan critics.[1] On the other hand, Dawson nowhere discovers any favorable conceit of the mission of the mercenaries, which for aught that can be detected to the contrary he may even regard in the conventional fashion as mere infamous butchery business for pay. It hence occurs to us that while every way incapable of wronging the British troops by conjectures or suspicions of battlefield losses disadvantageous to their prowess or to the integrity of their official reports, he has no such scrupulous concern for the fair fame of the hireling arm of the army, and indeed is quite indifferent how mercilessly the Hessians are peppered in the pages of history. At least we can not otherwise account for his conclusion that the loss suffered by the mercenaries, compared with that of their British comrades-in-arms (who equally were "massed in a closely compacted column and cooped up in a narrow country roadway"), was in the ratio of thirty or forty to one. For ourselves, we firmly disbelieve that there was any such slaughter of Hessians in the Manor (let it therefore never be called the shambles) of Pelham as Dawson inclines to think.

The gallant behavior of Colonel Glover and his men was made the subject of very complimentary observations in general orders issued by Washington; and General Lee, to whose command they belonged, paid a visit to them in their camp and "publickly returned his thanks for their noble-spirited and soldier-like conduct during the battle."

After the retreat of this obstructing American brigade, General Howe, without encountering any further opposition, moved a portion of his army forward to New Rochelle, and by degrees during the next few days brought all his forces up to that point, also receiving additional troops from New York City.[2] On the 21st of Oc-

[1] Every true American should be most profoundly grateful that this incompetent general was placed at the head of the British army, not for his own merits, but because of his connection with royalty through his grandmother's frailty. His mother was the issue of George I. and Sophia Kilmansegge.—*Narrative and Critical History of America*, vi., 291.

[2] An expedition of 8,000 mercenaries, commanded by Lieutenant-General Knyphausen, was landed on the 22d at Myers's Point (now Davenport's Neck), near New Rochelle. This

tober he advanced his right and center to a situation about two miles farther north, on the road to White Plains—his left continuing at New Rochelle. Also on the 21st he detached a Loyalist corps known as the Queen's Rangers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Rogers, to occupy Mamaroneck, which was successfully accomplished, the American post at that place abandoning it apparently without any attempt at defense. Thus as early as the 21st General Howe was encamped with his whole army in a splendid strategic position on the Sound, with a fine road before him leading all the way to White Plains. This road, moreover, was quite unobstructed by the Americans, who were well content to keep at a respectful distance, on the western side of the Bronx River. And further, at that identical time, the Revolutionary army was stretched in a thin line from the southern part of Westchester County to its destination at White Plains, toilsomely struggling to complete its maneuver before the enemy should be ready to foil it. Yet Howe, with his accustomed leisure, remained in this station for three days, after which he occupied two days in advancing a few miles to Scarsdale, where he spent three days more; and during the period of eight days he never undertook any strategic operation or even struck any incidental blow at the onward moving column of Americans. Here we shall leave him, to return to the animated and interesting progress of events on the American side.

After the advance of the British on the 18th from Throgg's Neck to Pell's Neck, and thence to New Rochelle, Washington put forth his utmost exertions toward marching his army as quickly as possible to the north. The enterprise, aside from the extreme fundamental hazard attending it on account of the expected appearance of Howe at any moment athwart the line of march, was beset with embarrassing physical difficulties. The facilities for the transportation of the cannon and impedimenta of all kinds were distressingly limited. There was an extreme scarcity of teams and wagons, and the work of transportation had to be performed mostly by the soldiers. "The baggage and artillery," says Gordon, "were carried or drawn off by hand. When a part was forwarded, the other was fetched on. This was the general way of removing the camp equipage and other appendages of the army." Everything not absolutely needful was left behind, together with much that could not well be spared. The food supply of the army, for example, was dangerously low—so low that on the 20th Tilghman wrote in the following press-

expedition sailed from England in sixty-five vessels on the 27th of July, but did not reach New York City until the 18th of October. It was possibly due to a desire to have the advantage of its co-operation that General Howe so long delayed his movement from New York City to Throgg's Neck, and from the latter place forward.

ing terms to the State convention: "Upon a Survey of our Stores we find we are not so fully stocked as we could wish. Flour is what is most likely to be wanted. His Excellency therefore calls upon your Convention in the most pressing manner, and begs you will set every Engine at work to send down every Barrel you can procure towards the Army." Yet at the last some eighty or ninety barrels of provisions had to be left at Kingsbridge for lack of means to transport them.

By the 20th all of Washington's troops on Manhattan Island (with the exception of the garrison of Fort Washington) had been transferred to Westchester County, and he now took up his headquarters at Kingsbridge. The most advanced American post on the 20th was apparently that of General Lord Stirling, who, according to a private letter of that date, written from the "Camp of Yonkers" by the noted General Gold Selleck Silliman to his wife, lay "with a large force of troops and three field-pieces about six or seven miles north-east" of Yonkers, "on the road from New Rochelle to the North River, at the distance of about two or three miles from the seashore." There was at this time no force whatever at White Plains but the militia guard of 300, already noticed. On the morning of the 20th Washington dispatched Colonel Rufus Putnam, an able engineer and very trustworthy officer,[1] to reconnoiter the country in the vicinity of the enemy. Colonel Putnam proceeded to within two or three miles of White Plains. From his observations of the easy accessibility of that place to the enemy, he became profoundly convinced of the immediate necessity of having it occupied by a respectable body of men, so as to secure its large and vitally important magazine of provisions against attack. Returning with all haste to headquarters, he submitted the facts to the commander-in-chief, who gave him a letter to Lord Stirling, ordering that general to march forthwith to White Plains with all his command. Putnam reached Stirling's camp at two o'clock the following morning (October 21). The brigade was in motion before daybreak, and by nine o'clock it

GENERAL LORD STIRLING.

[1] It was under the supervision of Colonel Putnam that the fortifications of Fort Washington were constructed.

had arrived at White Plains. At that time, it will be remembered, the dilatory General Howe had advanced only slightly above New Rochelle.

The 21st was a day of great and fruitful activity. Supplementing his prompt action of the night before upon the receipt of Colonel Putnam's report, Washington directed General Heath, then at Kingsbridge, to break camp, "if possible, at eight o'clock this morning," and take his division speedily to White Plains. He was himself in the saddle at an early hour, and rode to White Plains on a tour of inspection. While there he issued a number of important orders, including one to the officer commanding at Mamaroneck, whom he instructed to make the best stand possible if attacked, little thinking, says Dawson, "that at that very time the officer whom he was thus addressing had shown himself to be only a contemptible poltroon." The marching order given Heath in the morning was executed by that faithful general as promptly as possible; but the movement of his division, distributed along the southern border of Westchester County, which had to be consolidated, with numerous preliminary details to be attended to, could not be accomplished so suddenly. Instead of moving at eight o'clock in the morning, Heath did not get started until four in the afternoon. But once on the way, he performed the maneuver with remarkable rapidity, arriving in White Plains at four o'clock in the morning (October 22), only twelve hours after his departure from Kingsbridge. It was practically a forced march, for the immediate purpose of throwing a strong body into White Plains—Stirling's single brigade being manifestly insufficient to hold the place if a serious movement by the enemy should be suddenly made thither; and naturally the men were not encumbered with baggage, or obliged to draw heavy loads after them, as was the case with the troops that followed. Yet the division made the march in perfect order, taking its light and heavy artillery, and was so arranged that in case of attack disposition for battle could be effected instantly. The withdrawal of Heath's division from Kingsbridge left the whole southern line of Westchester County denuded of defenders, except that a garrison of 600, under Colonel Lasher, was spared for Fort Independence on Tetard's Hill; but even this was only a temporary measure, for, as we shall see, Colonel Lasher's small command was withdrawn from that station a few days later and joined the army at White Plains.

Since the Pelham affair of the 18th, there had been absolutely no encounter between the Americans and British, even at their outlying posts, both sides having been engrossed with the business of securing position. But on the night of the 21st a well-planned and

reasonably successful dash was made by an American force—singularly enough from the very extreme of the American position, at White Plains, against the very extreme of the British position, at Mamaroneck. We have seen that during the 21st Mamaroneck was occupied by a British detachment, the Queen's Rangers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Rogers, while on the morning of that day the American General Stirling occupied White Plains. The Queen's Rangers was an exceedingly select body of American Loyalists, recruited in New York and Connecticut, and embraced not a few young men of Westchester County Tory families. Later in the war they were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, whose memoir of them, entitled "Journal of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers," is an interesting Revolutionary authority. They were "disciplined not for parade, but for active service. They were never to march in slow time; were directed to fire with precision and steadiness; to wield the bayonet with force and effect; to disperse and rally with rapidity. In short, in the instructions for the management of the corps, its commander seems to have anticipated the more modern tactics of the French army." The sending of this body to Mamaroneck—the home, by the way, of the distinguished Tory family of de Lancey—was the first enterprise of the British commander apart from his main forward movement since his landing in Westchester County, and undoubtedly was intended as a complimentary recognition of the spirited Tory volunteers. General Washington, upon receiving intelligence of the unopposed capture of Mamaroneck by the Rangers, decided to give them a different impression of the quality of Revolutionary troops than they had derived from their entry there. Agreeably to his orders, General Lord Stirling, commanding at White Plains, dispatched Colonel Haslet, with 600 Delaware troops, and Major Green, with 150 Virginians, to attack the Rangers during the night. It was hoped to surprise and capture the whole corps of the enemy, which was only 450 strong; and this would undoubtedly have been done had it not been for the foresight of Colonel Rogers in extending his picket lines beyond expectation, and the blundering of the American guides, who "undertook to alter the first disposition" of the attacking party. A surprise was thus prevented, and a hand to hand fight ensued in the darkness, the Rangers, inspired by the great courage and address of their colonel, defending themselves excellently. The Americans were finally forced to retire, sustaining a loss of three or four killed and about fifteen wounded, but bearing with them thirty-six prisoners and a quantity of captured arms and blankets. The number of the Loyalists killed and wounded is unknown, but according to American reports was large, twenty-

five dead being counted in one orchard. "All of both sides," says Mr. Edward F. de Lancey in his "History of Mamaroneck," "were buried just over the top of the ridge almost directly north of the Heathcote Hill house, in the angle formed by the present farm lane and the east fence of the field next to the ridge. There their graves lie together, friend and foe, but all Americans. My father told me when he was a boy their green graves were distinctly visible. The late Stephen Hall, a boy of seventeen or eighteen at the time, said that they were buried the morning after the fight, and that he saw nine laid in one large grave." General Howe promptly re-enforced the shattered Rangers with the brigade of General Agnew.

On the 21st Washington advanced his headquarters from Kingsbridge a distance of about four miles to Valentine's Hill, a prominent ridge in the present City of Yonkers, upon whose brow Saint Joseph's Seminary stands. From this place a number of documents in connection with the movement then in progress are dated, and here occurred an episode of sentimental interest. Valentine's Hill was so called from the family of farmers who had tilled it for about three-quarters of a century as tenants of the Manor of Philipseburgh. The farmhouse, though having no residential pretensions, was the most substantial dwelling in that immediate locality, and was used by Washington for headquarters purposes while directing operations from the hill, although the Valentine family was not disturbed in its occupancy. One of the family at that time was Elizabeth Valentine, a young child, who died in 1854. It was frequently related by her that one morning Washington, before beginning the business of the day, surrounded by members of his official family in the sitting room of the dwelling—she being present,—read from the Bible the singularly appropriate text (Joshua xxii., 2): "The Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods, He knoweth, and Israel He shall know; if it be in rebellion, or if in transgression against the Lord (save us not this day)," and upon this sentiment delivered an impressive prayer.

The following item appears in "Washington's Accounts with the United States," under date of October 22, 1776: "To Exp[s] at Valentine's, Mile Square—20 Doll[s]."

It has been claimed that while in the vicinity of Yonkers, Washington availed himself of the hospitalities of the Manor House of the Philipses, and the southwest room of the second story is said to have been his bedchamber. In our opinion, it is not possible that Washington was entertained at the Manor House either during the period under consideration or subsequently. Amid the consuming anxieties and incessant labors incident to the great military

operation in which he was engaged, he would hardly have turned aside to accept the cold courtesies of a Tory family resident at a point somewhat distant from the line of march. Besides, Washington's appearance as a guest at the Manor House at that time would have been a rather indelicate act. On the 9th of August, only ten weeks before, he had caused the removal of Frederick Philipse, the head of the family, to New Rochelle, and from there had ordered him to a still more remote place of detention. Finally, a letter written by Washington from Valentine's Hill to Mrs. Philipse at this precise juncture is conclusive evidence that he could not have been a visitor under her roof. Mrs. Philipse had written to him in not too amiable terms about seizures of cattle belonging to her family which had been made for the American army. His reply, dated "Headquarters at Mr. Valentine's, 22 Oct., 1776," is couched in strictly ceremonious language. "The misfortunes of war," he says, "and the unhappy circumstances frequently attendant thereon to individuals, are *more to be lamented than avoided*, but it is the duty of every one to alleviate these as much as possible. Far be it from me to add to the distresses of a lady who I am but too sensible must already have suffered much uneasiness, if not inconvenience, on account of Col. Phillips' absence." He adds that the seizures complained of were made not at his instance, but at that of the State convention; and the only satisfaction he affords her is the observation that as it was not meant by the convention to deprive families of their necessary stock, he "would not withhold" his consent to her retaining such parts of her stock as might be necessary to that purpose. In view of this correspondence, and the connecting circumstances, the idea that Washington could have paid even a passing visit to the Manor House during his progress to White Plains is not to be entertained. Frederick Philipse, as our readers know, never returned to his home on the Nepperhan, and the residence was permanently abandoned by his family in 1777, afterward being in the custody of a steward. Again, from the fall of 1776 to the summer of 1781, Washington certainly never spent a night in the lower part of Westchester County. Hence the traditions which associate him with the last hospitalities of the Philipses at the Manor House have not the slightest likely foundation. It is unquestionable, however, that on more than one occasion during the Revolution he was the guest of the patriotic Colonel James Van Cortlandt at the old Van Cortlandt mansion in the "Little Yonkers."

The old Valentine house, from which Washington's Yonkers dispatches were dated, was torn down many years ago. Headquarters were continued on Valentine's Hill during the 21st and 22d, and on

the 23d were removed to "the plain near the cross-roads" at White Plains, the evacuation of the country below having by that time been sufficiently accomplished to justify Washington in stationing himself at the termination of the route.

On the 22d the continued inactivity of the British, with the pleasing news of the American raid on the Loyalist Rangers at Mamaroneck, had a stimulating effect on the whole army, to which Washington's personal presence, everywhere encouraging the men and superintending the work, contributed. There was now a continuous column of moving troops all the way from Valentine's Hill to White Plains. A portion of the sick had been previously sent across the

THE MILLER HOUSE, WHITE PLAINS (WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS).

Hudson to Fort Lee, but a large number of these unfortunates remained, who were given a position in the advance, being dispatched early on the 22d and reaching White Plains the next morning. During the night of the 22d General Sullivan's division completed the march, and from then until the close of the 26th the weary and bedraggled battalions kept steadily filing into the White Plains camp. General Lee's division had the honor of bringing up the rear; and the time occupied on the march by this body, commanded by an officer of undoubted capacity (whatever may be said of him otherwise), may be taken as a fair indication of the extreme laboriousness of the army's progress. General Lee's command presumably started from the lower part of the county on the 22d, or at any rate not later than the morning of the 23d; it reached Tuckahoe early on the 24th,

and on the 26th arrived in White Plains—more than three days being required to cover a lesser distance than the division of General Heath, in light marching order, had traversed in twelve hours. Lee, however, upon reaching the section where the British were encamped (Scarsdale), was apprehensive of attack, and by a forced night march left the Tuckahoe Road and gained the Dobbs Ferry road, by which he proceeded the rest of the way. There was no pursuit of the army by the British forces remaining in New York City; and even Colonel Lasher's little command of a few hundred men, which Washington had left at Fort Independence as a guard for Kingsbridge, safely joined the main body at White Plains after being summoned to do so on the 27th.[1]

On the morning of the 28th of October, when Howe moved up from Scarsdale to attack Washington, the only American force remaining south of White Plains was the garrison at Fort Washington on Manhattan Island, retained there, against the judgment of the commander-in-chief, in deference to the opinions of his subordinates and the wish of congress. It may be said, we think without the possibility of mistake, that for fully six days after General Howe's passage to Pell's Neck on the 18th it was abundantly in his power, with the forces at his disposal and from the positions successively occupied by him, to cut the Revolutionary army in twain by an easy flank movement; and that, without speculating at all as to the probable maximum results of such a movement executed at any time in that period, its minimum results could not have failed to be either the destruction or capture of a very considerable section of our army. Yet in face of the tremendous peril to which the army in its very integrity was exposed, not the minutest portion of it suffered harm at Howe's hands; and, indeed, if any single American soldier was killed, or wounded, or made prisoner on the march from Kingsbridge to White Plains as the consequence of aggression by the enemy, the fact is beyond our sources of information. Aside from the engagement in Pelham on the 18th and the affair at the outlying British post of Mamaroneck on the morning of the 22d, both brought on by the enterprise of the Americans, there were two or three skirmishes of some interest along the line of march—which likewise were precipitated by the Americans. On the 23d a scouting party sent out by Colonel Glover attacked a party of Hessians, killing

[1] Lasher evacuated Kingsbridge early on the morning of the 28th, first burning the barracks, and went to White Plains by way of the Albany Post Road. After his departure, General Greene came over from Fort Washington, removed to that place all the materials and supplies which had been left behind, completed the work of dismantling Fort Independence and the redoubts, and tore down King's Bridge and the Free Bridge. General Knyphausen, with a force of mercenary troops from New Rochelle, occupied the abandoned ground on the evening of the 29th.

twelve (among them a field officer) and capturing three, with a loss of but one man; and on the 24th a detachment from General Lee's division crossed the Bronx and at Ward's Tavern, near Tuckahoe, fell upon 250 Hessians, slew ten of them, and bore away two into durance. (The Hessians, it seems, were singularly marked for destruction by the wayside in this campaign, even eliminating Dawson's murderous pen.) The latter performance provoked a slight retaliating blow, a raid being made upon General Lee's column which resulted in the capture of the general's wine and some other personal baggage, including that of Captain Alexander Hamilton. This appears to have been the only aggressive act of the enemy. The remarkable forbearance of the British general was due, as he subsequently explained, to his settled policy "not wantonly to commit His Majesty's troops where the object was inadequate." He abhorred skirmishes, and he despised such a merely partial issue as the capture of a portion of Washington's forces or even the shattering of the whole—for his cautious mind saw only the minimum advantage to be derived by disturbing the movement after its van had passed him, and refused to believe that the entire object of his campaign would follow. He was looking for a grand finale, a pitched battle with thousands engaged, to terminate in the rebel general's humble appearance before him and his glittering staff to deliver over his sword and surrender the last bleeding remnant of his host. Even in his short advance from above New Rochelle to Searsdale, on the 25th and 26th, it is said that he moved "with the utmost circumspection, not to expose any part which might be vulnerable," although there was no foe to the east of him, and at the north Washington's main body was occupied in building its White Plains intrenchments, and at the west, over across the Bronx River, he could see, almost without the aid of his field-glasses, the troops of General Lee most painfully and tediously toiling on, rather in the character of beasts of burden than of armed men. But the capital blunder of Howe was his lazy movement in mass. According to his definition of his object, it was to make a master stroke which would end the war. This he might have attempted by assailing Washington in his intrenchments on Harlem Heights, which would have been foolhardy because of the strength of the position. His whole purpose in coming up to Westchester County was to surround that position from the north, and, by thus cutting off Washington's communications and supplies, force him either to surrender or to offer battle in the open field. Notwithstanding his absurd disembarkation on Throgg's Neck, he could still easily have realized that aim after his movement to Pell's Neck if he had then advanced steadily to a cen-

tral locality in the upper part of Westchester County. Instead he loitered on the shores of the Sound until Washington had occupied White Plains with a powerful body, and then he granted his adversary time to fortify his new station; so that, when he finally did move forward to bring on the decisive engagement for which he was longing, he was in precisely the same relative situation as he had been in before the position on Harlem Heights—attacking an intrenched camp from below, with the whole country above left open.

The effective strength of Washington's army as finally concentrated at White Plains was in the neighborhood of 13,000. The actual force which Howe brought against it is generally estimated at about the same number or not many thousands greater—General Knyphausen's entire command of not less than 8,000 having been left at New Rochelle. The great advantage of the British troops in regard to quality, discipline, and equipment is too well understood by the reader to need renewed statement here. On the other hand, the Americans had a certain advantage from the circumstance of being intrenched, which, however, was by no means of a commanding nature at the time of the appearance of the enemy before him. These intrenchments, says Dawson, "had been hastily constructed, without the superintendence of experienced engineers. The stony soil prevented the ditch from being made of any troublesome depth or the parapet of a troublesome height. The latter was not fraised. Only where it was least needed—probably because the construction of it elsewhere had been interfered with—was there the slightest appearance of an abatis." The works had for their central feature a square fort of sods built across the main street or Post Road; from which the defenses extended westwardly over the south side of Purdy's Hill to a bend of the Bronx River, and eastwardly across the hills to Horton's Pond (Saint Mary's Lake). Directly across the Bronx from the termination of the western line of defenses—that is, in the territory of the present Town of Greenburgh—rose an elevated height called Chatterton's Hill, which was to be the scene of the entire impending battle. On the crest of this hill a breastwork had been begun on the night of the 27th by some Massachusetts militiamen, but it was not sufficiently advanced to prove of any value. There were no American works or troops whatever west of Chatterton's Hill. The easterly termination of the White Plains intrenchments, as already said, was at Horton's Pond, and there were no supplemental works beyond that point; but off to the east, near Harrison's Purchase, the brigades of Generals George Clinton and John Morin Scott were stationed, and to the northeast, at the head of King

Street, near Rye Pond, was posted a brigade commanded by General Samuel H. Parsons.

From his camp at Scarsdale, four miles below White Plains, General Howe marched early on the morning of Monday, October 28, to fight what he supposed would be the decisive battle. He proceeded in two heavy columns, the right commanded by General Sir Henry Clinton and the left by General de Heister. Upon arriving at Hart's Corners (now Hartsdale) he was met by a body of New England troops under Major-General Spencer, whose number Dawson carefully calculates at about 2,600. This force, which had been pushed forward by Washington to check the enemy's advance, made only a sorry endeavor, being promptly scattered. In its dispersal the Hessians bore a conspicuous part, but obtained not much substantial satisfaction for the hard blows they had suffered on previous days, as the Americans made good their escape—in fact fled in every direction with the utmost diligence. Yet a noticeable loss was inflicted—22 killed, 24 wounded, and one missing, a total of 47, or about half as many as our side lost in the well-fought engagement on Chatterton's Hill. The famous battle of Hart's Corners well merits the more descriptive name—which we borrow with acknowledgments from Dawson—of the Rout of the Bashful New Englanders.

Most of the fugitives fled across the Bronx River, whither they were pursued by the Hessians. This trifling circumstance proved a principal factor in determining the scene of the conflict historically known as the battle of White Plains. The commander of the pursuing Hessian force was Colonel Rahl, a gallant officer—the same who fell two months later at Trenton. Rahl, in his chase of the New Englanders, approached Chatterton's Hill, and observing that that summit was occupied by an American body, conceived it to be his duty to turn his attention thither. He accordingly abandoned the pursuit, advanced toward the hill (still moving on the west side of the Bronx), and took a station commanding it, whence he opened a cannonade of most pompous pretensions, whose only present result, however, was the wounding of one member of the New England militia regiment posted on the hill. That catastrophe so agitated the comrades of the hapless man that it is related they "broke and fled, and were not rallied without much difficulty." But the hill was soon to have sturdier defenders.

The American troops on Chatterton's Hill who had engaged the attention of Colonel Rahl were Colonel Haslet's Delaware regiment (which participated in the raid on the Queen's Rangers), and a regiment of Massachusetts militia commanded by Colonel John Brooks. It is unknown whether Washington's original plans for de-

fending his position behind the White Plains intrenchments contemplated any particularly formal operations from Chatterton's Hill. But during Rahl's artillery attack he sent over a strong force, commanded by General McDougall, to occupy it in conjunction with the men already there. This body consisted of the 1st regiment of the New York line, Colonel Ritzema's 3d regiment of the same line, Colonel Webb's regiment of the Connecticut line, and the surviving remnant of Colonel Smallwood's noble Maryland regiment which so distinguished itself at the battle of Long Island—all well experienced and reliable troops; together with a company of New York artillery (having two small field-pieces) commanded by Captain Alexander Hamilton. The united force was about 1,800 and made a respectable showing as its different regiments took up their positions on the hill.

GENERAL McDOUGALL.

During these preliminaries the main body of Howe's army, in its two columns, continued to approach the American intrenchments, as if to proceed forthwith to the general attack. But at the distance of about a mile from Washington's lines a halt was ordered, and General Howe and his principal officers held a consultation on horseback. They concluded that the force on Chatterton's Hill was a serious menace to their flank and that it must be dislodged before moving on the principal works. Thereupon a number of the finest regiments, both British and German, were ordered to storm the hill. In addition to Rahl's battalion, already in action, there were the 2d brigade of British (comprising the 5th, 28th, 35th, and 49th regiments), a party of light dragoons, and the Hessian Grenadiers under Donop—all commanded by General Leslie. Artillery was stationed at advantageous places, some twenty pieces altogether, and furiously cannonaded the Americans on the hill. The total numerical strength of the attacking party has been variously estimated at from 4,000 to 7,500. All authorities agree that it was overwhelming.

The troops designated for the enterprise forded the Bronx, whose banks at that time were considerably swollen, and undertook the assault in three distinct movements.

The 28th and 35th British regiments, with Rahl's Hessians, and another German regiment (which led the assault), attacked the American position in front, where the regiment of Massachusetts militia, the

Maryland regiment, and Ritzema's 3d New York regiment were posted. The Massachusetts militiamen, who had been so skittish under the artillery fire, showed themselves equally disinclined to sustain an infantry shock; and, although sheltered by a stone wall, "fled in confusion, without more than a random, scattering fire," when Rahl's troops, whom it was their duty to oppose, advanced upon them. On the other hand, the Marylanders and New Yorkers awaited unflinchingly the onset of the other three regiments (one Hessian and two British), and from the brow of the hill received them, when within range, with a deliberate and effective fire, which caused them to recoil in spite of their very superior numbers and admirable discipline. But the desertion of their post by the militiamen exposed the brave remaining defenders of the position to a flank attack by Rahl's brigade, which (especially as the check administered to the three regiments was only temporary) rendered the ground untenable. The Americans therefore fell back, though in good order, here and there making a stand at favorable points. The number of the Maryland and New York troops engaged in this quarter and thus dislodged from it was about 1,100.

Meantime the right of the American position, occupied by Colonel Haslet's Delaware men, about 300 strong, was moved on by the 5th and 49th British regiments. Notwithstanding the notable weakness of the American force, a most gallant defense was made. It seems that before the ascent of the assailing party, while the enemy's cannonade was still in progress, one of the two field-pieces belonging to Alexander Hamilton's company of New York Artillery was, upon Colonel Haslet's application to General McDougall, assigned to his (Haslet's) command. This gun became, however, partially disabled by a Hessian cannon-ball, and although several discharges were made from it, the artillerymen who served it are said to have been remiss in their duties and to have retired with it from the action unseasonably. At all events, the essential work of defense done at this point in the American line was that of the riflemen, and their remarkable steadiness in maintaining their ground was no way due to artillery support. Even after the 1,100 Maryland and New York troops, courageous and stubborn though they were, had completely abandoned their attempt to hold the center, this heroic Delaware band persevered in the fight, finally taking a post behind a fence at the top of the hill, where, with some fragmentary troops from McDougall's 1st New York regiment, it twice repulsed the British charge, in which both foot and horse partook. In fact, the crowning honors of the day were won by the Delaware men; they were the last of all the American forces on Chatterton's Hill to stand against the

GEORGE WASHINGTON

From the original cabinet-size Portrait by Peale, presented by John Quincy Adams to Carlo Giuseppe Guglielmo Botta, author of "History of the War of American Independence." Purchased from the Botta Family, with full credentials of authenticity, by Frederic de Peyster, LL.D., a former President of the New York Historical Society, and presented by his son, Brev.-Maj.-Gen. J. Watts de Peyster, New York, to the United States War Department Library, at Washington, D.C.

enemy, they helped to secure the retreat of the other regiments, and when the time came for them to retreat they executed the maneuver successfully.

The American left was but a trifle stronger than the right, consisting of the 1st New York regiment and Colonel Webb's Connecticut regiment, both skeleton organizations whose united numbers were some four hundred. Against them moved a formidable array—Donop's Hessian Grenadiers in three regiments, besides a regiment of German chasseurs. The second of Hamilton's field-pieces was stationed in this position, and according to most accounts of the battle did good execution. But the seasoned mercenary troops came steadily on up the hill, and the two American regiments, like their compatriots at the other points, were forced to retreat, which they did in an entirely creditable manner. A feature of the fighting at the left of the line was the spirited defense of a portion of the position, against a force twice as strong as his own, by Captain William Hull (afterward General Hull, distinguished in the War of 1812), who commanded a company of the Connecticut regiment.

It has already been mentioned that a slight intrenchment was thrown up (or rather begun) on Chatterton's Hill during the night of October 27 by Brooks's Massachusetts militiamen. But this elementary work did not prove of the least utility to the defenders of the hill. The action on Chatterton's Hill was not fought by the Americans from behind intrenchments like Bunker's Hill, but on ground fully exposed to the onrush of the enemy—or at least affording only the incidental protection of a sheltering rock here and there and a straggling stone fence or two. Before the charge of troops outnumbering them by three or four to one—troops as skilled and hardened in the business of war as any that the armed camps of Europe could supply, and operating under the gaze of their commander and the whole army—it was humanly impossible to hold such a position. Everything reasonably possible was performed by all concerned—if we except the single regiment of undisciplined militia: the position at every point was nobly defended, and in several instances with signal brilliancy; the retreat, when nothing but retreat remained, was performed with dignity as well as discretion and without material loss; and finally the punishment visited upon the foe was much more considerable than that inflicted by him. Regarding the losses on both sides we accept Dawson's figures, which appear to have been compiled with exactitude. The British regiments lost 35 killed, 120 wounded, and 2 missing, a total of 157; the mercenary regiments 12 killed, 62 wounded, and 2 missing, a total of 76—making a grand total on the enemy's side of 233. The American losses were 25

killed, 52 wounded, and 16 missing—93 altogether; to which add the 47 lost at Hart's Corners—an American grand total of 140 for the two fights. It is true the returns are somewhat defective for both sides; but there is no reason for suspecting that the American unreported losses were disproportionately greater than the enemy's. The Americans bore off all their wounded and their two field-guns, and, by way of the Dobbs Ferry road, crossed the bridge over the Bronx River and fell into position for further service, if necessary, behind the White Plains intrenchments. No attempt was made to pursue them.

It is probable that a good many of our killed and wounded fell under the artillery fire which preceded the assault. This, although not long continued, was very heavy for the time that it did last. A participant on the American side, writing over the signature of "A Gentleman in the Army," has left a truly epic description of it, whereof we will not deprive our readers, especially as we shall hardly have another opportunity to offer them anything so fine about the spectacular aspects of war in Westchester County.

The scene (he says) was grand and solemn. All the adjacent hills smoked as though on fire, and bellowed and trembled with a perpetual cannonade and fire of field-pieces, howitz, and mortars. The air groaned with streams of cannon and musket-shot; the air and hills smoked and echoed terribly with the bursting of shells; the fences and walls were knocked down and torn to pieces, and men's legs, arms, and bodies mingled with the cannon and grape-shot all around us.

There are differences of opinion about the value of the services rendered the American regiments by the two field-guns at their disposal. It is said that Alexander Hamilton, visiting Chatterton's Hill many years after, remarked on this point: "For three successive discharges the advancing column of British troops was swept from hill-top to river," and in the writings of his son, John C. Hamilton, much is made of the artillery phase of the American defense. Dawson, whose animus against Hamilton is strong, utterly discredits the claims for the artillerymen and their young commander, and even asserts that this arm of the defense was distinctly neglectful of its duty, comporting itself almost as disgracefully as the Massachusetts regiment of militia. But this is not a detail of any essential importance. The two guns could not have been of more than minor consequence in any case. The aggregate force detached by Washington to Chatterton's Hill was not strong enough, even with the best support which a single company of artillery with two small pieces could have given it, to retain that station against the tremendous attacking power. The one essential thing is that it was strong enough to alarm General Howe in his progress toward the American intrenchments at White Plains, to divert him from the main business of the

day, and to cause him absolutely to dismember his army for the purely incidental purpose of capturing an outlying post.

After expelling the Americans from Chatterton's Hill, the attacking party quietly occupied the ground thus taken, prepared dinner, and rested on its arms. To that inert and irresolute attitude the main body of the royal army also resigned itself. In the often-quoted words of Stedman, the English historian of the Revolution, "the difficulty of co-operation between the left and right wings of our army was such that it was obvious that the latter could no longer expediently attempt anything against the enemy's main body." That is, in the storming and occupation of the hill Howe split his forces into two remotely separated parts, which could not co-operate in a general advance movement, whilst Washington with his entire body lay in an advantageous position ready to resist any attempt with satisfactory numbers. The original project of the British commander was suspended for the day, no offer being made to engage the intrenched Revolutionaries, with the exception of one slight sporadic effort which is thus described by Heath, against whose division it was directed:

> The right column, composed of British troops, preceded by about twenty light horse in full gallop, and brandishing their swords, appeared on the road leading to the Court House, and now directly in the front of our general's (Heath's) division. The light horse leaped the fence of a wheat field at the foot of the hill on which Colonel Malcolm's regiment was posted, of which the light horse were not aware until a shot from Lieutenant Fenno's field-piece gave them notice by striking in the midst of them, and a horseman pitching from his horse. They then wheeled short about, galloped out of the field as fast as they came in, rode behind a little hill on the road and faced about. . . . The column came no further up the road, but wheeled to the left by platoons as they came up, and, passing through a bar or gateway, directed their heads towards the troops on Chatterton's Hill, now engaged.

This pitiful demonstration was the sole thing undertaken by the enemy in the White Plains quarter.

But while there was no battle at White Plains, the whole engagement having transpired on Chatterton's Hill in the Town of Greenburgh, the name of the battle of White Plains, by which alone the event is known in general histories, is a strictly appropriate one; and indeed it would have been regrettable if this exceedingly important conflict—one of the most important and representative of the struggle for independence—had received the merely local designation of the isolated, incidental, accidentally chosen, and unpopulated summit where it was fought. The strategic situation was at White Plains exclusively, which was the place deliberately selected by Washington days in advance for his final stand, and fully accepted by Howe as the battle-ground; and up to the moment that Howe arrived in sight of our lines the attention given to Chatterton's Hill by the American commander, even as a locality of incidental conse-

quence, was of the most informal nature, no defensive works of any availability having been erected and not a single piece of artillery planted upon it. That the action on Chatterton's Hill proved accidentally to be the whole of the duly appointed battle of White Plains, would have been no suitable reason for robbing the latter place of the honor of the name. Moreover, as rural battlefields are always named after the most conspicuous and most familiarly known locality of their vicinage, it would have been a peculiar departure from such ethics not to dignify this very notable engagement with the name of the flourishing and widely known village beside which it occurred.

There exists no public memorial, either on Chatterton's Hill or in White Plains village, commemorative of the battle. Upon the approach of the centennial anniversary of the day in 1876, arrangements were made, under the auspices of the Westchester County Historical Society, for a public celebration on Chatterton's Hill, to include the laying of the corner-stone for a monument. This latter ceremony was duly performed, but as the weather was exceedingly inclement the public exercises were adjourned to the court house, where a fitting address was made by the Hon. Clarkson N. Potter, at that time representative in congress from the district. Congress had previously donated three Revolutionary cannon as accessories to the proposed monument, and the plans for the memorial did not contemplate any elaborate or costly structure. Yet the project ended with the laying of the corner-stone and the speechifying. The futile attempt is a decidedly painful reminiscence for the people of Westchester County, and our readers will willingly spare us any further remark upon it than this passing notice of the fact.

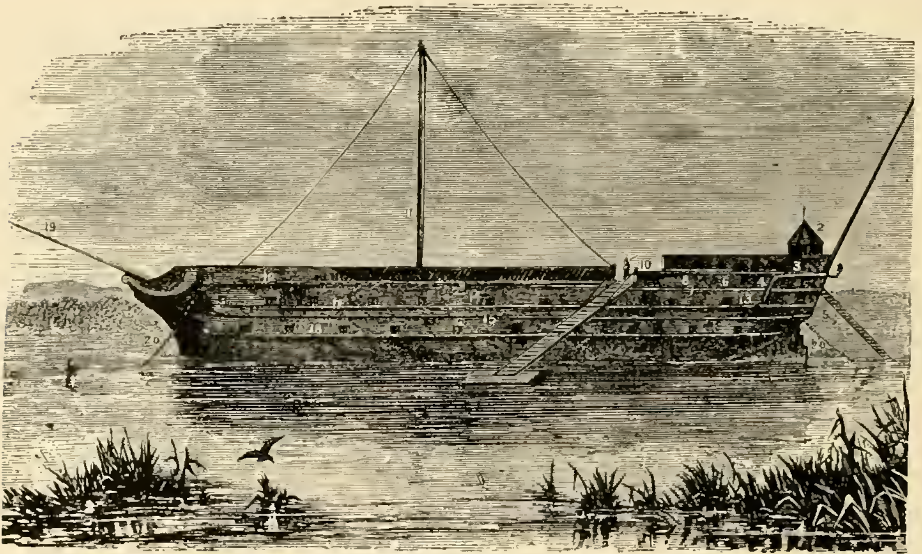
CHAPTER XVIII

FORT WASHINGTON'S FALL—THE DELINQUENCY OF GENERAL LEE

HE divided British army, with its right resting on the road from White Plains to Mamaroneck, and its left on the Bronx River and Chatterton's Hill, remained completely inactive not only during the rest of the 28th of October, but throughout the period of its continuance before Washington's position. As we have seen, it was deemed inexpedient by General Howe to move on the White Plains intrenchments with his forces thus separated. But it has never been satisfactorily explained why that separation of his army need have been protracted after the taking of the hill, or why he might not have promptly reunited the severed parts and fought the intended battle on the same afternoon or the next morning under substantially the original conditions. To hold Chatterton's Hill after having secured it, only a small body of troops was required, since Washington, expecting a general assault upon his intrenchments, would not have dared weaken his army for such a hazardous and profitless object as an attempted recapture of a detached post. We think the only reasonable deduction from the known facts is that Howe grew faint-hearted while facing Washington after his halt; and indeed his personal explanation of his conduct in declining a general battle strongly suggests such an inference. In a letter to Lord George Germaine he accounted for his failure to attack Washington the next morning by representing that the Americans meantime had drawn back their encampment and strengthened their lines by additional works, which made it necessary to defer the purposed aggression until re-enforcements could arrive. In other words, he sought counsel of his fears. It is true the Americans did strengthen their lines to every extent possible, thankfully taking advantage of the respite granted them; but when Howe marched from Scarsdale he was coming to assail intrenchments of entirely uncertain strength, and if willing to venture against them then he could hardly have changed his mind after the lapse of a few hours from any other circumstance than newborn discretion. As for his assertion that the Americans had drawn back their encampment by the morning of the 29th, it was entirely erroneous; although

they did begin as early as the night of the 28th to move back their stores as the first preliminary to their masterly withdrawal into the impregnable Heights of North Castle—an ultimate movement which Howe should have foreseen if he had possessed a grain of military sense, and which he must have known would prove more and more imminent with every hour that he frittered away before the White Plains works.

During the 29th and 30th General Howe continued, with all the sagacity he could command, to inspect the rising American intrenchments and to reflect upon the excellent uses to which the rebels were



THE PRISON SHIP.

thus putting the unexpected opportunity vouchsafed them. On the afternoon of the latter day he was re-enforced by four regiments from New York City and two from Mamaroneck, and, thus strengthened, he resolved to fight the battle on the morning of the 31st, and made preparations accordingly. But a violent rainstorm fell, and there was another and last postponement. Between the hours of nightfall on the 31st of October and daybreak on the 1st of November, Washington retired to his new position in the North Castle hills, about a mile above his first stand, leaving, however, a tolerably strong force on the lines at White Plains, which held them for a number of hours on the 1st without suffering disturbance from the enemy, and then abandoned them to a party of Hessians that came over from Chatterton's Hill to occupy them. In the inquiry instituted by par-

liament concerning Howe's transactions as commander of his Majesty's forces in America, one of the witnesses (Lord Cornwallis) was interrogated concerning the failure to storm the works after the arrival of the re-enforcements. He replied that it was on account of the rain. The question was then asked whether, "if the powder was wet on both sides, the attacks might not have been made by bayonets?"—to which the intelligent witness replied, "I do not recollect that I said the powder was wet." The simple truth is that on the very last day when he might have fought Washington under not extremely unfavorable conditions, Howe found it unpleasant to do so because of rain, as on the preceding days he had found it inexpedient because of fear. In such an emergency as the impending retirement of an inferior adversary to an unassailable position, one would think that, even if reduced to the necessity of a bayonet fight, the attacking general, unless blindly indifferent to his reputation, should not have hesitated to pursue that course rather than suffer the campaign to come to a humiliating end.

Finding that Washington had retired, General Howe, apparently with some realizing sense of his previous delinquency, and despite the continuance of the storm and the wretched condition of the roads, followed him to the North Castle position on November 1 with a portion of his artillery, and began to cannonade the American left, which replied with vigor. Little resulted from this performance on either side but powder burning. Washington had already taken the precaution of preventing any attempt of the enemy to cut off his retreat north of the Croton River. As the reader doubtless knows, that stream, previously to the diversion of its waters for the uses of New York City, had a decidedly wide channel for a considerable distance from its mouth; and at the time of the Revolution the only structure affording passage over it to the north was Pine's Bridge, some five miles east of the Hudson River.[1] There was a ferry at the mouth of the Croton, but of course it was essentially important to retain Pine's Bridge. Washington consequently, on October 31, sent General Rezin Beall, with three Maryland regiments, to that point; and in addition he ordered General Lord Stirling with his brigade "to keep pace with the enemy's left flank and to push up also to Croton River should he plainly perceive that the enemy's route lays that way." Thus besides having gained a situation for the army on the Heights of North Castle from which he could defy any further attempts of Howe's, he had thoroughly secured his lines of communication.

[1] However, toward the end of the war a bridge was thrown across the stream about a mile and a half from the mouth. This was known as Continental Bridge.

Howe made no offer to dispute the possession of the country above the North Castle hills, and it does not appear that he even attempted to reconnoiter it. But the brigade of General Agnew which was stationed at Mamaroneck was pushed forward about two miles beyond Rye, in order, if possible, to bring an American force at the Sawpits to an engagement. Failing in this, Agnew returned to Mamaroneck. During the passage of the royal troops through Rye, says Baird, they were warmly greeted by the Loyalists of that place, "conspicuous among whom was the Rev. Mr. Avery, the [Episcopalian] rector of the parish, who had been in correspondence with Governor Tryon before the arrival of the British army in New York and had been very outspoken in his professions of sympathy for the British cause." This Rev. Mr. Avery, according to Bolton, was a stepson of the patriot General Putnam. He soon had cause to rue his indiscreet demonstration of enthusiasm. A few days later his horses and cattle were seized by some vindictive Revolutionaries. Two days after that he was found dead in the neighborhood of his house. It has never been learned how he came to his end. So far as is known, no marks of violence were found on his body. The Tory clergyman Seabury, of Westchester, writing to the Propagation Society about his death, mentions the conjecture of some persons that he was murdered by the "rebels," but apparently gives preference to the opinion that he died from natural causes, superinduced by distress of mind under the persecutions to which he was subjected.

Confronted by the difficult conditions of the new situation, General Howe would hardly in any case have persevered long in his actual test of Washington's too evident strength in the location where he had now established himself. But the suddenness of his retirement was almost as puzzling as had been the circumstances of his entrance upon the Westchester campaign. On the night of the 4th of November he broke up his encampment, and by daybreak of the 5th he was marching with all his army to Dobbs Ferry, where he formed a new camp on the 6th.

This move of course implied that Howe, abandoning his designs against Washington's forces at North Castle, and also leaving to his opponent the undisturbed possession of the country above, had concluded to transfer the scene of aggressive operations to some other quarter. But it was difficult to determine just what he had in view. "The design of this maneuver," wrote Washington to the president of congress on the 6th, "is a matter of much conjecture and speculation, and can not be accounted for with any degree of certainty." But there were three principal objects that Howe might contemplate:—first, to capture Forts Washington and Lee, so as to make

his mastery of the lower Hudson complete; second, to transport his army to the west bank of the Hudson, and by a march through New Jersey seize Philadelphia, the Revolutionary capital; or third, to proceed up the Hudson River along its west bank and take possession of the Highlands. In the case of an intended capture of Forts Washington and Lee it was manifestly impossible to do anything more toward retaining those positions than had already been done, as both of them were well garrisoned and it would have been injudicious to deplete the army for their further protection. But it was necessary without delay to provide for thwarting the other two possible objects of Howe. At a council of war held on the 6th it was unanimously agreed to so distribute the army as to have a portion of it available for confronting Howe whithersoever he might go—to retain a part in the encampment at North Castle, to dispatch another part into New Jersey, and to establish a third part in the neighborhood of Peekskill as a guard for the Highlands. Conformably with this decision Washington on the 9th detached 3,000 men under General Heath to Peekskill and removed 5,000 to New Jersey under the temporary charge of General Putnam, intending to assume this command personally within a few days, and on the 10th he committed to General Lee the command of the North Castle residue, at that time about 7,500.

In making this disposition he had two fundamental purposes—first, to keep Heath's body of 3,000 permanently in the Highlands, without drawing upon it in any event for the re-enforcement of the main operating army; and second, to have Lee remain at North Castle only for the time being, until Howe's intentions should be developed. Upon the latter point his directions to Lee were unmistakable. He directed that the stores and baggage be removed north of the Croton River into General Heath's jurisdiction, and closed with this injunction: "If the enemy should remove the greater part of their force to the west side of Hudson's River, I have no doubt of your following with all possible dispatch." We shall see later how Lee, in his commander's direst need during the retreat through New Jersey, deliberately ignored this instruction and even assumed to exercise independent authority and to reverse Washington's express orders to Heath.

On the night of the 10th of November Washington, having taken his departure from the remnant of the army at North Castle, went to Peekskill, and on the 11th, accompanied by Generals Heath, Stirling, George and James Clinton, and Mifflin, began a detailed inspection of points on both banks of the river above, which was extended the next morning into the defiles of the Highlands. This tour resulted

in the issuance of definite instructions to Heath. About ten o'clock on the morning of the 12th he crossed the river to embark upon his ever memorable winter campaign in New Jersey.

Allusion has been made in a previous chapter to the burning of the Westchester County court house by some soldiers of Washington's army. That deplorable event occurred on the night of the 5th of November. It was an entirely wanton and irresponsible performance. Throughout the Westchester campaign Washington had been excessively annoyed by the bad conduct of the lawless element in his ranks—men who pillaged and set fire to farm houses, and committed promiscuous outrages. He repeatedly issued orders to restrain such practices. In general orders dated November 2 he said: "The General expressly forbids any person or soldier belonging to the army to set fire to any house or barn, on any pretense, without a special order from some general officer." The burning of the court house during the night of the 5th was therefore done in defiance of a recent stringent prohibition by the commander-in-chief. The culprits were a band of Massachusetts troops led by Major Jonathan Williams Austin, and, besides destroying the court house, they burnt the Presbyterian Church and several private dwellings at White Plains. For this deed Austin was court-martialed, dismissed from the service, and turned over to the State convention for further punishment. By the direction of that body he was put in jail at Kingston, but managed to escape. Fortunately the county records did not perish in the flames, having been removed to a place of security before the occupation of White Plains by the two armies.

This instance of the incidental outrages inflicted upon the people of our county as a result of the military operations in the campaign of 1776 might be enlarged upon by the introduction of local details of destruction, devastation, violence, and plunder almost innumerable. The materials for such local chronicles obtainable from published sources and from family records are so abundant that very many of our pages might be filled with them; but such minutiae hardly belong to a general narrative history of moderate dimensions. It is sufficient to say that, as in the cases of individual persecutions for political belief, they were perpetrated with activity and mercilessness by both sides—with the important distinction, however, that while the offenses committed by the American soldiers were the acts of individuals or small detachments in defiance of very strict army regulations, the crimes of the invading troops were wholly unrestrained if indeed they were not tacitly licensed. It was well understood, and the fact is recognized by all historians (not excepting those of strong British bias), that the German mercenaries, privates as well as officers,

in accepting the employment of the king of England were encouraged to believe that they could enrich themselves in America by plundering the population, and wherever they went their excesses were unlimited. The British soldiery were hardly less scrupulous or cruel; and both British and Germans robbed, killed, burned, and devastated the land with little discrimination between Tory and patriot where the object was the gratification of their own greed or passions. In their vindictive fury against the patriots the British went farther than their German hirelings. The following, from a letter written from Peekskill, January 19, 1777, reads like a chapter from the Thirty Years' War:

General Howe has discharged all the privates who were prisoners in New York; one-half he sent to the world of spirits for want of food. The other he hath sent to warn their countrymen of the danger of falling into his hands, and so convince them, by ocular demonstration, that it is infinitely better to be slain in battle than to be taken prisoners by British brutes, whose tender mercies are cruelty. But it is not the prisoners alone who felt the effects of British inhumanity. Every part of the country thro' which they have march'd has been plundered and ravaged. No discrimination has been made with respect to Whig or Tory, but all alike have been involv'd in one common fate. Their march thro' New Jersey has been marked with savage barbarity. But *Westchester* witnesseth more terrible things. The repositories of the dead have ever been held sacred by the most barbarous and savage nations. But here, not being able to accomplish their accursed purposes upon the living, they wreaked their vengeance on the dead. In many places, the graves in the church-yards were opened, and the bodies of the dead exposed upon the ground for several days. At *Morrissania* the family vault was opened, the coffins broken and the bones scattered abroad. At *Delancey's* farm the body of a beautiful young lady, which had been buried for two years, was taken out of the ground and exposed for five days in a most indecent manner; many more instances could be mentioned, but my heart sickens at the recollection of such inhumanity. Some persons try to believe that it is only the Hessians who perpetrate these things, but I have good authority to say that the British vie with, and even exceed the auxiliary troops in licentiousness. After such treatment can it be possible for any persons seriously to wish for a reconciliation with Great Britain? [1]

We left General Howe on the 6th of November at Dobbs Ferry, to which point he had fallen back after abandoning on the 4th his position before Washington's lines on the Heights of North Castle. His object in this move was made perfectly plain a few days later by the concentration of all his forces for the reduction of Fort Washington. But his reasons for so abruptly retiring from in front of Washington at North Castle, where he seemed to have established himself with the serious intent of attacking him sooner or later, remained none the less shrouded in mystery; and indeed for more than a hundred years historical writers, in commenting on this phase, were quite at a loss to reasonably account for his conduct—although the subject was made a peculiarly inviting one for curious inquirers by a remarkable statement of General Howe's during the investigation of his American career by the committee of the House of Commons. "Sir," said he on that occasion, "an assault upon the

[1] *Freeman's Journal, or New Hampshire Gazette*, February 18, 1777.

enemy's right, which was opposed to the Hessian troops, was intended. The committee must give me credit when I assure them that I have political reasons, and no other, for declining to explain why that assault was not made. Upon a minute inquiry these reasons might, if necessary, be brought out in evidence at the bar." The suggested proceedings were not taken, and the secret was successfully guarded until 1877, when, in an article in the *Magazine of American History* by Mr. Edward Floyd de Lancey, supported by documentary proof, it was fully exposed. The "political reasons" alluded to by General Howe were that he was diverted from the attack on the American camp to the attack on Fort Washington by intelligence

VICINITY OF FORT WASHINGTON.

furnished him by an American traitor, and that such a delicate fact naturally could not be spread before a parliamentary committee. The name of that traitor was WILLIAM DEMONT.

Demont was adjutant to Colonel Magaw, the commandant of Fort Washington, and on the 2d of November he made his way out of the fort and conveyed to Earl Percy, the British commander in New York City, complete plans of its defenses and information about the arrangement of its armament and disposition of the garrison. These were at once communicated by Percy to Howe, then lying before the American works in the North Castle hills, and that general, seeing in the assured capture of the chief rebel fortress a good excuse for

withdrawing from his hopeless campaign in the field, faced about and with a celerity, skill, and success which had never characterized his operations up to that hour proceeded to the investment and reduction of the betrayed stronghold.

Fort Washington, to which reference has so frequently been made in these pages, barred all progress by land to and from New York City, and with its fall Westchester County was completely laid open to the enemy, remaining in that unhappy state until the signing of the treaty of peace—a period of seven years. A particular description of it belongs, therefore, to this narrative. We quote from an article by Major-General George W. Cullum in the "Narrative and Critical History of America":

> It was built by Colonel Rufus Putnam soon after the evacuation of Boston, and occupied the high ground at the northern end of Manhattan Island. It was a pentagonal bastioned earthwork without a keep, having a feeble profile and scarcely any ditch. In its vicinity were batteries, redoubts, and intrenched lines. These various field fortifications, of which Fort Washington may be considered the citadel, extended north and south over two and one-half miles and had a circuit of six miles. The three intrenched lines of Harlem Heights, crossing the island, were to the south; Laurel Hill, with Fort George at its northern extremity, lay to the east; upon the river edge, near Tubby Hook, was Fort Tryon, and close to Spuyten Duyvil were some slight works known as Cockhill Fort; and across the creek, on Tetard's Hill, Fort Independence. The main communication with these various works was the Albany Road, crossing the Harlem River at Kingsbridge. This road was obstructed by three lines of abatis extending from Laurel Hill to the River Ridge.

With Fort Lee, on the opposite side of the river, it constituted the military domain of General Nathaniel Greene. Greene had his headquarters at Fort Lee. In common with most of the other subordinates of General Washington, he stubbornly insisted that it should be held after the evacuation of Harlem Heights and Kingsbridge, and this was the emphatic opinion of congress, which during the early stages of the war was always meddling with Washington's prerogative as commander-in-chief. Greene, in fact, regarded it as impregnable, going so far as to declare that the place could be held against the whole British army. Washington stood practically alone in regarding the attempted retention of the fort as an inexpedient measure. At the very first council of war on the subject, held at Kingsbridge on the 16th of October, he advised its abandonment, both because he was convinced that in the case of a siege it would be taken, and because he foresaw that the whole theater of war would soon be shifted from Manhattan Island and the lower Hudson, in which event its usefulness would be ended. But he was loath to set his authority against the unanimous judgment of his officers and congress, and while at every step personally favoring the withdrawal of the garrison, he finally permitted the fort to be defended.

On the day of the Chatterton's Hill engagement (October 28) Howe

ordered General Knyphausen, then at New Rochelle, to take his whole command of mercenaries to Kingsbridge, with the exception of one regiment of Waldeckers, which was to be left at New Rochelle. This movement was probably intended as a preliminary step toward the general occupation of the lower portion of Westchester County. Knyphausen encamped at Kingsbridge on the 2d of November. By the 4th British troops had been stationed in the Mile Square, on Valentine's Hill, and at West Farms, and the New Rochelle Waldeckers were transferred to Williams's Bridge. On the 6th, as already related, Howe, with the main army, was at Dobbs Ferry. From there on the 7th he dispatched his pack of artillery to Kingsbridge, and immediately upon its arrival at that place the work of erecting batteries along the Westchester shore was begun. These were planted in conformity with the secret information about the Fort Washington works which the traitor Demont had furnished; and it was always a matter of astonishment to American officers in studying the plans of the siege that in every particular the enemy's arrangements were made with the most excellent judgment. Four separate lines of attack on Mount Washington were chosen—three of them proceeding from the Westchester shore. The first and main one was by way of Kingsbridge, the second by boats across the Harlem River against Laurel Hill, the third by boats from a point farther down against the lines of fortifications near the Roger Morris house, and the fourth from New York City against the southern exposure of the works.

On the 13th Howe in person arrived at Kingsbridge, with all the forces that he had had at Dobbs Ferry. On the 15th, his plans being completed, he sent to Colonel Magaw, in command at Fort Washington, a summons to surrender, signifying that if obliged to carry the fort by assault he would put the garrison to the sword. To this sanguinary threat Magaw replied that it was unworthy of General Howe and the British nation, at the same time declaring that he intended to hold out to the last extremity. During the night of the 15th numerous small boats for the transportation of the attacking troops from the Westchester side were passed up the Hudson and through Spuyten Duyvil Creek into the Harlem River. On the 16th the assault was made at every selected point and was crowned with complete success, although the enemy's killed and wounded were 458 against but 147 on the American side. The whole garrison, consisting of 2,818 men, including officers, became prisoners of war, and forty-three guns and a large amount of equipments and stores fell into the hands of the British.

This was a dreadful blow to Washington, almost a deadly one in

the circumstances which encompassed him. The fall of the fort, so far from being a catastrophe, was a blessing in disguise. It was well to have it off his hands. But the loss of 3,000 men, at the moment when he was engaging in a new campaign having for its probable object the defense of the capital, with but a meager force at his disposal, which was rapidly moldering away in consequence of desertions and the expiration of militia terms of service, was about as disastrous a thing as could betide short of his own destruction. On the 20th Fort Lee was taken by an expedition of 5,000, which landed the night before opposite Yonkers. No resistance was attempted, and although the garrison of 2,000 was promptly withdrawn, it barely escaped capture. Then began Washington's famous retreat across New Jersey, with Cornwallis and Knyphausen in hot pursuit. It does not come within the scope of the present work to follow him in detail in this movement and his subsequent operations. But the very important aspect of Lee's disobedient, if not traitorous, conduct in lingering in Westchester County despite the urgent orders of his chief to join him in New Jersey, belongs to the essential Revolutionary annals of our county.

On the 12th of November, upon taking command of the portion of the army dispatched to the west bank of the Hudson from the North Castle camp, Washington had at his back only 5,000 men, of whom more than half were militia whose periods of enlistment were expiring. Indeed, though he was strengthened eight days later by the 2,000 from Fort Lee, his ranks were so reduced by the departures of militiamen and other causes that by the time he gained the west shore of the Delaware on the 8th of December it is doubtful if he had more than 3,000 soldiers effective for active purposes. Soon after arriving in New Jersey he appealed in pressing terms to the governor of that State, to its legislature, and to congress for fresh troops. But his main reliance was upon Lee, whom he had left at North Castle as a purely temporary matter until the principal object of the enemy should be disclosed, and with definite instructions to move at once to the other side of the Hudson if it should appear that Howe's designs were in that quarter.

On the 16th, the day of the capitulation of Fort Washington, the commander-in-chief wrote to Lee at length upon the subject of the proper employment of his time so long as it should be expedient for him to remain in Westchester County, plainly giving him to understand that the North Castle position was no longer of any particular importance, and that for the time being he should devote his energies, in co-operation with General Heath, toward securing the Highland passes on both sides of the river and erecting works in advantageous

places. To this injunction Lee gave not the slightest attention. On the other hand, in a letter written the same day to Colonel Reed, of Washington's staff, he expressed directly contrary opinions regarding the position at North Castle, concluding with the observation that he intended to remain there, and that he wished "not to cede another inch" to the enemy. Although this vainglorious boast was made before the receipt of Washington's letter, it indicated a fixed resolve in his mind to act an independent part. Indeed, from that day until his fortunate capture by a troop of British horse, his whole proceedings were those of a rebellious subordinate, arrogating to himself authority co-ordinate with that of the chief commander.

NEW YORK STATE REGIMENTAL FLAG EMBLEM.

After Fort Washington's fall Lee wrote letters from North Castle to various persons filled with innuendoes against Washington on account of that disaster. On the 19th he had the impudence to send to Washington in person a letter reciting his "objections" to moving from North Castle. On the 20th, when Fort Lee was abandoned and there remained no doubt that the British would begin a campaign in New Jersey, Washington, then at Hackensack, dispatched an express to Lee ordering him to move. This command was repeated again and again during the succeeding days (sometimes twice a day). For five precious days Washington lay at Newark vainly awaiting the troops from Westchester County, and when he finally left that place on the 28th his rear had a narrow escape from the advance guard of the enemy. With his insignificant force he pushed on to Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, the Delaware, and across that river without receiving any satisfactory assurance of the ultimate obedience of Lee. One of Washington's master strokes was the securing in advance of every boat along the Delaware and its tributaries for a distance of seventy miles so as to prevent the enemy from crossing; but deeming it of transcendant importance to receive Lee's troops at the earliest practicable moment, he caused a large fleet of

the boats to be kept in constant readiness for Lee at a point on the east bank of the stream.

Lee's defiant behavior in tarrying in Westchester County was aggravated by every circumstance of formal pretension and presumption. On the 20th he wrote the following astonishing words to Benjamin Rush, a member of congress: "I could say many things—let me talk vainly—had I the powers I could do you much good—might I but dictate one week—but I am sure you will never give any man the necessary power—did none of the congress ever read the Roman history?" On the 21st, upon receiving Washington's order from Hackensack, Lee not merely ignored it, but with unparalleled effrontery directed General Heath, commanding at Peekskill, to detach 2,000 men from his force and send them to the commander-in-chief. Heath refused, quoting his own explicit instructions from Washington, whereupon Lee (November 26) wrote: "The commander-in-chief is now separated from us. I, of course, command on this side of the water, and for the future I must and will be obeyed." Washington was obliged to notify Lee in a positive communication that not a man must be taken from Heath. In a letter to Bowdoin, then at the head of the Massachusetts government, Lee characterized Washington's instructions to him to move from North Castle as "absolute insanity," and complacently added that for himself, should the British move toward his quarter, he would entertain no expectation of being succored by the "western army"—implying that there were now two distinct armies, a western commanded by Washington and an eastern headed by himself. In a confidential letter of the 24th to Reed he alluded to an enterprise which he wanted to complete before moving, after which, he said, "I shall fly to you, for to confess a truth I really think our chief will do better with me than without me——"

Westchester County was at last evacuated by Lee on the 3d and 4th of December. The movement was of course by way of King's Ferry. Stopping at Peekskill on the way, he endeavored to persuade and, failing in that, to browbeat Heath into a violation of Washington's repeated commands. He requested Heath to give him 2,000 of his troops, and when that was refused, to let him take 1,000. The latter bluntly declared that not a single soldier should march from the post by his order. Lee then assumed, as senior in command, to issue the order himself, but Heath required him to sign a statement certifying that he did this exclusively upon his own responsibility. Lee thereupon detached two of Heath's regiments for his own use, but the next morning, after sober second thought, he concluded that he was playing too bold a part, and ordered them back to Heath's

camp. On the 4th, while at Haverstraw, says Bancroft, he intercepted 3,000 men who had been hurried down for Washington's relief by General Schuyler, of the Northern Army, and incorporated them in his division. Later he ordered General Heath to send him three regiments which had come from Fort Ticonderoga. He marched leisurely through New Jersey, still taking pains to have it understood that he considered himself an independent commander. To a committee of congress he stated that it was not his intention "to join the army with Washington," and to Heath he wrote, "I am in hopes of reconquering the Jerseys." On the 13th of December, ten days after passing the Hudson, he was made prisoner at Baskingridge, N. J., by some British horsemen, having just completed a letter to General Gates, in which he said: "*Entre nous*, a certain great man is most damnably deficient." His troops, thus happily disencumbered of him, presently joined Washington, although not in time to participate in the glorious victory of Trenton.

General Lee's occupation of the North Castle position for nearly a month after the dismemberment of the army was not attended by events or proceedings of any noteworthy character. But several matters of some interest in this connection deserve passing notice.

According to Sparks in his biography of Lee, the number of troops left by Washington in the encampment at North Castle was 7,500, of whom 4,000 were militia about to return to their homes. It is quite certain that upon Lee's departure he took with him hardly more than 3,000. Indeed, the militiamen were constantly filing off, glad to escape from the service before the rigors of winter should set in. It is recorded that the ambitious general, who possessed decided elocutionary gifts, industriously practiced his persuasive powers upon them, haranguing them publicly on the gravity of the situation and their solemn duty as American patriots. These impassioned appeals were without avail, however. The condition of the men under Lee's command was deplorable, most of them being without shoes, stockings, blankets, or proper clothing, and this was instanced by him as an excuse for not leaving the post. But he was no worse off than Washington in that particular. When the latter, with his band of heroes, attacked the Hessians at Trenton, the whole line of march of the little army was stained with the bloody footprints of the shoeless soldiers.

The records of Lee's transactions while at North Castle show that not only the whole upper portion of Westchester County, but the central sections as well, were quite abandoned by the enemy during that period. Two of Lee's official letters are dated from "Philipsbourg" (probably Tarrytown). As far south as Dobbs Ferry the

Americans appear to have been in undisputed control. On the 26th of November General Sullivan, in a report to Lee, alluded to an adventure which the continental guard at Dobbs Ferry had had with a party of supposed British horse, which made off upon being challenged. Even Mamaroneck was deserted by the British. Writing to Reed on the 24th of November, Lee mentioned a project he had formed to cut off Rogers's corps of Queen's Rangers at that place, together with a troop of light horse and a part of the Highland (Scotch) and another brigade; but upon attempting to carry it into execution he found that these hostile forces had been withdrawn. But though the enemy for the time being occupied none of Westchester County except the part immediately adjacent to Manhattan Island, their ships—the "Phœnix," "Roebuck," and "Tartar"—still continued in the Hudson River, preventing the use of the Dobbs Ferry route for the transfer of the American troops to the other side.

Whilst dallying at North Castle Lee dispatched to the lower portion of the county a strong detachment to levy contributions on the farmers—the first of the predatory raids to which the unfortunate inhabitants of Westchester County were so frequently subjected throughout the Revolution. On the 22d of November he issued orders to General Nixon to proceed with two brigades and a party of light horse "to Phillips's house," and, beginning at that place, collect all the stout, able horses, all the cattle, fat and lean, and all the sheep and hogs, with the exception of such few milk cows and hogs as should be necessary to the subsistence of the families, and drive them up to the camp. Nixon was also directed to oblige the people to give up all their extra blankets and coverlings, reserving a single one for each person. To the citizens thus dispossessed, however, certificates were given which entitled them to reimbursement upon application to the proper army authorities.

CHAPTER XIX

THE STRATEGIC SITUATION—THE NEUTRAL GROUND

ITH the breaking up of the North Castle camp and the departure of Lee, the military situation in Westchester County assumed a very simple complexion. Only the two extreme positions, Kingsbridge and Peekskill, remained in the possession of any considerable body of troops.

The former place preserved, under British domination, all the importance attached to it while held by the Americans. It was the key to New York City, which, until the end of the war, continued to be the principal and indeed only reliable base for the British forces in America. It is true that Newport (R. I.) was taken in the winter of 1776, Philadelphia in the fall of 1777, and various important Southern points at later periods. But all these were occupied only by isolated, temporary, or shifting British commands. New York alone, from the beginning to the end of its possession by the enemy, was held without incidental disturbance on the part of the Americans or incidental loss of essential value to the British through the modifying circumstances of changing events. Hence Kingsbridge was at all times the primal outlying British post. After the retirement of the last detachment of the American army in October, 1776, and its seizure by the enemy, the place was fortified anew, the chief defensive position on the Westchester side continuing to be the old American Fort Independence on Tetard's Hill. This fortress, although be sieged by Heath in January, 1777, and several times threatened, never yielded to the Revolutionary arms. On the other hand, the British were content to abide at Kingsbridge as their most advanced permanent establishment, never attempting to take a formal stand above as an added feature of their basic position. Their occupation of Westchester County beyond Kingsbridge was only for the minor business of covering that place, controlling the territory to some extent, cutting off occasional American detachments, and furnishing constant adventurous employment for a few bodies of their troops, mostly Loyalist rangers. There was never a second British movement in force through Westchester County, although two expedi-

tions of importance destined for forcing the entrance to the Highlands were landed in the county. A few days after Lee marched away from North Castle our people residing along the Sound were thrown into renewed consternation by the appearance of a fleet of some seventy sail, which came up out of the East River. But it left our shores undisturbed. This was the expedition to Rhode Island, which was the means of securing for the British a prolonged lodgment in that quarter. Rhode Island was too remote, however, for any co-operating land relations with New York—especially as during the British continuance in the former locality the field operations of the contending armies did not once take a direction east of the Hudson River. And like the Rhode Island expedition, the various British attacks on Connecticut (with one minor exception) proceeded by water from New York, accomplishing nothing but local results. Consequently although Westchester County was continually exposed to the enemy at the south, and suffered terribly and without cessation from his incidental occupation and aggression, it was not similarly exposed at the east, and, on account of the choice of other sections of the country than New England for the formal military campaigns, was almost wholly exempted, after the experience of 1776, from the presence of the foe in any pretentious array.

Peekskill was no less clearly indicated as the vital post for the Americans, to be maintained at all hazards, than Kingsbridge was for the British. Lying just below the Highlands and just above the point on the Hudson River where its waters, previously confined between closely approaching banks, suddenly spread out into a broad sea, it commanded equally the passes into the mountains, the navigation of the whole upper river, and the communication with the western shore, and consequently with all the middle and southern States. The lower river, all the way from New York Bay to Verplanck's Point, was controlled absolutely by the British ships, and on account of its great width, as well as of the barrier from west to east interposed by the wide expanse of the Croton, was utterly unavailable for American use after the removal of the army from Kingsbridge and the fall of Fort Washington. Consequently no point south of Peekskill was to be considered for a moment as a suitable station for the principal American counterpoise to the enemy's position below. Other points all the way down through the county were, of course, occupied by guards. In this respect it was at first the American policy to push down advance posts as near as practicable to the enemy's sphere, and at no time did the patriots retire their lines to the northward of Pine's Bridge across the Croton. Yet Peekskill, with the country immediately dependent upon it, always remained

the seat of the serious American establishment for general purposes. The choice of positions farther down by Washington during his subsequent visitations of Westchester County (including that of Dobbs Ferry for the united American and French armies in 1781) proved in each case only a temporary expedient.

It can not, however, be said of the main American position at Peekskill, as of the enemy's at Kingsbridge, that it was one upon which its possessors could rest in calm and undisturbed confidence and without reference to any of the ordinary possible developments of general strategy. Because of the natural location of New York City, with all its surrounding waters controlled by the fleet and only the position at Kingsbridge open to practicable attack, the British could abide there indefinitely without apprehension of any secret or sudden American designs. In order to make a formidable campaign on New York City—which could proceed only by way of Kingsbridge, a point not to be reached except by a long march down the Westchester County peninsula, and not to be deliberately assailed without the previous concentration of all of Washington's forces—the Americans would have had to lay bare their intentions weeks in advance. How different the situation at Peekskill! It could always be surprised by a river expedition from New York City, with but the briefest possible foreknowledge on Washington's part. It was a point of supreme importance, but only one among several. He therefore had to distribute his forces, uncertain where the enemy's next blow would fall, but at all times convinced that he would seek sooner or later to push up the Hudson River. The safety of the Hudson was Washington's greatest concern, and with the beginning of each campaign he suffered torments on that subject. There was an incessant marching and countermarching of troops to and from Peekskill, and Washington himself, except when during his campaign in Pennsylvania, in the southern part of New Jersey, and finally in Virginia, was never more than a few days' march distant from the place. Indeed,

SIR HENRY CLINTON.

in several of his main movements preliminarily to the unfolding of the enemy's principal project for the impending campaign, he made it the cardinal point of his programme to take a central station from which he could with equal convenience march to Peekskill or to other threatened points according to ultimate circumstances. To the vigilance with which he watched the Hudson, his carefulness in fortifying it, and his promptitude in counteracting British attempts upon it, the final success of the Revolution was unquestionably due as much as to any single factor.

Peekskill itself was never a Revolutionary stronghold. The village was the headquarters for the military commander of the district, which embraced all of the Highlands. Later, upon the completion of the defenses at West Point, the latter locality enjoyed this distinction, and Peekskill, with Verplanck's Point, was attached to the West Point command.

The fortification of the Highlands was begun under the auspices of the New York convention shortly after the arrival of the British invading expedition. At the time of Washington's visit to Peekskill, in November, 1776, the work had made tolerable progress. Washington, it will be remembered, spent one whole day and part of a second in reconnoitering this locality and the Highlands above. After indicating what should be done toward perfecting the defensive positions, he left his able engineer, Colonel Rufus Putnam, to carry out his plans under the direction of General Heath. The situation as finally developed was in detail briefly as follows:

On the east side of the river, just above Peekskill village, was a work called Fort Independence.[1] This was substantially completed during the winter of 1776-77. There was at that time no other fort on the Westchester shore, although later Fort Lafayette was built at the extremity of Verplanck's Point to protect the King's Ferry route, and on a hill near Cortlandtville Fort Lookout was constructed. Above Peekskill the passes into the Highlands were protected by detachments of troops, the principal pass being at Robinson's Bridge. In this vicinity was located the celebrated Continental Village, where the stores were stationed and extensive barracks were erected. From Anthony's Nose to the west shore the chain designed to obstruct the navigation was stretched. This contrivance, besides being very costly, gave the American engineers a vast deal of trouble. On November 21, 1776, General Heath reported that it had "twice broke." Cables were stretched in front of the chain, says Irving, to break the force of any ship under way before she could strike it.

[1] Thus there were two forts of this name in Westchester County, the other (frequently referred to in the preceding pages) having been at Kingsbridge.

On the west side, beginning at the north, was Fort Montgomery. This was located directly opposite Anthony's Nose and just above a little stream called Poplopen's Creek. On the south side of the creek was Fort Clinton. These two strongholds, with the co-operation of Fort Independence below and the help of the obstructing chain, were deemed adequate to the protection of the river. It was considered impossible that the enemy would ever attempt to march through the difficult passes south of Fort Clinton and attack that place and Fort Montgomery from the rear—although just such a contingency was foreseen by Washington while at Peekskill, and he had recommended the erection of a southerly fort on the west side. Still farther down, opposite Verplanck's Point, rose an eminence called Stony Point. This place, in common with Verplanck's Point, was not fortified at the beginning of the Revolution; but some time after the building of Fort Lafayette, on Verplanck's Point, works were begun on Stony Point, which, before their completion, were seized by the British, who then erected the famous citadel which Anthony Wayne stormed. Finally, above the chain, on an island opposite West Point, was Fort Constitution, to be depended on as a last resort in case the works below should prove insufficient. This fort, like Montgomery, Clinton, and Independence, dates from an early period.

After the ultimate disposition of the two opposing forces was effected—the Americans at Peekskill and the British at Kingsbridge—Westchester County assumed at once the character of a *Neutral Ground.* Wherever the term, "the Neutral Ground," occurs in general histories of the Revolution, it applies exclusively to Westchester County—and to substantially the whole of the county. It is generally considered that the Neutral Ground proper embraced only the district between the Croton River at the north and a limit at the south about identical with the present city line of New York—that north of the Croton the Americans held undisputed sway, and in the southern strip adjacent to Kingsbridge the British were unquestioned masters. But in truth there was no Neutral Ground proper. Practically all of Westchester County was continually exposed to alternate American and British raids, forages, and ravages, to depredations by bands of irresponsible ruffians not regularly attached to either army, and to acts of neighborhood aggression and reprisal by the patriot upon the Tory inhabitants and *vice versa.* It is a fact that several of the most formidable descents by the British in the history of the Neutral Ground were upon American posts at or above the Croton. A memorable expedition was made against an American force at Poundridge in the summer of 1779; Bedford was burned upon the same occasion; Crompond, in Yorktown, was successfully

attacked; and in 1781 a large body of Americans guarding the Croton, under the command of the brave but unfortunate Colonel Greene, was surprised and many of them were killed. As late as 1782 Crompond, though well above the Croton, was deemed a quite exposed situation. On the other hand, daring assaults by the Americans were frequently undertaken down to the very outposts of Kingsbridge, and no part of the county witnessed more animated scenes than the present Borough of the Bronx. The command *on the lines*, as the projection of the American position below Peekskill was called, was uniformly intrusted to officers of approved courage and enterprise. Here Colonel Aaron Burr was for some months in charge, highly distinguishing himself by his good discipline and efficiency. The parties which reciprocally served for defense and offense on the enemy's side comprised several well known bodies of horse and foot —notably the Queen's Rangers under Simcoe, de Lancey's corps of Westchester County Refugees, and forces led by Tarleton, Emmerick, and others. The Americans were locally styled in Westchester County the *Upper Party*, and the British the *Lower Party*. In addition to the regular troopers on either side, there were numerous unauthorized and wholly illegal bands, organized principally for private plunder, called *Skinners* and *Cowboys*, the former being of professed patriotic and the latter of Tory affiliation. But both Skinners and Cowboys were largely undiscriminating as to the object of their operations so long as they could derive any kind of private advantage from them. Washington Irving's description is without doubt familiar to all our readers:

This debatable land was overrun by predatory bands from either side; sacking henroosts, plundering farmhouses, and driving off cattle. Hence arose those two great orders of border chivalry, the Skinners and Cowboys, famous in the heroic annals of Westchester County. The former fought, or rather marauded, under the American, the latter under the British banner; but both, in the hurry of their military ardor, were apt to err on the safe side and rob friend as well as foe. Neither of them stopped to ask the politics of horse or cow which they drove into captivity; nor, when they wrung the neck of a rooster, did they trouble their heads to ascertain whether he were crowing for congress or King George.

Numerous graphic accounts of the awful conditions prevailing in the Neutral Ground have been printed from the pens of contemporary narrators, both military and civil. "From the Croton to Kingsbridge," says one writer, "every species of rapine and lawlessness prevailed. No one went to his bed but under the apprehension of having his house plundered or burnt, or himself or family massacred, before morning." The following picture of the times is from the "Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull," who was an officer on duty in Westchester County during a portion of the war:

The Cowboys and Skinners ravaged the whole region." The first, called Refugees, ranged themselves on the British side. They were employed in plundering cattle and driving them to the city; their name is derived from their occupation. The latter, called Skinners, while professing attachment to the American cause, were devoted to indiscriminate robbery, murder, and every species of the most brutal outrage. They seemed, like the savage, to have learned to enjoy the sight of the sufferings they inflicted. Oftentimes they left their wretched victims, from whom they had plundered their all, hung up by their arms, and sometimes by their thumbs, on barn doors, enduring the agony of the wounds that had been inflicted to wrest from them their property. These miserable beings were frequently relieved by our patrols, who every night scoured the country from river to river. But, unhappily, the military force was too small to render the succor so much needed, although by its vigilance and the infliction of severe punishment on the offenders, it kept in check, to a certain extent, this lawless race of men.

The figures of comparative population in Westchester County before, during, and after the Revolution are exceedingly significant. In 1756 the population of the county was 13,257, and at the next census, in 1771, it was 21,745—an increase of 8,448 in fifteen years. After 1771 no enumeration was taken until 1790, when the total inhabitants of the county were 24,003, only 2,258 more than nineteen years previously, before the war started. In the ten years from 1790 to 1800, on the other hand, the population rose to 27,347, a gain of 3,344. After the peace (1783) special inducements were offered to settlers by the confiscation of Tory estates and the disposition of these valuable lands under State auspices at low prices. Even under such favoring conditions the population in 1790, after seven years of peace, was but slightly larger than in 1771. The decline during the Revolution must have been considerable.

Dr. Timothy Dwight, in his "Travels," has left a most circumstantial description of the disconsolate and desolate condition to which Westchester County was reduced at an early period of the Revolution. Nothing we could hope to write could possibly present so informing a view of the whole subject as Dr. Dwight's simple narration; and though it has been frequently quoted its citation here is quite indispensable:

In the autumn of 1777 I resided for some time in this county. The lines of the British were then in the neighborhood of Kingsbridge, and those of the Americans at Byram River. The unhappy inhabitants were, therefore, exposed to the depredations of both. Often they were actually plundered, and always were liable to this calamity. They feared everybody whom they saw, and loved nobody. It was a curious fact to a philosopher, and a melancholy one to hear their conversation. To every question they gave such an answer as would please the inquirer; or, if they despaired of pleasing, such a one as would not provoke him. Fear was, apparently, the only passion by which they were animated. The power of volition seemed to have deserted them. They were not civil, but obsequious; not obliging, but subservient. They yielded with a kind of apathy, and very quietly, what you asked and what they supposed it impossible for them to retain. If you treated them kindly they received it coldly, not as a kindness but as a compensation for injuries done them by others. When you spoke to them they answered you without either good or ill nature, and without any appearance of reluctance or hesitation; but they subjoined neither questions nor remarks of their own; proving to your full conviction that they felt no interest either in the conversation or

yourself. Both their countenances and motions had lost every trace of animation and feeling. The features were smoothed, not into serenity, but apathy ; and, instead of being settled in the attitude of quiet thinking, strongly indicated that all thought beyond what was merely instinctive had fled their minds for ever.

Their houses, in the meantime, were in a great measure scenes of desolation. Their furniture was extensively plundered, or broken to pieces. The walls, floors, and windows were injured both by violence and decay, and were not repaired because they had not the means to repair them, and because they were exposed to the repetition of the same injuries. Their cattle were gone. Their inclosures were burnt where they were capable of becoming fuel, and in many cases thrown down where they were not. Their fields were covered with a rank growth of weeds and wild grass.

Amid all this appearance of desolation, nothing struck my eye more forcibly than the sight of the high road. Where I had heretofore seen a continual succession of horses and carriages, life and bustle— lending a sprightliness to all the environing objects,—not a single, solitary traveler was seen from week to week or from month to month. The world was motionless and silent, except when one of these unhappy people ventured upon a rare and lonely excursion to the house of a neighbor no less unhappy ; or a scouting party, traversing the country in quest of enemies, alarmed the inhabitants with expectations of new injuries and sufferings. The very tracks of the carriages were grown over and obliterated ; and where they were discernible resembled the faint impressions of chariot wheels said to be left on the pavements of Herculaneum. The grass was of full height for the scythe ; and strongly realized to my own mind, for the first time, the proper import of that picturesque declaration in the Song of Deborah : "In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, in the days of Joel, the highways were unoccupied, and the travelers walked through by-paths. The inhabitants of the villages ceased ; they ceased in Israel."

The fearful depredations in the Neutral Ground were viewed by the higher military authorities on the British side with entire approval, and on the American side, it must be admitted, generally without any acute disapprobation. The command of the American troops "on the lines" was always particularly coveted by officers of unscrupulous inclinations, because of the opportunities it afforded for plundering transactions, which their superiors were pretty certain not to discountenance. When Aaron Burr took command on the lines, in January, 1779, his first official duty was to deal with a "scouting party," which, on the same day, under the lead of his predecessor, had gone below for no other purpose than to seize private property; and the principal condition of unsatisfactory discipline which he had to correct was the extreme fondness of the soldiers for such "scouting" enterprises. It is but fair to say, however, that the American commanders on the lines were usually men of good personal antecedents, and it does not appear that any very notorious person on our side was ever intrusted with authority in Westchester County. But while the American commanders were well-intentioned as a rule, they generally allowed their subordinates and men much license. Burr's stern administration in this particular was exceptional. The circumstance of the continued existence during the Revolution of the quasi-patriot organization of "Skinners," who were fully as merciless and rapacious as the British "Cowboys," is conclusive proof of a studied disinclination on the part of the American

officers to specially exert themselves for the protection of the inhabitants.

The chief British authorities in New York have left various documentary evidences of their express sanction of the most unlicensed practices of their partisans in the Neutral Ground. The spirit by which they were actuated is very candidly expressed in a remarkable letter by Governor Tryon, dated " Kingsbridge Camp, Nov. 23, 1777." The American General Samuel H. Parsons, commanding at the time at Mamaroneck, had written to Governor Tryon quite indignantly about the conduct of some British soldiers—entirely unprovoked—in burning the dwelling of a Westchester County committeeman on Philipseburgh Manor; also intimating that such outrageous deeds, if continued, might provoke retaliation. Governor Tryon, in his reply, said: " I have candor enough to assure you—as much as I abhor every principle of inhumanity or ungenerous conduct—I should, were I in more authority, burn every committeeman's house within my reach, as I deem those agents the wicked instruments of the continued calamities of this country; and in order sooner to purge the country of them, I am willing to give twenty-five dollars for every active committeeman who shall be delivered up to the King's troops."

That popular romance, Cooper's "Spy" (the earliest of its author's novels of American life), is, as its title states, a "Tale of the Neutral Ground." Cooper's hero, who goes in the novel by the name of Harvey Birch, was a real personage, whose true name was Enoch Crosby, and who became a respected citizen of our county after the Revolution, dying at Golden's Bridge in 1835. It is widely known that Cooper was mainly indebted to Chief Justice John Jay for the facts of Crosby's career which led to the writing of the " Spy," but it appears that Jay was in error in supposing that Crosby's operations took him occasionally within the British lines in New York City. The fact is, he devoted himself quite exclusively to the country districts. Mr. Joseph Barrett, the well known local historian of our Town of Bedford, in an address delivered before the Westchester County Historical Society in 1879, gave a very thorough account of Crosby's life and patriotic services. The great and permanent in-

terest of the subject justifies the following extended reproduction, copied from the digest of Mr. Barrett's address in Scharf's History:

Crosby was born in Harwich, Barnstable County, Mass., January 4, 1750, and at the breaking out of the Revolution was a shoemaker at Danbury, Conn. He had previously been a tanner and currier. He was an ardent patriot, and enlisted before the battle of Lexington in Benedict's company, of Waterbury's regiment, which was attached to that branch of the Canada expedition of August, 1775, commanded first by Schuyler and then by Montgomery. His term of enlistment expiring, he returned to Danbury after the occupation of Montreal, and then traveled over Dutchess and Westchester Counties as a peripatetic shoemaker. Thus he not only acquired that intimate knowledge of the country that was to prove so valuable to the American cause, but also was brought into contact with the Whigs and Tories, the bummers, raiders, Cowboys, and Skinners who infested the Neutral Ground between the lines of the opposing armies.

His first work as a spy was accidental. Determining to re-enlist, he tramped southward toward the American forces, through Westchester County, in September, 1776, and on the way met a Tory, who fell into the belief that Crosby was one of his own stamp. Crosby did not undeceive him, and, as the stranger had a loose tongue, the young American was soon put in information of all the Tory secrets in that part of the country. Having learned so much, it occurred to him that he might as well prosecute the adventure which fortune had placed in his hands, and asked to be taken to a meeting of Tories, which his companion had told him was to be held near by, to raise a company for the king's service. He must have played his part admirably, for he gained audience with all the important royal sympathizers of the neighborhood, including the secret enemies of the patriots, and laid a most admirable plot for their discomfiture.

Learning that a meeting of the Tory band was to be held on a certain night, he slipped away on the previous morning and by a forced march across the country reached at midnight the house of a Mr. Youngs, eight miles from White Plains, whom he knew to be a true American. Prevailing on this man to accompany him, they aroused Messrs. Jay, Duer, Sackett, and Platt, the committee of safety at White Plains, and Crosby gave them the news which he had gathered with so much daring and adroitness. They ordered out Captain Townsend's company of mounted rangers, who swept across the country under Crosby's lead, surprised the assembled Tories, and ere daylight dawned had every man of them prisoners and on their way to White Plains.

The fame of this exploit went everywhere through the American lines. Crosby, then a strapping fellow of twenty-seven years, nearly six feet tall, broad and muscular, talked to Mr. Jay about re-enlisting, but that sagacious gentleman represented to him that in no way could he do so much for his country as by continuing in that line of duty for which this one achievement seemed to mark him as specially fitted. "Our greatest danger," said Mr. Jay to him, "is our secret foes. We know how to guard against our enemies in the field, but we have no defense against secret enemies, who profess to be friendly to us and plot their treason in midnight cabals. One who can counteract these influences is entitled to more credit than he who fights in the ranks." Crosby demurred at first, but finally accepted the employment of a spy on the condition that if he should die in their service the committee would see that his name was vindicated. With much feeling Mr. Jay and his associates gave him this solemn assurance, and Crosby consecrated himself to his dangerous and arduous task.

Carrying a pass from the committee, which was to be used only in cases of extreme necessity, and disguised as a traveling cobbler, he set out on his secret mission to discover and entrap the bands of Tories forming under cover. This was in the late fall of 1776. Very shortly he applied for a shoemaker's job at a farm-house, and discovering that a royalist company was being enlisted in the vicinage, professed a desire to enlist, but declined to give his name because the roll might fall into the hands of the rebels. He gained the confidence of the Tory leaders so completely that he was allowed to examine the roll, and was shown an immense haystack in a meadow near the captain's house, which proved to be a framework covered with hay and capable of concealing forty or fifty men. A meeting of the company having been arranged for the next evening, he left his bed in the captain's house during the night previous, reported to the committee at White Plains, and was back in his bed before

the family were stirring. The band was duly surrounded and captured, Crosby among them, by Townsend's Rangers, and marched to confinement in the old Dutch Church at Fishkill, where they were examined by the committee. By collusion, Crosby escaped from the church, but was compelled to rush past the sentinels in the dark. They fired at him, but he escaped unhurt.

By agreement with the committee he was known as John Smith. Twelve miles northwest of Marlborough he wormed out of a Tory farmer the information that an English captain was hiding in a cave near by, and trying to recruit a company. Repeating his ruse of a desire to enlist, the spy discovered that a meeting was to be held on Tuesday, November 5, 1776, at a barn on Butter Hill. Suggesting to the captain that they had best leave the cave separately, he departed and sent word to the committee. Crosby arrived at the barn in due time with the Tories and laid down with them in the hay. Presently he heard a cough outside, the signal agreed upon, which he answered, and the barn was quickly filled with the rangers. Colonel Duer, of the committee of safety, had come with them for the express purpose of protecting Crosby, and, indeed, had given the signal. The English captain was ordered to call his roll, but Crosby did not respond to his name. Townsend, who was not in the secret, prodded him out with a bayonet from the hay, and, recognizing the man who had escaped him at Fishkill, promised to load him with irons. He shackled the spy, took him to his own quarters, and confined him in an upper room. But when Townsend had drunk after dinner plentifully of wine which the maid, instructed by the committee of safety, had enriched with a gentle opiate, and was sleeping soundly, she unlocked the door with the key which she took from Townsend's pocket, and led Crosby forth to freedom.

By such methods Crosby was instrumental in the capture of many Tory bands. He spent several weeks in the family of a Dutchman, near Fishkill, where he was known as Jacob Brown. He had numerous fictitious names, of which Harvey Birch was one. In December, 1776, he was sent to Bennington, Vt., by orders of the committee. The object of his journey was accomplished, for, besides apprehending a number of secret enemies of the country in that region, he obtained such information as enabled him to surprise a company of them much nearer home. This was at Pawling, Dutchess County, and, fearing to trust himself again to the vengeance of Captain Townsend, he arranged with Colonel Morehouse, a Whig of the neighborhood, to raise a body of volunteers and capture them. When their rendezvous was surrounded, Crosby, he having again made a false enlistment, was dragged out from under a bed, where he had taken refuge, and complained that his leg was so much injured that he could not walk. The accommodating colonel took him on his horse, and, of course, he soon got away.

For three years Crosby continued in the employ of the committee of safety, but at last the Tories, marveling much at the detection of their covert undertakings, fixed suspicion upon him. A band traced him to the house of his brother-in-law in the Highlands, and beat him until they left him for dead. They were followed by a company of Whigs, who pursued them to the Croton River, where some were killed and others driven into the stream. It was months before Crosby recovered, and it was then plain that his days of usefulness as a spy were past. He joined Captain Philip Van Cortlandt's company, and was appointed a subordinate officer. While on duty at Teller's Point, in the spring of 1780, he decoyed a boat's crew from a British ship in the stream to the shore by parading on the beach a soldier dressed in Lafayette's uniform. He had his ambuscade set for them and captured them all. In the following fall his enlistment expired and he retired to private life. His whole pay from the government was but two hundred and fifty dollars, so that any remuneration he received from the committee of safety must have been very little. In October, 1781, in partnership with his brother Benjamin, he bought three hundred and seventy-nine acres of the forfeited Roger Morris estate, near Brewster's. A part of this tract is now covered by the Croton Reservoir. He erected a frame house on the east branch of the Croton River, a short distance east of the upper iron bridge at Croton Falls, where he lived a quiet life many years. The property is now owned by Joel B. Purdy. Later, Crosby built the house now owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. S. E. Mead, of Golden's Bridge. It stands north of the old house. In this house Crosby passed the later years of his life, and died June 25, 1835. He was interred in the old Gilead burying-ground, near Carmel, Putnam County.

He married the widow of Colonel Benjamin Green. Colonel Green was also a soldier of

the Revolution, and after the close of the war settled near the present Somers Centre depot. After the Colonel's death his widow remained in the house until her marriage with Crosby, which was brought about by Dr. Ebenezer White. In the course of conversation on one occasion, Crosby asked the doctor if he would not find a wife for him. The doctor promised to try and do so. He finally bethought him of the Widow Green in her lonely state. The widow was apparently pleased with the recommendation of Crosby, as set forth by the doctor, and an introduction took place, followed shortly afterward by marriage.

He was justice of the peace nearly thirty years. His exploits became known to the public through the Astor trials and the publication and dramatization of Cooper's novel. When it was produced at the Lafayette Theater, Laurens Street, New York, he was induced to sit in a stage box. The crowd rose and cheered him with great enthusiasm, to which he responded with a bow. He was so modest that the world would never have known from him of his services to his country.

From the foregoing biography of Enoch Crosby it is clear that he fully merits the celebrity conferred on him by Cooper. But there were other spies and guides of the Neutral Ground, unknown to general fame, whose faithfulness was equally conspicuous and whose deeds were hardly less meritorious. Of one of them, Elisha Holmes, who was born in Bedford and died there about 1838, a most interesting story is told. Holmes enjoyed the implicit confidence of Washington, who caused him to take a command under Sir Henry Clinton and confided to him occasionally information about minor military movements, which Holmes communicated to the English in order to demonstrate the value of his services. His real business was to send word from New York of everything important that he should be able to find out. Shortly before Tarleton's raid on Poundridge and Bedford (1779), Holmes sent certain intelligence to Major Tallmadge, the American commandant at Bedford, signed "E. H." The latter, being unfamiliar with the handwriting, forwarded the note to Washington, who indorsed on it the following comment, "Believe all that E. H. tells you.—George Washington," and returned it. One of the consequences of Tarleton's raid was the capture of all the baggage and personal papers of the American officers at the two places attacked. Washington, when he heard of the fact, was so much concerned that he wrote as follows to Major Tallmadge:

The loss of your papers was a most unlucky accident, and shows how dangerous it is to keep papers of any consequence at an advance post. I beg you will take care to guard against the like in future.

The person who is most endangered by the acquisition of your letter is one H., who lives not far from the Bowery, on the Island of New York. I wish you would endeavor to give him the speediest notice of what has happened. My anxiety on his account is great. If he is really the man he has been represented to be, he will in all probability fall a sacrifice.

A few days after Tarleton's expedition, says the authority from whom this story is taken, Elisha Holmes was "summoned by Sir Henry Clinton, who, after asking several questions in a general way, suddenly presented the note and inquired if he knew the handwriting, and who E. H. was. 'It is Elijah Hadden, the spy you hanged yester-

day at Powles' Hook,' was the quick answer. His coolness and ready wit saved his life."[1]

Another Westchester spy of more than common note was Luther Kinnicutt, of the vicinity of the present Town of Somers. Charles E. Culver, in his History of Somers, relates some incidents of his career. "Luther Kinnicutt," he says, "was the compeer of Crosby in his dangerous work, and although it is not known that they worked together, the character of the novelist was evidently drawn from both these men. Kinnicutt frequented the town after the close of the war, and is remembered by some of our old residents as a tall, straight, spare man, of dark complexion, keen, gray eyes, solemn visage, sharp-witted, and eccentric." Like Crosby, he "used to frequent the British camp as a peddler of small notions."

The Westchester guides of the Revolution are justly celebrated. Prominent among them were Abraham Dyckman, who came from the vicinity of Kingsbridge, and after a heroic career fell in the service of his country just at the close of the struggle; his brother, Michael Dyckman; Andrew Corsa, born on the Manor of Fordham in 1762 and died at Fordham in 1852; Cornelius Oakley, of White Plains; Brom Boyce, of the present Town of Mount Pleasant; Isaac Odell, of Yonkers; and William Davids, of Tarrytown.

[1] From an address, "Tarleton's Raid Through Bedford in 1779," delivered before the Westchester County Historical Society in 1878, by the Rev. Lea Luquer, of Bedford.

CHAPTER XX

EVENTS OF 1777 AND 1778

ENERAL HEATH, placed in command at Peekskill on the 9th of November, 1776, had with him on the 21st of that month a force of about 4,000. On the 9th of December he was ordered to join the army in New Jersey with a portion of his troops, and went as far as Hackensack, but he was soon sent back, arriving in Peekskill on the 23d. The winter passed without any British movement being attempted against him—on the contrary he took the aggressive and boldly assailed the enemy at Kingsbridge in a siege of old Fort Independence and its supporting works which lasted twelve days. On the night of the 17th of January he moved down in three divisions—the right under General Lincoln from Tarrytown, the center under General Scott from below White Plains, and the left under Generals Wooster and Parsons from New Rochelle and Eastchester. The attacks on the outposts were so successful that a report (which Washington prematurely communicated to congress) gained currency that the fort had surrendered. The undertaking was very well conducted from first to last, and reflected high credit on General Heath. By the ruse of lighting numerous campfires along the Morrisania shore the British were made to believe that a formidable American force was collecting with the intent of proceeding against New York City by way of Harlem; and in alarm they burned the buildings on Montressor's (Randall's) Island, and abandoned that place. The operations involved but slight losses, which were abundantly compensated for by the actual damage done the enemy and by the excellent moral effect of so bold an enterprise as a sequence to the transactions of the main army in New Jersey.

After Washington's magnificent return movement from across the Delaware, resulting in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, he went into winter quarters at Morristown (N. J.), and the British also brought the campaign to a close. General Howe, who had expected to make a triumphal march to Philadelphia, returned to New York City, where he set up a gay and glittering court, of which the Tory

refugees from Westchester County were conspicuous members. As the spring approached many were the speculations indulged on the American side as to the probable intentions of the enemy. There were rumors of a formidable invasion from Canada, but it was some months before these became substantiated by intelligence of the expedition of Burgoyne. In this uncertain state of things Washington manifested a decided conviction that Peekskill was the natural center for the concentration of troops pending actual developments. In March he transferred Heath from Peekskill to the command of the Eastern department, with headquarters at Boston, and soon afterward he instructed him to send on to Peekskill eight of the Massachusetts battalions, explaining that at Peekskill "they would be well placed to give support to any of the Eastern or Middle States, or to oppose the enemy should they design to penetrate the country up the Hudson, or to cover New England should they invade it. Should they move westward the Eastern and Southern troops could easily form a junction, and this, besides, would oblige the enemy to leave a much stronger garrison at New York. Even should the enemy pursue their first plan of an invasion from Canada, the troops at Peekskill would not be badly placed to re-enforce Ticonderoga and cover the country around Albany."

MARINUS WILLET.

Heath was succeeded at Peekskill by Brigadier-General McDougall, who had commanded at the engagement on Chatterton's Hill. McDougall had scarcely become installed in the post when he was energetically attacked by the British—their first move of any importance in the year 1777. Howe, being informed of the existence of large depots of stores at and near Peekskill, decided to destroy them, and on the 23d of March, the river having become freed of ice, sent up Colonel Bird for that purpose with 500 troops and four light field-pieces. Before the arrival of the expedition McDougall, being informed of its coming, removed a portion of the stores to Forts Montgomery and Constitution. Bird landed his men and guns at Lent's Cove, near Peekskill Village, whereupon McDougall, having at

the time only about 250 men with him, burnt the barracks and storehouses at Peekskill and retired to the neighborhood of Continental Village in the mountain pass. The enemy did not think it wise to follow him to this point. McDougall was re-enforced soon afterward by a party from Fort Constitution under Lieutenant-Colonel Marinus Willet. The next day there was a lively encounter between Willet and the foe near the Van Cortlandt mansion,[1] which resulted in the rout of the latter. According to Irving the British lost nine killed and four wounded before they were able to escape to their shipping. The chief deposits at Continental Village were not touched. Thus the first attempt on the American position about the Highlands, although made at a moment when our forces were ill prepared for it, and having in view only the destruction of stores, was a failure.

In this same month of March, 1777, occurred the capture of the eminent Judge John Thomas, at his home in the "Rye Woods," by a British expeditionary force sent for that special purpose. Judge Thomas, one of the ablest, most zealous, and most influential patriots in Westchester County, had always been peculiarly obnoxious to the British, and a price had been placed upon his head. He was taken on Sunday morning, March 22, conveyed to New York, and cast into prison, where he died on the 2d of May following. His remains were interred in Trinity Churchyard. A year and a half later his equally distinguished son, Colonel (afterward Major-General) Thomas Thomas, was secured, also at the Thomas home, by a similar party. This happened November 13, 1778.[2] He was subsequently exchanged. The two events illustrate how well served the British were in our county by spies. Both Judge Thomas and his son were exceptionally cautious in their movements. Upon the occasion of the son's capture it was the first time he had slept at his home in many months.

The affair of March at Peekskill greatly agitated the State convention, which caused a portion of the militia of Orange, Dutchess, and Westchester Counties to be called out, sent to the Highlands, and

[1] The Van Cortlandt mansion, near Peekskill, was built about 1770. In consequence of the firm adhesion of Pierre Van Cortlandt, the head of the family, to the patriot cause, the Manor House at Croton became an unsafe habitation, and the Van Cortlandts were obliged to take up their residence in the Peekskill house. Cornelia, the second daughter of Pierre Van Cortlandt, married Gerard G. Beekman, a zealous patriot. Mrs. Beekman was the hostess at the Peekskill house. The following incident has been often quoted: "A party of royalists, under Colonels Bayard and Fanning, came to the Peekskill house, and, commencing their customary course of treatment, one insultingly asked her: 'Are you not the daughter of that old rebel Pierre Van Cortlandt?' She replied: 'I am the daughter of Pierre Van Cortlandt, but it becomes not such as you to call my father a rebel.' The Tory raised his musket, when she, with great calmness, reproved him for his insolence and bade him begone. The coward turned away abashed, and she remained uninjured." This house was often used by Washington as his official residence when his duties took him to Peekskill, a distinction which it shared with the noted Birdsall house, in Peekskill.

[2] See Scharf, ii., 713.

put to work at various duties—notably the strengthening of the chain. About the end of April several British transports advanced up the river, but came no farther than Dobbs Ferry. In May Washington dispatched Generals Greene and Knox to Peekskill, who, in conjunction with Generals McDougall, George Clinton, and Anthony Wayne, made a careful examination of the Highland situation and submitted a joint report, in which the importance of the chain was dwelt upon, but it was expressly urged that there was no need of additional defenses on the west shore below Fort Clinton. A fatal recommendation, as the event proved. Immediately after the inspection by the board of generals, Washington, regarding the Peekskill command as too important to be held by an officer of the minor rank of brigadier-general, removed McDougall and substituted for him Major-General Putnam, having previously offered the position to Benedict Arnold, who declined it. Putnam, though brave as a lion, zealous, and despite his advanced years indefatigable, was not equal to the administration of such a post, and the great catastrophe of October, 1777, was largely due to his deficiency in the nicer qualities of generalship. Under his superintendence the chain received the most conscientious attention.

The organization of the civil government of the new State of New York, born at White Plains on the 9th day of July, 1776, was delayed for many months on account partly of the protracted military operations and partly of the very methodical proceedings of the gentlemen who had that important business in charge. On the 1st of August, 1776, the "Convention of Representatives of the State of New York" appointed a committee of thirteen (our Gouverneur Morris being one of its members) to prepare a "form of government," and that body in turn delegated the task to John Jay. Mr. Jay set to work conscientiously to draft a State constitution, which, having been approved by the committee, was reported to the convention (then sitting at Fishkill) on the 12th of March, 1777. The instrument was adopted by the convention on the 20th of April following. It provided for the election of a governor, senate, and assembly by the people. Although the New York constitution of 1777 is regarded by all authorities as the most satisfactory and judicious measure of government framed in any State during the Revolution, it was in certain essential particulars quite conservative, showing plainly the continuing force of the old colonial institutions. It sought to make the senate a peculiarly select body, and to that end prescribed a property qualification for voters in the selection of senators. Over both senate and assembly it placed a third, and non-elective, body—the "governor's council," to consist of a number of members of the senate, who were

to be chosen by ballot by the assembly. All judges and numerous other officers, now elective, were made appointive. An earnest endeavor was made by Gouverneur Morris to have a clause inserted in the constitution providing for the gradual abolition of slavery; but the convention declined to institute such an innovation.

The old State convention reserved to itself the authority to appoint the first judges, and designated as chief justice our John Jay, who opened the first session of the Supreme Court at Kingston in September, 1777. He held the office, however, for only two years, being succeeded on the 23d of October, 1779, by Richard Morris, also a son of Westchester County.[1] Chief Justice Morris remained at the head of the judiciary of the State until 1790.

At the first election held under the constitution, General George Clinton was chosen governor. By the provisions of the constitution the senate had twenty-four members, chosen from four districts only, called the Southern, Middle, Eastern, and Western. Westchester County belonged to the Southern district. Its first senators were Pierre Van Cortlandt and General Lewis Morris; and upon the organization of the senate (June 30, 1777) Van Cortlandt was elected its presiding officer and also lieuteant-governor of the State. As General Clinton, after his choice as governor, still continued to be much occupied by his command in the field, the actual duties of the governorship were performed for a considerable time by Van Cortlandt. He held the office of lieutenant-governor from 1777 to 1795, a period of eighteen years. By the original apportionment for the assembly (which continued in force until 1791), Westchester County had six representatives in that body out of a total of seventy. Our county's members of the first assembly held under the State government were Thaddeus Crane, Samuel Drake, Robert Graham, Israel Honeywell, Jr., Zebadiah Mills, and Gouverneur Morris.

The first county judge under the constitution was Lewis Morris (appointed by the State convention, May 8, 1777); he was succeeded, February 17, 1778, by Robert Graham, who served during the remainder of the Revolution. The first surrogate was Richard Hatfield (appointed March 23, 1778); the first sheriff, John Thomas, Jr., (appointed May 8, 1777); the first county clerk, John Bartow (appointed May 8, 1777). These were the only county officers of general importance. Of course their functions were of a very limited character in a county where scarce any semblance of public order obtained.

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[1] Chief Justice Richard Morris was a grandson of the provincial Chief Justice Lewis Morris, and a brother of Lewis Morris, the signer of the Declaration of Independence. He owned property adjacent to the Tompkins estate of Fox Meadows, in Scarsdale. This property he left to his son-in-law, Major William Popham.

Throughout the Revolution, and for several years subsequently, there was no attempt made to reorganize the civil divisions of Westchester County. Previously to the war these divisions, as represented in the board of supervisors, were the Manor of Cortlandt, Ryck's Patent [Peekskill], White Plains, Bedford, Rye, North Castle, Westchester Town, Mamaroneck, Poundridge, Philipseburgh Manor, Scarsdale Manor, Eastchester, Salem, Pelham, and New Rochelle. The board of supervisors had only a nominal existence during the Revolution.

The spring of 1777 glided by without the slightest manifestation by the enemy of their fundamental plans for the coming campaign. The rumors of an approaching invasion from Canada became increasingly definite, but meantime the purposes of the great British army at hand, still commanded by General Howe, remained unfathomable. Washington was still encamped behind strong intrenchments in New Jersey, this side of the Delaware, and the British army also continued on New Jersey soil. At last, in June, Howe began certain offensive movements, as if intending to resume his march to Philadelphia. These demonstrations were purely deceptive, to draw Washington out of his intrenchments and bring him to battle. They occasioned some active skirmishing, but that was all. Seeing that the patriot general was not thus to be lured to his ruin, Howe, on the 30th of June, withdrew all his forces to New York, by way of Staten Island.

Now followed more than two months of anxious suspense for Washington. Positive news was received about this time of the descent of Burgoyne's splendidly appointed host from Canada. Burgoyne, of course, would be dealt with by the Northern Army under Schuyler, assisted by the militia of the section through which he passed; but what were the intentions of Howe with his large New York command? Would he co-operate with Burgoyne by ascending the Hudson River? If so, would he use all his forces to that end, or only a portion, employing the remainder for an expedition by sea against Philadelphia or Boston? The more Washington studied the problem, the more he became convinced that in any event an attempt up the Hudson would follow. On the other hand, he could not bring his mind to believe that this would be the only thing undertaken by Howe. He soon rejected the idea of a possible attack on Boston, and came to the firm conclusion that Philadelphia was the point in view. In this he was strengthened by a decoy letter, which Howe allowed to fall into the hands of Putnam at Peekskill, announcing that the army at New York would be dispatched to take Boston. The ruse was too transparent, and Washington made all his arrangements on

the theory of a double design on the Highlands and Philadelphia. His calculations proved entirely correct.

His first care was to strengthen Putnam at Peekskill. He sent thither two brigades, commanded by Parsons and Varnum, and later General Sullivan with his division, also ordering Generals George Clinton and Putnam to call out more militia; and meantime forwarded troops and artillery to re-enforce the Northern Army. From his own southern position in New Jersey he fell back to the Clove, a defile in the Highlands on the west side of the river, so as to be at hand for the defense of that region. But he did not remain there long. Sure that Philadelphia would be attacked, he began to move toward the Delaware before intelligence came of the appearance of Howe's fleet off the Capes. Then, after the disappearance of the fleet for ten or twelve days—a most strange and perplexing circumstance—he apprehended that a feint might have been executed to draw his forces away from the Hudson River and thus permit an expedition to force its way through the Highlands. Yet he took a position with his main army near the capital, leaving a strong body in proximity to Peekskill, which could be ordered there in case of necessity. On the 10th of August all uncertainty was ended by the reappearance of the fleet below Philadelphia. From that time until his retirement to winter quarters at Valley Forge, he was engaged in a tremendous struggle with Howe around Philadelphia. This campaign included the battles of the Brandywine (September 11), and Germantown (October 4), and the fall of Philadelphia, which Howe entered on the 25th of September.

GENERAL PUTNAM.

After Washington, resolving his doubts, marched off to Philadelphia, Putnam, commanding at Peekskill, was let alone by the British for two months. This did not suit the old fighter's temperament. He longed for action, and if the enemy would not come after him, he saw no reason why he should not go after the enemy. He planned a variety of chimerical attacks—on New York, Long Island, Paulus Hook (Jersey City), and even Staten Island; and doubtless he felt much aggrieved at the coldness with which Washington viewed his

aggressive ideas. The latter, before Howe's object was revealed, had seconded a scheme of Putnam's for a night expedition against Kingsbridge by way of Spuyten Duyvil Creek; but after the campaign was begun he deemed it the height of folly to employ the forces at Peekskill in any mere diversions.

But the humdrum life of these two months at Peekskill was relieved by one sensational incident, for which the pages not only of history but of literature are the richer. Early in August a spy, Edmund Palmer by name, was detected furtively collecting information as to the forces and condition of the Peekskill post. Putnam granted him a court-martial trial, which resulted in his conviction and condemnation. Sir Henry Clinton, whom Howe had left in command at New York, hastily sent up a ship of war, from which, upon its arrival at Verplanck's Point, a message was forwarded to Putnam under a flag of truce, claiming Palmer as a lieutenant in the British service, and intimating that reprisal would be made if harm befell him. Putnam returned the following characteristic reply:

Headquarters, 7th August, 1777.

Sir: Edmund Palmer, an officer in the enemy's service, was taken as a spy lurking within the American lines. He has been tried as a spy, condemned as a spy, and shall be executed as a spy; and the flag is ordered to depart immediately.

Israel Putnam.

P. S.—He has been accordingly executed.

Palmer was a Tory of Yorktown (this county)—one of the offensive class. He was well connected and had a wife and family. It is said he was taken into custody by a party of his patriot neighbors. Bolton gives a pathetic account of the unavailing appeal made by his wife to Putnam for mercy.[1] He was hanged on a little hill in the northern part of Cortlandtown, a great assemblage of country people being gathered to witness the event. The place still bears the name of Gallows Hill.

Another spy was executed by Putnam during his Peekskill administration—one Daniel Strang, who, when arrested, had on his person a paper drawn by Colonel Rogers, of the Queen's Rangers, and dated "Valentine's Hill, December 30, 1776," which authorized the bearer to bring recruits for the British service. Strang also was tried by court-martial, condemned, and hanged, the sentence receiving Washington's approval. He suffered on a spot now comprised within the grounds of the Peekskill Academy. His gallows was an oak tree. The locality has ever since been called Oak Hill, in memory of the occurrence.

The document found on Strang is of much interest, as showing the inducements given to Tory recruiting officers and volunteers,

[1] Bolton's Hist. of Westchester County, rev. ed., i., 153.

so many of whom were contributed by Westchester County to the British cause. After reciting that "his Majesty's service makes it absolutely necessary that recruits should be raised," it continues: "This is to certify that Mr. Daniel Strang, or any other gentleman who may bring in recruits, shall have commissions according to the number he or they shall bring in for the Queen's American Rangers. No more than forty shillings bounty is to be given to any man, which is to be applied toward purchasing necessaries; to serve during the present Rebellion, and no longer. They will have their proportion of all rebel lands, and all privileges equal to any of his Majesty's troops. The officers are to be the best judges in what manner they will get their men in, either by parties, detachments, or otherwise, as may seem most advantageous; which men are to be attested before the first magistrate within the British lines."

While Washington and Howe were contending for the possession of Philadelphia, Burgoyne was coming down from the north, and as he progressed he was getting into difficulties. It was the plan of the British ministry, as Washington at once suspected when he heard of the northern invasion, for a co-operating expedition to ascend the Hudson from New York about the time that Burgoyne should be far enough advanced in his march to descend it, and thus to effect a junction. Combined with Howe's simultaneous movement on Philadelphia, which drew off Washington's army to the west, the project was a most admirable one; and who can doubt that, with Washington beaten in Pennsylvania, and both New York and Philadelphia in the hands of the British, the success of the startling enterprise would either have ended the Revolution or reduced it to mere insurrectionary proportions? The plan had two weak points: first, due consideration was not given to the armed strength and varied resources of the Americans in the country which Burgoyne had to traverse; and second, the co-operating force from New York had an undertaking far too serious to be entered upon lightly or with any chance of prematureness. That undertaking was the forcing of a passage up the Hudson River, which could be done only by reducing several forts splendidly situated for defense and supported by a considerable body of troops posted below for the protection of the mountain passes. No one can inspect the ground at Peekskill and above without a vivid realization of the severity of the task which the expedition from New York had to perform. Yet it was accomplished with perfect ease and slight loss.

This business fell to the part of Sir Henry Clinton, upon whom the command in New York had devolved when Howe sailed for Philadelphia. It is said that Sir Henry's reason for delaying the movement

on the Highlands was the necessity of waiting for re-enforcements from England, which were three months on the way. If this is true, the re-enforcements came just in the nick of time—not, it is true, for Burgoyne's salvation, but for a judicious attack in the Highland quarter. When Sir Henry was prepared to move, Burgoyne was already doomed. On the other hand, if Sir Henry had moved a month earlier, when he might have been of real service to Burgoyne, he would have been confronted by a formidable instead of an insignificant force at Peekskill, and probably would have been baffled. His re-enforcements could not have been large—could hardly have been worth waiting for, indeed,—since he took with him only 3,000 men. It seems to us that an important contributing reason, if not the chief reason, for his delay was a discreet resolve to wait until Washington, battling against great odds around Philadelphia, should, by his emergent necessities, summon to his own army the better part of Putnam's command at Peekskill, and thus leave the Highlands in as weak a condition as possible. The facts are that he did not move until Washington had been reduced to such straits as to take to himself 2,500 of Putnam's best troops,—but did move shortly afterward. At the selected moment Putnam had only 1,100 continentals and 400 militiamen at Peekskill, and the total garrisons of Forts Clinton and Montgomery were not in excess of 600, mostly New York militia hastily gathered by Governor George Clinton and his brother, General James Clinton—the former commanding at Fort Montgomery and the latter at Fort Clinton.

GENERAL JAMES CLINTON.

On the 4th of October the expedition up the Hudson got under way. Its advance consisted of two ships-of-war, three tenders, and a large number of flatboats, and a second division followed comprising one large man-of-war, five topsail vessels, and numerous small craft. A stop was made at Tarrytown, where troops were landed and marched several miles into the country. But this maneuver, says Irving, was only a feint to distract attention. At night the men were re-embarked, and the next morning the whole force of some-

thing more than 3,000 was set ashore at Verplanck's Point. This was the morning of the 5th of October—one year, lacking seven days, from the date of the first British enterprise in Westchester County at Throgg's Point.

General Putnam, with his weak command at Peekskill, of course could not advance to engage such a body. His ingenuous soul could not surmise any guile in the foe who thus in broad daylight had landed under his eye, and his valorous instincts rejected all doubt that the knightly Sir Henry would come straight on and fight him. He fell back to the passes, posted himself there, sent to Governor Clinton at Fort Montgomery for all the soldiers he could spare, and awaited the convenience of the enemy, who meantime showed a surprisingly leisurely disposition. There was no attack that day, night fell, and Putnam looked for the morrow with hopeful expectancy. But before daybreak Sir Henry transported 2,000 of his force from Verplanck's Point to the wholly unprotected west shore, leaving 1,000 behind to keep up the appearance of a meditated movement on Putnam. Then, with his main body, he made the circuit of the Dunderberg, marched without experiencing the least detention through those mountain passes which Washington's board of generals in May had reported were so exceedingly difficult that they would never be attempted, easily overcame the small corps sent to check him, and, in two divisions of a thousand men each, fell upon Forts Clinton and Montgomery from the rear. He stormed them with the bayonet, and though the forts were heroically defended, the Americans prolonging their resistance until twilight, the overpowering numbers of the British carried the day. The American killed, wounded, and missing were 250. The two commanders, with the remnants of the garrisons, escaped across the river. In the action Colonel Campbell, heading one of the attacking parties, was killed, and his command fell to Colonel Beverly Robinson, the Loyalist son-in-law of the third Frederick Philipse. Fort Independence, on the Westchester side above Peekskill, did not prove strong enough to prevent the passage of the warships belonging to the expedition. Two or three of these vessels ran by its batteries and co-operated with the land force. Governor Clinton was informed somewhat in advance of the coming of the enemy through the passes, and sent to Putnam for help, but his messenger never reached the doughty general. Irving says he turned traitor and deserted to the enemy.

Putnam had been completely outmaneuvered. Although the crossing of a British force to the west side had been reported to him, he supposed this was only a detachment, and thought the main body was still at Verplanck's Point, and would come upon him in due

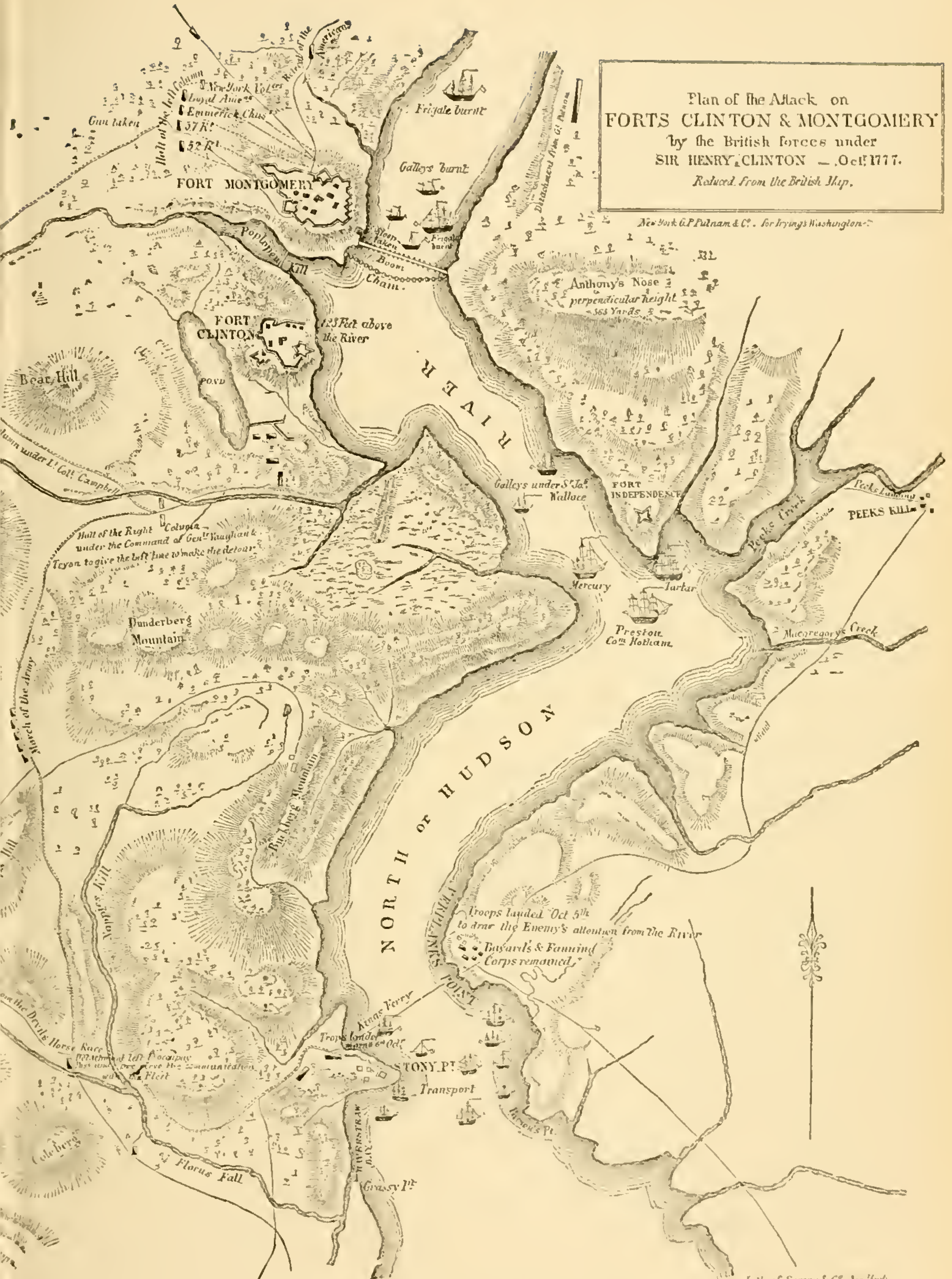
time.[1] He not only did not re-enforce the garrisons, but apprehended nothing of the truth until the guns of the forts boomed upon his astounded ears. Added to his confusion as a duped general was the mortification of a true soldier, ardent for battle but denied that privilege by a specious antagonist; for his own position was not assailed. Putnam, when in splenetic humor, was not over nice in the choice of words; and it can be imagined but not printed with what dreadful language he must have remarked upon the eventuality.

There was a display of fireworks that night in the romantic fastnesses of the Highlands never equaled before or since. Two American ships and two armed galleys were stationed above the chain, and when the fate of the forts was decided they were set on fire to save them from the enemy. When the magazines were reached they blew up with terrific explosions, which long reverberated among the mountains.

Continental Village, with its barracks, storehouses, and a number of loaded wagons, was burned on the 9th by a detachment under Major-General Tryon. Westchester County below Peekskill was not included in this visitation, and before the end of October Putnam was back in Peekskill with a force of 6,000. The whole Hudson being open, the British ascended it and ravaged the country. To this period belongs the burning of Kingston. Soon, however, came the wonderful tidings of the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga (October 20). and the invaders from below, finding their errand a profitless one and unable to maintain their position in the Highlands, returned to New York. Putnam, at Peekskill, resumed his sway over the entire post. No further attempt was made against Peekskill or its important jurisdiction until the summer of 1779, when Verplanck's Point, and Stony Point opposite, were seized—to no other substantial end, however, than to give the name of Anthony Wayne to immortality.

The very large body with which Putnam resumed his station at Peekskill was obtained from the Northern Army, which, after Burgoyne's surrender, had been disintegrated. These troops and many more, no longer needed at the North, should have been sent to Washington, who, after the evacuation of Philadelphia, continued the unequal struggle with Howe; but the jealousy of Gates deprived Washington of them, as a year previously the ambition of Lee had pre-

[1] After landing on Verplanck's Point, Sir Henry re-embarked a portion of his force and moved the fleet up to Peekskill Neck. This was one of his schemes to mask the proceedings of the main body at King's Ferry. All writers agree that Putnam was informed betimes of the transportation of a part of the British army from Verplanck's Point to the west side of the river, but the state of the atmosphere was such that no estimate could be made of the number. From all the circumstances, Putnam firmly believed that it was only a small detachment to burn the American storehouses on that side, and the appearance of a large fire near Stony Point shortly afterward confirmed him in this opinion.



THE ATTACK ON THE HIGHLAND FORTS.

vented his needful re-enforcement in New Jersey. Thus at two critical emergencies in two successive years Westchester County was made the scene of a large and idle military establishment to gratify the personal spite of Washington's rivals. General Putnam, whose nature was noble and who was entirely loyal to his commander, was not a party to this petty and wicked meanness; but he had designs of his own for the good of the cause. It was his dearly cherished object to capture New York, and he felt that now was the appointed time. At this juncture Alexander Hamilton arrived at Peekskill on a mission from Washington to Gates, and in the name of his chief ordered Putnam to send on two continental brigades. He then went to Albany and interviewed Gates. Getting little satisfaction, however, from that egotist and schemer, he sent an express to Putnam to forward another thousand men to Washington. But upon his return to Peekskill he found with astonishment and indignation that Putnam had not obeyed either of his orders, but instead was beginning active operations against New York, and to that end had marched a force to Tarrytown and had formally reconnoitered the enemy almost as far down as Kingsbridge. Hamilton, under the advice of Governor Clinton, now peremptorily commanded Putnam to dispatch to Washington all his continental regiments, retaining only his militia forces. This order was obeyed. Hamilton was greatly enraged against Putnam, and advised Washington to make an example of him, saying: "His blunders and caprices are endless." But Washington was unwilling to too deeply wound the sensibilities of the old general, and contented himself with a mild reprimand. "I can not but say," he wrote, "there has been more delay in the march of the troops than I think necessary, and I could wish that in future my orders may be immediately complied with, without arguing upon the propriety of them. If any accident ensues from obeying them, the fault will be upon me, not upon you."

During the winter of 1777-78 General Putnam and the two Clintons, with Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt, John Jay, and others, reconnoitered the Highlands with a view to their refortification, and selected West Point as the most eligible place for the principal works. A beginning was made there before Putnam's retirement from the Peekskill post, which occurred on the 16th of March, 1778. He was succeeded by McDougall—his immediate predecessor,—now become a major-general.

At this stage of the war American hopes mounted high. The French alliance was signed in Paris on the 6th of February. Washington, still at Valley Forge (Pa.), was in position to attack the British in Philadelphia, and the arrival of a French fleet to co-operate

with him against that city was expected monthly. It became impracticable for the enemy to continue there, and the evacuation of the place was decided on. Just previously to the event Howe resigned the chief command and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton. The British army moved out of Philadelphia on the 18th of June to make its way by land back to New York. It was pursued by Washington. On the 28th was fought the battle of Monmouth Court House, where General Lee (who had been exchanged) so comported himself that he was court-martialed and retired to private life. The British effected their escape to New York, and Washington encamped in New Jersey to bide the progress of events.

Here, on the 13th of July, he received the welcome intelligence of the arrival off the coast of Virginia of a French fleet under the Count d'Estaing, consisting of twelve ships of the line and six frigates, and bearing a land force of 4,000. In the resulting correspondence between the two commanders it was resolved to begin at once joint operations against New York, and Washington forthwith broke up his New Jersey camp, crossed King's Ferry into our county, and descended to White Plains, where he spread his tents about the 20th day of July. From this place, whither he had retired from New York island under such perilous circumstances in the fall of 1776, he wrote to a friend in Virginia: "After two years' maneuvering and the strangest vicissitudes, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and the offending party at the beginning is now reduced to the use of the spade and pickax for defense. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude to acknowledge his obligations."

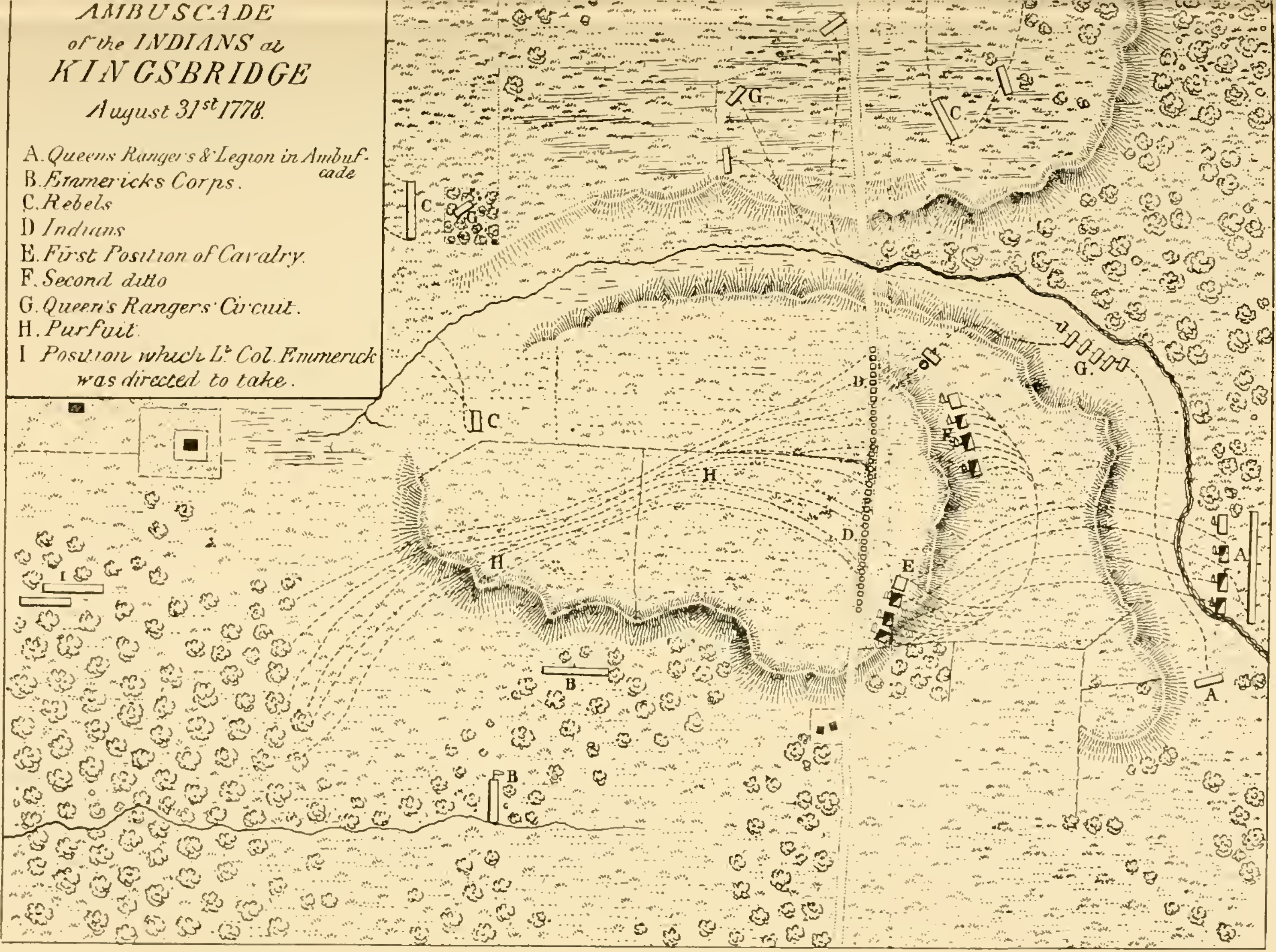
The army remained at White Plains for about two months. In September, Washington, as shown by an entry in his accounts with the United States, reconnoitered "the country about the [White] Plains between the North and East Rivers," disbursing for that purpose out of his private purse the sum of $133.

But it was not ordered that the arrangement for the taking of New York, whose successful execution would doubtless have terminated the war, should be carried out. The French fleet sailed up to Sandy Hook. The British naval force in New York Bay at that time comprised only six ships of the line, four 50-gun ships, and a number of frigates and smaller vessels. D'Estaing, however, was informed by pilots that the depth of water on the Sandy Hook bar was not sufficient to permit the passage of his largest vessels, one of which carried eighty and another ninety guns. He therefore abandoned the enterprise and proceeded to Newport to capture, in

conjunction with an expedition headed by General Sullivan, the British force of 6,000 which was stationed there. This plan also petered out. The British fleet came up the Sound to engage the French, which went to meet it, but an inopportune storm dispersed the ships, and the French commander afterward went to Boston to refit, leaving General Sullivan in a dangerous situation, from which he had much difficulty in extricating himself. The behavior of the French in this first test of the practical value of the alliance excited great disgust throughout the country.

The departure of the French to Boston was followed in September by a great stir of British preparations in New York for some unknown object. Washington, at White Plains, feared an attack on the Highlands, which, in the elementary condition of the West Point defenses, were ill prepared for resistance; but he equally feared an expedition against Boston. In this uncertainty he proceeded as he had done the year before while waiting for Howe to unfold his projects. He largely re-enforced the troops at Peekskill and above, and stationed Putnam with two brigades near West Point, meanwhile removing his own camp from Westchester County to a position farther north on the Connecticut border, from where he could move either to Boston or to the Hudson River, as the result should require. But the new enterprise of Sir Henry Clinton proved to have only local purposes. He sent an expedition to Little Egg Harbor (N. J.), which had been used by the Americans as an important base for privateering operations, and, to cover it, threw 5,000 men under Cornwallis into northern New Jersey and 3,000 under Knyphausen into Westchester County. "The detachment on the east side of the Hudson (we quote from Irving's Life of Washington) made a predatory and disgraceful foray from their lines at Kingsbridge toward the Americans at White Plains, plundering the inhabitants without discrimination, not only of their provisions and forage, but of the very clothing on their backs. None were more efficient in this ravage than a party of about a hundred of Captain Donop's Hessian yagers, and they were in full maraud between Tarrytown and Dobbs Ferry when a detachment of infantry under Colonel Richard Butler, and of cavalry under Major Henry Lee, came upon them by surprise, killed ten of them on the spot, captured a lieutenant and eighteen privates, and would have taken or distroyed the whole had not the extreme roughness of the country impeded the action of the cavalry and enabled the yagers to escape by scrambling up hillsides or plunging into ravines."

It was during the summer of 1778, and while Washington was still in camp at White Plains, that the tragical event referred to in our



PLAN OF THE AMBUSCADE OF THE STOCKBRIDGE INDIANS (FROM SIMCOE'S JOURNAL).

chapter on the Indians transpired. A band of about sixty so-called Stockbridge Indians (descendants of the Mohican tribe which originally possessed what is now Westchester County), under the command of the Chief Nimham, was detached to the south from Washington's army. On the 20th of August the Indians attacked and drove down to Kingsbridge a force of the enemy under Lieutenant-Colonel Emmerick. During the next few days they continued in the lower part of the Town of Yonkers. Here, on August 31, they were surrounded and surprised by the Queen's Rangers under Simcoe, the Chasseurs under Emmerick, de Lancey's 2d battalion, and the Legion Dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton. Forty of their number, including their chief and his son, were killed or desperately wounded. This slaughter was one of the most considerable resulting from any single encounter on Westchester soil during the Revolution. An extended account of the affair, from which the various notices in Bolton's and Scharf's Histories are mainly drawn, may be found in Simcoe's Journal.

Not many other events of local importance happened in Westchester County during the year 1778. The principal ones were the burning of Ward's house at Tuckahoe, and the "Babcock's House Affair" in Yonkers.

Ward's house, which stood on the site of the residence of the late Judge Gifford, was the property of Judge Stephen Ward, a very prominent and respected citizen of the Town of Eastchester. He was one of the leaders of the patriot party in our county before the war, sat in the assembly in 1778 and in the State senate from 1780 to 1783, and was appointed county judge in 1784. His home, on the Tuckahoe Road, was the post for a detachment of Revolutionary troops dependent upon the "lines" above, and as such it was attacked several times. Upon one occasion the American force stationed in and around it was attacked by a strong British expedition under Captain Campbell. The American commander was ready to surrender, when an unlucky shot was fired from one of the windows, and Captain Campbell fell dead. Many Americans were slaughtered in revenge, and twenty-seven were taken away prisoners. But the place was again garrisoned, and it was then decided by the enemy to burn the house. This was done in November, 1778, the sidings, doors, windows, and shutters being first removed. They were transported to Kingsbridge and used in building barracks for the British troops.

The "Babcock's House Affair" is one of the most interesting Revolutionary episodes connected with the history of Yonkers. A strong and pleasing element of romance attaches to it. "Babcock's House" was none other than the parsonage of Saint John's (Episcopalian)

Church, and the Rev. Luke Babcock, from whom it took its name, was the same clergyman who signed the Tory manifesto of April, 1775, and whom Colonel Lewis Morris scornfully characterized as "the Reverend Mr. Luke Babcock, who preaches and prays for Colonel Philips and his tenants at Philipsburg." Like his compatriots, the Reverends Samuel Seabury, of Westchester; Epenetus Townsend, of Salem; and Ephraim Avery, of Rye, the Yonkers parson was persevering in his devotion to the British cause, and suffered accordingly. Soon after the removal of the lord of the manor, Mr. Babcock was apprehended by a Revolutionary committee, his papers were examined, and the interrogatory was propounded to him, "Whether he considered himself bound by his oath of allegiance to the King?" He replied affirmatively, and thereupon was sent to New Haven under guard, where he languished until February, 1777. During his confinement his health declined. Being released on parole, he returned to the Yonkers parsonage, and presently died there, leaving a youthful widow, who continued to reside in the parsonage, where Miss Williams, a sister of Mrs. Frederick Philipse, bore her company.

Now, these two ladies of the parsonage were either not very ferocious Loyalist partisans, or else held their political principles quite subordinate to the gentle inclinations of their hearts. The widow Babcock was wooed by a gallant American officer of the Westchester lines, Colonel Gist. She at least did not discourage this devotion, and it has even been surmised that she reciprocated it; and the companion of her loneliness, Miss Williams, apparently regarded the romantic affair with a kindly interest. The ardent Colonel Gist, during his occasional warlike employments below the lines, made his rendezvous at the foot of Wild Boar Hill, opposite the parsonage; and here, with his light corps, he was surprised early one morning by a formidable force of the enemy. A careful plan had been laid by Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, of the Queen's Rangers, to surround and capture his whole command. In this enterprise Simcoe had the co-operation of Tarleton, Emmerick, and other able officers. The accompanying map shows how the different corps of the enemy were to have been disposed, and actually were disposed, with the single important exception of a detachment that was to have been stationed north of the Nepperhan River for the purpose of cutting off Gist's retreat that way. But owing to some blunder this line of retreat was left open. The attacking force surprised Gist's men according to programme, and gave them a sharp fire; but the latter, led by the colonel, escaped across the Nepperhan and were soon beyond pursuit. "In the meantime," says a narrator of the affair,

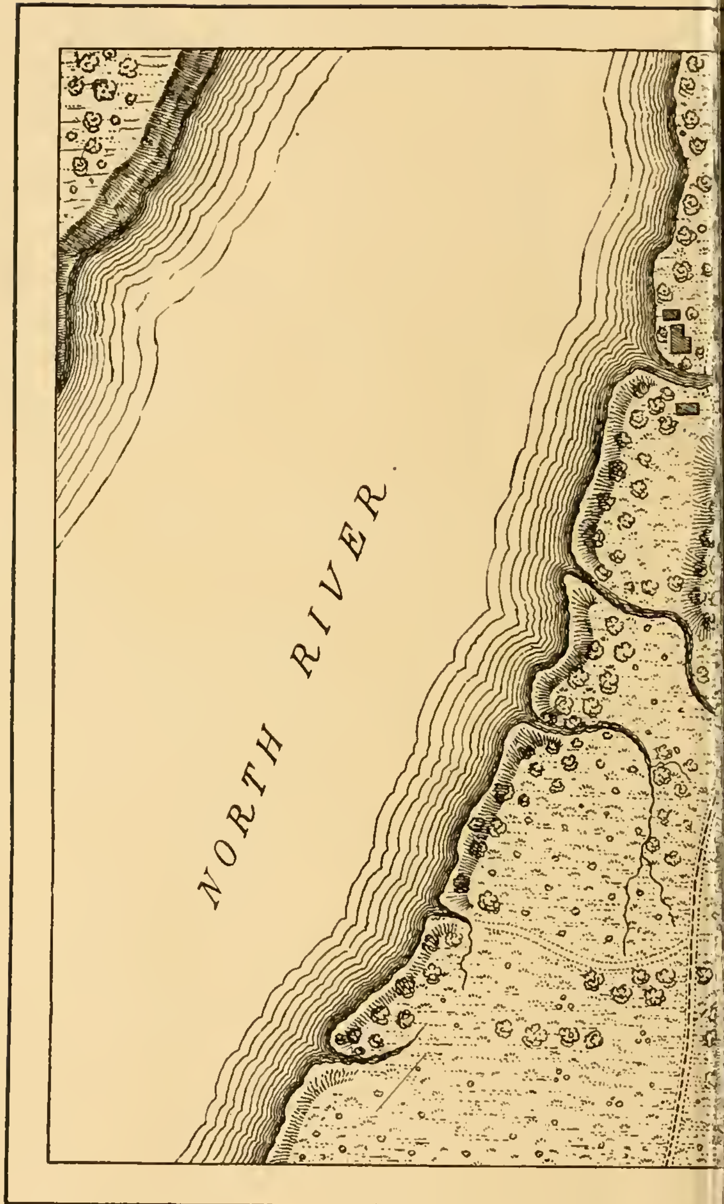
"Mrs. Babcock, having stationed herself in one of the dormer windows of the parsonage, aided their escape, wherever they appeared, by the waving of a white handkerchief." Our salutations to the shade of the gentle, gracious, and (we doubt not) beauteous Mrs. Babcock!

During the years 1777 and 1778 a very useful "whaleboat" service was organized and developed in the hamlets of our county along the Sound. The whaleboats, propelled with oars, "would dart across the Sound under cover of the night, and run into the inlets of the Long Island shore, landing near the house of a Tory family, sometimes to plunder and sometimes to take prisoners. Small British vessels cruising in the Sound were occasionally captured. Market-sloops, loaded with provisions for the British army, were favorite prey. Great quantities of forage and other stores belonging to the enemy were destroyed. The whaleboat service was pursued with greatest activity in 1780 and 1781."[1] Thomas Kniffen, of Rye, is mentioned by Baird as one who was especially energetic in this daring work. The capture of the British guardship "Schuldham" (1777) at the mouth of Eastchester Creek—a very brilliant performance—was effected by some whaleboatmen from Darien, Conn., who first seized the market-sloop which plied regularly between Eastchester and New York, and then took her alongside the "Schuldham" on the pretense of desiring to sell some of their truck; whereupon a party of armed men, concealed in the sloop's hold, clambered on board the war-vessel, overpowered the crew, forced them to navigate the prize, and ran her into the port of New London.

In this connection a word should be said also about the excellent services of the "water guards" in the various communities on the Hudson. The constant presence of the enemy's ships in the river rendered it peculiarly necessary to keep vigilant watch on the Hudson's banks, and the organization effected for the discharge of the duties thus involved came to be very efficient. It was never safe for a rowboat from a British ship to venture to the shore; and even the war-vessels themselves had to keep steadfastly to the middle of the stream, else the wide-awake patriots were likely to improvise batteries and open on them with uncomfortable effect. The capture of Andre and the consequent foiling of Arnold's treason was made possible by no other contributing circumstance so much as the well-understood vigilant surveillance of ships in the river, and of all holding communication with them, which was maintained at every point on the shore.

As during the latter half of the year 1778 the enemy in New York

[1] Baird's Hist. of Rye (Scharf, ii., 678).

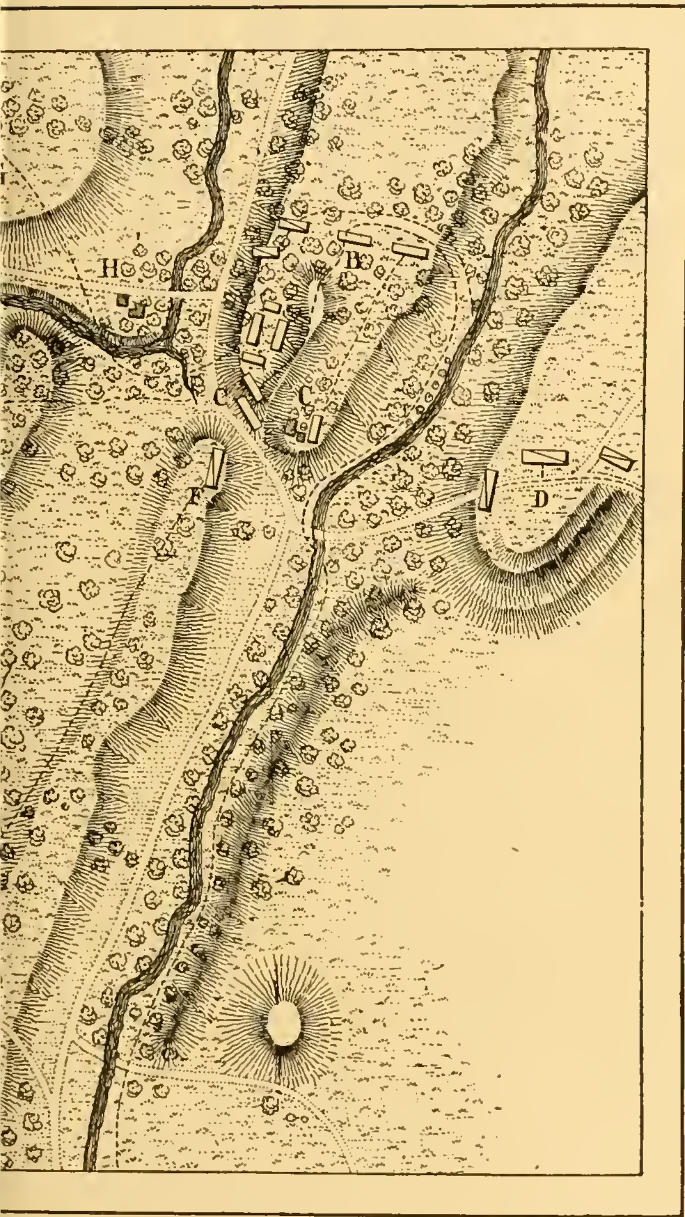


MARCH of the
Emmericks Corps the Cavalry of
The whole commanded by Lt Col: Simcoe

Explana

A. *March of the Infantry of the Rangers and Emmericks to* B. *where they*
E. *The Yagers at Philips Bridge* F. *Capt. Wreden's detachment* G. *The Rout by*

THE BABCOCK'S HOUSE SU



'S RANGERS

LITH OF ENDICOTT NEW YORK.

under L.t Col.l Tarleton, and a detachment of the Yagers
e a Corps of Rebel Light Troops under Col. Gist.

e Rear of the Enemy, and marched to C. Gist's Camp. Brit.sh Cavalry
ed H. the Position which the Yagers were intended to have occupied.

ROM SIMCOE'S JOURNAL).

City attempted nothing either against New England or the Highlands, Washington drew the army down from the northerly station where he had temporarily posted it, and distributed it in cantonments extending from Connecticut across Westchester County as far as Middlebrook, N. J. This was its situation throughout the winter of 1778-79. All expectation of early assistance from the French was now given up, d'Estaing's fleet having sailed to the West Indies.

CHAPTER XXI

FROM JANUARY, 1779, TO SEPTEMBER, 1780

ROM the middle of January to the middle of March, 1779, the command "on the lines" in Westchester County was held by the youthful Colonel Aaron Burr; and never in the history of the Neutral Ground before or after did that distressed region enjoy conditions of order and quiet in the least comparable to those which obtained during Burr's brief rule. His administration of the delicate and difficult duties of the command in our county constitute the most noteworthy chapter in his military career, and even his severest biographers concur in regarding this part of his public record with unmixed admiration.

Burr was just twenty-one when appointed by Washington to the rank of lieutenant-colonel of the continental army, receiving his commission at Peekskill in July, 1777. He was at the time an aide on the staff of General Putnam. He was soon afterward assigned to a regiment in New Jersey, where he at once set to work to introduce much-needed improvements in discipline and organization. "Severe drills and vigorous inspections," says his charming biographer, Parton, "took the place of formal ones." Finding that many of the officers were hopelessly inefficient, he presently "took the bold step of ordering several of them home on the simple ground of their utter uselessness. If any gentleman, he told them, objected to his dismissal, he, Colonel Burr, held himself personally responsible for the measure and was ready to afford any satisfaction that might be desired." Yet he was no mere martinet. All his measures commended themselves to the good sense of his troops, who became enthusiastically attached to his person. The great executive force which he thus displayed, coupled with his reputation for exceptional gallantry, led to his selection as the most available commander in the Neutral Ground at a time when lawlessness and terrorism there were at their height. He entered upon his duties on the Westchester lines January 13, 1779, succeeding Lieutenant-Colonel Littlefield. The lowest American posts at that period extended "from Tarrytown through White Plains to the Sawpits, or Rye," a distance of fourteen miles. Colonel Burr made his headquarters at White Plains.

On the very morning of his assuming command, his predecessor left White Plains with a large party on a characteristic "scouting" expedition to New Rochelle. This was an enterprise of promiscuous plunder, pure and simple. The men returned at night loaded down with spoils. Colonel Burr, astonished and indignant, at once took steps to return the stolen articles to their owners. "Sir," he wrote to General McDougall, the commander at Peekskill, "till now I never wished for arbitrary power; I could gibbet half a dozen good Whigs with all the venom of an inveterate Tory." He announced in the most emphatic manner that he purposed to protect all the peaceable inhabitants without reference to their politics; that all marauders would be punished with the utmost severity of military law; and that "any officer who so much as connived at robbery he would send up to the general's quarters with a file of soldiers the hour the crime was discovered." Shortly afterward a family named Gedney, living below his lines, was plundered at night. The Gedneys were Tories, but of the pacific description. Within twenty-four hours Burr had secured all the culprits and much of their loot. He marched them to Gedney's house, where he made them restore the recovered property, pay Gedney in money for what had been lost or damaged, pay him a further amount as compensation, crave his pardon for their deeds, and promise good behavior for the future; and he also had each of the robbers tied up and given ten lashes. "All these things," says Parton, "were done with the greatest deliberation and exactness, and the effects produced by them were magical. Not another house was plundered, not another family was alarmed, while Colonel Burr commanded in the Westchester lines. The mystery and swiftness of the detection, the rigor and fairness with which the marauders were treated, overawed the men whom three campaigns of lawless warfare had corrupted, and restored confidence to the people who had passed their lives in terror." It came to be believed among his soldiers that Colonel Burr possessed occult powers, and could tell a thief by simply looking in his face. He adopted the most thorough system of classification of all the inhabitants, keeping secret lists on which the character of everybody within his jurisdiction was indicated. He also familiarized himself with the country in its physical features, obtaining a minute knowledge of its hidden places. He enlisted the co-operation of the respectable young men, whom he organized as a corps of horsemen, without pay, for the transmission of intelligence. One of these was the noted John Dean, who the next year was a member of the memorable expedition of eight volunteers which had for its result the capture of Andre.

In his arrangements for the security of his lines against any pos-

sible attack by the enemy, he was equally tireless, efficient, and successful. Nightly, at unexpected hours and by unexpected routes, he rode from post to post, and if he observed anything not in order the responsible person was held to a strict accountability. In order to keep the enemy's spies at a distance, he issued and rigidly enforced an order that nobody from below should personally pass the line of posts on any pretext, all who had business above being required to first communicate with headquarters by some well known resident of the immediate country, especially designated for that service. On the other hand, he always had the most perfect knowledge of everything happening below. Only two attempts were made by the enemy to surprise the American guards while he was in command, and both were total failures.

AARON BURR.

Yet Burr's system was not merely defensive and precautionary. Without risking his men in foolish spectacular enterprises, he grasped every opportunity for profitable aggression. Once, when Governor Tryon marched through our county with 2,000 men on an expedition to Connecticut, Burr, having previous knowledge of the movement, sent word to Putnam in Connecticut to proceed against him in front, while he would fall upon his rear. This well-laid plan, if it had been carried out, would probably have resulted in the capture of Tryon; but Putnam was unable to co-operate properly. Burr, however, performed his part so well that Tryon beat a hasty retreat, leaving most of his cattle and other plunder behind.

The crowning achievement of Burr's command was the destruction of a British fort and the capture of nearly all its garrison at de Lancey's Mills (West Farms)—a feat performed, like Wayne's storming of Stony Point, without firing a musket. This fort was a block structure, built by Colonel de Lancey to protect his outposts at Morrisania. Burr, resolving to take it, reconnoitered it carefully, noting every feature of the ground and measuring with his eye the height of the port-holes. He then prepared ladders, canteens filled with inflammables, rolls of port-fire, and hand-grenades. It was essential to effect his work quickly and without noise, as there were strong British forces in the surrounding country, which, if alarmed, would

cut off his retreat. He arrived with his attacking party at two o'clock in the morning. He sent forward forty men under Captain Black, who rushed past the sentinels, placed the ladders against the fort, mounted them, hurled the combustibles (with slow matches attached) into the port-holes, and then threw the hand-grenades inside. Almost instantly the fort was on fire, and every man, except a few who escaped, surrendered. Not an American suffered injury. When it is remembered that West Farms is to the south of Kingsbridge, where thousands of the British were encamped, and that there were other posts of the enemy still farther above, the brilliant daring of this exploit will be well appreciated.

The preceding brief account of Burr's memorable régime in Westchester County is digested from Parton, who, in turn, derives his facts mainly from a most interesting descriptive letter written in 1814 by Samuel Youngs, of our Town of Mount Pleasant, to R. V. Morris. Youngs was a member of Burr's command. He sums up his narration as follows:

> The troops of whom he took command were undisciplined, negligent, and discontented. Desertions were frequent. In a few days these very men were transformed into brave, honest defenders—orderly, contented, and cheerful; confident in their own courage and loving to adoration their commander, whom every man considered as his personal friend. It was thought a severe punishment, as well as a disgrace, to be sent up to the camp, where they had nothing to do but to lounge and to eat their rations. During the whole of his command there was not a single desertion, not a single death by sickness, not one made prisoner by the enemy; for Colonel Burr taught us that a soldier, with arms in his hands, ought never, in any circumstances, to surrender—no matter if he was opposed by thousands it was his duty to fight.

Richard Platt, adjutant-general to General McDougall at Peekskill, has left the following testimony:

> A country which for three years before had been a scene of robbery, cruelty, and murder became at once the abode of security and peace. Though his powers were despotic they were exercised only for the peace, the security, and the protection of the surrounding country and its inhabitants.

It was during Burr's three months in the Neutral Ground that his romantic midnight visits to his sweetheart, Mrs. Prevost, at Paramus, N. J., occurred—expeditions celebrated in the annals of the amours of historic persons.

Selecting nights when he knew that he could safely absent himself from the lines, he left the headquarters at White Plains in his usual manner, as though going on a tour of the posts, attended by several of his men, upon whose secrecy he could depend. He rode across country to Tarrytown, where a boat was waiting. His men threw his horse, tied its legs together, and placed it in the boat. On the opposite shore the faithful animal was released from its bonds, and bestriding it Burr was soon in the arms of his love. He was back at headquarters before dawn. He made two of these visits.

The severe labors which he imposed upon himself while commanding in Westchester County shattered his health, and on the 10th of March, 1779, in a letter to Washington, he resigned his commission in the army. The latter accepted it with the observation that he "not only regretted the loss of a good officer, but the cause which made his resignation necessary." It may be remarked that Washington and Burr were not congenial souls. The great commander, while perfectly recognizing young Burr's abilities, had the penetration to see his defects as a man; and Burr had little love for Washington, and indeed was mixed up in the Conway-Gates cabal against him, although too youthful an officer to play any active part in that affair. Parton laments Burr's untimely retirement from the American army, and complains of Washington's cold treatment of him. He declares that Burr's military character was such—especially as demonstrated by his services in the Neutral Ground—that if his lot had been cast in the armies of France under the eye of Napoleon he would have become a marshal of the Empire. In a history of Westchester County it would be ungracious to find fault with any praise of him on soldierly grounds that his most ardent eulogists have penned. He certainly came to Westchester County as a guardian angel, and was the one shining military character among all the commanders on the lines—though their number embraced several officers of marked attainments. The brevity of his career here is the only feature of it to be viewed with anything short of enthusiasm. When he departed, disaster after disaster befell the American posts, and the reign of terror which had subsisted before he came was shortly renewed. It was equally unfortunate for him and for American interests in our county that his command covered only the winter months of 1779, when no general operations were going on. The next summer occurred the most formidable and prolonged display of armed force along the lines and above in our county's history. It can easily be believed that Burr, with his splendid organization in full flower, would have acquitted himself right gloriously in that period of activity.

The expedition of Governor Tryon above referred to was for the object of destroying the Revolutionary salt works at Greenwich, Conn. It was the only continuous march of a quite considerable British force through the entire extent of our county along the Sound that occurred during the Revolution. There was some fighting at Rye and above, where a small American party was put to flight by the British. The retreating Americans passed over Byram Bridge, taking up its planking to retard the progress of the enemy. But Tryon got across without being interfered with by Putnam, pro-

ceeded to Greenwich, and accomplished his purpose. We believe Byram Bridge was never crossed on any other occasion by a British force in connection with serious business.

Burr's successor in the chief command on the lines was Major William Hull. Considering the heavy odds brought against him by the enemy during the exciting campaign that followed, he made a very creditable record.

In the first few months of 1779 Sir Henry Clinton confined himself to ravaging the shores of the Chesapeake Bay. Washington, whose headquarters were at Middlebrook, was not disturbed by these proceedings, well knowing that the British general would soon turn his attention northward. The work at West Point had now made tolerably satisfactory progress, but Washington was dissatisfied with the comparatively unprotected condition of the river below. He particularly desired to have the entrance to the narrow part of the stream, from Haverstraw Bay, well guarded—the more so as the important King's Ferry route from Verplanck's Point to the west shore was comparatively unsafe so long as this entrance remained unfortified. He therefore began the erection of two forts on the two promontories—Verplanck's Point on the Westchester side, and Stony Point opposite, which, when completed, "would form as it were the lower gates of the Highlands, miniature Pillars of Hercules, of which Stony Point was the Gibraltar." By the end of May the work on Verplanck's Point, called Fort Lafayette, was finished, and a garrison of seventy men was assigned to it. That on Stony Point, however, was still in an inchoate condition, and had not yet received any artillery. The American army was at this time on the west side of the Hudson in the vicinity of the Highlands.

Sir Henry Clinton sailed up the Hudson on the 30th of May with a formidable expedition. The fleet, under the command of Admiral Sir George Collier, embraced about seventy vessels, great and small, and a hundred and fifty flatboats, and there was a land force of 5,000. The troops were landed in two divisions on the 31st. The principal division, under General Vaughan, debarked on the Westchester County side, seven or eight miles below Verplanck's Point, and the other, led by Sir Henry in person, on the opposite side of Haverstraw Bay, some three miles south of Stony Point. Nothing was done for the time being by Vaughan, except to get in position to assail Fort Lafayette. But Stony Point was promptly seized, the thirty men occupied on its unfinished works decamping without resistance. During the night of the 31st the British dragged artillery up its steep sides, with which, at daybreak, Fort Lafayette was cannonaded; and at the same time the ships in the river opened fire and Vaughan

prepared to assault the works. Against such overpowering force it was useless to contend, and the garrison surrendered on conditions guaranteeing the safety of the men and security of their personal property. It is an interesting reminiscence that Major John Andre, who a year and some months later passed that locality on the errand that took him to his death, signed the articles of capitulation on behalf of the British.

After the capture of the two promontories Sir Henry Clinton completed the works on Stony Point, fortified them in a powerful manner (especially with reference to the approach from the land side), and amply garrisoned both forts. Washington prudently refrained from any offensive demonstrations, retiring to the vicinity of West Point and bending all his energies toward the further development of the defensive situation there. He ordered all the heavy cannon at Boston and Providence to be sent to him, and recalled Heath from Boston. That general arrived at the camp at New Windsor on the 21st of June.

General Sir Henry Clinton, seeing that he had no Putnam to deal with on this occasion, showed himself suddenly disinclined to engage in new exploits in the Highlands. He withdrew his forces, except those necessary to retain the two forts, returned to New York, and sent out the memorable expedition under Tryon which devastated Connecticut. The results obtained were so "salutary," as reported to him, that he determined to extend them by an attack on New London. As a preparatory measure he went to Throgg's Neck, intending to forward troops thence to New London on transports. But while waiting there the great achievement of Anthony Wayne at Stony Point compelled him once more to change his arrangements.[1]

The storming of Stony Point on the night of the 15th of July was wholly planned by Washington. He intrusted the execution of it to Wayne, who accepted the commission with the greatest alacrity, signifying his willingness to storm hell itself for General Washing-

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[1] The following (furnished to the editor by the late Dr. Flagg, of Yonkers, who possessed the original) is a copy of an interesting letter written by Washington in this interval:

HEADQUARTERS [New Windsor], July 12th, 1779.

DR SIR:

In mine to you of the 5th I requested you to attend to the movements of the enemy on the River below, and for this purpose to engage the country people as lookouts along the River. I could wish you to have such persons on whose fidelity and vigilance you can depend stationed at different points as far down as Fort Lee, that we may have the earliest intelligence of any collection of vessels or boats or embarkation of troops on the opposite shore. The enemy are now manoeuvering to the Eastward—it may be to divert a part of our force that way—then to make a rapid movement back—embark and push up to the forts. We are obliged to give a certain degree of countenance and protection to the country which will occasion a detachment of our force, and this makes it the more essential that we should be upon our watch this way. Your activity and care I rely upon.

I am Dr Sir
Your Obedt. Servant,
GO: WASHINGTON.

ton. We borrow the following description of Stony Point, as it then was, from Irving:

> It was a rocky promontory advancing far into the Hudson, which washed three sides of it. A deep morass, covered at high water, separated it from the mainland, but at low tide might be traversed by a narrow causeway and bridge. The promontory was crowned by strong works furnished with heavy ordnance, commanding the morass and causeway. Lower down were two rows of abatis, and the shore at the front of the hill could be swept by vessels of war anchored in the river. The garrison was about 600 strong.

Washington's instructions to Wayne were to make the assault about midnight, because, as he explained, the usual time selected for such enterprises was just before dawn, when a more vigilant officer would probably be on guard. Wayne, with 1,400 men, came down through the Highland defiles on the afternoon of the 15th, made the circuit of the Dunderberg (around which Sir Henry Clinton had swept when going to attack the American forts), and arrived within a mile and a half of the Point by eight o'clock in the evening. Here he halted until half-past eleven, when he sent forward a negro of the neighborhood, accompanied by two men disguised as farmers. The negro had the entree to the fort, having frequently supplied the soldiers with fruit, and possessed the countersign. By this means the sentinels were secured and gagged. Before being discovered the Americans had arrived close to the outer works. Then, heedless of shot and shell, they made the assault in two columns, which arrived in the center of the works almost at the same instant. The garrison surrendered at discretion. The heroic Wayne, leading one of the columns, received a wound on the head, and, thinking he was dying, said: "Carry me into the fort and let me die at the head of my column." In his report to Washington he used these noble words: "The humanity of our brave soldiery, who scorned to take the lives of a vanquished foe when calling for mercy, reflects the highest honor on them and accounts for *the few of the enemy killed on the occasion.*" The enemy's killed were only 63. It will be recalled that in the storming of Forts Clinton and Montgomery the Americans lost 250 out of a total no larger than that of the British at Stony Point; and indeed it is notorious that the victors upon the former occasion ruthlessly bayoneted most of the defenders who failed to escape.

By this glorious exploit Wayne was exalted to the highest pinnacle of fame, and to the present day the splendor of it has not faded away. Probably no hero of a single military coup de main was ever hailed with greater applause than was showered upon Wayne. Even the malignant, backbiting General Charles Lee wrote to him from his disgraceful retirement a letter of glowing enthusiasm—although at the trial of Lee Wayne had been one of the chief witnesses against him. On the other hand, whilst the recollection of this prodigious

deed of valor was still fresh in men's minds, Major Andre, who was to be the next central object of sentimental attention, found it fitting to select Wayne, of all American generals, as the hero of his Hudibrasian poem, "The Cow Chace." Wayne happened to be distinguished for uncouthness of general demeanor no less than for lion-like daring before the armed foe and woman-like tenderness before the vanquished. Andre, the little curled and perfumed drawing-room darling, noted this uncouthness of the man, which indeed was the subject of many a smart jest among the fashionable ladies of New York, and discovered no artistic inconvenience in fitting the magnificent conqueror of Stony Point to his farcical verse. There probably is no more informing test of Andre's real parts, about which so much amusing hysterical nonsense has been written, than this little circumstance.

As the guns of the Stony Point fortress bore only on the land side and northward (there being no occasion for the British engineers to direct them athwart the river, since the Americans could not attack from below), it was impracticable to reduce the Westchester Fort Lafayette from the captured height. Moreover, Washington considered it unprofitable to rearrange the Stony Point armament, or even to hold the place, exposed as it was to attack by land and water. It was estimated that a garrison of 1,500 would be required for it, which could not be spared from the army. So after transporting the cannon and stores to West Point, the works were demolished.[1]

The loss of Stony Point caused Sir Henry Clinton to give up his design against New London, and that place was spared until September of 1781, when the traitor Arnold was sent against it and the Fort Griswold garrison was massacred. Returning from Throgg's Neck to the Hudson shore of Westchester County, Clinton hastily

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[1] Bolton (rev. ed., I., 161) quotes from an entertaining writer, whose historical accuracy, however, does not very distinctly appear, an incident of later years bearing upon the capture of Stony Point which is too enjoyable not to be included in our pages. "Many years ago an iron cannon was, by accident, brought up by an anchor from the bottom of the river at that point (Caldwell's Landing). It was suggested that it belonged to the pirate ship of Captain Kidd. A speculator caught the idea and boldly proclaimed, in the face of recorded history to the contrary, that Kidd's ship had been sunken at that point with untold treasures on board. The story went abroad that the deck had been penetrated by a very large auger, which encountered hard substances, and its thread was shown with silver attached, which, it was declared, had been brought up from the vessel. The story was believed, a stock company was formed to procure the treasures by means of a coffer-dam around the sunken vessel. For days, weeks, and months the engine worked on the coffer-dam. One New York merchant put $20,000 into the enterprise. The speculator took large commissions until the hopes of the stockholders failed and the work ceased. Nothing may be seen there now (1876) but the ruins of the works so begun, at the water's edge. At that point a bateau was sunk by a shot from the "Vulture" while conveying the captured iron cannon from Stony Point to West Point after the victory by Wayne. The cannon brought up by the anchor was doubtless one of these."

strengthened Fort Lafayette and again drew his forces up the river to that neighborhood. Washington meantime had undertaken a separate project for the reduction of Fort Lafayette. He ordered Major-General Robert Howe, with two brigades, to march down from the Highlands, by way of Peekskill, and besiege the fort. The latter, in executing this command, came near getting into serious difficulty; for Clinton by that time (July 17) had reached the north side of the Croton, and there was danger that he would throw himself between Verplanck's Point and Peekskill, and thus cut Howe off. But happily General Heath, who with a considerable force had just previously gone to the rescue of Connecticut, returned by a forced march to the Hudson and posted troops so as to prevent Clinton's advance at every point. Howe retired from Verplanck's Point, and all the American forces fell back to Peekskill. Clinton retained Fort Lafayette, and also resumed possession of Stony Point, reconstructed its works, and fortified it with a more powerful armament than before. But Washington still declined to bring his army down from its Highland position, and Clinton was too prudent to undertake anything formal against West Point. Consequently there was no further employment for the British general on the Hudson, and indeed his occupation of Verplanck's and Stony Points, involving two successive demonstrations with a loss of 600 men, proved to be an utter waste of time and energy. In the fall (October 21) he evacuated both the Points; for having, as it proved, permanently abandoned all hope of gaining the mastery of the Hudson by force, he deemed it an unprofitable expenditure of his resources to retain these isolated and exposed posts. During the rest of the war the British were strictly confined to the portion of the river below Verplanck's Point.

In spite of the ignominious failure of this final endeavor of the enemy to open the Hudson, the attempt was more serious than appears from a superficial view of it. It seems to have been Clinton's principal plan for the campaign of 1779 to force Washington down from the Highlands by a series of aggressions, of which the seizure of the King's Ferry route was the most important. As the capture of the two Points did not bring about the desired result, he withdrew temporarily and carried fire and sword into Connecticut, expecting by this process to entice Washington from his chosen station. The latter sent General Heath, with two brigades, to Connecticut; whereupon Clinton prepared to follow up the former raids with a heavier blow, which was prevented by the counter-stroke at Stony Point. After that it looked for a time as though the northern part of Westchester County was to be the scene of large military operations. Washington detached Robert Howe to take Fort Lafayette on Ver-

planck's Point; Clinton, besides re-enforcing that place, threatened the surrounding country; and then Washington recalled Heath from Connecticut by forced marches. But, as we have seen, the American tactics were to avoid any general engagement and compel the enemy to come up into the Highlands if he really desired a regular trial of strength. As this was disagreeable to Clinton, his whole plan of campaign for 1779 went awry.

The British occupation of the fort on Verplanck's Point lasted from the 1st of June until the 21st of October, a period of nearly five months. Clinton's return in force to the northwestern section of Westchester County after Wayne's recapture of Stony Point was made by way of the "New Bridge" at the mouth of the Croton River; and it was by the same route that Clinton fell back to Kingsbridge after being foiled by Heath. By the 20th of July Clinton had retired as far down as Dobbs Ferry. The British garrisons left at Verplanck's and Stony Points had a total of about 1,500. From the 20th of July to the 21st of October, when the posts were evacuated, these garrisons were wholly inactive. Heath, in his Memoirs, reports almost daily desertions from them to the American army. On the 14th of October, he says, fourteen British seamen were taken prisoners at Teller's (Croton) Point by Captain Hallet's company of New York militia.

From the time of the landing of the British expedition below Verplanck's Point on the 31st of May until the ultimate withdrawal of Clinton to New York City in the latter part of July, our county suffered much from ravages. The principal event of this period was the burning of Bedford by Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton, who had participated in the massacre of the Stockbridge Indians in 1778. This was the same Tarleton who became famous by his sanguinary doings in the South in 1780 and 1781.

A body of about ninety American cavalry, under Colonel Elisha Sheldon, was quartered at Poundridge in and around the house of Major Ebenezer Lockwood, one of the most noted patriots of Westchester County,[1] and in the same locality was a militia force of 120 men, commanded by Major Leavenworth. Tarleton, then encamped at the Mile Square near Yonkers, was ordered to make a sudden night march to Poundridge for the double purpose of surprising and

[1] Ebenezer Lockwood was the foremost Poundridge citizen of his times. He was for many years a member of the board of supervisors, represented the county in the second, third, and fourth provincial congresses, in the State convention of 1776-77, and in the assembly during and subsequently to the Revolution, and in 1791 was appointed first judge of Common Pleas of Westchester County. He took a conspicuous part in the locating and building of the new county court house. He was commissioned major of Colonel Thomas Thomas's regiment of Westchester County militia in 1775, and at various times performed service in the field.

capturing these Americans and securing the person of Major Lockwood, on whose head a price of forty guineas had been set. An American spy named Luther Kinnicutt gave notice to Sheldon of the intended attack, but without being able to say on what day it would occur. This timely information enabled Lockwood to escape. Tarleton chose a very rainy night, and in consequence the Americans were not well on their guard. He moved from the Mile Square about half-past eleven on the night of July 1, with a mixed force of horse and foot carefully picked from four different regiments. In his official report he stated that his numbers were about 200, but according to American estimates they were some 360. Going by way of Bedford, he arrived at Poundridge early on the morning of the 2d. After driving back a small detachment under Major Benjamin Tallmadge, he put the whole of Sheldon's body to rout, capturing the regimental colors. The American losses were estimated at from eighteen to twenty-five in killed, wounded, and prisoners.[1] Tarleton pursued the fugitives, and after his return burned Lockwood's house, maltreated his wife, and burned the Poundridge meeting-house. The small body of militia under Leavenworth now began to harass Tarleton's troopers, and upon the retirement of the latter through Bedford they were much annoyed by the American riflemen, who fired at them from houses. To this "inveteracy" of the militia, as he calls it, Tarleton says his burning of Bedford was owing. "I proposed to the militia terms," he says, "that if they would not fire shots from buildings I would not burn. They interpreted my mild proposal wrong, imputing it to fear. They persisted in firing till the torch stopped their progress, after which not a shot was fired." But according to accounts left by residents of Bedford the burning of the place was a quite wanton deed. The Presbyterian Church was destroyed, and indeed the tradition is that only one house was left standing. Thus the ancient settlement of Bedford was practically swept out of existence. Barrett, in his History of North Castle, says that many houses in that locality were burned by Tarleton on his way down from Bedford. Certainly there was no inveteracy of militia at North Castle.

It is curious that the responsibility for Tarleton's deed was by many of the Bedford people charged to Colonel James Holmes, their

[1] Bolton (rev. ed., ii., 115) relates the following amusing incident: "John Buckhout, who happened to be in the rear of Sheldon's regiment during the retreat, and closely pursued, was accosted in the imperative tone of a British dragoon: 'Surrender, you damn rebel, or I'll blow your brains out!' John, not heeding the threat, was saluted with a pistol shot, which hit his cap and perforated the scalp on the side of his head without further injury. 'There,' says the dragoon, 'you damned rebel, a little more and I should have blown your brains out.' 'Yes, damn you,' replied John, 'and a little more you wouldn't have touched me.' John continued his speed, and escaped without further injury."

recreant townsman. Holmes was descended from one of the original Bedford proprietors, and the family had always been a prominent one in the town. He served in the French and Indian War, and, as related in a previous chapter, was an active patriot partisan at the beginning of hostilities between America and Great Britain, being a member of the New York provincial convention, one of the committee which made the first inspection of the heights at Kingsbridge with a view to their fortification, and colonel of one of the first four regiments raised in the Province of New York. But on account of private grievances he resigned his commission in 1777 and retired to his farm at Bedford. Here he soon became known as one of the disaffected, and in 1778, at the instance of some of his neighbors, he was arrested by the committee of safety. Escaping from custody, he joined the British in New York. His name thus became an odious one in Bedford, but his connection with the burning of the village by local report was unjust to him. He certainly was not with Tarleton's party. Soon after this event he was seized while on a visit to Bedford occasioned by the death of his brother, was thrown into prison, escaped, was again taken, and again escaped. Then, his estate having been confiscated, he accepted the appointment of lieutenant-colonel of the Westchester County Refugees in the British service. This was in the summer of 1781. It is but just to say that Colonel James Holmes was a type of the unfortunate rather than the bloody-minded Westchester County Tories who ultimately took up arms against their country.

Just previously to his raid on Poundridge and Bedford, Tarleton, in conjunction with Simcoe's Rangers, successfully attacked an American militia force at Crompond, in the present Town of Yorktown. This was on the 24th of June. About thirty of the Americans were killed or taken prisoners, the captives being conveyed to New York and incarcerated in the notorious Sugar House. This was the second raid on Crompond within a month. A former British party came there from Verplanck's Point under Colonel Abercrombie, guided by Caleb Morgan, a Tory of Yorktown, and burned a storehouse and the parsonage. In fact, the country above the Croton River, which up to this time had been comparatively secure against British incursions, was now pretty generally visited by hostile troops, and the numerous Tories of Cortlandt Manor were in high feather consequently.

To the same general period belongs an attack made by Colonel Emmerick's men on a continental guard at Tarrytown, which, though a small affair—in fact only one of a vast number of minor occurrences unrelated to the main current of events,—is memorable for

the incident of the inhuman killing of Sergeant Isaac Martlingh. Martlingh was a one-armed man. With Emmerick's troop from below came a certain Nathaniel Underhill, of the vicinity of Yonkers, a Tory, who, it is said, harbored bitter animosity against Martlingh because on one occasion the latter had caused his arrest. Martlingh had been to a nearby spring for a pail of water, and was just about to re-enter his house when Underhill approached him from behind and smote him dead. The act was considered so heinous that it was commemorated on the dead man's tombstone, which, with its grim record, is still standing. The inscription is as follows: "In Memory of Mr. Isaac Martlings, who was Inhuminely slan by Nathaniel Underhill May 26 A D 1779 in the 39th Year [of his age]." On the same occasion, according to a local Tarrytown authority, a woman named Polly or Katrina Buckhout was "killed by a yager rifleman" belonging to the Emmerick party. "She imprudently appeared at the door of her house with a man's hat on, when two hostile parties were near each other, and was killed by mistake for an enemy. The yager fired without orders, and Emmerick made an apology, being much mortified at the occurrence."

Another incident of the summer of 1779 which deserves passing mention was a notable running fight between Captain Hopkins, of the American Light Horse, and Emmerick, with a much larger body of British cavalry (about 500 strong). This happened on the borders of the Town of Greenburgh. Hopkins was lying in ambuscade in the vicinity of Youngs's House, hoping to surprise a party of the enemy under Colonel Bearmore, when Emmerick came up. A spirited encounter followed, in which numbers were killed and wounded on both sides. According to Bolton, the British killed were twenty-three. Hopkins conducted himself with great credit in this engagement, retiring successfully at the end.[1]

Although most of the fighting in our county during the summer and fall of this year occurred in the northern and central sections, as the result of British aggressions, the Americans attempted occasional counter-strokes in the territory of the present Borough of the Bronx, two of which are described by Heath. On the 5th of

[1] The interested reader may find detailed particulars of this fight, as of numerous other Revolutionary episodes for the Towns of Greenburgh and Mount Pleasant, in the "Souvenir of the Revolutionary Soldiers' Monument Dedication at Tarrytown, October 19, 1894" (compiled by M. D. Raymond, editor of the Tarrytown *Argus*). This little book, although modestly claimed by the compiler to be chiefly of "a personal character," is invaluable to the student of the Revolutionary annals of Westchester County. In the compilation of the present History, both the author and editor have found frequent occasion to appreciate the general thoroughness, accuracy, and intelligence of Mr. Raymond's local historical writings as published in his newspaper and otherwise; and they take satisfaction in acknowledging their indebtedness to his published articles for not a few of the facts contained in these pages.

August "about one hundred horse, of Sheldon's, Moylan's, and of the militia, and about forty infantry of Glover's brigade, passed by de Lancey's Mills to the neighborhood of Morrisania, where they took twelve or fourteen prisoners, some stock, etc. The enemy collected and a skirmish ensued, in which the enemy had a number of men killed and wounded; our loss, two killed and two wounded." And on the 3d of October "Lieutenant Gill, of the dragoons, patroling in Eastchester, found a superior force in his rear, and no alternative but to surrender or cut his way through them. He chose the latter and forced his way, when he found a body of infantry still behind the horse. These he also charged, and on his passing them his horse was wounded and threw him, when he fell into the enemy's hands. Two of the lieutenant's party, which consisted of twenty-four, were killed, and one taken prisoner; the rest escaped safe to their regiments."

General Heath resumed his old headquarters at Peekskill on the 24th of October, three days after the final evacuation by the British of the forts at Verplanck's and Stony Points. Here, on the 28th of November, he received from Washington the appointment of commander of all the posts and troops on the Hudson River.

About the same time that Sir Henry Clinton definitively abandoned his schemes on the Hudson he also withdrew the large command which, since the winter of 1776, had been in occupation of Rhode Island. One of his reasons for this move, as well as for his withdrawal of the garrisons from Verplanck's and Stony Points, was his apprehension that the French fleet of d'Estaing, which had sailed from the West Indies, would now unite with Washington in a siege of New York. But d'Estaing stopped at Savannah to assist General Lincoln in his effort to recover that place, and afterward, the joint operation having failed disastrously, returned to France. Clinton next carried his arms southward and besieged and took Charleston. He was occupied in the South from the beginning of 1780 until June.

The winter of 1779-80 was the severest ever known in this part of the country. Not only the whole North River, but much of New York Bay, was frozen solid,[1] and if the army under Washington had been in any condition to assume the aggressive New York, with its relatively small garrison, must probably have succumbed. But never was Washington's army in a more deplorable plight than during that terrible winter. It was encamped in two divisions, one

[1] General Heath relates in his Memoirs, under date of February 7, 1780, that "A body of the enemy's horse, said to be about 300, and the Seventh British regiment, came over from Long Island to Westchester on the ice."

under Heath at Peekskill and in the Highlands, the other and principal part under Washington at Morristown.

The principal event of the winter in Westchester County was the so-called "Affair at Youngs's House," a considerable and very disastrous engagement, in which some 250 men were concerned on the American side and more than twice that number on the enemy's. This house, owned by Joseph Youngs, was situated about four miles east of Tarrytown and about the same distance northwest of White Plains, at the intersection of an east and west road from Tarrytown and a north and south road from Unionville; and the locality was hence called "The Four Corners." As a result of the conflict there the dwelling was burned, and during the remainder of the war the place was known as "The Burnt House." After the Revolution the Youngs farm was purchased by Isaac Van Wart, one of the captors of Andre, who built upon it the historic "Van Wart House," which subsequently, with the whole property, was owned for many years by his son, the Rev. Alexander Van Wart. The house was in the present Town of Mount Pleasant, just beyond the Greenburgh border.

"Youngs's House," being at an important cross-roads and on elevated ground, and having a number of outbuildings attached to it, which, with the dwelling, afforded accommodation for many men, was a principal station for the American troops quartered "on the lines"—the lines at that time being maintained as far south as Dobbs Ferry. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, at the period of which we write, was in chief command on the lines, subordinate, of course, to General Heath at Peekskill. His orders were "to move between Croton River and the White Plains, Hudson's River and Bedford; never to remain long at any one place, that the enemy might not be able to learn their manner of doing duty or form a plan for striking them in any particular situation." During this winter, with 250 men, he took a position at the Youngs House, and, contrary to instructions, stopped there so long that the enemy conceived and executed the precise project that General Heath apprehended. On the night of February 2, 1780, "a force of between four and five hundred infantry and one hundred horsemen, composed of British, Germans, and Colonel de Lancey's Tories, set out from Fort Knyphausen (formerly Fort Washington), south of Spuyten Duyvil," to attack him, the whole expedition being commanded by Colonel Nelson, of the Guards. The weather was intensely cold, and deep snow covered the ground. The attacking party arrived about nine o'clock on the morning of February 3. Thomson's men offered a brave resistance, but were overpowered by numbers. The American loss in killed

and wounded was between thirty and forty, about half the total number being killed on the spot or dying of their wounds. The enemy acknowledged losses of five killed and eighteen wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson and six other officers, with eighty-nine privates, were taken prisoners. The killed of both sides were buried together. "I have ploughed many a furrow over their graves," said the Rev. Alexander Van Wart.

In consequence of this unfortunate affair, all attempt by the Americans to hold the country south of the Croton River was abandoned, and from that time until the restoration of peace our lines did not extend below Pine's Bridge and Bedford. In September, 1780 (eight months after the Youngs House disaster), when Major Andre was taken at Tarrytown, his captors had to travel a distance of more than ten miles to the nearest American post.

Our Westchester County novelist, James Fenimore Cooper, in "The Spy," locates at the "Four Corners" the famous hotel of Betty Flanagan, a "house of entertainment for man and beast," before which hung the sign, "Elizabeth Flanagan, her hotel," written in red chalk. To Betty Flanagan Cooper accredits the immortal honor of the invention of "that beverage which is so well known at the present hour to all the patriots who make a winter's march between the commercial and political capitals of this great State, and which is distinguished by the name of 'cocktail.'"

About two weeks before the melancholy occurrence at Youngs's House a party of Americans descended to Morrisania and at dead of night attacked the quarters of the British Colonel Hatfield. This party, says Heath, was made up of troops from Horseneck and Greenwich, Conn., about eighty in number, commanded by Captains Keeler and Lockwood. Several British were killed, the quarters were burned, and Hatfield, three other officers, and eleven men were taken prisoners. Another raid on Morrisania, on a larger scale and much more effective, was made in May. It was led by Captain Cushing, of the Massachusetts line, with one hundred infantry. More than forty of de Lancey's troopers were killed or made prisoners. The object of the expedition was to capture de Lancey himself, but he was absent. On this occasion Abraham Dyckman, the guide, distinguished himself by capturing Captain Ogden in Emmerick's quarters at the Farmers' Bridge, although a British sentry was within musket shot at the time.[1]

At the beginning of May, 1780, says Bancroft, the total continental troops between the Chesapeake and Canada did not exceed 7,000, and in the first week of June those with Washington and fit for

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[1] See Bolton, rev. ed., ii., 525.

duty were only 3,760, who, moreover, were unpaid and almost unfed. Knyphausen now invaded New Jersey with a large force, but soon afterward Sir Henry Clinton, returning from the South, put an end to that enterprise, which he regarded with dissatisfaction. Once more Washington was reduced to conjecture as to the purposes of the enemy, and once more he moved up toward the Highlands.

On the 10th of July a new French expedition arrived on our shores, this time at Newport. The fleet was commanded by Admiral de Ternay, and the land force (5,000) by the Count de Rochambeau, the instructions of the latter being to act subject to the orders of Washington as commander-in-chief. Three days later Clinton, at New York, was re-enforced by the fleet of Admiral Graves, which gave him a naval superiority. He now decided to attack the French at Newport, and as a preparatory measure (says Irving) marched 6,000 men to Throgg's Neck in our county, intending to dispatch them from there on transports. Washington, taking advantage of this great weakening of the British force in New York, and feeling that the French were able to hold their own, immediately made ready to proceed against Kingsbridge. By the end of July he had moved all his forces across King's Ferry into Westchester County, and, making his headquarters in the Birdsall house at Peekskill, was energetically completing his plans. At this Sir Henry, still at Throgg's Neck, reconsidered his Newport project and returned to Manhattan Island. It was supposed at the time that his erratic action was occasioned partly by the delay in the arrival of his transports, partly by Washington's sudden move, and partly by information which he had received of the strengthening of the French troops by large bodies of militia. But the principal cause was undoubtedly the change in the command at West Point, made just at his time, which seemed to assure him of the early realization by treachery of his long-cherished dream of getting control of the Hudson.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CAPTURE OF ANDRE[1]

NTIL 1778 West Point was a solitude, thickly covered with trees and nearly inaccessible. During 1778-79 it was covered by fortresses, with numerous redoubts, and so connected as to form a system of defense which was believed to be impregnable. Here were the stores, provisions, and magazines and ammunition for the use of the entire American army. It was the key of the military position and stronghold of the Americans.

The British saw that the possession of the valley of the Hudson on their part would divide and weaken the power of those who were striving for liberty, that it would obstruct intercourse between the American forces in New England and those in New Jersey and to the northward, that it would open communication between the British forces in New York and Canada, and that the capture of the stores and ammunition collected there would so cripple the Americans that they would be obliged to give up the contest.

In 1780 a change was needed in the command at West Point. General Robert Howe, then in command, was thought to be inefficient. Having knowledge of this fact, General Benedict Arnold (who had for several months been in traitorous correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America) resolved to solicit the appointment to the command to this post in order that he might make it the subject of barter for British gold. From the time when officers who stood below him were promoted over him, discontent had rankled in his breast and found expression in vague threats of revenge, and it is probable that his base crime was primarily due to this cause.

On the last day of July, Arnold, who had been on a visit to Connecticut and was now returning to Philadelphia, met General Washington on horseback at Verplanck's Point just as the last division of the American army was crossing the Hudson from the west side preparatory to the contemplated attack on New York City, and asked

[1] The consecutive narrative of Arnold's treason and Andre's capture which here follows is by Franklin Couch, Esq., of Peekskill. To Mr. Couch's narrative—a concise account of the whole matter—we append incidental details and comments of our own writing, mainly of local Westchester County interest.

him if any place had been assigned to him. The commander-in-chief, who was a warm admirer of Arnold for his skill and bravery in the northern campaigns, replied that he was to take command of the left wing of the army. This was the post of honor, but still Arnold did not seem satisfied, and Washington, perceiving it, promised to meet him at his headquarters at the Birdsall house, Peekskill, and converse further on the subject. Finding Arnold's heart set on West Point, and having no suspicion of wrong, and believing, as Arnold claimed, that his wounded left leg unfitted him for service in the field, Washington complied with his request, and at Peekskill on Thursday, August 3, 1780, he issued an order giving to him the command of West Point and its dependencies, in which were included both sides of the Hudson from Fishkill to the King's Ferry (Verplanck's Point).

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

On the next day Arnold established his headquarters at Colonel Beverly Robinson's house, at the foot of Sugar Loaf Mountain on the east side of the river nearly opposite West Point. From this place he continued, in a disguised hand, and under the name of Gustavus, his secret correspondence with Major John Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, addressing him as Mr. John Anderson, merchant.

Correspondence having done its part, a personal meeting was necessary between Arnold and Andre for the completion of the plan for the betrayal of West Point into the hands of the enemy and the adjustment of the traitor's recompense.

Monday, September 11, at twelve o'clock noon, near Dobbs Ferry, was the time and place fixed. On the afternoon of the day before, Arnold went down the river in his barge to the western landing of King's Ferry (Stony Point) and stayed overnight at the house of Joshua Hett Smith, about two miles above Haverstraw. Smith had been introduced by General Howe to General Arnold, and recommended as a man who could be useful in securing important news of the enemy's plans. Early the next morning he started in his barge for the place of meeting, but was fired upon and pursued by the British gunboats stationed near Dobbs Ferry. He took refuge at an American post on the western shore, remained until night, went to Joshua Hett Smith's, where his wife and babe were, they having arrived that day from Philadelphia, and returned to his headquarters on the morning of the 12th, taking them with him. Learning that

Washington was soon to depart from his headquarters at Tappan (Rockland County, N. Y.) for Hartford (Conn.), to hold a conference with Count Rochambeau (the commander-in-chief of the French allies, lately arrived), Arnold wrote to Andre on the 15th, agreeing to send a person to meet him at Dobbs Ferry on the 20th, and to conduct him to a place of safety where he could confer with him.

On the 17th Arnold and his aide-de-camp, Colonel Richard Varick, came to Peekskill, went to Stony Point, there met Washington, Marquis de Lafayette, and Alexander Hamilton, conducted them in Arnold's barge across the river to Verplanck's Point, and accompanied them on horseback as far as Peekskill, where they passed the night at the Birdsall house, and the next morning parted never to meet again.

Washington and his suite proceeded up the Crompond Road, en route to Hartford by way of Crompond, Salem, Ridgebury, and Danbury. Arnold and his aide returned to his headquarters at the Robinson house.

On the 20th Andre left New York, went by land to Dobbs Ferry, and in the evening at seven o'clock went on board the British ship of war "Vulture," which had lain some days a little above Teller's (Croton) Point in Haverstraw Bay.

Early on the morning of September 20, two residents of Cortlandtown, Moses Sherwood and John Peterson (a colored man, and a soldier of Van Cortlandt's regiment of Westchester militia), who were engaged in making cider at Barrett's farm (now of the John W. Frost estate), Croton, saw a barge filled with men from the "Vulture" approaching the shore. They seized their guns, which they had taken with them to their work, ran to the river, concealed themselves behind some rocks, and as the barge approached Peterson fired, and great confusion ensued. A second shot from Sherwood compelled the barge to return to the "Vulture." The British returned the fire, with no effect except to alarm the neighborhood.

This occurrence, when told Andre upon his arrival, suggested to him a method of notifying Arnold of his presence on board the "Vulture." On the morning of the 21st he addressed a letter to Arnold in his own handwriting (with which Arnold was familiar), signed by Captain Andrew Sutherland and countersigned by J. Anderson, secretary. This was the name assumed by Andre in his previous correspondence with Arnold. The letter complained of a violation of military rule in that a boat the day before had been decoyed on shore and fired upon by armed men concealed in the bushes. It was sent by the flag of truce to Verplanck's Point and delivered to Colonel James Livingston, who was then in command of the American forces there.

Arnold rode through Peekskill to Verplanck's Point on the morning of the 21st, and Colonel Livingston handed him the letter which he had just received from Andre. Arnold then crossed the river and went to Joshua Hett Smith's house. From Stony Point he dispatched an officer in his own barge up the river to Peekskill Creek, and thence to Canopus Creek, with orders to bring down a row-boat from that place, and directed Major William Kierse, the quartermaster at Stony Point, to send the boat the moment it should arrive to a certain place in Haverstraw Creek.

Near midnight, Smith, in the boat thus obtained, rowed by two of his tenants, Joseph and Samuel Colquhoun, with muffled oars, proceeded on ebb tide to the "Vulture" and brought Andre on shore, where he found Arnold awaiting him in the darkness among the fir trees at a lonely unfrequented spot at the foot of the Long Clove Mountain south of Haverstraw village. He had ridden on horseback from Smith's house to the place of meeting, attended by one of Smith's negro servants. Here, in the gloom of night, and until the approaching break of day, the conspirators conferred. The negotiations not having been completed, they, in the gray of early morn, rode through Haverstraw to Smith's house, three miles distant, Andre expecting to return to the "Vulture" on the next night. Smith, his servant, and the boatmen returned by water. Andre had scarcely entered the house when booming of cannon was heard, causing him considerable uneasiness, and with reason.

The Americans at Croton had not been idle. They had sent a delegation to Colonel Livingston to inform him that the "Vulture" was within cannon shot of Teller's Point, whereupon Livingston sent a party with a four-pound cannon from Verplanck's Point in the night. A small breastwork was erected at the west end of the point, the gun planted, and a fire directed upon the "Vulture," which was returned by several broadsides. The Americans fired with effect, shivering some of the spars of the vessel, and compelled her to weigh anchor and drop down the river. One of the shots from the "Vulture" lodged in an oak tree, where it remained for more than half a century, when the oak tree, which had become decayed, was cut down, the ball removed and presented by William Underhill to George J. Fisher, M.D., of Sing Sing.

Andre had watched the cannonade with anxious eye from an upper window of Smith's house, and after the "Vulture" had been obliged to shift her anchor, Arnold and Smith, knowing well that she was closely watched from both sides of the river, became convinced that it would be unsafe to return Andre on board.

After breakfast the plot for the betrayal of West Point and its

dependent posts was completed, and the sum that Arnold was to receive for his villainy agreed upon.

Immediately upon Andre's return to New York, the force under Clinton and Admiral Sir George Rodney was to ascend the river. The iron chain stretched across the river at West Point was to be weakened by taking a link out of it and substituting a rope link. The approach of the British was to be announced by signals, and the American forces were to be so distributed that they could be easily captured, and at the proper moment Arnold was to surrender the works with all the troops, 3,000 in number.

Andre was furnished by Arnold with plans of the works and explanatory papers, which, at Arnold's request, he placed between his stockings and his feet, promising in case of accident to destroy them. Arnold wrote the following pass for Andre, gave it to Smith, and at ten o'clock departed in his barge for the Robinson house:

Headquarters, Robinson House,
September 22, 1780.

Permit Mr. John Anderson to pass the guards to White Plains or below, if he chooses, he being on public business by my direction.

B. Arnold, Maj. Gen.

Andre passed a lonely day, and as evening approached he became impatient and spoke to Smith about departure. Smith refused to take him on board the "Vulture," much to Andre's surprise and mortification, but offered to cross the river with him to Verplanck's Point and accompany him part of the distance to New York on horseback.

On Friday, September 22, at dusk, Andre, Smith, and a negro servant, with three horses belonging to Smith, crossed the King's Ferry from Stony Point in a flat-bottomed boat rowed by Cornelius Lambert, Lambert Lambert, and William Van Wart, Henry Lambert acting as coxswain. Upon landing at Verplanck's, Smith called the coxswain into Welsh's hut near the ferry landing and gave him an eight dollar continental bill, and then went to Colonel Livingston's tent, a short distance from the road, and talked with him a few minutes, but declined his invitation to take some liquor, and said that he was going to General Arnold's headquarters.

They mounted their horses, rode over the old King's Ferry Road to the New York and Albany Post Road, and from thence north to Peekskill, where they took the road leading easterly from Peekskill to Crompond Corners. When about three miles east of Peekskill on the Crompond Road they were stopped by a military patrol under command of Captain Ebenezer Boyd. This event is best told by Captain Boyd in his testimony on the subsequent trial of Joshua Hett Smith for treason:

Last Friday, the 22d of September, between eight and nine o'clock at night, the sentry stopped Mr. Smith, another person, and a negro. When the party hailed them they answered "Friends." The sentry ordered one to dismount. Mr. Smith readily dismounted and advanced till he came near the sentry and asked who commanded the party; the sentry said "Captain Boyd"; upon that I was called for; Mr. Smith came to me upon my calling for him. I asked him who he was; he told me his name was Joshua Smith and that he had a pass from General Arnold to pass all guards. I asked him where he lived; he told me. I asked him what time he crossed the ferry; he said "about dusk." I asked where he was bound for; he told me that he intended to go that night as far as Major (Joseph) Strang's. I told him Strang was not at home, and he spoke something of going to Colonel Gilbert Drake's. I told him that he had moved to Salem, and that as to Major Strang's, that his lady might be in bed and it would incommode her much. I then asked to see his pass and he went into a little house close by there and got a light and I found that he had a pass from General Arnold to pass all guards to White Plains and return on business of importance.

I then asked him to tell me something of his business; he made answer that he had no objections to my knowing it; he told me that he was a brother of (Chief Justice) William Smith in New York, though very different in principle, and that he was employed by General Arnold to go with that gentleman, meaning the person who was with him, to get intelligence from the enemy; that they expected to meet a gentleman at or near White Plains for the same purpose. I advised Mr. Smith to put up there at one Andreas Miller's, close by where we were, and to start as soon as it was light.

They went to Miller's house and passed a restless night, Andre and Smith occupying the same bed. The Miller house was on the southerly side of Crompond Road in Yorktown, about one-third of a mile east of Lexington Avenue. It has been torn down, but the cellar is still to be seen.

Saturday, September 23, they took an early departure. Passing through Crompond Corners, and when at the junction of the Somerstown Road, near Strang's or Mead's tavern, they were saluted by a sentinel in the road and taken to Captain Ebenezer Foot, who was in charge of a guard there. He examined their passes, and, being satisfied, they proceeded on their journey eastward about half a mile, until they reached the road southerly to Pine's Bridge over the Croton. Taking that road, they proceeded to the house of Isaac Underhill, where they took breakfast of corn meal mush and milk.

They journeyed no farther together. Smith returned to Peekskill, and then went to Fishkill, where his family was, stopping on his way at the Robinson house to dine with Arnold and notify him of the progress that Andre had made.

When Andre and Smith parted, it was understood that Andre was to go to New York by way of White Plains, but, after passing Pine's Bridge, which was located about half a mile north of the present bridge, he took the westerly road leading toward the Hudson River. Captain Boyd had told Andre to avoid the river road, as there were many British upon it. He was probably induced by this remark to change his plans and take it, hoping thereby to fall in with friends.

At this time there was a class of men known as Cowboys (mostly,

if not wholly, American refugees belonging to the British side), who were engaged in stealing and purchasing cattle on the ill-fated Neutral Ground and driving them to New York as beef supply for the British army. In order to check the prosecution of this practice, small scouting parties were frequently sent out beyond the American posts to reconnoiter the country between the posts and those of the enemy. As the cattle taken from the Cowboys, unless stolen and reclaimed, were by legislative enactment held to be "prize of war," small volunteer parties were occasionally formed by the young men attached to the American cause to watch the roads in order to suppress the practice which exposed their stock to depredation.

On the 22d a party of this kind was suggested by one John Yerks to John Paulding, both of whom were within the American lines at Upper or North Salem, Westchester County. Paulding agreed to go if a sufficient number could be induced to accompany them. This Yerks assured him could be easily accomplished, and he agreed to procure the men while Paulding should obtain the necessary permit from the commanding officer. Paulding went to the encampment at North Salem and obtained the permit. While there he saw his friend, Isaac Van Wart, whom he invited to accompany him. Van Wart readily assented and accompanied Paulding to the place where he had left Yerks. In the meantime Yerks had enlisted Sergeant John Dean, Isaac See, James Romer, and Abraham Williams. In the afternoon they proceeded southward with their muskets over their shoulders. After walking about a mile they met David Williams, who joined them. The party now consisted of eight, all of whom were devotedly attached to the American cause, and most, if not all, of whom had been in the American army. All but Sergeant Dean, however, were privates. After walking about fifteen miles, they found quarters for the night in the barn of John Andrews at Pleasantville. In the morning they followed the Sawmill River Valley to the house of Captain Jacob Romer, where they obtained breakfast and a basket well provided for their dinner. They next stopped at Isaac Reed's and got some milk, and there Paulding borrowed a pack of playing-

THE BEVERLY ROBINSON HOUSE.

cards. Then the party went to David's Hill, where they separated. Dean, Romer, Yerks, See, and Abraham Williams remained on the hill, and Paulding, Van Wart, and David Williams proceeded on the Tarrytown Road about a mile and concealed themselves in the bushes near a stream, and to the south of it, on the west side of the road (where the monument erected to their memory now stands), and commenced playing cards. The two parties were not far apart, and it was agreed before separating that if either party should need the aid of the other, a gun should be fired.

During the first half hour several persons whom they knew passed, then Van Wart, who was standing guard while Paulding and Williams played cards, discovered, at about nine o'clock, on the rising ground directly opposite to where the Tarrytown Academy now stands, slowly riding toward them, a man on a black horse. He said to Williams and Paulding, "Here's a horseman coming! We must stop him." At that, Paulding, who was the master spirit of the party, got up, stepped out into the road, leveled his musket at the rider, and asked him which way he was going. Paulding at this time wore the coat and cap of a German yager, green laced with red, and it is very probable that his appearance deceived Andre, for, instead of producing Arnold's pass, he said, "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to *our* party." "What party?" asked Paulding. "The lower party," said Andre. Upon that Paulding told him that they *did*. Andre answered, "I'm glad to see you. I am an officer in the British service, out in the country on particular business, and I hope you won't detain me a minute; and to let you know that I am a gentleman——" he then pulled out his watch, upon which Paulding told him to dismount, and that *they* were Americans.

Astonished to find into what hands he had fallen and how he had betrayed himself, yet promptly recovering his composure, he laughed, declared himself a continental officer going down to Dobbs Ferry to get information from the enemy, and said, "My God, a man must do anything to get along," and then produced his pass from Arnold and handed it to Paulding, who read it. He then dismounted and said, "Gentlemen, you had better let me go, or you will bring yourselves into trouble."

Paulding then told him that he hoped he would not be offended, as they did not mean to take anything from him, that there were a great many bad people going the road, and they did not know but he might be one, and then asked him if he had any letters about him; to which Andre answered "No."

They then took down the fence and led him and his horse into the woods. They told him to take off his clothes, which he did, and,

searching them, they found nothing except eighty dollars in continental money, which had been given him by Smith. Paulding then told him to take off his boots. This he was very backward about doing, but when he had done so, Paulding felt of his feet and found the papers which Arnold had delivered to him in his stockings. Upon examining these, Paulding, who was the only one of the captors who could read, said, "This man is a spy." He asked Andre where he had obtained the papers, and he replied of a stranger at Pine's Bridge. He was then ordered to dress himself. "While he was doing so," Williams says, "I asked him how much he would give to let him go; he said any sum. I then asked if he would give up his horse, saddle, bridle, watch, and one hundred guineas; he said yes. I asked him if he would not give more, and he said he would give any quantity of dry goods, or any sum of money, and bring it to any place we might pitch on so that we might get it." Upon which Paulding answered: "No, by God, if you would give us ten thousand guineas you shall not stir one step!"

Andre was then ordered to remount his horse, and was taken by his captors to Sand's Mills, North Castle, the nearest American post, and delivered with his papers to Lieutenant-Colonel John Jameson, of the 2d Regiment Light Dragoons, who, in the absence of Colonel Sheldon, commanded the post.

The captors, according to military custom, retained his watch, horse, and bridle, which they sold, and divided the money received for them among the party of seven.

Jameson, who was bewildered by the discovery, injudiciously sent a message by Lieutenant Solomon Allen to General Arnold at the Robinson house, notifying him of the capture of Andre. Arnold, who was at breakfast with his wife and aide-de-camp, Major David S. Franks, when the messenger from Jameson arrived (it being about 9 a.m.), opened the letter, read it carefully, folded it, put it in his pocket, finished the remark which was on his lips when the messenger arrived, and excused himself to those at the table, saying that it was necessary for him to go immediately to West Point, and for the aides to inform General Washington on his arrival, which was hourly expected, that he would very soon return. His wife, observing his slight agitation, followed him to their chambers, where all was quickly revealed to her and she fell into an intermittent state of swoon and delirium, which lasted several hours.

While up-stairs with his wife he was informed by Major Franks that two aides had arrived, announcing that General Washington would very soon arrive. He kissed his infant child, sweetly sleeping in its cradle, and descended the stairs in great confusion. He ordered

a horse to be saddled, mounted him, told Major Franks to inform General Washington that he had gone to West Point and would return in an hour, hurried down the steep road to the river, entered his barge at Beverly Dock, and seating himself in the bow directed his oarsmen to row to midstream. Then priming his pistols, he ordered them to hurry down the river, stating to them that he had to go with a flag of truce to the "Vulture," and must hasten back to meet Washington. He tied a white handkerchief to a cane and waved it as he passed Colonel Livingston at Verplanck's Point, and that officer, recognizing the barge, allowed it to pass. In a short time he was safely on board the "Vulture," where he wrote a letter to Washington asking protection for Mrs. Arnold and proclaiming her innocence and that of his aides. He afterward received the price of his desertion, 6,315 pounds sterling, was made a brigadier-general in the British army, and turned his sword against his countrymen. At the close of the war he went to England, where his treason followed him like an avenging Nemesis and brought upon him many humiliations. In the United States his name became a byword and reproach to mark the depth of human degradation and villainy. After years of bitter disappointment, cares, and embarrassments his nervous system failed him, sleep became a stranger to his eyes, and at London, on June 14, 1801, he died, "unwept, unhonored, and unsung."

Not long after Arnold left the Robinson house Washington arrived, and on being informed that Arnold had gone to West Point took breakfast at about twelve o'clock and passed over with Generals Lafayette, Knox, and aides to that post, where he was surprised not to find Arnold.

While Washington was across the river, Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson's second messenger, Captain Jerome Hoogland, with the captured papers and a letter written on the 24th by Andre at Salem to Washington, announcing who he was, arrived, and Alexander Hamilton, left at the Robinson house by Washington, opened them as his confidential aide. As soon as Washington's boat approached the shore on his return from West Point, Hamilton went toward the dock to meet his chief, whispered a few words to him, and both entered the house and were closeted together. The plot was then revealed. Hamilton and Major James McHenry, the aide of Lafayette, were hastily dispatched on horseback by way of Peekskill to Colonel Livingston at Verplanck's Point to head off Arnold in his escape, if possible, but on reaching that officer's post it was found that Arnold's boat had already passed down the river.

After dinner Washington took Generals Lafayette and Knox into his confidence, and with choking voice and tears rolling down

his cheeks revealed to them the dark conspiracy. "Arnold is a traitor and has flown to the British. Whom can we trust now?" were the words of the great commander.

At seven o'clock he wrote to Colonel Jameson to use every precaution to prevent Andre from making his escape, and to send him to the Robinson house by some upper road rather than by the more dangerous route of Crompond.

Andre, with a strong cavalry escort under command of Major Benjamin Tallmadge of the 2d Light Dragoons, left South Salem a little after midnight on the morning of the 26th by way of Long Pond Mountain, North Salem meeting-house, Croton Falls, Lake Mahopac, and Red Mills, where a halt was made at the house of Major James Cox. When Andre entered the house he stepped to a cradle where the infant daughter of the major was lying, and, being greeted with a smile from the little one, said, in a tone of deep melancholy tenderness, "Happy childhood! We know its peace but once." After a short stop the cavalcade proceeded by the same road to Shrub Oak Plains, and from thence past the present residences of Charles P. Welde and Jonathan Currey, down Grey's Hill, and into the Peekskill Hollow Road, and from thence southerly to the then public house at the junction of the Albany Post Road and the Peekskill Hollow Road (now owned by Gardner Z. Hollman), where a halt was made for a few minutes. They then proceeded over Gallows Hill, where the spy Edmund Palmer was hanged three years before by Putnam, through Continental Village, northerly over the King's Highway to the road leading westerly to Garrison's, then called Nelson's or Mandeville's. On reaching the river road they went southerly to the Robinson house, where, after having traveled about forty miles, they delivered their prisoner about eleven o'clock on the morning of the 26th. In the evening he was taken to Fort Putnam, West Point, where he was confined until the morning of the 28th, when he was taken, still in charge of Major Tallmadge, in a barge down the river to Stony Point, and from thence on horseback to Tappan, Rockland County, N. Y., where the headquarters of the American army were located. There, on September 29, he was tried before a board of fourteen general officers: Major-Generals Stirling, Lafayette, Robert Howe, Steuben, and Saint Clair, and Brigadier-Generals Parsons, James Clinton, Knox, Glover, Patterson, Hand, Huntington, and Stark, Major-General Greene presiding, and upon his own free and voluntary confession was unanimously found guilty of being a spy, and that in their opinion he ought to suffer death. On October 1 the commander-in-chief approved the findings of the court and named a time for the execution.

On the 2d of October, twelve o'clock noon, a vast concourse of people assembled, a large detachment of troops paraded, and amid a scene of deep melancholy and intense gloom the procession, led by the general and field officers (Washington, however, not being present), marched to the spot where the execution was to take place. The accomplished major, dressed in the full uniform of a British officer, walked arm in arm with steady steps between two American officers, Captains Hun and John Hughes. On the way to the gallows he wore a pleasant smile and betrayed no want of fortitude. He was thoroughly reconciled to his fate, though not the manner of it (having earnestly requested to be shot instead of hung), and went to his death with great firmness. On his arrival at the gallows he was led to the wagon under it, raised himself into it, and said to those near by, "Gentlemen, I pray you to bear witness that I meet my fate as a brave man." He then took the noose from the hands of the hangman, removed his hat and snow-white neckcloth, pushed down the collar of his shirt, and, opening the noose, put it over his head and around his neck, drawing the knot close on the right side directly under his ear. He then took a handkerchief from his pocket and tied it over his eyes; taking another he handed it to the hangman, who pinioned his hands behind him. The wagon was then removed from under him, leaving him suspended, and he expired instantly.

Dr. James Thacher, of the American army, a spectator, writing of the event in his Journal, says: "The spot was consecrated by the tears of thousands."

Andre's remains were interred within a few yards of the place of his execution, but in 1821 they were transferred to England and buried in that sacred resting place of her mighty dead in Westminster Abbey, near a monument erected to his memory.

Major Andre was the pride of the British army, and the valued and confidential friend and aide of Sir Henry Clinton. He was but twenty-nine years of age, tall, well proportioned, genteel, graceful, and dignified; his countenance was mild, expressive, and prepossessing, indicating a man of superior attainments. In his profession he was ambitious, skillful, brave, and enterprising. His death was regretted even by his enemies, but there was nothing in the execution that was not consistent with the rules of war, and his sacrifice was necessary for the public safety.

Washington, writing to the president of the continental congress from the Robinson house, September 26, 1780, says: "I don't know the party who took Andre, but it is said it consisted only of a few militiamen, who acted in such a manner upon the occasion as does them the highest honor and proves them to be men of great virtue.

They were offered, as I am informed, a large sum of money for his release, and as many goods as they would demand, but without effect. Their conduct gives them a just claim to the thanks of their country; and I also hope they will be otherwise rewarded. As soon as I shall know their names I shall take pleasure in transmitting them to congress."

October 7, 1780, Washington wrote to the president of congress: "I have now the pleasure to communicate to you the names of the three persons who captured Andre and who refused to release him, notwithstanding the most earnest importunities and assurances of a liberal reward on his part. Their conduct merits our warmest esteem, and I beg leave to add that I think the public will do well to make them a handsome gratuity. They have prevented, in all probability, our suffering one of the severest strokes that could have been meditated against us. Their names are John Paulding, David Williams, Isaac Van Wart."

Congress took action on the recommendation of General Washington and adopted the following preamble and resolution:

> In Congress, November 3, 1780. Whereas, Congress have received information that John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, three young volunteer militiamen of the State of New York, did on the 23d of September last intercept Major John Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, on his return from the American lines in the character of a spy; and notwithstanding the large bribes offered them for his release, nobly disdaining to sacrifice their country for the sake of gold, secured and conveyed him to the commanding officer of their district, whereby the dangerous and traitorous conspiracy of Benedict Arnold was brought to light, the insidious designs of the enemy baffled, and the United States rescued from the impending danger;
>
> Resolved, That Congress, having a high sense of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of the said John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart,
>
> In testimony whereof, ordered, That each of them receive annually out of the public treasury two hundred dollars in specie or an equivalent in current money of these States, during life, and that the Board of War procure for each of them a silver medallion, one side of which shall be shielded with the inscription "Fidelity," and on the other the following motto: "Vincit amor patriæ," and forward them to the commander-in-chief, who is requested to present the same with a copy of this resolution and the thanks of Congress for their fidelity and the eminent service they have rendered their country.

Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart were invited to meet General Washington at Verplanck's Point at his headquarters, on which occasion the medals were presented to them with ceremony, and they had the honor of dining with him. The State of New York also gave a farm to each of the captors.

Franklin Couch

To the foregoing succinct narrative of the capture of Andre a variety of particulars of incidental importance and interest require to be added.

It was by the merest chance that the complot of Sir Henry Clinton and Benedict Arnold was not brought to a successful issue on the 11th of September, the time first appointed for the interview of Arnold and Andre. Arnold came down the river on the afternoon of the 10th, spent that night at the Smith house near Haverstraw, and the next day went farther down and waited till night at a place opposite Dobbs Ferry. Andre did not come. Although the principals to the transaction were the British commander in New York and the American commander on the Hudson, it was not such an easy matter to bring about a meeting for purposes of treachery on the well-watched shores of the river. Indeed the whole history of this affair shows that the simple object in view, that of exchanging understandings and substantial equivalents, was beset with great difficulties and embarrassments. It was an ill-starred enterprise from beginning to end, the only lucky feature connected with it being the final escape of Arnold from Washington's vengeance.

From the 12th of September, after Arnold's return from his first attempt to meet Andre, a period of nine days elapsed before the second and successful endeavor. It is noteworthy that Andre came up through our county by land as far as Dobbs Ferry, preserving throughout the journey his true character of a British officer. At that time the country between Dobbs Ferry and Kingsbridge was entirely controlled by the British. Andre was captured at Tarrytown, just above—so near had he proceeded to a point of absolute safety.

The great enterprise shown by the Americans on the Westchester shore in bringing a cannon down from Verplanck's Point and firing on the "Vulture" from Teller's (Croton) Point probably had quite as much to do with the ultimate capture of Andre and salvation of America as any other circumstance, not excepting the formal arrest by Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart. Originally Arnold had no other intention than to return Andre by boat to the "Vulture." If, during his night conference with Andre, he had foreseen the necessity of sending him back overland, through numerous American posts and a wide strip of neutral territory patrolled by vigilant American bands, he certainly would have managed to bring the traitorous transactions to an end before daylight. The aggressive conduct of the Americans with their gun on Teller's Point demonstrated to him that the "Vulture" was very closely watched from the river banks. Moreover, the main body of the American army was encamped just

below at Tappan, and it was presumable that with the "Vulture" (whose movements during the previous days had been rather sensational) lying at anchor in midstream in that immediate locality the guards along the river would be exceptionally numerous and inquisitive. Hence the decision upon the fatal return journey by land.

Although Arnold departed from Joshua Hett Smith's house at ten o'clock on the morning of September 22, leaving passes for Smith and Andre, it was not until dusk that the pair ventured forth. Andre, the previous night, when coming ashore from the "Vulture," had not removed his uniform, merely taking the precaution of throwing around him a blue great-coat. But on leaving Smith's house for his hazardous journey he carefully disguised himself, took off his uniform, and put on an under-coat belonging to Smith and a dark great-coat with "a wide cape and buttoned close to the neck." The sufficiency of his disguise was soon to be put to a startling test. Scarce had he left the post at Verplanck's Point when he came face to face with Colonel Webb of our army, whom he knew perfectly. His heart gave a great leap. But Webb did not recognize him in the darkness, and passed on.

The incidents of Andre's itinerary from Verplanck's Point to the place of his capture are sufficiently told in Mr. Couch's narrative. The spot where he was halted by Paulding was just beyond a little stream which still bears the name of Andre's Brook.

There has recently been published (1899) by Mr. William Abbatt, of Westchester, under the auspices of the Empire State Society Sons of the American Revolution, a work of eminent literary and artistic excellence, entitled "The Crisis of the Revolution; being the Story of Arnold and Andre, Now for the First Time Collected from All Sources, and Illustrated with Views of All Places Identified with It." This is the final authority upon all the details of the capture of Andre. The number of the original party is often erroneously stated as seven. Mr. Abbatt shows that it consisted of eight, whose names are accurately given by Mr. Couch. Mr. Abbatt says that "the party was actually under the direction of one of their number, who was a veteran," and that "he alone of the party was not a private"—Sergeant John Dean. The part of Dean in the affair is overlooked, or only very inadequately referred to, in most accounts of the capture of Andre. As this is a matter of no small interest, and especially deserving of attention in a History of Westchester County, a somewhat particular notice of it is appropriate here.[1]

[1] For our account of John Dean and his connection with the affair, we are indebted to his descendant, Prof. Bashford Dean, of Columbia University.

John Dean was a descendant of Samuel Dean, an early landholder of Jamaica, Long Island (1656). Isaac, one of the three sons of Samuel, settled in our present Town of Greenburgh about 1750, and John (born in 1755) was his grandson. At the age of twenty John Dean served as private in Colonel Holmes's regiment in the Montgomery campaign against Canada; he was next on Long Island under Colonel Putnam, and was at the battle of White Plains; promoted to sergeant, he served (1777-79) in the company of Westchester County Rangers commanded by his uncle, Captain Gilbert Dean.[1] He was quartermaster of Colonel Graham's regiment (during 1778), and was in Youngs's house at the time of its attack by Major Bearmore on

THE UNDERHILL HOUSE, WHERE ANDRE TOOK BREAKFAST.

Christmas Eve, 1778. In the following year he acted as guide on the lines in the troop of picked horsemen under Aaron Burr, served with the latter's successor, Major Hull, and was with him at the time of his defeat by Colonel Tarleton in June, 1779. In 1780 he continued in the militia service, was in the "Youngs's House Affair," and was next attached to Colonel Jameson's regiment, acting as guide. In

[1] Captain Gilbert Dean's Rangers were organized in 1777, being officially a company of Colonel Drake's regiment, then stationed near White Plains. Captain Dean was a son-in-law of Colonel Drake, and had proved himself a gallant and energetic officer at the battle of White Plains and on other occasions. His company of Rangers was placed "under the immediate command of the committee of safety." In a short time Dean was at the head of a picked troop of horse which included the best of the local militia, and for his subordinates were several of the famous "guides" of the Neutral Ground. As a test of the character of the troops, it may be noted that the company was retained intact through three enlistments (1777-78).

this capacity, under Captain Wright, of the 2d Connecticut, he took part in the fruitless descent of the continental army upon the British outposts at Kingsbridge, and he was in several brisk skirmishes, in one of which he lost his horse. During the preceding year he had been taken a prisoner, but was shortly paroled by Colonel de Lancey and secured an exchange.

Abbatt points out that of the party of militia who guarded the roads on the memorable day Dean was the officer in command; that he had disposed the party, himself with the greater number of the party taking their position on a neighboring road where it was expected a number of Cowboys would more probably pass. He further shows that Dean took charge of the prisoner when Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart brought him to the top of the hill, that Dean exercised commendable discretion in delivering him with the least possible loss of time at Jameson's headquarters, and that when the question of responsibility and reward for the capture was brought up it was he who reported to Jameson the names of the three captors.

The connection of John Dean with the capture is brought into greater prominence in the light of recent researches. As a tried officer of Gilbert Dean's Rangers—a company which, in the Neutral Ground, was as active in the patriot interests as were the Rangers of Colonel de Lancey in those of the enemy—he was brought in close relation with the predatory movements of the Tories and British. It thus appears possible that in the preparation for the memorable scouting party Dean had had, as tradition states, definite information that a Cowboy raid was expected, and that it would pass on the road which he afterward selected to guard. It is certain that Dean had exceptional opportunities to learn of these movements at headquarters, since his uncle was the captain of the company, and since the colonel of the regiment, Hammond, was also a kinsman. It is definitely recorded (1846), moreover, by Thomas Dean, the only son of John Dean, a man of such standing in Tarrytown that his careful statement in this matter deserves credence, that the party acted under general, if not immediate, orders from Jameson. It is well known that the party went to a definite locality and posted their guard—although it was found necessary in so doing to spend a night on the road. It is further known that on the return of the party to North Castle a stop was made at the Dean house, which, by the way, is still standing, and tradition states that a fresh horse was here obtained, Andre's having already that day made the journey from near Garrison's.

That John Dean did not figure more prominently in the accounts of the capture is due to several reasons. In the first place, he himself

reported to Jameson that Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart were alone directly responsible for the capture; in the second place, it appears that Dean regarded the taking of a spy as of the nature of hangman's work, with which few people should care to be associated. It is known, furthermore, that this feeling on his part gave rise to a disagreement with the other members of the party, a circumstance which may in part have made the others the more willing to belittle Dean's share in the capture. That Dean died (1817) long before the most, if not all, of the rest may be cited as a final reason why he has not been given the credit he deserves; for some of the statements —Dean himself never made any—collected from the survivors date later than 1830, statements which, like those of aged people generally, are found to vary widely in matters of fact. There have been two tendencies evident in the accounts which come from the men themselves: the first is for the captors to rather ignore their association with the remainder of their party, and the second is for the latter to demand greater recognition than they deserve. From the first tendency the men were not apt to refer to John Dean, a man who himself did not want to be associated with the capture of a spy, and from the second they were most apt to ignore the claims of the one who might, had he been so disposed, have given them in his report the credit that they wished.

The fact seems to be that Dean had a golden opportunity of advancing himself, and knowingly rejected it, as he did his share of Andre's effects, which the others divided. As the ranking officer of the party, and the senior in years of most, if not all, of them, he might have forwarded his own interests to the degree perhaps of securing a captaincy, if he had been so disposed. He might, at least, have shown that from the time of the capture till the time the prisoner was safely delivered to Jameson, the responsibility had been his; that Andre was not retaken or had not secured his escape through bribery was due to his care as the commanding officer; that the great importance of the concealed papers was first really recognized by him at a time when Andre was pleading for his release and making promises which Dean, if not the others, had a very strong suspicion that the British officer both could and would fulfill. All this is leaving out of account the question as to whether the actual placing of the captors had been the work of Sergeant Dean. Had he been disposed to press his claims he could certainly have brought forward a strong case, none the less so that he was a man of considerable education for his day and was supported by his excellent record as a subaltern. And there is no doubt that in this event he could have counted on the warm support of his father, Thomas Dean, long time

town clerk and justice of the peace, together with that of his captain and colonel.

The documents found on Andre's person were all in Arnold's handwriting, and in the most specific manner presented the particulars of the works and garrison at West Point. Two or three of them were abstracts of official American records. One was indorsed "Remarks on West Point, a copy to be transmitted to His Excellency, General Washington," and gave exact details of the weakness of the forts, the ease with which they could be set on fire, the best means of approach, and the like. Another was a "Copy of a Council of War, held September 6, 1780," embodying the most secret information of the general military situation from the American point of view. Thus Arnold, in his zeal, did not content himself with betraying his own post, but was fain to communicate to the enemy all the vital intelligence in his possession.

As related by Mr. Couch, the capturing party took Andre to the nearest American post, in the Town of North Castle, where Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson was in command. This officer, though brave and honest, seems to have possessed none too much intelligence, and, moreover, was easily hoodwinked by the courtly Andre. He examined the papers, and sent them by messenger to Washington; but harboring no suspicion against Arnold, he not only wrote a letter to that general describing the capture, but at the same time turned over the prisoner to Lieutenant Allen, who was to bear the letter, instructing him to deliver Andre to Arnold! But, very fortunately, Major Benjamin Tallmadge, who was attached to Jameson's command, but at the time was absent on duty, soon afterward returned to the camp; and, being informed by Jameson of what he had done, urgently advised that the prisoner be brought back. Jameson consented, but permitted the message to go to Arnold. It was next decided to send the captive (whose real identity was not yet known) to Lower Salem (now Lewisboro), a place farther within the American lines than North Castle, and therefore more secure, and have him held there until Washington should be heard from. This was accordingly done early on the morning of the 24th, Tallmadge being in command of the escort; and indeed from that day until Andre was hung he remained with the prisoner.

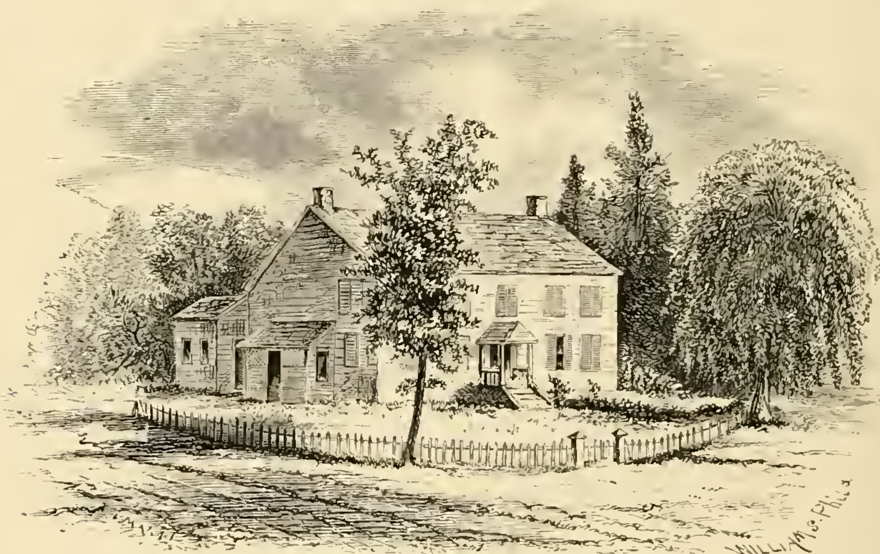
Arrived at Lower Salem, the supposed Anderson was installed in "Squire" Gilbert's farmhouse—a dwelling which was torn down about a quarter of a century ago, unsuccessful efforts having been made by the late Hon. John Jay to have it permanently preserved as a Revolutionary relic. Here Lieutenant Joshua King (afterward General King, of Connecticut) was in command. He has left the

following description of the appearance and reception of the prisoner: "He looked somewhat like a reduced gentleman. His small clothes were nankin, with long white top boots, in part his undress military suit. His coat purple, with gold lace, worn somewhat threadbare, with small brimmed tarnished beaver on his head. He wore his hair in a *queue*, with long, black band, and his clothes somewhat dirty. In this garb I took charge of him. After breakfast my barber came in to dress me, after which I requested *him* to undergo the same operation, which he did. When the ribbon was taken from his hair I observed it full of powder. This circumstance, with others that occurred, induced me to believe that I had no ordinary person in charge. He requested permission to take a bed, whilst his shirt and small clothes could be washed. I told him that was needless, for a change was at his service, which he accepted. We were close pent up in a bed-room with a guard at the door and window. There was a spacious yard before the door which he desired he might be permitted to walk in with me. I accordingly disposed of my guard in such a manner as to prevent escape." Andre's mind was ill at ease, especially when informed that the documents taken from him had been sent to Washington and not to Arnold. He finally requested pen and paper, and wrote a letter to Washington disclosing who he was, giving his version of his adventures and making very brave observations about his own nice sense of honor and his refined conception of how so singularly noble a British gentleman should be treated in the circumstances—representations for which he continued to show special aptitude until the hangman's noose tightened about his neck. He instructs Washington as to the latter's appropriate duty in these words: "The request I have to make to your Excellency, and I am conscious I address myself well, is that in any rigor policy may dictate, a decency of conduct toward me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonorable." Then he proceeds to display the loftiness of his nature by this threat: "I beg the liberty to mention the condition of some gentlemen at Charleston, who, being either on parole or under protection, were engaged in a conspiracy against us. Though their situation is not similar, they are objects who may be set in exchange for me, *or are persons whom the treatment I receive might affect.*"

Andre remained under close guard in the Gilbert house until sent for by Washington. There is nothing of special local Westchester County interest to add to Mr. Couch's further narrative.

The captors of Major Andre, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, were all Westchester County farmers' sons born and bred.

John Paulding was born near Tarrytown, October 16, 1758, and at the time of Andre's capture was therefore not quite twenty-two years old. He was descended from early settlers of Philipseburgh Manor. His grandfather, Joseph Paulding, owned a large tract of land east of Tarrytown (where John was born), and had four sons, all of whom were patriot soldiers in the Revolution. John received a common school education, and then worked for farmers in different parts of our county. He was a magnificent specimen of manhood, over six feet tall and well proportioned. Espousing the patriot cause like all of his family, he was engaged in various minor enterprises against



HOUSE NEAR PEEKSKILL WHERE CAPTAIN HOOGLAND STOPPED WITH ANDRE.

the enemy in the Neutral Ground. According to his own testimony, he was taken prisoner three times during the war. On the first occasion he was captured at White Plains, and on the second near Tarrytown, only four days before the arrest of Andre. The common report is that while in New York during his second captivity he exchanged his coat for that of a German yager. It was this habiliment that he wore when he halted Andre, a circumstance to which the latter's supposition that the party were friends is thought to have been due. After the capture of Andre, he says, he was taken a third time, in a wounded condition, and "lay in the hospital in New York, and was discharged on the arrival of the news of peace there." The farm given him by the State was located in the Town of

Cortlandt, and consisted of one hundred and sixty acres and sixteen roods, being the confiscated property of Dr. Peter Huggeford, a Loyalist. He disposed of it after some years, and removed to a farm near Lake Mohegan (Yorktown), where he died on the 18th of February, 1818. He lies buried in the cemetery of Saint Peter's Episcopal Church[1] near Peekskill, and over his grave is a monument with an elaborate inscription, erected "As a memorial sacred to public gratitude" by the corporation of the City of New York on the 22d of November, 1827. One of Paulding's sons was Hiram Paulding, of the United States Navy, who was presented with a sword by congress for services in the War of 1812, and during the Civil War became a rear-admiral and was in command of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

David Williams was the son of After and Phebe Williams, and was born in Tarrytown, October 21, 1754. He was the oldest of the captors. "I first entered the continental army in the year 1775," he says in a public statement, "and continued in the service until disabled by having my feet frozen. I was then obliged to take what employment I could meet with for my support, chopping, grubbing, and all such work—living about twenty miles from my house and family." He was a volunteer in Captain Daniel Martling's Tarrytown company, served under General Montgomery in the expedition to Canada, and took an active part in the contests of the Neutral Ground. He received from the State, June 16, 1783, the confiscated farm of the Loyalist Edmund Ward, of the Town of Eastchester, a property of two hundred and fifty-two and one-half acres. Edmund Ward was the only brother of the well-known patriot, Stephen Ward. Subsequently Williams removed to Livingstonville, Schoharie County, N. Y., where he bought a farm of General Daniel Shays, and lived there until his death, August 2, 1831. He was a highly respected citizen, and left sons and daughters from whom numerous descendants have sprung. His bones lie near the Old Fort, Schoharie Village, where a handsome monument was erected over them by the State of New York in 1876.

Isaac Van Wart, according to Bolton's genealogical records, was a grandson of Joachim Van Weert, a Dutchman, who became a settler of Philipsburgh Manor in 1697. The date of Isaac's birth is uncertain, but he was christened on the 25th of October, 1758. The Van Warts were a patriotic family, residing in the present Town of Green-

[1] It is of interest that one of the principal benefactors of Saint Peter's Church was the Tory son-in-law of the third Frederick Philipse, Beverly Robinson, who was on the "Vulture" with Andre on the night of September 21, 1780, and, indeed, was the person to whom Arnold's communication, signifying that he wished Andre to come ashore, was addressed. Robinson presented to the church a glebe of two hundred acres, lying in Putnam County, just above the Westchester line. This farm is now owned by Judge Smith Lent, of Sing Sing.

burgh; and Martinus, the father of Isaac, performed some service in the war. Isaac Van Wart was granted by the State a farm in Putnam County (then a part of Dutchess County), but desiring to live and die in the neighborhood where he was brought up, sold it and bought the old Youngs property, where the "Affair of Youngs's House" occurred, in what is now the Town of Mount Pleasant. He died May 23, 1828. He was an esteemed member of the old Greenburgh Church of Elmsford, this county, in whose churchyard his remains lie, marked by a marble monument elaborately inscribed, which was dedicated June 11, 1829. One of his sons, Rev. Alexander Van Wart, delivered the prayer at the dedication of the new Tarrytown monument to Andre's captors, September 23, 1880.

For nearly forty years after the capture of Major Andre, no question was ever raised as to the genuine patriotic character of the action of Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart in taking him into custody, or as to their entire private disinterestedness and noble contempt for gain. But in 1817 Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, then a representative in congress from Connecticut, saw fit to make a sensational statement before that body in a speech opposing an application by John Paulding for an increase of his pension. Tallmadge was the officer into whose charge Andre was given, as we have seen. The following is the substance of his statement, as reported at the time:

> The value of the service he did not deny, but, on the authority of the declarations of Major Andre (made while in the custody of Colonel Tallmadge), he gave it as his opinion that, if Major Andre could have given to these men the amount they demanded for his release, he never would have been hung for a spy, nor in captivity on that occasion. Mr. T.'s statement was minutely circumstantial, and given with expressions of his individual confidence in its correctness. Among other circumstances, he stated that when Major Andre's boots were taken off by them it was to search for plunder, and not to detect treason. These persons, indeed, he said, were of that class of people who passed between both armies, as often in one camp as the other, and whom, he said, if he had met with them, he should probably have as soon apprehended as Major Andre, as he had always made it a rule to do with these suspicious persons. The conclusion to be drawn from the whole of Mr. Tallmadge's statement, of which this is a brief abstract, was that these persons had brought in Major Andre only because they probably should get more for his apprehension than for his release.

This remarkable version of the matter excited great interest, and Tallmadge was fiercely attacked in debate, whereupon he

> again rose, and stated more circumstantially what had been related to him by Major Andre. The major, he said, told him that the captors took him into the bushes and drew off his boots in the act of plundering him, and there, between his stockings and feet, they found the papers; that they asked him what he would give them to let him go; that he offered them his watch and money, and promised them a considerable sum besides—but that the difficulty was in his not being able to secure it to them, for they had no idea of trusting to his honor. . . . Colonel Tallmadge declared that Andre was above all falsehood or duplicity, and felt ready to die with shame at being in such a mean disguise—nay, begged for a military cloak to cover him.

At the time when this attack on the three captors was made, all of them were still living. Van Wart, in an affidavit, declared that Andre, in trying to persuade them to accept a bribe, "told them that if they doubted the fulfillment of his promise they might conceal him in some secret place and keep him there until they could send to New York and receive their reward." Williams, some years later, stated that Andre, after first proffering one hundred guineas, "offered us one thousand guineas if we would let him go. We again answered No. The last offer he made us was ten thousand guineas and as many dry goods as we should ask for, and he would give us his order on Sir Henry Clinton, chief commander of New York, if we would only consent to let him escape after the money and dry goods, or anything else we should please to name, should be received. We said his offers were of no use, we were resolved to do our duty to our country."

One of the results of the discussion stirred up by Tallmadge's statement was the publication of the following certificate, signed by seventeen old and reputable residents of our county (the first name on the list being that of the venerable Jonathan G. Tompkins):

We, the subscribers, inhabitants of the County of Westchester, do certify that during the Revolutionary War we were well acquainted with Isaac Van Wart, David Williams, and John Paulding, who arrested Major Andre; and that at no time during the Revolutionary War was any suspicion entertained by their neighbors or acquaintances that they or either of them held any undue intercourse with the enemy. On the contrary, they were universally esteemed and taken to be ardent and faithful in the cause of the country. We further certify that the said Paulding and Williams are not now resident among us, but that Isaac Van Wart is a respectable freeholder of the Town of Mount Pleasant; that we are well acquainted with him; and we do not hesitate to declare our belief that there is not an individual in the County of Westchester acquainted with Isaac Van Wart who would hesitate to describe him as a man whose integrity is as unimpeachable as his veracity is undoubted. In these respects no man in the County of Westchester is his superior.

The incident ended in the vindication of the captors to the satisfaction of everybody. Incidentally various facts illustrative of the true character of Andre were brought to light.

That he was an accomplished officer and a pleasing young gentleman is undoubted; but there is nothing in his career or personality, so far as known, to justify any positive sentiments to his advantage. He had a vast deal to say regarding his sensitive honor—that is all that is positively known on the subject, excepting certain circumstances of his behavior which were inconsistent with the sounding profession. On the 7th of September, while devising ways and means to meet Arnold under some plausible pretext, he wrote to Colonel Sheldon, of the American army, a very artfully contrived letter over his assumed name of John Anderson, soliciting assistance in the premises on the pretense that the business was of "so private a

nature that the public on neither side can be injured by it." Sir Henry Clinton and Colonel Beverly Robinson deemed it incompatible with Andre's position as adjutant-general of the British army for him to go within the American lines at all, especially in disguise, and counseled him against doing so; but Andre had no such fine scruples—until found out, when, as related by Tallmadge, he was "ready to die with shame." And there exists strong testimony that this was not Andre's first sneaking venture of the kind. According to British authority, he had already "been twice to Arnold, had acted as his valet de chambre, and twice returned safe to New York."[1] Moreover, on good evidence it was alleged that during the siege of Charleston in the early part of 1780, Andre did spy duty disguised as a cattle driver.[2] While in Philadelphia with Howe in the memorable winter of 1777-78, Andre had quarters in the house of Benjamin Franklin; and it is notorious that upon the evacuation of the city by the British army he packed up and carried away some of the most valuable of Dr. Franklin's books and other property—conduct contrasting with that of the mercenary General Knyphausen, who, in taking his departure from his quarters in the house of General Cadwallader, "sent for the agent of the latter, gave him an inventory which he had caused his steward to make out on his first taking possession, told him he would find everything in proper order, even to some bottles of wine in the cellar, and paid him the rent for the time he occupied it."[3]

But it is hardly necessary to cite such instances as these of Andre's moral obliquity. His behavior after his capture in two vital particulars is sufficiently illuminating. His letter to Washington from Salem, seeking to purchase immunity for himself by threatening the death of others, can not be otherwise regarded than as an act foreign to any sense of manly honor whatever; and his denunciation of his three captors to Major Tallmadge as common brigands was as infamous a performance if not wholly justified, and as gratuitously malignant a one if well founded, as ever a professed elegant gentleman was guilty of. These individuals were not Andre's equals; they were poor unlettered peasant boys, utterly beneath any subsequent private allusion on his part except that of magnanimity, naturally due from a superior soul. Knowing full well that they had saved the very liberties of their country, he must have been aware that this fact was a thing of tremendous importance to them personally; and if he could have said no good of them he should have whispered

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[1] London *Political Magazine*, November, 1780. [2] Winthrop Sargent's Life of Andre, 228.
[3] *Niles's Register*, March 1, 1817.

no evil. Instead he sought to blast their reputations. It was a pitiful deed.

The object of Tallmadge's attack on the captors in congress was to establish that they were not disinterested patriots, but ordinary thieving adventurers of the Neutral Ground. This was his private opinion as an American officer, but he of course never would have expressed it as a mere unsupported conjecture of his own. It was by giving Andre's unfavorable version of the behavior and motives of the captors that he expected to make the matter appear in a different light from that in which it was generally regarded. There is not a scintilla of testimony, direct or circumstantial, except Andre's, to suggest even a suspicion that the young men, when they found that a questionable character had fallen into their hands, were ruled by speculative considerations. They were by the roadside on guard in the American interest, to do whatever chance might put in their way as patriotic inhabitants of the Neutral Ground. Before Andre came along several men passed who were known to them as patriots, and whom they permitted to go about their business without so much as accosting them. Then came Andre, a stranger on horseback, of doubtful appearance. They intercepted him, shrewdly interrogated him, and found that he was a man attempting to play a double part. They searched him. In his pockets they found, besides a valuable watch, what to them was a considerable sum of money. But this did not content them. They wanted to know whether he had any hidden papers, and pulled off his boots and stockings. They found papers and at once realized that he was a spy. Now came the crucial test. He offered them very large bribes—any amount of money and merchandise,—promises which, from the whole personality of the man and the vital character of the secret documents he bore, they must have known he could make good. The cleverness with which they questioned him in the first place shows that they were men of alert perceptions and not dull country hinds. At least they could not doubt that here was a decidedly promising chance for a splendid financial speculation, without the least risk. His proposal that two of them should hold him hostage while the third should go to New York and get the ransom was capable of easy execution. It was early in the day. All of them were known to everybody in the neighborhood as loyal Americans, and any one of them could have gone unquestioned to the nearest British post, been forwarded thence to New York, and returned the same night. Or two of them could have gone, or even all three, for the whole party was eight in number, the five original companions of Paulding, Will-

Prologue on opening the
Theatre at New York Jan 9. 1779
Spoken by Capt André

Well somebody must foremost shew his face
Sure modesty's no virtue in this place+
And Bashfulness with Soldiers were disgrace
But soft, tis true you are a hardy band.
Gainst whom we players have to make our Stand.
Too well accoutred for the dire assault.
Unerring Marksmen at an Actors fault.
Inclin'd as skill'd to brandish Satires dart,
Unarm'd we all appear in ev'ry part.
And least of all protected at the heart

Yet we have Ground, and Ground to be maintain'd;
Upon the Flanks §§ were pretty well sustain'd;
And let me tell you, twixt yourselves and me
That Mr Prompter is no bad Appui.
Why shoud we fear the foe in the Ravine†
We've upper Ground and Palisades* between
And, Vivat Rex, none come behind the Scene.

Nor travers'd thus, the Perils shall we prove
Of Missile Pippins from the Heights above
Shoud all this fail, We adepts in this Trade,
Can foil you by Manoeuvre Retrograde
Of late, much prowess has been thus display'd.

Yet ere the Catcall sounds the dread alarm
Can nought arrest the Critics Vengeful Arm?
A plea we'll urge which Britons must admit.
One that shall silence all the Shafts of Wit.
Can Censure raise a dart against our Scene?
When Charity extends her hand between!—

Thus when on Latia's Shore the Sabine host, —
('Twas then the fashion) rag'd for Spouses lost,

Lest

+ Stage
§§ Generals Boxes.
† Pitt,
* Orchestra

Lest Bloodshed Should ensue, each gentle Woman
With Condescension took her favorite Roman
Nor less compliant, to appease the Strife
Each Sabine, in true ton, gave up his Wife. —
So Charity our Compromise proclaims,
And interposes like the Sabine dames.
We face you here, to claim her at your hands,
Each Virtuous feeling Seconds our demand;
Critic and Actor, in the middle field
Shall meet and parley — shall relent & yield
Give but the fair, the treaty shall prevail
We will like Romans, use the Lady well

New York
Jan 9 — 79

Prologue
Spoken by Capt. Andre

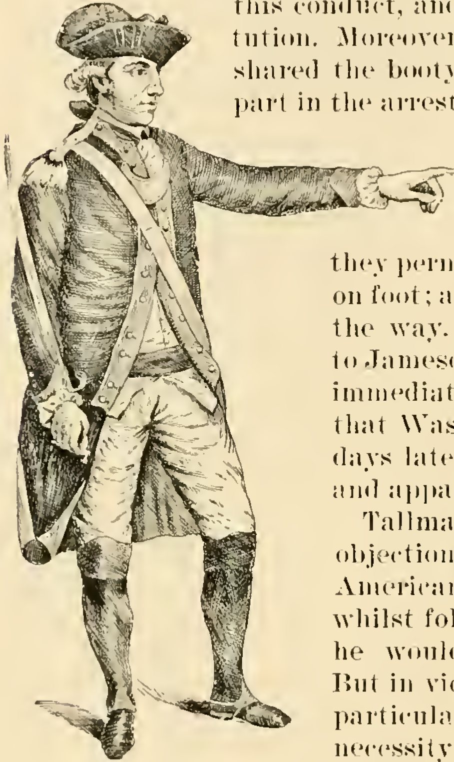
PROLOGUE WRITTEN BY ANDRE.

iams, and Van Wart being nearby.[1] There was a single possible difficulty that might have occurred to them in this connection: not one of them had ever visited the British camp except as a prisoner, or had had any previous experience in the line of experimental transactions. This fact was highly honorable to them; but there is not the least reason for thinking that it, or any other consideration except their incorruptible patriotic integrity, was instrumental in determining their decision.

The simple honesty of these country boys, as well as their freedom

[1] It is presumed that Andre was questioned and searched by the three captors only. But the three were still an integral part of the expedition of eight, the other five, at whose head was Sergeant John Dean, being in ambush some distance farther up the road. The two squads, on separating, had mutually agreed to fire a gun in case either needed help; and the five were equally interested with the three (and *vice versa*) in any advantageous results that might issue from the day's doings. After the three discovered Andre's true character, and, for themselves, rejected his bribes, they still had to deal in the matter with their five associates. Rejoining these associates, with their prisoner, they undoubtedly reported to them Andre's dazzling offers. That these offers were not accepted redounds as much to the credit of Dean, Romer, Yerks, See, and Abraham Williams as to that of Paulding, David Williams, and Van Wart.

from all the characteristics of the common thieving and violent marauders of the Neutral Ground, is evidenced by every other connecting circumstance. In possessing themselves of Andre's money and valuable personal property they took only lawful prize, and Washington, whose scrupulous courtesy to the prisoner in all respects was conspicuous, found no impropriety in this conduct, and did not cause them to make restitution. Moreover, the three captors magnanimously shared the booty with their comrades who had no part in the arrest. All were entirely respectful and considerate to Andre. They had to march more than ten miles to the nearest American post, but for the whole distance they permitted Andre to ride, attending him on foot; and they offered him refreshment on the way. And when Andre was delivered to Jameson the three claimed no reward, and immediately went to their several homes, so that Washington, writing to congress three days later, did not even know their names, and apparently had to send to find them out.



MAJOR ANDRE.

Tallmadge says that they belonged to an objectionable class, and that if he, as an American officer, had fallen in with them whilst following their adventurous pursuits, he would have promptly arrested them. But in view of the known character of these particular young men, and of the recognized necessity of such expeditions as they engaged in, it is safe to say he would have done nothing of the sort—or, if he had, would have been duly reprimanded by his superior officer. On this point an intelligent writer remarks:

They were branded as "cow-thieves," etc. Perhaps they *were* cow-thieves; but at that period the most honorable men, both Whigs and Tories, living between the lines, were cow-thieves. The British soldiers and American Tories stole cows from the Whigs; the Whigs had no remedy but to steal them back again. . . . It is evident they were not thieves for gain, else would they have taken the price which Andre offered for his ransom, which was more than would have sufficed to purchase the whole stock of cows, sheep, and oxen which belonged to Job when he was in the land of Uz. . . . Every New Yorker should be proud that he was born in the State which produced three such men; and the fact of their being boys, and poor boys, adds very much to the glory of the act. Had this been done by a Van Cortlandt, a Philipse, a Van Rensselaer, or any three of the "Lords of the Manor," on the Hudson River, the act would have been engraven on the rocks with the point of a diamond.

Andre has been represented as one of the darlings of nature, an adorable child of genius. He was a poet, a painter, an amateur performer, and, most interesting of all, a lover. But in all he was only a dabbler. He belongs to the large class of attractive characters of every age who are "said to have been" witty, wise, and fashioned for great things—but have left no tangible evidence of it. The story of his love is representative of the man. He loved a fair lady, Honora Sneyd, who loved and married another. That was in 1773. As a matter of fact she rejected him as early as 1771, and he then entered the army. There was no reason for her rejection except that it did not please her to love him back, but did please her to love someone else; for Andre was a person of good fortune and family, though without title—and Honora did not marry a title. For nine long years Andre mourned his lost Honora—his lost Honora who had no love for him. Once when taken prisoner in Canada by Montgomery, he saved his happily married Honora's picture, and deemed that "compensation enough for all his sorrows." What exquisite sensibility for a very healthy young soldier who could convert himself into a cattle driver in case of need; what romantic softness for the mean thief of Dr. Franklin's books and the cold-blooded negotiator of the most devilish treason of history! Andre's pensive love was much overacted, or else it was a kind of hopeless Schwärmerei inconsistent with a nature of any fundamental strength—as in like manner his protestations of honor were the mere vaporings of an extremely self-conscious man given to the abstractions more than the substance of virtuous things. In neither case were his traits those which mark the vigorous mind.

The true Andre was a brave and cultivated but not high or ample minded individual, no better and no worse than most of the wellborn, well-educated, and well-favored British youth of his period. He had all their usual charming qualities in somewhat more than the average degree—but no original parts of any important interest that very searching inquiry has ever disclosed. His sole claim to distinction—aside from his part in an infamous transaction—is that he was put to one of the most righteous and exemplary deaths ever administered, in a highly dramatic conjunction of circumstances, commiserated and mourned by great-hearted foemen whose ruin and enslavement by the vilest methods he had plotted.

The spot where Andre was captured at Tarrytown was not marked by any public memorial of the event until 1853. For many years previously sporadic efforts had been made to arouse interest, but without substantial result. In the winter of 1852-53 a "Monument Association to the Captors of Major Andre" was organized in the village, the most prominent promoters of the movement being Amos

R. Clark and N. Holmes Odell. The locality where the capture occurred was at that time owned by William Taylor, a colored man and ex-slave, and he donated sufficient land for the purpose. The corner-stone was laid July 4, 1853, with much local ceremony, by Colonel James A. Hamilton, a son of Alexander Hamilton. The resulting monument, consisting of a base and shaft of conventional pattern, was cut from Sing Sing marble, material and labor being the gift of the officials of the State Prison. The inscription was written by the Hon. James K. Paulding, ex-secretary of the navy and the intimate friend of Washington Irving. On the 7th of October, 1853, the monument was dedicated, Governor Horatio Seymour and staff, many distinguished guests, and a great concourse of people being present. After an appropriate address by Governor Seymour, the oration of the day was delivered by Henry J. Raymond, the famous editor of the New York *Times*. This oration, admirable alike for its well proportioned treatment of the varied aspects of the theme, its elevation of feeling and warmth of sympathy, its beauty yet simplicity of diction, is probably the most satisfactory epitome of the story of Andre in its significant relations that is to be found in all the voluminous literature of the subject. We quote a single eloquent passage, contrasting the fate of Andre with that of the noble American patriot, Nathan Hale:

From the moment of Andre's arrest he was treated with unvarying kindness and consideration. No restraint not essential to the security of his person was for a moment imposed; not a harsh or unfeeling expression, from officer, soldier, or citizen, ever grated on his ears or chilled the youthful current of his heart. Books, paper, and ink were at his command; he wrote freely even to the British commander-in-chief; messages of kindness and relics of remembrance to his friends were promptly sent forward; and a sad solemnity, full of tenderness and of pity, presided at his execution. From all that vast multitude assembled on yonder heights to see him die arose no word of exultation; no breath of taunt or triumph broke the sereneness of the surrounding air; melancholy music gave voice to melancholy thoughts; tears dimmed the eyes and wet the cheeks of the peasant soldiers by whom he was surrounded; and so profound was the impress of the scene upon their patriot hearts that long succession of years could not wear it out, nor seal the fountains of sorrow it had unclosed.

At an earlier stage of the Revolution, Nathan Hale, captain in the American army, which he had entered, abandoning brilliant prospects of professional distinction, for the sole purpose of defending the liberties of his country—gifted, educated, ambitious,—the equal of Andre in talent, in worth, in amiable manners, and in every manly quality, and his superior in that final test of character, the motives by which his acts were prompted and his life was guided, laid aside every consideration personal to himself and entered upon a service of infinite hazard to life and honor, because Washington deemed it important to that sacred cause to which both had been sacredly set apart. Like Andre he was found in the hostile camp, like him, though without a trial, he was adjudged a spy, and like him he was condemned to death. And here the likeness ends. No consoling word, no pitying or respectful look, cheered the dark hour of his doom. He was met with insult at every turn. The sacred consolations of the minister of God were denied him; his Bible was taken from him; with an excess of barbarity hard to be paralleled in civilized war his dying letters of farewell to his mother and sister were destroyed in his presence; and, uncheered by sympathy, mocked by brutal power, and attended only by that sense of duty, incorruptible, un-

defiled, which had ruled his life, finding its fit farewell in the serene and sublime regret that he "had but one life to lose for his country," he went forth to meet the great darkness of an ignominious death.

As the centenary of the capture of Andre approached a widespread interest was felt, and it was decided to hold a grand celebration at Tarrytown. With great propriety, the monument was first remodeled. The original base was retained, but a bas-relief, depicting the capture, was inserted in one of its sides. The gravestone-like shaft was removed and a bronze statue (the gift of Mr. John Anderson, of Tarrytown), resting upon a neat pedestal, was substituted. This statue represents Paulding. The ceremonies, held on the 23d of September, 1880, were presided over by the Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, of Yonkers, and the oration was by the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew. It was one of the most characteristic efforts of that distinguished son of our county. The crowd in attendance was estimated at seventy thousand. There was an imposing procession, General James W. Husted, of Peekskill, acting as grand marshal.

The inscriptions on the Tarrytown monument are as follows:

[*Inscription on the south side.*]

On this Spot,
the 23d day of September, 1780, the Spy,
Major John Andre,
Adjutant General of the British Army, was captured by
John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wart,
all natives of this County.
History has told the rest.

The People of Westchester County have erected this Monument, as well to commemorate a great event, as to testify their high estimation of that Integrity and Patriotism which, rejecting every temptation, rescued the United States from most imminent peril, by baffling the arts of a Spy, and the plots of a Traitor.

Dedicated October 7th, 1853.

[*Inscription on the north side of the second pedestal.*]

Their conduct merits our warmest esteem. They have prevented in all probability our suffering one of the severest strokes that could have been meditated against us.—*Washington.*

[*Inscription on the east, on base of statue.*]

This statue,
the gift of John Anderson,
a citizen of Tarrytown,
was placed here Sept. 23d, 1880.
1780 1880.

The inscription on Major Andre's memorial in Westminster Abbey is in these words:

Sacred to the memory of Major John Andre, who, raised by his merit, at an early period of life, to the rank of Adjutant-General of the British forces in America, and, employed in an important but hazardous enterprise, fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his King and Country, on the 2d of October, 1780, aged twenty-nine, universally beloved and esteemed by the army in which he served, and lamented even by his foes. His gracious Sovereign, King George III., has caused this monument to be erected.

An unpretentious monument to the memory of Andre was raised in 1880 at Tappan, over the spot where his body was buried, by the late Cyrus W. Field, of our county. An inscription was engraved upon it, written by the noted Dean Stanley, reciting that the stone was placed there "not to perpetuate the record of strife, but in token of those better feelings which have since united two nations, one in race, one in language, and one in religion, with the hope that this friendly union will never be broken." This memorial has had a troubled history, having several times been dynamited by cranks and subjected to defacements of various kinds. It is hard to conclude whether the ill taste of Mr. Field in causing its erection or the silly vandalism of the persons committing these resentful acts is the more regrettable.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE WESTCHESTER OPERATIONS OF THE ALLIED ARMIES, 1781—END OF THE WAR

FTER the execution of Andre (October 2, 1780), the enemy, greatly embittered by that act, made many hostile manifestations in Westchester County, and the Tory inhabitants and lawless bands showed a correspondingly venomous and enterprising disposition. Major Tallmadge returned to the Westchester lines from Tappan on the 3d. "There," he writes, "my duties became very arduous, the late events having excited much rage on the part of the enemy. What with Cowboys, Skinners, and Refugees, we had as much as we could turn our hands to to keep from being waylaid and fired upon from thickets and stony eminences about Salem, North Castle, and White Plains. Indeed, it was not an unusual thing to have our sentinels fired on from parties who would crawl up in the darkness of night and then disappear." But during this period, and indeed throughout the winter of 1780-81, there were few engagements or surprises in our county on any important scale. It was mostly a petty border warfare. The only movement of more than ordinary consequence was a foraging expedition made by the American General Stark, the hero of Bennington, with some 2,500 men, to White Plains and vicinity. But he encountered no force of the foe.

The impetuous Lafayette was anxious before the close of the season to perform something aggressive which would redound to the credit of the Revolutionary arms and produce a moral effect to relieve the general gloom caused by the desertion of Arnold. He formed a project for an attack on New York through Westchester County. But nothing came of this. The army was in no condition for that scheme of aggression or any other, and indeed, as too soon appeared, its officers had all they could do to hold it together. Winter quarters were entered about the end of November in camps at Morristown, Pompton, West Point, and the Highlands. The French, under Rochambeau, remained at Newport, where, since their arrival in July, they had lain inactive.

The year 1781, which was to terminate the armed struggle for in-

dependence, opened with an event not less appalling in its way than had been the disasters of the preceding year in the South and the Arnold treason. On the 1st day of January the whole Pennsylvania line, 2,000 strong, mutinied and marched off from the Morristown camp toward Philadelphia to seek a redress of grievances. This was no impulsive, ill-considered action, but well deliberated and carefully organized. The troops, wearied out by a long course of neglectful treatment—unpaid, unfed, and unclothed,—were grimly determined to obtain their rights or quit the service. General Wayne attempted to quell the mutiny by arbitrary methods, and, confronting the men with pistols in his hands, was ready to shoot the leaders if they refused to obey; whereupon he was told that they loved and honored and would die for him, but if he fired he would be killed that instant. On the other hand, the revolting regiments not only disdained seductive inducements conveyed to them from Sir Henry Clinton to join his standard, but seized his emissaries and delivered them to Wayne to be dealt with by military law. Finally their most pressing wants were relieved by congress, and they returned to their duty. A smaller mutiny in the same month by the New Jersey line was summarily ended by hanging its chief promoters.

PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT.

Toward the end of January a bold and successful raid was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Hull from the Westchester lines upon de Lancey's corps at Morrisania. A number of the British were killed and fifty were captured, some of their huts were burned, and the pontoon bridge across the Harlem River was cut away; and in another engagement, which occurred during the retreat of the Americans, the British suffered a further loss of thirty-five. Thacher, in his Military Journal, speaks of this affair with the greatest praise, saying that it "is calculated to raise the spirits of our troops and to divert their minds from the unhappy occurrences which have recently taken place in the camp."

The episode of the mutinies shows more vividly than can be done by any formal recital of the circumstances of the times what fundamental difficulties Washington had to contend against in entering

upon his arrangements for the general military proceedings of 1781. The time had now arrived when something decisive must indispensably be undertaken. A large and perfectly appointed French cooperative army was at hand, and additional land forces from France were sure to come, together with a powerful fleet. All that was required was for the Americans to prove themselves worthy of this assistance by respectably matching it with forces of their own; whereas they appeared almost unequal to the task of maintaining any army at all! Moreover, the situation at the South was weekly becoming more desperate. In December Clinton sent Arnold to Virginia with a large expedition, and in the spring Cornwallis also began aggressions in that quarter. The Southern emergencies were so extreme that Washington's individual command, wretchedly weak and neglected though it was, could not be strengthened or receive any fostering attention without prejudicing interests at the seat of war. And finally he was continually importuned to abandon the North altogether, let befall what might there, and fly to the rescue of his native State—importunities which Rochambeau, the French general, seconded by favoring an immediate Southern campaign. In such circumstances it is wonderful that Washington was nevertheless able to have a decent force at the North to unite with the French when the hour of action struck. But most of all it demands admiration—admiration without limits or bounds—that from the very outset of the year 1781 up to his masterly movement to Virginia in August, he never faltered in his plan of an exclusive Northern demonstration with his French allies as the one vital policy of strategy. It was to this plan and its steadfast pursuance with every manifestation of soberest earnestness that the conquest of American liberties at Yorktown was undividedly due. And it is the proud boast of our County of Westchester that here, on our soil—entirely on our soil—the grand programme was inaugurated, developed, prosecuted, and brought to the threshold of assured success.

At the opening of the spring (March 6) Washington left his headquarters at New Windsor on the west side of the Hudson and went to visit the French general at Newport. The result of this interview was indecisive. At that time the further immediate intentions of the French ministry were uncertain. It was not known at what part of our coast the expected fleet would arrive, or when. Upon his return Washington occupied himself with the details of improving the organization of his army, meantime giving such attention as he could to the situation at the South. Lafayette had been sent thither and had begun the brilliant work in Virginia which stands so much to his credit.

On the 13th of May a terrible event happened on the lines in Westchester County. Colonel Christopher Greene, in command at Oblenus's Ford on the Croton River, above Pine's Bridge, was surprised by a party of de Lancey's Refugees (supposed to have consisted of about one hundred horse and two hundred foot), and was killed with excessive barbarity, several other officers and many men perishing with him. Greene was an officer of notable courage, address, and proficiency; brilliant, generous, and noble; a great favorite of Washington's and indeed one of the ornaments of the American army. A citizen of Rhode Island, he entered the service at the beginning of the war, was with Arnold in Canada, and during the operations on the Delaware in the fall of 1777 was intrusted by Washington with the defense of the vitally important post of Fort Mercer (Red Bank). There he was attacked by 1,200 Hessians under Count Donop, whom he put to rout, inflicting a loss of 400 in killed and wounded. One of the enemy's mortally wounded on that occasion was Donop himself, whom Greene very tenderly cared for until his death.

Greene, at his post on the Croton, says General Heath in his Memoirs, had "practiced the greatest vigilance in guarding this ford in the night time, taking off the guards after sunrise, apprehending that the enemy would never presume to cross the river in the day time." Gilbert Totten, a native of that portion of Westchester County, who was in the enemy's service, informed de Lancey about Greene's custom of removing the guards at daybreak, and guided him to the spot. At the time Greene was asleep in the house of Richardson Davenport, some distance back from the river. In the same bedroom with him were Major Flagg (also a gallant officer) and a young lieutenant, and the men were quartered in tents around the dwelling. De Lancey's party crossed the ford unobserved and quickly surrounded the house. The young lieutenant, aroused by the commotion, sprang to the window and discharged two pistols at the approaching Refugees. This deed of rashness infuriated the assailants, who, with shouts of "Kill! Kill! No quarter!" rushed for the house. Greene called on his men to defend themselves, and seized his sword. But before he could leave the room the door was burst open, and, single-handed (the lieutenant had already been killed and Flagg felled by musket-balls fired through the windows), he had no choice but to sell his life as dearly as possible. "His right arm was almost cut off in two places, his left in one, a severe cut on the left shoulder, a sword thrust through the abdomen, a bayonet in the right side, and another through the abdomen, several sword cuts on the head, and many in different parts of the body." The dying Major

Flagg was dispatched in like savage manner. Greene, fearfully mangled, still retained some life, but he was not permitted to breathe his last in peace. He was placed on a horse and compelled to ride off with the ruffianly victors. After going about three-quarters of a mile they perceived he could travel no farther, removed him from his horse, and pitched him into some bushes by the roadside, where he presently expired. He was buried, with Major Flagg, in the churchyard at Crompond.[1] The American loss in this ghastly affair in killed, wounded, and prisoners was about fifty.

Shortly after the middle of May, Washington received definite intelligence of the French fleet. It was to consist of twenty ships of the line, with land troops, all commanded by the Count de Grasse, was to sail from France for the West Indies, and from there was to proceed to the shores of the United States in July or August. On the basis of this news Washington and Rochambeau met at Wethersfield, Conn., on the 22d of May, and subscribed to the following understanding:

> The enemy, by several detachments from New York, having reduced their force at that post to less than half the number which they had at the time of the former conference at Hartford in September last, it is thought advisable to form a junction of the French and American armies upon the North [Hudson] River as soon as possible, and move down to the vicinity of New York, to be ready to take advantage of any opportunity which the weakness of the enemy may afford.
>
> Should the West Indies fleet [de Grasse's] arrive on the coast, the forces thus combined may either proceed in operations against New York or may be directed against the enemy in some other quarter.

It will be observed that this agreement of the two generals was explicit as to the immediate operations of the united armies, but not as to the ultimate destination of the fleet or as to the final joint objective of armies and fleet. It was decided with all possible dispatch to effect a union of Washington's and Rochambeau's forces and "move down in the vicinity of New York," there to "take advantage of any opportunity which the weakness of the enemy may afford." But whither the fleet was to come was not definitely indicated; and manifestly it was intended that the ultimate campaign of the armies should be determined by the destination of the fleet—provided, of course, no decisive operations before New York should result previously to the fleet's arrival.

Now, there were only two possible destinations for the fleet. One was Chesapeake Bay, where all the enemy's forces in the South were concentrating for the reduction of Virginia; the other was New York,

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[1] The New York State legislature of 1900 made an appropriation of $2,000 for the erection of a monument in the Crompond churchyard to the heroes of this affair. A further amount has been contributed through the efforts of the Sons of the Revolution.

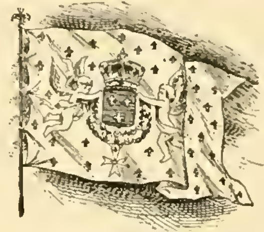
where Sir Henry Clinton's command was located. To which point would de Grasse come? or, rather, to which point should the two generals advise him to come?—for there was, of course, time to communicate with him before his departure from the West Indies, and that indeed was indispensable.

It will be remembered that in 1778, when the first French expedition under d'Estaing reached our shores, it proceeded, at Washington's suggestion, to Sandy Hook, with every purpose of entering New York harbor and joining with the continental army in a siege of New York; but that d'Estaing at the last moment abandoned that plan because of his apprehension that his larger war vessels might get stranded on the bar. Indeed, there was a confirmed dislike in the French admiralty office of the Sandy Hook bar, which Rochambeau appears to have shared in a positive degree. At the Weathersfield conference he expressed this animus strongly, and, in fact, the whole bent of his inclination was toward a prompt united naval and land campaign in the South.

Washington, on the other hand, deemed a New York campaign of first and supremest importance—not because he considered American interests less needful of his personal employment in the South than in the North, but for the precisely contrary reason that the proposed move against New York was the one essential instrumentality by which to relieve the stress at the South. At Weathersfield he urged this opinion with the utmost confidence, and all his subsequent procedure corresponded with his original conviction. There is nothing to show that at any time he cherished undue hope of actually capturing New York—especially in the absence of re-enforcements and of assurance that the fleet would co-operate. But he was for an immediate and perfectly formal New York campaign, let the fleet come where it might. Perhaps he seriously hoped to take New York. But the eventuality there did not interest him so much as the manifest advantage of the strategy. He would make so formidable a demonstration against New York that Sir Henry Clinton would either have to lose the city or leave Cornwallis at the South to his own resources. In either case there would be an excellent chance to strike the final blow.

If this was not Washington's exact mental attitude from start to finish—clearly formulated at the beginning and never modified by special conditions later—then his whole course of conduct and expression was purely accidental, a thing not to be believed of him. Again and again he was besought to leave the army at the North and take the command in Virginia; and uniformly he replied that he was resolved to continue at the North conformably with well-matured

plans which, in their execution, would give Virginia far greater relief than his personal presence could possibly bring to pass. In July, when his enterprise against New York was in full progress, Richard Henry Lee wrote to him pressingly from Virginia, declaring that the people were ready to make him dictator if he would show himself there; to which he replied in the following strong words: "My present plan of operation, which I have been preparing with all the zeal and activity in my power, will, I am morally certain, with proper support, produce one of two things, either the fall of New York or a withdrawal of the (enemy's) troops from Virginia." On the 4th of June, previously to the junction of the American and French armies in Westchester County, he wrote from his headquarters at New Windsor these most significant words to the Count de Rochambeau: "I could wish that the march of the [French] troops might now be hurried as much as possible. . . . I know of no measure which will be so likely to afford relief to the Southern States."



THE ROYAL FLAG OF FRANCE.

Yet it has been claimed by some historical writers that it was Washington's essential policy to capture New York, and that the idea of the final move to Virginia originated with Rochambeau. This view rests upon the exceedingly slender foundation that at the Weathersfield conference Rochambeau opposed any cooperation by the fleet at New York (because, as already pointed out, of French prejudice against the Sandy Hook bar). But if at Weathersfield Rochambeau conceived the Virginia campaign, it was certainly not a conception based upon the plan of a formidable preliminary New York campaign. Without the preliminary New York campaign, conducted with the utmost sagacity, there would have been no triumphant Virginia campaign.

This digression from the straightforward progress of our narrative seems necessary to a proper understanding of the Weathersfield agreement of the 22d of May and its relations to subsequent events. That agreement was decidedly indefinite, except in the one particular that there should be an immediate movement of the combined armies on New York; with which prime matter settled, Washington consented to leave de Grasse's course with his fleet to his own discretion. It is not conceivable that he, the responsible commander-in-chief, would have made such a concession if he had held to the exclusive idea of taking New York.

By a dispatch vessel sent from Newport to the West Indies in the latter part of May, de Grasse was accordingly notified of the deci-

sions reached at the Weathersfield conference, and it was made optional with him whether to come to New York Harbor or to Chesapeake Bay. As we shall see, Washington remained in absolute uncertainty regarding the French admiral's intended destination until after the latter had sailed from the West Indies.

The remainder of May and the first three weeks of June were employed in preparations for the junction of the allied armies and the offensive operations on New York. Rochambeau began his march from Newport on the 10th of June, leaving at that place a sufficient garrison, its harbor being still occupied by French ships of war. Washington assembled his troops from their different encampments on the west side of the Hudson, brought them across King's Ferry, and on the 26th established his headquarters at the Van Cortlandt house north of Peekskill. He at once proceeded to demonstrate to the British that the joint movement was not a mere feint or a venture whose final object was to be approached gradually, but a swift and deadly undertaking against New York. The promptitude with which Washington, after arriving at Peekskill, planned and executed the demonstration on New York, and the fine judgment with which he arranged his combinations, must have been convincing proof to Sir Henry Clinton that he would soon be called upon to defend the city with all the resources at his command.

Washington had two immediate objects in view—first, to surprise and, if possible, capture the British position at Kingsbridge; second, to cut off de Lancey's large body of Refugees at Morrisania and any other troops of the enemy north of the Harlem River. The two schemes were to be carried out simultaneously and with great secrecy and rapidity. The Kingsbridge enterprise was to be under the charge of General Lincoln, of the American army, who was to drop down the river under cover of night, reconnoiter the works at the northern end of Manhattan Island, and, if he found them not too strongly defended, attack Kingsbridge. At the same time the Duke de Lauzun, of the French army, was to come down to Morrisania from Connecticut by a forced march and fall upon de Lancey. In the event that Lincoln should find it imprudent to attack Kingsbridge, he was to take a station near that place so as to prevent de Lancey from escaping to Manhattan Island. And finally Washington and Rochambeau, with their main bodies, were to descend swiftly down through Westchester County and be ready for further immediate operations in force if Kingsbridge should be taken. It was a thorough plan of instant aggression, well calculated to cause Sir Henry Clinton the greatest concern whether it succeeded or failed. The date selected for the combined attempt was the 3d of July.

On the evening of the 1st of July General Lincoln, with 800 men and several pieces of artillery, left the camp in the vicinity of Peekskill, marched to Teller's (Croton) Point, and put his expedition on board of boats, which were rowed with muffled oars down the Hudson to the present Ludlow section of the City of Yonkers. For the purpose of concealment the flotilla was drawn close to the shore. General Lincoln crossed to the west bank, and from the Palisades reconnoitered the Manhattan Island forts. To his disappointment he discovered that a large body of the enemy was encamped there. Thus his intended surprise of Kingsbridge was made impracticable. He returned to his boats and remained in them till before dawn of the 3d, when he landed his men and guns and advanced to a height opposite Kingsbridge (the site of the former Fort Independence) in order to support de Lauzun in his attack on de Lancey. But ill-luck attended this attempt also. He was discovered by a strong foraying party of the enemy, which came across the bridge just about daybreak, and skirmishing ensued the noise of which alarmed de Lancey at Morrisania. De Lauzun had arrived at Williams's Bridge during the night of the 2d, and after giving his men a few hours' rest, was just preparing to move against de Lancey. But the latter, apprised of his danger by the firing at Kingsbridge, hastened away and was soon safe on Manhattan Island.

Meantime Washington, with remarkable celerity, had brought the main army down from Peekskill. Leaving his tents standing, he quitted the camp at three o'clock on the morning of the 2d. The march was made without baggage, so as to execute it in the briefest possible time. There were only two halts—one at Croton Bridge and the other beside the Sleepy Hollow Church near Tarrytown. Valentine's Hill (Yonkers), four miles above Kingsbridge, was reached by sunrise of the 3d, and there Washington stopped to await the result of the movements below. At the same time the French army was on the way from Connecticut.

This well-planned and in all its parts perfectly well-executed demonstration failed totally. Its collapse affords striking testimony of the sound sense of Washington in discouraging proposed expeditions against New York throughout the Revolution. Such expeditions were projected repeatedly by his subordinates, but Washington disapproved them almost without consideration. He himself, on one or two occasions previously to the attempt of July 3, 1781, made ready to descend upon Kingsbridge, but these offers were only temporary menaces for strategic purposes. Washington's career teaches that when there was any conceivable advantage to be derived from fighting or from aggressively operating, he was as enterprising and

persistent along those lines as any great general of history. It was agonizing to him to waste away campaign after campaign on the defensive. From the summer of 1778 to the summer of 1781 he never fought a battle, conducted a siege, or made any aggressive movement in force which involved active warfare. Yet during all that period he had his army drawn up or disposed in New Jersey, the Highlands, or Westchester County, within easy striking distance of New York; and, moreover, the recapture of New York was the grand goal of the Revolution. He did not attempt it because it would have been a simply mad thing to do with the forces at his disposal. When, finally, with the assistance of the French, he was ready to move on New York as a formal matter, he arranged a perfect combination to take Kingsbridge by swift surprise. This, the first and only attempt to surprise Kingsbridge, did not come even to the fighting stage. How merely foolhardy would have been the ordinary expeditions against Kingsbridge which ambitious officers were continually planning.

Finding that the British at the outposts of New York were not to be surprised, it remained for Washington to institute deliberate operations. The next day (July 4) he retired from Valentine's Hill to Dobbs Ferry, where he encamped, also marking out a camp for the French on his left. Rochambeau had advanced as far as North Castle (seventeen miles distant), where Washington visited him on the 5th. On the 6th the French joined the Americans. The latter lay in two lines, resting on the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry, covered by batteries, and extending toward the Nepperhan River; while their allies were in a single line on the hills farther east, reaching to the Bronx. The left of the French position was at Chatterton's Hill, the scene of the battle of October 28, 1776. A very pleasing description of the united encampment is given by Irving in his Life of Washington: "It was a lovely country for a summer encampment, breezy hills commanding wide prospects, umbrageous valleys watered by bright pastoral streams, the Bronx, the Sprain, and the Nepperhan, and abounding with never failing springs. The French encampment made a gallant display along the Greenburgh hills. Some of the officers, young men of rank, to whom this was all a service of romance, took a pride in decorating their tents and forming little gardens in their vicinity. 'We have a charming position among rocks and under magnificent tulip trees,' writes one of them, the Count Dumas. General Washington was an object of their enthusiasm. He visited the tents they had so gayly embellished, for, with all his gravity, he was fond of the company of young men. They were apprised of his coming, and set out on their camp tables plans

of the battle of Trenton, of West Point, and other scenes connected with the war. The greatest harmony prevailed between the armies. The two commanders had their respective headquarters in farm houses, and occasionally, on festive occasions, long tables were spread in the adjacent barns, which were converted into banquet halls."

In Rochambeau's army were many notable officers, the flower of the French army. Some of these were the Baron Viomenil, commanding the Bourbonnais, the oldest regiment of France; the Count de Viomenil, his brother; the Chevalier de Chastelleux; the Count de Custine and the Duke de Lauzun, both of whom fell under the guillotine; Berthier, at the time aide-de-camp to Rochambeau and later one of Napoleon's field marshals; and the Count de Fersen, who distinguished himself at Yorktown and during the stormy days of the French Revolution was conspicuous in his devotion to the royal family.

GENERAL HENRY KNOX.

Rochambeau's headquarters were at the old Odell mansion then owned by a Mr. Bates; and Washington's were at Joseph Appleby's, about half a mile from the Dobbs Ferry Road and the same distance from the Sawmill River.

The American army at Dobbs Ferry was something less than 5,000 strong, and the numbers of the French were about the same. On the 8th of July Washington reviewed the two armies. One of the first things done was the erection of a battery at Dobbs Ferry to command the Hudson River. For the first two weeks, however, no general proceedings were attempted.

On the evening of the 15th of July there was a spirited engagement with the enemy at Tarrytown, occasioned by an attempt of several British ships of war to capture or destroy American vessels that had come down the river with ordnance and supplies. This affair is known as "the action at Tarrytown," and in commemoration of it a historical tablet was placed on the Tarrytown railroad station, July 15, 1899. The American vessels, of which there were two according to one account, and three or four according to other (and more probable) statements, were descending from West Point, and

their cargoes were very important. In order to escape the British ships, which were coming up, they were steered for the dock at Tarrytown, but they ran aground at a distance of about a hundred yards from that place. There being no troops at Tarrytown, except a small French guard, Washington hurriedly dispatched Sheldon's Dragoons from Dobbs Ferry. Sheldon's men, under Captain George Hurlbut, went to work with a will to unload the stranded craft. The enemy's warships, having come to anchor not far away, opened a heavy cannonade, under cover of which two gunboats and four barges approached with the object of burning our vessels. Captain Hurlbut, who was on board one of the latter with twelve men, armed only with pistols and swords, waited until the British were alongside and "gave them a fire, which they returned, and killed one of his men." The Americans now jumped into the water and swam ashore. After setting fire to the vessels the British quickly retired under a deadly musketry attack from the Dragoons and French on the shore. Thereupon Captain Hurlbut, Captain-Lieutenant Miles, Lieutenant Shaylor, and several others plunged into the river, boarded the burning sloops, and extinguished the flames. Hurlbut received a wound from which he died two years later. All the contents of the vessels were then safely landed. Washington deemed the services thus rendered so valuable and so gallant that in general orders he recited the facts, adding that the conduct of the three officers "entitles them to the most distinguished notice and applause of their general," and in his Diary he remarks upon "the extraordinary spirit and activity" of the gentlemen concerned.

The next morning (July 16) the Americans opened an artillery fire upon the British ships from a battery which had been erected at Tarrytown. This proved so troublesome that the enemy had to move out of range. On the 19th they stood down the river to return to New York. A destructive fire was poured upon them by the Dobbs Ferry battery. The largest of the ships was set on fire by a bursting shell, and in consternation a number of the men jumped overboard. Some of them were drowned, and three or four who reached the shore were made prisoners.

After these creditable transactions with the enemy's ships, Washington entered vigorously upon his arrangements for threatening New York. About this time he crossed with Rochambeau to the other side of the river, and, accompanied by 150 New Jersey troops, very carefully reconnoitered Manhattan Island and its defenses along the Hudson. On the 18th two detachments, an American and a French (the latter commanded by young Dumas), were sent to explore the country in the lower part of Westchester County. Both proceeded

to within musket range of the Kingsbridge works. This was preparatory to the famous "grand reconnoissance" of New York on the 22d and 23d.

July the 21st, at eight o'clock in the evening, about one-half the forces of the two armies at the Dobbs Ferry camp were put in motion and marched to opposite Kingsbridge, following the Hudson River, Sawmill River, and Eastchester roads. "The right, commanded by General Heath, was formed by a part of the division of General Lincoln. The legion of Lauzun protected the army upon the left. There were in all about 5,000 men, with two field batteries. The head of the column reached the ridge which commands Kingsbridge at five o'clock on the morning of the 22d. The roads were very bad, and the artillery had difficulty in following. Nevertheless, the two armies marched in perfect order, observing the strictest silence." The troops were disposed so as to cover the proceedings of the two generals, who, with the greatest deliberation, attended by a corps of engineers, traversed the country in front of the British position from river to Sound, noting every place and object that might be of importance in connection with future operations. Their movements were directed by the Fordham guide, Andrew Corsa. "He used to relate that when the allies, marching from the east near the Bronx and passing over the high grounds around Morrisania house, came in sight of the enemy, the fire which the British artillery opened upon them from the fortifications at Randall's Island and Snake Hill, from the batteries at Harlem, and from the ships of war at anchor in the (Harlem) river, were terrible and incessant; and, obeying the instinct of self-preservation, which became suddenly predominant, he urged his horse forward at full speed and rode for safety behind the old Morrisania Mill. Here he pulled up, and, looking back, saw Washington, Rochambeau, and the other officers riding calmly along under the fire as though nothing unusual had occurred. His self-possession now returned, and, ashamed at having given way to an impulse of fear, he at once pricked back with all the rapidity to which he could urge his horse, and resumed his place in the order of march; while the commanding officers, with good-natured peals of laughter, welcomed him back and commended his courage." [1]

"This reconnoisance," says a French writer, "was made with all the care imaginable. We had been exposed to six or seven hundred cannon-shots, which cost the Americans two men. We had taken twenty or thirty prisoners from the English, and killed four or five men. Sixty horses had also been taken from them. I can not repeat too often how greatly I have been surprised at the American army.

[1] Bolton (rev. ed.), ii., 533.

It is inconceivable that troops almost naked, poorly paid, and composed of old men, negroes, and children, should march equally well on the road and under fire. I have shared this astonishment with M. de Rochambeau himself, who continued to speak of it to us on the return march. I hardly need to speak of the coolness of General Washington. It is known; but this great man is a thousand times greater and more noble at the head of his army than at any other time."[1]

This was no sensational parade before the enemy's position to make a plausible showing of offensive designs, but an elaborate, scientific preparation for a siege. It is said that Washington and Rochambeau were in their saddles twenty-four consecutive hours. Rochambeau relates an interesting episode:

We had proceeded (he says) to an island, which was separated from the enemy posted on Long Island, by an arm of the sea, the width of which General Washington wished to have measured. While our engineers performed this geometrical operation, worn out by fatigue, we slept at the foot of a hedge, under fire from the cannon of the enemy's vessels, who wished to hinder the work. Awakening first, I called General Washington and remarked to him that we had forgotten the hour of the tide. We hastened to the causeway of the mill upon which we had crossed this little arm of the sea which separated us from the main land; it was covered with water. They brought us two little boats, in which we embarked, with the saddles and trappings of the horses; then they sent back two American dragoons, who drew by the bridle two horses, good swimmers. These were followed by all the rest, urged on by the lashes of some dragoons remaining on the other shore, and for whom we sent back the boats. This maneuver consumed less than an hour, but happily our embarrassment was unnoticed by the enemy.

The "island" was evidently Throgg's Neck, that land of mystery and confusion for impetuous generals-in-chief, where the onrushing Sir William Howe had experienced infinitely more vexations embarrassments at the beginning of his Westchester campaign of 1776.

One result of the reconnoissance was the breaking up of the post of de Lancey's Refugees at Morrisania. Washington had hoped to capture this redoubtable partisan and his troopers, but, as on the 3d, de Lancey eluded the force sent against him.

On the night of the 23d the whole American and French forces returned to Dobbs Ferry.

There is an abundance of proof that the reconnoissance of New York was a perfectly sincere proceeding on Washington's part, and that at the time he fully intended to follow it up with a regular siege in the case that the fleet of de Grasse should make its appearance in New York Bay. Moreover, he earnestly desired that de Grasse should come there. Previously to the junction of the armies at Dobbs Ferry he had written to de Grasse, urging him to steer a straight course for Sandy Hook; and on July 19, at a conference with Rochambeau, he expressed himself as follows: "Upon the whole, I do not see

[1] Les Français et Amerique pendant la Guerre de l'Independence des États-Unis.

what more can be done than to prosecute the plan agreed upon at the Weathersfield conference, and to recommend to the Count de Grasse to come immediately to Sandy Hook, and, if possible, possess the harbor of New York." But he remained in complete uncertainty as to de Grasse's intentions until the middle of August. He accordingly stayed in his Dobbs Ferry encampment awaiting intelligence.

In this connection he adopted a measure to procure the speediest possible information of the arrival of the fleet if Sandy Hook should prove to be the destination of de Grasse. On July 21—the day when he set out to reconnoiter New York—he addressed the following autograph letter (whose original is now in the possession of the editor of this History) to Brigadier-General David Forman[1] at Monmouth, N. J.:

Head Quarters, Dobbs Ferry, 21st July, 1781.

Dear Sir:—When I request your particular Care of the enclosed, it is necessary that I should inform you in the fullest confidence, and under the strictest injunctions of secresy, that the Count de Grasse may be shortly expected with his whole fleet from the West Indies. Whether he will first appear off the Hook or the Capes of Virginia is uncertain—You will be pleased immediately, upon the receipt of this, to employ proper persons to keep a look out. The Moment that a Fleet of heavy Ships is discovered you will dispatch an express to me, and as soon as you can ascertain whether they are friends or Foes, another; If they prove to be the former you will oblige me by going on board the Admiral and presenting the letter herewith. I have mentioned you to him as a Gentleman in whom he may place the fullest confidence. That intelligence may be communicated from you to me with the utmost dispatch you will be pleased to take some of the militia Horse into pay and station them at such distances between Monmouth and Dobbs Ferry that they may perform the ride in twelve or fifteen hours. The Horsemen need not know the particular purpose for which they are stationed, but they must be ordered never to be a moment absent from their stages except when upon duty. The expense attending those and the persons who keep a look out I will be answerable for. You will be so good as to give me by the return of this, or in the chain which you shall establish, the present situation, number, strength, and station of the Enemy's Ships —and as particular information of this kind may be very useful and consequential to me and to our French Allies—I beg you will continue to keep me informed from time to time of any alterations which take place, either respecting their increase or decrease of numbers and strength, their different positions, and particular stations, within or without the Hook, that we may lose no advantages or suffer any misfortune for want of perfect information of the Enemy's strength, Positions, or movements—I am with respect,

Dear Sir

Your most obedient servant,

G. Washington.

This communication is strong evidence of the entire good faith of the reconnoissance begun the day after it was written. Every other known circumstance demonstrates that Washington, in the condi-

[1] General David Forman commanded a brigade in the New Jersey militia. His younger brother, Colonel Jonathan Forman, was at the head of a regiment in the New Jersey line, and after the war became the first president of the Order of the Cincinnati in New Jersey. Both were animated by the loftiest spirit of patriotism, served throughout the Revolution, and enjoyed the peculiar confidence of Washington. Colonel Jonathan Forman had a sister Eleanor, who married Philip Freeman; and in after years Colonel Forman's daughter Mary became the wife of Henry Seymour, of Utica, and the mother of Governor Horatio Seymour. Colonel Forman was an ancestor of the editor of this History.

tions existing at that time and for some days subsequently, was quite serious in menacing New York. But those conditions underwent a change in several radical regards.

First, Clinton was re-enforced at New York by 3,000 Hessians from Europe, while on the other hand Washington received no re-enforcements at Dobbs Ferry, although he was anxiously expecting some to arrive from New England. Next, news came from Virginia which altered the whole complexion of things there. Cornwallis, finding his position perilous in the interior of that State, was retreating to Yorktown, with the intention of intrenching himself there. At this juncture, should de Grasse enter the Chesapeake instead of New York Harbor, Cornwallis would be caught between the American fleet and the Southern American land forces, in which eventuality it would become highly expedient for Washington and Rochambeau to proceed quickly to Yorktown. And meantime Clinton at New York dared not send relief to Cornwallis, but was obliged to look to his own safety. Thus the first part of Washington's plan, as conceived at Weathersfield, was already realized: by beginning a campaign on New York he had eased matters in Virginia. It remained to be seen whether the further changes in the situation would justify him in actually besieging New York or summon him to Virginia for the annihilation of Cornwallis. The determining thing would be news from the fleet.

Washington's movements in Westchester County made such an impression on Sir Henry Clinton that the latter not only did not re-enforce Cornwallis, but actually ordered troops to be sent to New York from the South. On July 26 he wrote to Cornwallis to have three regiments dispatched to New York from the Carolinas, saying: "I shall probably want them, *as well as the troops you may be able to spare me from the Chesapeake*, for such offensive or defensive operations as may offer in this quarter." The order was countermanded after the coming of the 3,000 Hessians, but it shows how promptly the presence of the allied armies in our county bore fruit. Washington wrote to Lafayette on this point: "I think we have already effected one part of the plan of campaign settled at Weathersfield—that is, giving a substantial relief to the Southern States by obliging the enemy to recall a considerable part of their force from them. Our views must now be turned toward endeavoring to expel them totally from those States if we find ourselves incompetent to the siege of New York." But in spite of the re-enforcements which Clinton had received, Washington had no intention of abandoning New York until the situation should become more clearly defined. While waiting to hear from the fleet, he wrote to the governors of

the New England States complaining of their failure to send him more troops. "I am unable," he said, "to advance with prudence beyond my present position. While perhaps in the general opinion my force is equal to the commencement of operations against New York, my conduct must appear, if not blamable, highly mysterious at least. Our allies, who were made to expect a very considerable augmentation of force by this time, instead of seeing a prospect of advancing must conjecture upon good grounds that the campaign will waste fruitlessly away." This letter certainly evidences a very earnest purpose to carry out the New York campaign on its merits.

On the 31st of July Washington wrote another letter of explicit instructions to General Forman on the subject of the expected French fleet, as follows:

Head Quarters, Dobbs Ferry, 31st July, 1781.

Sir:—I have requested Capt. Dobbs to assemble at Capt. Dennis's in Baskenridge as soon as possible a Number of Pilots, who are to receive their further instructions from you. Immediately upon the appearance of a Fleet near Sandy Hook, if you are satisfied it is the one we are expecting, you will please to give orders to the Pilots to repair down where they may be at Hand to be improved as occasion and Circumstances shall require.

I am very fearfull that you have met with more Trouble in establishing the Chain of expresses than you expected—as I have not had the Pleasure of hearing from you since your first Favor of 23d inst.—and I am informed from N. York that a fleet with part of the Army of Lord Cornwallis from Virginia arrived at that Place last Tuesday. My Anxiety to be early and well informed of the Enemy's movements by Water induces me to wish to hear from you as often and as speedily as any material Circumstances renders it necessary.—I am

Sir

Your most obedient Servant,

G. Washington.

And again on the 5th of August Washington wrote to Forman in terms indicating that he was still looking for de Grasse. "I last night," he said, "received yours of the 3d instant. Graves's [British] Fleet was certainly off Block Island a few days ago. It is supposed he has taken that position to cover the Quebec ships as they pass along, and at the same time give those which may be expected from Virginia an opportunity of making their voyage safely. I am not acquainted with the private signals of M. de Grasse, but I think it may soon be discovered, upon the appearance of a Fleet, whether they are Friends or Foes. If the latter, they will immediately send in a light ship, or one will come out to them." In this letter he also expressed apprehension that Forman's expresses from Monmouth might be intercepted by small parties of the enemy, and directed that a new and less exposed route for them be established. It is well known that Washington, as soon as he decided on the move to Virginia, took pains to have certain decoy dispatches fall into the hands of the enemy, in order that Clinton should credit him with no other intention than to fall upon New York. His care in altering the route of

Forman's expresses so as to provide for their security shows how perfectly serious were his calculations with reference to de Grasse's possible advent at Sandy Hook as late as the 5th of August. Conclusive proof on this point is also afforded by the following item in his "Accounts with the United States," dated August, 1781: "To Cash advan[d] Cap Dobbs & other Pilots, to carry them to Monmouth City to await the arrival of the French Fleet—hourly expected, £18 13s 4d [lawful currency]."

As he relates in his Journal, under date of August 1, Washington, while encamped at Dobbs Ferry, made arrangements for bringing down to that place from points on the upper Hudson some two hundred boats, to be used doubtless for transporting a large part of his forces through the Spuyten Duyvil Creek and landing them at points on Manhattan Island. "By this date," he says, "all my boats were ready, viz.: One hundred new ones at Albany (constructed under the direction of General Schuyler), and the like number at Wapping's Creek, by the quartermaster-general; besides old ones, which have been repaired."

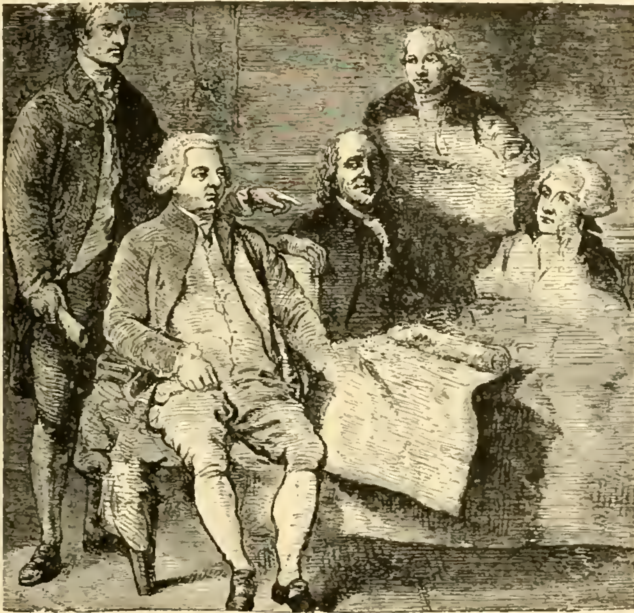
On the 6th of August he supplemented the grand reconnoissance of the 22d of July by carefully reconnoitering the country from Dobbs Ferry to Yonkers. The following is his own account of this proceeding, extracted from his Journal:

> Reconnoitered the roads and country between the North River and the Bronx, from the Camp to Philipse's, and found the ground everywhere strong; the hills, four in number, running parallel with each other, with deep ravines between them, occasioned by the Sawmill River, the Sprain Branch, and another more easterly.
>
> These hills have very few interstices or breaks in them, but are more prominent in some places than others. The Sawmill River and the Sprain Branch occasion an entire separation of the hills above Philipse's from those below, commonly called Valentine's Hills. A strong position might be taken with the Sawmill (by the Widow Babcock's) in front and on the left flank, and this position may be extended from the Sawmill River over the Sprain Branch.

On August 14 the anxiously expected message from de Grasse reached Rochambeau and Washington at Dobbs Ferry. In this important document (brought by the frigate "Concorde" from the West Indies to Newport, and thence forwarded to headquarters) the French admiral announced that he would set sail for Chesapeake Bay on the 3d of August with a fleet of twenty-six ships and with 3,500 land troops, but that his orders would not permit him to remain later than the 15th of October. This announcement, taken in connection with the continuing intelligence of the advantages offering in Virginia for decisive operations against Cornwallis, at once settled all doubt regarding the most profitable employment of the allied forces. Without delay Washington resolved to quit his situation in Westchester County and march with the greatest practicable ex-

pedition to invest Cornwallis at Yorktown. Meantime, however, he took steps to confirm Sir Henry Clinton's impression that his designs were really against New York.

During the three weeks which had elapsed since the grand reconnoissance of New York, it was not alone Clinton who felt uneasiness and perplexity at Washington's apparent hesitation. The Americans and French themselves were at a loss to account for it; for not a whisper of the real considerations which were influencing the American commander was permitted to get abroad. The letters of the Abbe Robin, a priest attached to Rochambeau's army, reflect the pre-



THE AMERICAN PEACE COMMISSIONERS.

vailing uncertainty and speculation. On the 15th of August he wrote: "They who supposed we were to direct our route toward Virginia begin now to think they were deceived. Part of the army on this [the French] side are preparing to march down by way of Kingsbridge; and on the other [American] side orders are given to get ready to proceed toward Staten Island and even to construct ovens to bake bread for the troops when camped in that quarter; others, again, are ordered toward Philadelphia. What are we to think? All this seems to me like our theatrical marches where the concern and perplexity of the spectators is continually increasing. I

am in doubt whether the unravelling of the matter will compensate for the trouble, anxiety, and uneasiness it occasions. . . . It is said the armies will move in a day or two, which will enable us to determine the better to what quarter we are to proceed."

There was indeed the most flourishing display on Washington's part of resolute and far-extending preparations to besiege New York. Besides beginning to build ovens in the vicinity of Staten Island, he had a large camp marked out there and much fuel collected. He caused the Westchester County roads leading down to Kingsbridge to be cleared by pioneers, as if preliminary to a march in that direction. He also adopted the familiar ruse of misleading dispatches, which were intrusted to ingenious scouts, who fell in with parties of the enemy and after desperate pretended efforts to escape were taken and reluctantly gave up their valuable papers.

On the 19th of August Washington began the great movement which was to terminate in the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown and the utter paralysis of Great Britain's armed power in the American States. All being in readiness for breaking camp, he dispatched Hazen's regiment and the New Jersey line across the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry, with orders to make a feint toward Staten Island, and, drawing up the main body of the American army, he had it paraded facing New York. Then he had the troops turned about and marched with all speed up the river road, by way of Tarrytown, Sing Sing, and the new bridge across the Croton, to Verplanck's Point. The French followed by the circuitous route of White Plains, North Castle, Pine's Bridge, and Crompond. "The inhabitants of the country," says the Abbe Robin, "were greatly surprised to see us returning by the same road, so poor, and the Tories, with a malicious sneer, demanded if we were going to rest from our labors." By the 26th both armies had completed their movement across King's Ferry. The advance through the eastern part of New Jersey was made so as to have it appear that Staten Island was menaced. Sir Henry Clinton suspected nothing of the truth until Washington was well advanced toward Philadelphia. Everything conjoined to favor the ultimate object of the campaign. The fleet of de Grasse, comprising twenty-eight ships of the line with some 4,000 troops on board, arrived in Chesapeake Bay on the 30th of August. Washington and Rochambeau, with their forces, sat down before Yorktown in the latter part of September. The place surrendered, more than 7,000 British and Hessian troops laying down their arms, on the 19th of October, just two months after the march from Dobbs Ferry was begun.

Washington's last act before marching away from Dobbs Ferry

was to address to General Heath, the commander at West Point, an explicit letter of instructions. He assigned to that officer the command of all the troops remaining in the department, "consisting of the two regiments of New Hampshire, ten of Massachusetts, and five of Connecticut infantry, the corps of invalids, Sheldon's Legion, the 3d Regiment of artillery," and various bodies of militia. He directed Heath to have prominently in view at all times the defense of the Highlands and the Hudson River. Secondarily he was to "cover" the country below, but "without hazarding the safety of the posts in the Highlands." Finally, Washington recommended that the position of the American forces should not be pushed farther down than the "north side of the Croton," and, consistently with this recommendation, he ordered the demolition of the redoubt at Dobbs Ferry.

General Heath's conduct of the post during the winter of 1780-81 was in strict conformity with these instructions. His Memoirs contain very few records of unusual happenings for that period. There were, however, some occurrences on the lines and in the Neutral Ground that should receive brief mention.

On the 2d of December, 1781, there was a sharp engagement near Merritt's Tavern, at the upper end of King Street, in the Town of Rye, a party of de Lancey's cavalry attacking a detachment of New York infantry levies which was stationed there, under the command of Captain Sackett. The British cavalry, says Baird, were "repulsed three times with the bayonet, not a shot being fired by the Americans," and he adds: "This is said to have been the most astonishing feat, on the part of both officers and men, that was enacted during the whole war. General Washington often spoke of the affair, and it was reported all over Europe, to show the utility of the bayonet and that a small party of infantry thus armed may successfully resist a strong body of cavalry." After the third charge the Americans fired with good effect, and the incident ended with the discomfiture of the British.

At the end of January, 1782, an expedition of fifty men left Peekskill for West Farms, arriving there about midnight. This was one of the numerous undertakings to surprise and capture Colonel James de Lancey, and, like all the others, failed to realize that much sought end. But some prisoners and horses were taken. The retiring Americans (commanded by Captain Daniel Williams) were pursued by British cavalry, and, in their turn, were surprised the next morning while quartered at Orser's, near the Hudson, just below the Croton River. There was a spirited encounter, one of the Americans—the gallant George McChain—being killed and several made prisoners (among them John Paulding, the captor of Andre).

In February (the 7th) fifty of de Lancey's Horse came up as far as Chappaqua. From there they went to Wright's Mills, and, falling in with a detachment of General Waterbury's command, killed one and took four prisoners.

In March two successful attacks were made by the Americans on de Lancey's camp at Morrisania. The first of these expeditions (March 4) was led by Captain Hunnewell, with a body of volunteer horse backed by infantry under the command of Major Woodbridge. The party assaulted the cantonment just before sunrise, taking the enemy completely by surprise, killing and wounding many, and carrying away twenty prisoners. During the retreat Abraham Dyckman, the heroic Kingsbridge guide, was mortally wounded. On the 26th of March there was a similar attack, though on a smaller scale. The American party consisted of only thirteen mounted volunteers, at whose head was Michael Dyckman, brother of Abraham. This insignificant band penetrated to the camp of the Rangers and took a number of prisoners, with whom they returned safely to the lines, twice facing about and putting to flight a party of horsemen that pursued them. We believe this was the last encounter of the Revolution in Westchester County.

Shortly after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, there being no further employment for the main American army at the South, Washington dispatched it back to the Highlands to resume the watch on the Hudson. During the winter of 1781-82, and the succeeding spring and summer, it was quartered at Newburgh, West Point, and New Windsor, on the west bank of the river. Meantime the French army under Rochambeau lay in Virginia. De Grasse's fleet returned to the West Indies, where in April, 1782, it was totally defeated by the British Admiral Rodney, de Grasse himself being made prisoner.

Washington resumed the chief command of the army in the Highlands at the end of March, 1782, making his headquarters at Newburgh. Rumors of British desires and preparatory measures for peace now began to arrive. Sir Henry Clinton was removed from the command of the British forces in America, his successor, Sir Guy Carleton, reaching New York on the 6th of May. The next day he sent to Washington a communication announcing the readiness of the British ministry to negotiate a peace on the basis of the independence of America. But the plain interpretation of this letter was that Great Britain wished to treat with the United States alone, ignoring France in the matter, and congress was unwilling to listen to such a suggestion. Moreover, the English government refrained from making any offer for a cessation of hostilities, and thus

a state of war still existed, notwithstanding the complete inactivity on both sides. For several months Carleton diligently cultivated his amicable correspondence with Washington. Dr. Thacher records in his Military Journal that on the 25th of July the regiment to which he was attached was sent to occupy the post at Dobbs Ferry. "Flags are passing and repassing from this post to New York and back every day," he writes under date of August 5.

In this uncertain posture of affairs, and amid the general regret excited by the news of the French disasters at sea, Washington received intimations that Carleton was preparing to dispatch a large portion of his New York command to the West Indies for the purpose of conquering several of the French islands. He thereupon advised Rochambeau (still in Virginia) to march to the Hudson and again effect a junction with the American army in Westchester

JOHN JAY'S SNUFFBOX.

County, so as to menace New York and prevent Carleton from executing that design. Rochambeau willingly agreed to the proposal, set his army in motion, and after a leisurely march crossed King's Ferry to Verplanck's Point on the 14th of September. Meantime Washington had begun serious preparations for threatening New York. On the 22d of August, says Heath, the "light infantry of the American army moved down and encamped near Peekskill." On the 29th "an order of encampment and battle for the American army was published." On the 31st as many of the army still remaining in the Highlands as could be carried in boats "embarked at their respective brigade landings, and the whole of the boats being in order fell down to Verplanck's Point, where the troops disembarked and encamped. They made a most beautiful appearance when in

the boats and in motion. The remainder of the army marched down by land."

The ceremonies and amenities attending the second junction of the French and American armies in our county are thus described by Thacher in his valuable Journal:

September 14.—The whole army was paraded under arms this morning in order to honor his Excellency Count Rochambeau on his arrival from the southward. The troops were all formed in two lines, extending from the ferry, where the Count crossed, to headquarters. A troop of horse met and received him at King's Ferry, and conducted him through the line to General Washington's quarters, where, sitting on his horse by the side of his Excellency, the whole army marched before him and paid the usual salute and honors. Our troops were now in complete uniform, and exhibited every mark of soldierly discipline. Count Rochambeau was most highly gratified to perceive the very great improvement which the army had made in appearance since he last reviewed them, and expressed his astonishment at their rapid progress in military skill and discipline. He said to General Washington: "You must have formed an alliance with the king of Prussia. These troops are Prussians." Several of the officers of the French army who have seen troops of the different European nations have bestowed the highest encomium and applause on our army, and declare that they had seen none superior to the Americans.

The last of the French troops arrived on the 18th of September. The army of Rochambeau made its encampment at and about the village of Crompond,[1] the Americans remaining on Verplanck's Point. During the continuance of the allies in these positions they undertook no hostile movement against the British, and Sir Guy Carleton was reciprocally inactive. Heath records, however, that on the 16th of September "The enemy made a grand forage near Valentine's Hill. Sir Guy Carleton was out in person, as was the young prince [William Henry]. The covering party, it was said, consisted of five or six thousand men." And on our side Washington took the significant proceeding of an extensive reconnoiter in person. September 27, according to Heath, "General Washington, covered by the Dragoons and light infantry, reconnoitered the grounds on the east side of the river below the White Plains." Record of this enterprise appears also in Washington's "Accounts with the United States," as follows: "September, 1782.—To the Expences of a Reconnoitre as low as Philipsburg & thence across from Dobbs's ferry to ye Sound with a large Party of Horse, £32 8s [lawful currency]."

In that charming book of personal reminiscences, the Memoirs and Recollections of Count Segur, several pages are devoted to the impressions made upon the poetic temperament of the author during a sojourn at Rochambeau's camp at Crompond. The Count Segur

[1] During the first two weeks, however, Rochambeau had his headquarters at Peekskill, where also most of his army was apparently stationed after its arrival. See, in this connection, the Memoirs of Count Segur (Boston ed., 1825, pp. 275, 276). Count Segur arrived at the camp on the 26th of September, and found Rochambeau quartered at "Piskill" [Peekskill], whence, "a few days afterward," the French proceeded to occupy another position, "that of Crampont" [Crompond].

was one of the most ardent enthusiasts for American liberty among the young French nobility. An officer in the army, he had repeatedly, during the progress of the Revolution, sought opportunity to come to America and fight under Washington, but to his intense disgust had been denied that privilege. Finally, in the spring of 1782, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of the Soisonnais, then with Rochambeau in Virginia; and he also was intrusted by his father, the minister of war, with dispatches to General Rochambeau and a large amount of gold for the royal troops. Landing on the coast of Virginia after a perilous voyage, he proceeded to Rochambeau's camp in our county, where he arrived on the 26th of September. The observations that he made there, and particularly his remarks upon the personality and character of Washington, are extremely agreeable and instructive; but, being quite lengthy, and having no practical bearing on the course of events, it is not convenient to reproduce them in this narrative, which already threatens to pass the bounds fixed by the publishers.[1]

Count Segur's dispatches from the ministry to Rochambeau directed that general to transfer the operations of the French army from the United States to the Antilles, and preparations to that end were soon begun. On the 22d of October the French struck their tents at Crompond and marched across Westchester County on the route to Newport, whence they sailed on the 24th of December for the West Indies. An amusing incident of local interest, which occurred just as the French were making ready to leave, is thus related by Segur:

At the moment of our quitting the camp of Crampont (sic), as M. de Rochambeau was proceeding, at the head of our columns, surrounded by his brilliant staff, an American approached him, tapped him slightly on the shoulder, and, shewing him a paper he held in his hand, said to him: "In the name of the law you are my prisoner!" Several young officers were indignant at this insult offered to their general, but he restrained their impatience by a sign, smiled, and said to the American: "Take me away with you if you can." "No," replied the American, "I have done my duty, and your Excellency may proceed on your march if you wish to set justice at defiance; in that case I only ask to be allowed to withdraw unmolested. Some soldiers, of the division of Soissonnais, have cut down several trees, and burnt them to light their fires; the owner of them claims an indemnity, and has obtained a warrant against you, which I come to execute." M. de Rochambeau, having heard this explanation, which was translated to him by one of his aides-de-camp, called M. de Villemanzy, now a peer of France, and then intendant of the army, appointed him to be his bail, and ordered him to settle this affair, and to pay what should be considered fair, if the indemnity he had already offered was not thought sufficient. The American then withdrew; and the general and his army, who had thus been arrested by a constable, continued their march. A judgment of arbitration was afterwards pronounced, fixing two thousand francs, that is to say, a sum less than the general had offered, as the amount of damages due to this unjust proprietor, who had claimed fifteen thousand, and he was even condemned to pay costs.

[1] The Marquis de Chastellux, one of Rochambeau's principal subordinates, has also left a highly picturesque description. Bolton (rev. ed., I., 172) makes extracts from it, which we commend to our readers.

It is regrettable that our entertaining author omits to record the names of the energetic local functionary and the claimant whom he represented.

On the 24th of October, two days after the departure of the French, the American army on Verplanck's Point maneuvered before the secretary of war; and on the 26th it began to retire to its former position in the Highlands, where it continued until its gradual disbandment the next year.

The preliminary treaty of peace (drawn by John Jay) was signed at Paris by the representatives of Great Britain, France, and the United States, on the 30th of November, 1782. Early in the spring of 1783 a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed by both sides in America. New York was then the only place in the United States still occupied by a British force.

In April Sir Guy Carleton commenced to arrange the preliminaries necessary to be observed before withdrawing his command. The chief thing to be provided for was the conveyance of the Tory refugees out of the United States to the British dominion.[1] As the refugees were many thousands in number, and all of them claimed considerate treatment at the hands of the British authorities, this was not a task capable of being performed with expedition. Several months would indispensably be required for its completion. Meanwhile, however, Sir Guy Carleton deemed it appropriate to have a personal meeting with Washington and come to an understanding with him on the general subject of the prospective evacuation.

The meeting between the two commanders, attended by their staffs, occurred with much eclat on the 6th of May, ceremonials being prolonged through the 7th and terminating on the 8th. A belief has always obtained among the citizens of Dobbs Ferry that this historic event transpired in their village, at the old Van Brugh Livingston house. Lossing, in his Field Book of the Revolution, located it there, and the statement has been repeated by numerous other writers, including the author of the article on the Town of

[1] "Sadness and despair," says Mrs. Lamb, "overwhelmed the Loyalists. New York City presented a scene of distress not easily described. Men who had joined the British army and had exhibited the utmost valor in battle quailed before the inexorable necessity of exile from their native land. They must leave the country or be hanged. Such was the general belief, for those who had shown no mercy counted on none in return. The conscientious and the unprincipled were alike involved in pecuniary ruin. Seeing that they must abandon large estates, many appealed to Carleton for power to collect debts due upon bonds, mortgages, and contracts before the evacuation of the city should take place, for they were penniless. The complications were insurmountable, and nothing was accomplished in that direction. Angry lamentations filled the very air. The victims of civil war inveighed against England for abandoning them, and against their own kindred and country for the inexorable harshness of their doom. They did not pause in their wretchedness to consider what would have been the fate of those who had expended or lost fortunes in the cause of liberty if triumph had been with themselves."

Greenburgh in Scharf's History of Westchester County. Local tradition also identified the Livingston house as the place where Washington and Rochambeau met upon the junction of the allied armies in July, 1781, and where they planned the Yorktown campaign upon receiving the news from de Grasse's fleet in August of the same year. Reposing confidence in the accuracy of the published statements and prevailing beliefs regarding the venerable house, some members of the Sons of the Revolution started a subscription in 1893 to erect a monument commemorative of such immortal associations. Ample contributions were forthcoming promptly, and the monument was dedicated on the 14th of June, 1894.[1] It was a gala day for the village. The oration was delivered by General Stewart L. Woodford, and the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew and Vice-President Stevenson were among the conspicuous participants in the exercises.

But since the erection of the Dobbs Ferry monument it has been established by indisputable evidence that the memorable meeting of Washington and Carleton did not occur in the Livingston house or at Dobbs Ferry, but at Tappan (Orangetown) on the opposite side of the river.[2] A conclusive article on this point by Mr. Daniel Van Tassel, of Tarrytown, was published in the Tarrytown *Argus* for March 23, 1895. The principal testimony cited by Mr. Van Tassel is a letter from the well-known Colonel Richard Varick, dated May 18, 1783, describing the affair with much circumstantiality. It is unnecessary to go into the particulars of the matter here, and indeed we fear that even the brief allusion to it which we have permitted ourselves may wound the sensibilities of some of our readers. It is proper to add that the originators of the monument at Dobbs Ferry acted in entire good faith and with very praiseworthy motives, upon grounds deemed sufficient at the time.

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[1] The inscription on the Dobbs Ferry monument is as follows:

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS

Here, July 6, 1781, the French allies under Rochambeau joined the American army

Here, August 14, 1781, Washington planned the Yorktown campaign, which brought to a triumphant end the war for American Independence

Here, May 6, 1783, Washington and Sir Guy Carleton arranged for the evacuation of American soil by the British

And opposite this point, May 8, 1783, a British sloop-of-war fired 17 guns in honor of the American commander-in-chief, the first salute by Great Britain to the United States of America

WASHINGTON
ROCHAMBEAU

Erected
June 14, 1894
By the
New York State Society
Sons of the American Revolution

The claims made in the first two paragraphs of the inscription are shown by Mr. Van Tassel, in his article referred to in the text, to be as incapable of historical demonstration as the third claim is mistaken.

[2] The following entry appears in Washington's "Accounts with the United States," written in his own hand: "To Expenditures upon an interview with Sir Guy Carleton *at Orange Town* exclusive of what was paid by the Contract," etc., £24 9s.

THE CONTINENTAL ARMY RE-ENTERING NEW YORK

The practical outcome of the conference at Tappan was an agreement by Sir Guy Carleton to give up the various outlying posts of New York, and finally New York itself, as soon as convenient. The first step in this direction was taken on the 14th of May, when (says Colonel Varick) Westchester County was surrendered to the State government by the withdrawal of the British garrison from Morrisania. We have not seen this circumstance mentioned in any published work on Westchester County or formal contribution to its history.

But though the 14th of May was Evacuation Day for Westchester County, it was not until the 25th of November that the British troops in New York City took their farewell. The deportation of the thousands of Tories to Nova Scotia, the West Indies, and Great Britain taxed all the shipping facilities of Sir Guy Carleton until that time.

As the great day approached, Washington made his arrangements for taking possession of the city in conjunction with the constituted authorities of the State of New York. He dispatched from West Point, through our county, a force sufficient for the occupation of Kingsbridge and other outlying posts as they should be surrendered. And then, attended by his staff and joined by Governor Clinton, Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, and other representatives of the State government, he followed. The following itinerary of the distinguished party through Westchester County is from a memorandum written at the time by Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt:

> I went from Peekskill, Tuesday, the 18th of November, in company with his excellency Gov. Clinton, Col. Benson, and Col. Campbell; lodged that night with Gen. [Philip] Cortlandt at Croton River, proceeded and lodged Wednesday night [19th] at Edw. Covenhaven's where we mett his excellency Gen. Washington and his Aids. The next night [20th] we lodged with Mr. Frederick Van Cortlandt at *The* [Little] *Yonkers*, after having dined with Gen. Lewis Morris. Fryday morning [21st] we rode in company with the Commander-in-Chief as far as the Widow Day's, at Harlem where we held a council.[1]

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[1] Irving says that after Sir Guy Carleton notified Washington of the time when the different posts would be vacated, Governor Clinton "summoned the members of the State council to convene at Eastchester on the 21st of November, for the purpose of establishing civil government in the districts hitherto occupied by the British." From a Westchester County point of view, it would be pleasing to believe that our Town of Eastchester was the place where these final official arrangements were made. But, according to Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, the meeting of the council for that purpose was held on Manhattan Island.

CHAPTER XXIV

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE COUNTY CONTINUED—FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE COMPLETION OF THE CROTON AQUEDUCT (1842)

N a previous chapter we have briefly noticed the organization of the State government of New York on the 20th of April, 1777, when a constitution, framed by John Jay, was adopted by the "Convention of Representatives of the State of New York" in session at Kingston.

At the time of the British invasion of Westchester County, beginning October 12, 1776, the county records were removed from the court house at White Plains by Theophilus Barton, clerk of the county court, and deposited in a place of safety, where they remained until the end of the war. White Plains, which had been the county seat since 1759, ceased to be adapted for that purpose, partly because of the burning of the court house on the night of the 5th of November, 1776, and partly because of the exposed situation of the village between the lines of the two armies. Upon the destruction of the court house the village of Bedford was made the seat of the county government, and it was in the Presbyterian meeting-house of Bedford that the first county court organized under the provisions of the constitution of 1777 held its sessions. That building, in its turn, was burned by the British officer Tarleton, when he made his raid on Poundridge and Bedford, July 2, 1779. Thereupon the courts transferred their sittings to the meeting-house in Upper Salem, where they continued until 1785. In that year, the church at Bedford having been rebuilt, it was ordered that the courts should resume their sessions at Bedford. By an act of the legislature passed May 1, 1786, the sum of £1,800 was appropriated for the erection of two new court houses, one at White Plains and the other at Bedford, under the superintendence of Stephen Ward, Ebenezer Lockwood, Jonathan G. Tompkins, Ebenezer Purdy, Thomas Thomas, Richard Hatfield, and Richard Sackett, Jr. These two structures were completed in 1787, and thenceforward until 1868 Bedford shared with White Plains the honor of being a "half shire" town. The second White

Plains court house of 1787 [1] occupied the same site as the first, on Broadway, and continued in use until 1857, when the present fine building on Railroad Avenue was finished. The Bedford court house, also erected in 1787, is still in existence, being now used as a town hall.

After the Revolution the board of supervisors, which had had but a meager membership during the war, resumed at once its character of a representative body of all the organized communities of the county. The following is a list of the members of the board, by localities, for the year 1784:

Abel Smith, Precinct of North Castle.
Thomas Hunt, Borough Town of Westchester.
William Paulding, Manor of Philipseburgh.
Jonathan G. Tompkins, Manor of Scarsdale.
Thaddeus Crane, Town of Upper Salem.
William Miller, Harrison's Precinct.
Joseph Strang, Manor of Van Cortlandt.
Ebenezer Lockwood, Precinct of Poundridge.
Gilbert Budd, Town of Mamaroneck.
Ebenezer S. Burling, Town of Eastchester.
Daniel Horton, Precinct of White Plains.
Israel Honeywell, Yonkers.
John Thomas, Town of Rye.
Philip Pell, Manor of Pelham.
Benjamin Stevenson, Town of New Rochelle.
William Morris, Manor of Morrisania.
Abijah Gilbert, Town of Lower Salem.

In addition to the localities represented in this list was Ryck's Patent—the present Peekskill and its vicinity,—which had always retained an identity distinct from that of the Manor of Cortlandt, and even previously to the Revolution had been represented in the board of supervisors.

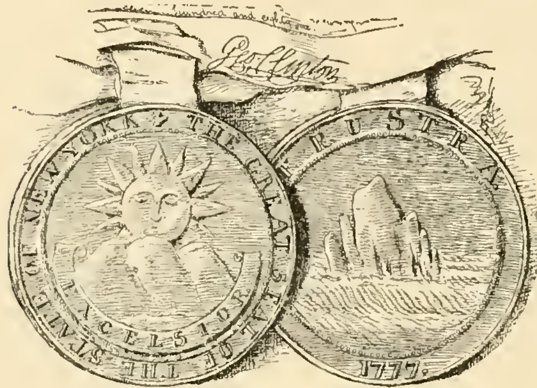
No reconstruction of the civil divisions of the county having as yet been effected under the State government, the localities claiming and receiving representation in the board of supervisors after the Revolution were only the old established ones of colonial times, and indeed no innovations in the local designations of political divisions were made until the legislative act of 1788, setting off the county into townships. The eastern portion of Cortlandt Manor, however, comprehending the "Oblong" and considerable territory to the west, had acquired the local name of Salem, and indeed there was an "Upper" Salem [2] and a "Lower" Salem, each of which had its supervisor. The representative from the old confiscated Manor

[1] Much to the general regret, the second court house at White Plains, which gave place to a more modern structure, together with the adjoining property belonging to the county, passed into the hands of private parties several years ago, and the building was torn down, carried off, and passed into the unknown. The remembrance is all of the historic structure that remains.—*Smith's Manual of Westchester County.*

[2] Upper Salem was also known locally as "De Lancey Town," so-called for Stephen de Lancey, its principal proprietor under the division effected by the Van Cortlandt heirs. Other parts of the manor had their local designations in common parlance. Mrs. Beekman's estate on the Hudson was, from her Christian name, styled Gertrudesborough, and what is now the Town of Somers was called first Hanover and afterward Stephentown (for Stephen Van Cortlandt). The name Cortlandttown was applied to the district where Philip Van Cortlandt had his residence.

of Philipseburgh was still styled the supervisor for the Manor of Philipseburgh; and although there was a separate supervisor for the lower section of that manor, known as Yonkers, this was no change in the former order of things, since the Yonkers portion of the manor had had its own supervisor from early times.

The recovery of Westchester County from the effects of the Revolutionary War was an exceedingly slow process. We have shown in a previous chapter (see p. 418) that there was an increase of only 2,258 in the population of the county from the time of the last colonial census, taken in 1771, to that of the first federal enumeration, made in 1790, and that the meagerness of this growth during nineteen years (including seven years of peace) is even more significant when it is remembered that many thousand acres of confiscated lands were sold after the war by the State at low prices.



ORIGINAL NEW YORK STATE SEAL.

The principal confiscation by the State of lands of British adherents in Westchester County was that of Philipseburgh Manor. The act forfeiting the manor was passed in 1779, whereupon all its lands, extending from the Spuyten Duyvil Creek to the Croton, and from the Hudson to the Bronx, became the property of the State of New York. In due time provision was made by the legislature to sell to private persons all the confiscated lands in the State (with the exception of certain properties which were reserved for gifts to particular individuals), and to that end commissioners of forfeiture were appointed for the four districts into which the State was divided—the Eastern, Western, Middle, and Southern. General Philip Van Cortlandt, son of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt, was one of the commissioners for the Southern district, which comprehended our county. Most of the resulting sales occurred in 1785, although a few were made in 1786. The following is a list of the purchasers of forfeited lands in the Yonkers portion of the manor, which we extract from Allison's History of Yonkers:

	ACRES		ACRES
John Lawrence	488	Eleazer Hart	154
Ward Hunt	343	Isaac Odell	144
Abraham Odell	324	Robert Reid	141
Jacob Post	323	Elisha Barton	135
Cornelius P. Low	320½	Dennis Post	135
Isaac Lawrence, Jr.	308	Nicholas Underhill	134
Benjamin Fowler	305	Caleb Smith	130
Samuel Lawrence (estimated)	300	Dennis Lent	128
Isaac Post	293	John Devoe	126
Thomas Sherwood	290	Abigail Sherwood	125
Isaac Vermilye	273¾	Frederick Underhill	125
Evert Brown (estimated)	267	Hon. Richard Morris (estimated)	117
Henry Odell	259	Henry Brown	113
Mary Vincent	240	Parsonage Lot	107
Thomas Valentine	238	Elnathan Taylor	99
Jacob Vermilye	221	Frederick Van Cortlandt (about)	98
William Crawford	202	Margery Rich	92
John Lamb	202	John Guerino	89
Robert Johnston. } Lewis Ogden }	190	William Hyatt	89
		Mary Valentine	76
Thomas Barker	189	Abijah Hammond	69
Isaac Smith } Thomas Smith }	185	Jacobus Dyckman	45
		David Hunt	41
Shadrack Taylor	184	Abraham Lent	41
John Williams	177	Philip Livingston	31
Patience Burnett	173	Stephen Oakley	29½
Peter Forshee	170	Charles Duryea	29
Jacob Smith	165	Stephen Sherwood	24½
Joseph Oakley	164	Sarah Archer	18½
John Browne	156	Mary Merrill	14¾
Andrew Bostwick	155½		
Total			9,785¾

"By the acts respectively of 1786 and 1792," says Allison, "the legislature first conveyed, and then confirmed, the property described as the Glebe to Saint John's Church forever. Two acres where the church stands, two where Thomas Sherwood, the gardener, lived, and about two acres of meadow adjoining the Saw Mill River and the road, being a part of the Glebe land, were reserved and excepted from C. P. Low's purchase. Mr. John Williams, one of the purchasers, had been the steward of the Philipseburgh Manor under Colonel Frederick Philipse. John Guerino was a Frenchman, who kept a tavern near Hunt's Bridge. The property purchased of the commissioners by C. P. Low, whose name appears in the foregoing list, was the Manor Hall property. Low was a New York merchant. He bought the Manor Hall property and three hundred and twenty acres of land for £14,520. He never occupied it, but on May 12, 1786, sold it to William Constable, also a New York merchant. From the foregoing record it appears that in 1785 'the Yonkers,' as now bounded, was owned by between sixty and seventy persons, and a

study of the old map leads to the conclusion that the number of houses within the limits of the present city were in 1785 between three score and four score."

The Manor House of the Philipses on the Pocantico River—the ancient "Castle Philipse"—in the present Town of Mount Pleasant was bought of the commissioners, with 1,600 acres adjoining, by Gerard G. Beekman, Jr., husband of Cornelia Van Cortlandt, that indomitable patriotic lady (daughter of the lieutenant-governor) who

YONKERS IN 1784[1].

was the hostess of the Van Cortlandt house near Peekskill during the Revolution, and whose stern reply to an insolent soldier on a perilous occasion is celebrated (see p. 427). Mrs. Beekman died in 1847 at the age of ninety-four.

Besides Philipseburgh Manor, various estates of Tories scattered through the county were confiscated. All of these, however, were properties of but moderate dimensions. Several of them were conferred by the State upon patriotic persons as gifts. John Paulding and David Williams, two of the captors of Andre, received forfeited

[1] From an engraving in the possession of D. McN. Stauffer, of Yonkers. Copyrighted, 1899, by William Palmer East. Reproduced by special permission.

farms in Westchester County—the former being given the handsome property of Dr. Peter Huggeford in the Manor of Cortlandt, and the latter the estate of Edmund Ward in Eastchester. The famous Thomas Paine, author of "Common Sense," was presented with a tract of some three hundred acres in Upper New Rochelle, which had previously belonged to one Frederic Deveau. About 1802, after his return to America, Paine took up his residence on this property, and he lived there most of his remaining years and was buried in a corner of the farm. His bones were disinterred and taken to England by William Cobbett in 1819. The spot is marked by a monument to his memory.

The subdivision of the county into townships was made by an act of the legislature passed March 7, 1788. By this important statute twenty-one "towns" were erected, as follows: Westchester, Morrisania, Yonkers, Greenburgh, Mount Pleasant, Eastchester, Pelham, New Rochelle, Scarsdale, Mamaroneck, White Plains, Harrison, Rye, North Castle, Bedford, Poundridge, Salem, North Salem, Cortlandt, Yorktown, and Stephentown.

The Town of Westchester included all of the original Westchester and West Farms tracts, with Fordham Manor.

The Town of Morrisania coincided with the old Morrisania Manor. But the existence of Morrisania as a separate town was speedily brought to an end.[1] By an act passed February 22, 1791, it was annexed to the Town of Westchester, from which it was not again severed until 1855 (December 7).

The three Towns of Yonkers, Greenburgh, and Mount Pleasant were created out of the Manor of Philipseburgh. The original bounds of Yonkers were the same as at present, except that the southern portion of it has recently been annexed to the City of New York. Greenburgh has always retained the limits fixed for it by the act of 1788. Its northern boundary, as described in that measure, was "a line beginning on the east side of Hudson's River at the southwest corner of the land lately conveyed by the commissioners of forfeiture for the southern district to Gerard G. Beekman, Jr., and running from thence along the southerly and easterly bounds thereof to the farm of William David, and then along the southerly and easterly

[1] The appointment of Morrisania as one of the original townships of the county was probably due to the influence of the Morris family. At the time of the passage of the township act of 1788 the federal government was about to be organized, and the question of the selection of a site for the national capital was coming into prominence. Lewis Morris entertained a strong conviction that Morrisania was the most eligible place. There is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society the draft of a "Memorial by Lewis Morris, of Morrisania." "To his Excellency the President and the Honorable the Members of the Congress of the United States of America," communicated in 1790, in which the special advantages of the place are recited. (For the text of this memorial see Scharf, i., 823.)

bounds of the said farm of the said William David to the road leading to the White Plains, and then easterly along the same road to the Bronx River." To Mount Pleasant was assigned the remainder of the manor. Out of its territory was constructed the new Town of Ossining by an act passed May 2, 1845.

The bounds fixed for the Town of Eastchester were Westchester at the south, the Bronx River at the west, Scarsdale at the north, and the Hutchinson River at the east.

Pelham was identical with the former Pelham Manor, comprehending City, Hart, and Appleby's Islands.

New Rochelle, Scarsdale, Mamaroneck, Harrison, Rye, Bedford, and Poundridge, as organized into towns, retained their former well established divisional lines.

North Castle was bounded on the north by Mount Pleasant, White Plains, Harrison, and Connecticut, on the east by Connecticut, Poundridge, and Bedford, on the north by the Manor of Cortlandt and Bedford, and on the west by the Bronx River and Bedford. But in 1791 (March 18) another town, called New Castle, was set off from North Castle, comprehending the territory west of a line drawn from the southwest corner of Bedford to the head of the Bronx River.

Salem, North Salem, Cortlandt, Yorktown, and Stephentown were towns partitioned from the Manor of Cortlandt.

The township named Salem has long been popularly known as Lower Salem. By an act of April 6, 1806, its name was officially changed to South Salem, and by a further act, February 13, 1840, to the present style of Lewisboro. The name of Lewisboro was given it in honor of John Lewis,[1] a liberal benefactor of the public schools and donor of the glebe lands of Saint John's Protestant Episcopal Church at Salem. A portion of North Salem was annexed to Lewisboro April 26, 1844.

North Salem included the whole of "north lots" numbers 9 and 10 of the Manor of Cortlandt, with lot number 8 as far as the Croton River, which formed its western boundary. To the two Salems fell the whole of the "Oblong."

The Townships of Cortlandt, Yorktown, and Stephentown were constructed out of the remaining portion of Cortlandt Manor. Yorktown was so-called in remembrance of the encampment within its borders of the French army after its return from the successful Virginia

[1] John Lewis was descended from an old New England family. His father was a Revolutionary soldier, who removed from Connecticut to South Salem in 1808. The son made a large fortune in mercantile pursuits in New York. He was one of the founders of the Free Academy in New York, and in 1840 gave $10,000 to the support of the common schools in the township now called by his name. He died at his Lewisboro home on the 1st of October, 1871.

campaign. Stephentown—the present Somers—was named for Stephen Van Cortlandt. The present name was adopted April 6, 1808, in honor of Captain Richard Somers, the hero of the Tripolitan war. A part of New Castle was annexed to Somers in 1846.

Of the twenty-one original towns, North Castle was the largest, having about 30,000 acres; but after the setting off from it of New Castle in 1791, Bedford, with its 24,700 acres, took the first rank, which it has always since maintained. The smallest of the original towns were Pelham (3,200 acres), Mamaroneck (3,900 acres), Scarsdale (3,900 acres), and New Rochelle (5,200 acres).

The first federal census was taken in 1790, two years after the organization of our county into towns. The following were the totals for the various political divisions then existing:

TOWNS	POPULATION	TOWNS	POPULATION
North Castle (including New Castle)	2,478	Yonkers	1,125
Bedford	2,470	Poundridge	1,062
Cortlandt	1,932	North Salem	1,058
Mount Pleasant (including the present Ossining)	1,924	Harrison	1,004
		Rye	986
Yorktown	1,609	Eastchester	740
Salem (now Lewisboro)	1,453	New Rochelle	692
Greenburgh	1,400	White Plains	505
Westchester (including West Farms, Morrisania, and Fordham Manor)	1,336	Mamaroneck	452
		Scarsdale	281
Stephentown (now Somers)	1,297	Pelham	199
Total			24,003

The towns which led in population at this period were the ones having the largest superficial area, and it is also noticeable that the distribution of population in 1790 was without the slightest reference to relative local advantages as those advantages are estimated at the present time. For example, Bedford, lying in the northern central part of the county, remote from New York City, peopled exclusively by farmers, and from its natural conditions incapable of any development other than agricultural, had nearly as many inhabitants as Westchester and Yonkers combined, although the united area of Westchester and Yonkers was some 1,500 acres greater than that of Bedford. Poundridge, smaller than Yonkers, had nevertheless almost as many inhabitants. Lewisboro was more populous than Greenburgh, though not very much exceeding it in size. Yorktown had only a hundred fewer inhabitants than Eastchester, White Plains, Scarsdale, and Pelham together. Still another fact stands out prominently: the localities which were least exposed to the ravages of the contending forces during the Revolution were those showing the most satisfactory conditions of population.

The purely agricultural character of Westchester County at the end of the eighteenth century is perfectly demonstrated by these census returns. In truth, there was at that time no single village displaying circumstances of local activity from which the prospect of any substantial ultimate growth might be deduced. The existence of the foundations of such thriving communities as Yonkers, Dobbs Ferry, Tarrytown, Sing Sing, and Peekskill on the Hudson, New Rochelle, Mamaroneck, and Rye on the Sound, and White Plains and various other villages in the central sections of the county, is recognizable, with more or less distinctness, at this period; but in each case these foundations were strictly elementary, represented by such instruments of advancing civilization as churches, mills for the grinding of grain, small general stores, and inns for the accommodation of travelers, with here and there a schoolhouse. The only commercial industry that had been inaugurated was that of transmitting market produce to New York, in which a few sloops were engaged, both on the Hudson and the Sound. But most of the farmers preferred to cart their own wares to the city. "What a sight must have presented itself," says a writer in Scharf's History, describing a somewhat later period, "as over our three great thoroughfares not only the farmers of the county, but often, as when the river and Sound were icebound, those of the regions beyond, passed into the city with their heavy loads of produce. There were hours of the day when the roads, it is said, were fairly blocked by the heavy traffic upon them, and eyewitnesses declare that at night even the floors of the bar and sitting-rooms of the taverns were spread over with the sleepers tarrying to rest themselves and their teams for a few hours on the way."

To the national convention at Philadelphia which framed the constitution of the United States Westchester County contributed one of its most distinguished and influential members, Gouverneur Morris. It is true he sat in that body as a delegate from Pennsylvania, but, as has been aptly observed by one of our local historians, "it is a pleasure to remember that in the person of Gouverneur Morris, who was born on Westchester soil and who returned again to represent her in the United States senate, and whose remains are sacredly enshrined in her bosom, she was present to form that wise and beneficent instrument." The federal constitution was ratified in this State on the 26th of July, 1788, by a convention which held its sessions at Poughkeepsie. The delegates from our county were Thaddeus Crane, of North Salem; Richard Hatfield, of White Plains; Philip Livingston and Lewis Morris, of Westchester; Lott W. Sarles, of New Castle; and Philip Van Cortlandt, of Cortlandt. All of them voted affirma-

tively on the question of ratification. In the last continental congress held under the old confederation of the State, that of 1788-89, Philip Pell, of our county, had the honor of being one of the representatives from the State of New York.

During the eight years of Washington's administration as president the Federalist party usually enjoyed the preponderance in Westchester County. With the incoming of Jefferson, however, the anti-Federalists, or Republicans, gained the ascendency, which they transmitted to their political heirs, the Democrats; and indeed since the beginning of its organization the Democratic party has lost but two presidential elections in Westchester County (1848 and 1896).

The congressional district to which this county was apportioned was represented in the national house of representatives for sixteen successive years (1793-1809) by General Philip Van Cortlandt.[1] From 1795 until 1801 our John Jay was governor of the State. In the fall of 1797 John Adams, then president of the United States, for some time made his official residence in the Halsey house in Eastchester, having come there to escape the yellow fever, which was raging in Philadelphia, the national capital.[2] One of the Jefferson presidential electors of the State of New York in 1800 was Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt, a younger brother of Philip.

In 1791 the representation of Westchester County in the assembly was reduced from six members to five, in 1802 to four, and in 1808 to three.

In such a work as this, which makes no pretensions except as a narrative history of the county, it is impossible to note, progressively, the names and services of the various incumbents of the many offices, legislative, judicial, county, and local, elected or appointed from time to time. Such an exact record does not come within the scope of a general history. An exhaustive Manual and Civil List of Westchester County has recently been published by Mr. Henry

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[1] Philip Van Cortlandt was the eldest son of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt. He was born in the City of New York, September 1, 1749, and was brought up at the Manor House on the Croton. He was graduated from King's (Columbia) College at an early age. At the breaking out of the Revolution, Governor Tryon forwarded him a major's commission in the British service, which he destroyed. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel in the continental army, and remained in active duty until the end of the war, retiring with the rank of brigadier-general. He rendered very distinguished services on many occasions. He was a member of the military court which tried General Benedict Arnold for improper conduct in 1779-80. Alluding to this trial he wrote: "Had all the court known Arnold's former conduct as well as myself, he would have been dismissed from the service." After the war he retired to the Manor House at Croton. He served as one of the commissioners of forfeiture, and, as stated above, as representative in congress for sixteen years, finally declining a re-election. He accompanied the Marquis de Lafayette in his tour of the United States in 1824, and entertained him at the Manor House. He died November 21, 1831.

[2] The Halsey house was owned at that time by Colonel W. S. Smith, a son-in-law of President Adams.

T. Smith, of New Rochelle, to which we refer all of our readers who may have occasion to obtain specific information on these lines. We must restrict ourselves in the present pages to incidental notice of the more conspicuous men who figure in the general annals of the county, and even in this particular we must crave the considerate indulgence of the reader if our allusions are but partial, pleading for our justification the necessary limitations of the plan of this History.

From 1802 to 1807 the distinguished John Watts, Jr., occupied the position of "first judge" of our county court. He was the son of John Watts, Sr., and Ann, daughter of Stephen de Lancey. The father was a member of the king's council and a stanch adherent of the crown; his magnificent estate on Manhattan Island was confiscated, and he died, an impoverished exile, in Wales. The son was the last royal recorder of New York City (1774-77). After the organization of the federal government he was speaker of the New York assembly for three years, and served one term in congress. His last public office was that of judge of Westchester County. His city house was at No. 3 Broadway, New York, and he had a fine country residence near New Rochelle, on a slope overlooking Hunter's Island. Like his father, he married into the de Lancey family of our county: his wife was Jane, daughter of Peter de Lancey, of "the Mills." He was a man of consummate abilities. Possessed of great wealth, he diverted a million dollars of a fortune which would have been his by inheritance to the endowment of the Leake and Watts Orphan House. He died September 3, 1836, at the age of eighty-seven. A notable statue of Judge Watts stands in Trinity Churchyard, New York, erected by his grandson, General J. Watts de Peyster.

JOHN WATTS, JR.

In 1807 Daniel D. Tompkins, a native of our county, son of the eminent patriot, Jonathan Griffen Tompkins, was elected governor of the State of New York, an office in which he continued to serve until 1817, when he resigned it to become vice-president of the United States. Although he never represented Westchester County

DANIEL D TOMPKINS

Daniel D. Tompkins

in official position, having removed in early life to New York City, and later residing on Staten Island, the memory of Governor Tompkins is held in peculiar affection and honor in the county of his birth. The site of his birthplace is marked by a historical tablet, placed there by the generosity of the late Charles Butler.

Daniel D. Tompkins was born June 21, 1774, on the Fox Meadows estate in Scarsdale. He was the seventh son of Jonathan G. Tompkins. He was graduated from Columbia College with the first honors of his class, was admitted to the bar in 1797, and in 1801 entered upon his public career by serving as a delegate from New York City to the convention called to revise the constitution of the State. In 1802 he was elected to the assembly, and in 1804 he was chosen a member of congress, but resigned that office to accept an appointment as justice of the Supreme Court of the State. He resigned the justiceship when elected governor. His career as chief magistrate was distinguished especially by his great services to the country during the War of 1812-15. He was elected to the vice-presidency, as the colleague of President Monroe, in 1816. His last public office was that of president of the State constitutional convention of 1821. A resident of Staten Island, he originated the ferry from that island to New York City in 1818. The Staten Island village of Tompkinsville was named for him. The concluding years of his life were clouded by aspersions upon his official integrity persistently made by his political enemies. Investigation has fully proved that these accusations were without the slightest justification. He died June 11, 1825.

We extract the following from a recent address on the Life and Services of Governor Tompkins by the Hon. Hugh Hastings, Historian of the State of New York:

He was fully alive at all times to the dangers which menaced this State during the war [of 1812], and his energy and enterprise were no less surprising than the knowledge which he displayed, though he had never acquired any experience as a military man, regarding the care, transportation, equipment, and welfare of the troops he sent to the field. . . . As soon as the legislature met in extra session, November, 1812, he expressed himself in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and, in furtherance of this policy, suggested that the State should make a loan to the national government. . . . He raised within sixty days the sum of $1,000,000 at his own risk, for the public welfare, when the credit of the nation was utterly destroyed. Within forty days he had mustered into service an army of 50,000 men, fully organized, armed, and equipped. All in all, he disbursed over three millions of dollars for the State of New York and the United States during the progress of the war. . . .

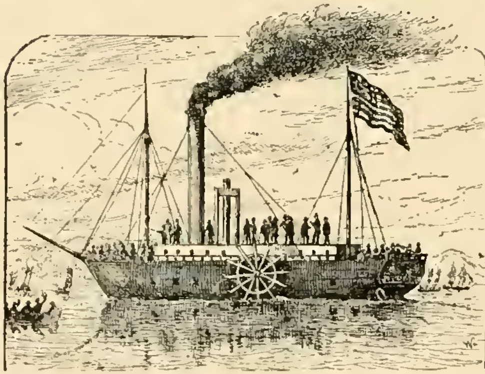
In many of his recommendations to the legislature, Governor Tompkins was far ahead of his time. For instance, at the beginning of the session of 1810, he recommended encouragement, by legal enactment, to domestic manufactures, which had begun to spring up all over the country. He created our common school system, and suggested carrying into effect the law of 1805, which created the common school fund, whose interest was to be distributed among the schools of the State. . . . One of his last acts as governor of the State, the special message which he sent to the legislature February 24, 1817—the day he resigned as governor,—carried the recommendation for the abolition of domestic slavery in the State, to take

effect July 4, 1827. In accordance with this proposition, the legislature passed an act on the 31st of March, 1817, and at the prescribed time slavery was wiped off the statute books of the State of New York. . . .

"Of all the able men who have occupied the chair of governor of New York State, none ever sustained the onerous and overwhelming responsibilities with more conscientiousness, or guarded the destinies of his State and his people with more fidelity. He was more than a great man; he was a great patriot, a great martyr. He gave his services, his fortune, his reputation, and his life, that his country should maintain its position among the nations of the earth, and for the transcendent results he achieved he deserves the imperishable gratitude of his countrymen."

In the same year that Tompkins was elected governor, 1807, occurred an event of peculiar interest to the people of Westchester County residing on the banks of the Hudson River. This was the passage up the stream, on its trial trip to Albany, of Robert Fulton's steamboat, the "Clermont." It came almost unheralded on the afternoon of September 11, and to most beholders must have been an object quite as astonishing as Hudson's "Half-Moon" had been to the Indian aborigines two hundred years before. Although it was known to specially well informed people that some surprising experiments had been made in the waters surrounding New York City with a vessel propelled by steam, the rustic classes had never heard of the ship.

The "Clermont" performed the voyage to Albany at the speed of about five miles an hour, making only one stop, at Chancellor Livingston's seat on the upper river. The actual running time from New York to Albany was thirty-two hours, and from Albany to New York thirty hours. After this triumphant achievement of the purpose for which it was built the "Clermont" made regular trips to and from Albany as a packet boat. In these first days of steam navigation on the Hudson intense prejudice was harbored against the "Clermont" by the owners of trading sloops, who feared that the successful operation of steamboats would render their property worthless; and it is recorded that attempts were repeatedly made to sink or disable her, which caused the legislature to pass an act prohibiting such practices under serious penalties. It is not improbable that some of the market sloops plying between New York and the Westchester villages were engaged in these reprehensible enterprises against Fulton's boat. Allison, in his History of



THE "CLERMONT."

Yonkers, says that as late as 1823 "no steamboat had ever slowed up to take Yonkers passengers aboard," but that some three years later one John Bashford began to row out intending passengers to put them on board the steamers for the consideration of eighteen pence per person.

In 1810, as determined by the federal census, the population of Westchester County was 30,272; but according to an enumeration made in 1814 it had declined in the latter year to 26,367, a shrinkage of nearly 4,000. This loss is easily accounted for. Our county responded with especial alacrity to the calls of the national and State governments for troops to serve in the second war with England. The decline in population was indeed considerable in almost every township. The figures are so interesting and present a record so honorable that it is very fitting to set them down in detail here.

TOWNS	POPULATION	
	1810	1814
Mount Pleasant (including Ossining)	3,119	2,802
Cortlandt	3,054	2,477
Bedford	2,374	2,287
Westchester (including West Farms, Morrisania, and Fordham)	1,969	1,345
Yorktown	1,924	1,175
Greenburgh	1,862	1,792
Somers	1,782	1,783
Lewisboro	1,566	1,458
North Castle	1,366	1,220
Yonkers	1,365	954
New Castle	1,291	1,243
Rye	1,278	1,185
Poundridge	1,249	913
North Salem	1,204	1,033
Harrison	1,119	825
Eastchester	1,039	942
New Rochelle	996	992
White Plains	693	670
Mamaroneck	496	797
Pelham	267	182
Scarsdale	259	292
Total	30,272	26,367

It is observable that during the twenty years from 1790 to 1810 there was, so far as can be discovered from the census figures, no change in the distinguishing aspect of population in Westchester County. Although the increases in several of the towns were considerable, clearly indicating the rise of hamlets, in no case was the growth large enough to promise any extensive development. Of the townships lying on the Hudson River, Mount Pleasant (then including Ossining), Cortlandt, and Greenburgh showed the largest

gains—1,195, 1,122, and 462 respectively, as against an advance of only 240 in Yonkers.

On the 2d of April, 1813, occurred the incorporation of Sing Sing, the first village of Westchester County organized under the State government. The wording of the act of incorporation is as follows:

The district of country in the Town of Mount Pleasant, contained within the following limits, that is to say: Beginning at the Hudson River, where a run of water, between the lands of Daniel Delavan and Albert Orser, empties into the said Hudson River, north of Sing Sing, from thence eastwardly on a straight line to the house occupied by Charles Yoe, and including the said house, thence southwardly on a straight line until it intersects the Highland Turnpike road on the south line of Samuel Rhodie's land, from thence westwardly on the south line of William Street's land to the Hudson River, and thence northwardly along the said river to the place of beginning, shall hereafter be known and distinguished by the name of the Village of Sing Sing.

A curious provision contained in the charter of Sing Sing was a section empowering the trustees to enact a by-law "prohibiting any baker or other person within the aforesaid limits from selling any bread at any higher price or rate than bread of like quality at the time of such sale shall be assessed in and for the City of New York by the corporation of said city, under the penalty of one dollar for every offense." This was occasioned by the high price of breadstuffs then prevailing, which afforded temptations to bakers to charge exorbitant rates for their wares.

The first village election of Sing Sing was held on the first Tuesday of May, 1813, when "seven discreet freeholders" were elected trustees. Their names are not preserved, all the early records of the village having been destroyed by fire.

In 1813 the celebrated authorization was made to Robert Macomb, from which resulted the construction of "Macomb's Dam" and the consequent complete obstruction of the navigation of the Harlem River, a condition which was a sore grievance to property owners on the Westchester side. In early times the entire Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil waterway was navigable, at certain stages of the tide, for boats of light draught. "Prior to the Revolution," says a writer[1] who has given much attention to this subject, "the island [Manhattan] was circumnavigable in vessels of light draught. General Cornwallis pased from the Hudson through Spuyten Duyvil Creek into Harlem River, and down to Sherman's Creek (end of Tenth Avenue), with his troops on board light draught boats, and scaled the heights at what is now Fort George, during the concerted movement on Fort Washington in the autumn of 1776." No public interest was felt, however, in preserving this navigable condition. At the end of the eighteenth century Alexander Macomb, a wealthy

[1] Mr. Fordham Morris.

merchant of New York, purchased a large amount of property at Kingsbridge and vicinity, and in December, 1800, he obtained from the city authorities a water grant extending across Spuyten Duyvil Creek just east of the King's Bridge, although it was specified in the grant that a passageway fifteen feet wide should be preserved for small boats and craft. Thereupon he erected a four-story gristmill extending out over the creek, whose power was supplied by the alternate ebb and flow of the tide against its undershot wheels.[1] Alexander was succeeded in his property rights by his son Robert, who, not satisfied with the supply of water for the mill, procured a grant to build a dam across the Harlem River from Bussing's Point, on the Harlem side, to Devoe's Point, on the Westchester side, "so as to hold the waters of the river for the benefit of the mill at Kingsbridge, thus practically making a tidal millpond between the present site of the Central Bridge at Seventh Avenue and old King's Bridge. This erection was known for years as Macomb's Dam. But it was required in the act that Macomb should so construct the dam as to permit boats to pass, and that he should always have a person in attendance to afford the desired passage. He neglected, however, to conform to this direction, and not only erected his dam without the specified contrivance, but converted the lip of the dam into a permanent bridge and collected tolls from everybody who crossed it. The utter obstruction to the navigation of the river thus introduced continued until 1838, when, as we shall see, it was forcibly removed by the enterprise and courage of a number of citizens of Westchester, and the mischievous and unwarranted interference with the natural function of the Harlem River as a public waterway was brought to an end.

GENERAL ALEXANDER MACOMB.

Macomb's Dam was the only absolute barrier to the progress of vessels coming up the Harlem River. But it had a rival in Coles's Bridge, the site of the present Third Avenue Bridge—which indeed antedated it. In 1790 the legislature granted to Lewis Morris the right to construct a bridge from Harlem to Morrisania, which was

[1] This mill remained standing until 1856. It is shown in the cut on p. 145.

to be provided with a draw. This privilege Morris assigned to John B. Coles, who in 1795 procured a new legislative grant, authorizing him to build a dam across the Harlem River which was to serve the double purpose of a foundation for a bridge and a means for furnishing power to grist and other mills; but in this grant also it was stipulated that the free navigation of the river should be preserved through a suitable opening. Under the provisions of the act of 1795 and subsequent legislation, Coles not only built the Harlem Bridge, but constructed a road leading from it to West Farms and Eastchester. Coles's Bridge was provided with a draw, which, however, was very narrow. This structure continued in use until about 1855, when it was replaced by the (old) Third Avenue Bridge.

Previously to the construction of Coles's Bridge there were two bridges connecting Manhattan Island with the main land, both being across Spuyten Duyvil Creek—the King's Bridge, erected in 1694 by Frederick Philipse, who, with his successors, collected tolls from all using it, and the Farmers' or Dyckman's Bridge, built some years before the Revolution by public subscription. No tolls were levied on the Farmers' Bridge, and hence it was popularly known as the "Free Bridge."

It will thus be seen that as early as the middle of the second decade of the nineteenth century there were four bridges communicating with our county from Manhattan Island—one at the village of Kingsbridge, the second just below, the third at the termination of the present Seventh Avenue, and the fourth where Third Avenue now crosses.

The incorporation of the village of Peekskill was authorized by an act passed April 17, 1816. But no steps were taken at that time, or indeed until eleven years later, to carry the provisions of the measure into effect.

The loss of population by the county during the War of 1812 was speedily recovered. In 1820 the census returns showed a total population of 32,638—a gain of 2,366 over that of 1810. Mount Pleasant, with its village of Sing Sing, still led, having 3,684 inhabitants; Cortlandt was second, with 3,421; Bedford third, with 2,432; Westchester fourth, with 2,162; and Greenburgh fifth, with 2,064. The population of Yonkers was 1,586, being exceeded by that of Yorktown and Somers, in addition to the towns above named.

In the year 1824 this county was the scene of enthusiastic receptions to the immortal Lafayette on his route from New York to Boston. Lafayette arrived in New York Bay on the 15th of August, and, landing on Staten Island, was entertained there by our distinguished son, ex-Governor and Vice-President Tompkins. The news

of his arrival had been brought by express to General Philip Van Cortlandt, then living at the Manor House on the Croton, who at once set off for the city, "where he had the inexpressible satisfaction of embracing his old compatriot, and felt it one of the happiest moments of his life." On the 20th of August Lafayette was escorted by the mayor and corporation of the city to Kingsbridge, whence he continued his journey to Boston.

The principal event in Westchester County of the decade 1820-30 was the building of the State penitentiary at Sing Sing. By an act passed March 7, 1824, the construction of a new State prison was authorized in the 1st and 2d senatorial districts, and the Sing Sing site was selected on account of its marble quarries—which afforded a means for the advantageous employment of convict labor. —its accessibility by water, and its salubrity. At that time there were only two State prisons in existence, one in New York City (called Newgate) and one in Auburn. "On the 14th of May, 1825," says Dr. Fisher, the historian of the Town of Ossining, "one hundred convicts from the Auburn prison, under the supervision of Captain Elam Lynds, were landed on the grounds from a canal boat in which they were brought. Operations were at once commenced, and in May, 1828,[1] the prison buildings were completed. The main structure, which was built of hewn stone from the marble quarries, contained six hundred cells. Before the roof was fairly finished it was ascertained that the accommodations were entirely inadequate, and therefore a fourth story was added, which increased the number of cells to eight hundred. In after years two additions were built, each of one story, so that at the present time there are six stories and an aggregate of twelve hundred cells. These cells are seven feet in depth, seven in height, and forty-two inches wide, which gives but one hundred and seventy-one cubic feet of space for each convict."

The institution was long officially known as the "Mount Pleasant State Prison," and the substitution of the style of the "Sing Sing Prison" was distasteful to the citizens of the village. In consequence various attempts were made to create local sentiment in favor of changing the village name, none of which, however, resulted in anything practical. It may be remarked in passing that residents on the outskirts of Sing Sing, in the direction of the highly reputable locality of Scarborough, usually manifest a decided preference to be considered inhabitants of Scarborough and not of Sing Sing. This preference comes mainly, however, from a natural incli-

[1] The final construction work was not, however, finished until 1830.

nation to be identified with the more exclusive community. Any serious proposal to change the name of Sing Sing at the present day would doubtless be voted down overwhelmingly by the people.

In the same year that witnessed the completion of the main work on the Sing Sing prison buildings, the Westchester County almshouse was opened—also in the Town of Mount Pleasant, at a place called Knapp's Corners. This interesting event occurred on the 1st of April, 1828. Previously to that time the poor had been cared for by the several townships to which they belonged. Isaac Coutant was the first keeper of the almshouse, receiving a salary of $300 per annum. The institution has always since been maintained at the original location.

The village of Peekskill, whose incorporation was authorized in 1816 but was not effected under the original act, received a new charter from the legislature on the 9th of April, 1827, and shortly afterward trustees were elected as follows: Samuel Strang, John Halstead, Philip Clapp, James Birdsall, Ezra Marshall, and Stephen Brown. Samuel Strang was the first village president.

This village, now so important for its iron-working industry, and known far and wide as the seat of the New York State Military Camp, was in early times the settlement of the so-called "Ryck's Patent." The name is said to be "due to Jans Peek, an early Dutch navigator, who, in following the track of Hendrick Hudson, mistook the broad estuary at Roa Hook for the proper passage to the north. Here, it is said, he built a house and remained during the winter. To the creek was given the name of Jans Peek's Creek, or Peek's Kill, and from the name of the creek the village received its designation. In a deed given by the Indians to Jacobus De Kay and others, June 25, 1685, the creek is referred to as being known to the Indians as John Peake's Creek." The original settlement of Peekskill is supposed to have been about a mile north of the center of the present village. A visitor to the present village in 1781 described it as consisting of some twenty houses, quite close together. This considerable growth in population of the Town of Cortlandt, as evidenced by the census returns, between 1790 and 1820, was largely contributed by Peekskill village.

According to the author of the article on the Town of Cortlandt in Scharf's History, iron industry of Peekskill dates from 1820, when Stephen Gregory "commenced the manufacture of plowshares. . . . At first the manufacture was carried on in an exceedingly primitive style. The fire which melted the iron was brought to the proper degree of heat by an ordinary blacksmith's bellows, which was at first operated by his wife, and then, as the business expanded,

by a horse. Pig iron was too large to be melted by this simple apparatus, and he used old stove-plates and old plow castings instead." He sold the business to his brother, and after several changes in proprietorship Mr. Reuben R. Finch became the principal owner, ultimately founding an establishment devoted to the exclusive manufacture of stoves.

On the 17th of May, 1829, Chief Justice John Jay died at his residence in Bedford in the eighty-fourth year of his age.[1] Here he had lived since his retirement from public life in 1801. An earnest laborer in the cause of freedom for the negroes, and the first president of the old New York society for the manumission of slaves, his closing years had been marked by much interest in the rising movement of the times, and two years before his death he had had the great satisfaction of witnessing the permanent abolition of slavery in the State of New York, accomplished on the 4th of July, 1827, agreeably to a legislative enactment which had been passed ten years previously by the recommendation of Governor Tompkins. He was buried in the Jay family cemetery in the Town of Rye. The following is the inscription on his tomb:

IN MEMORY OF
JOHN JAY,
Eminent among those who asserted the liberty
and established the Independence
of his country,
which he long served in the most
important offices,
Legislative, Executive, Judicial, and Diplomatic,
and distinguished in them all, by his
ability, firmness, patriotism and integrity.
He was in his life and in his death
an example of the virtues,
the faith and the hopes
of a Christian.
Born Dec. 12th, 1745,
Died May 17th, 1829.

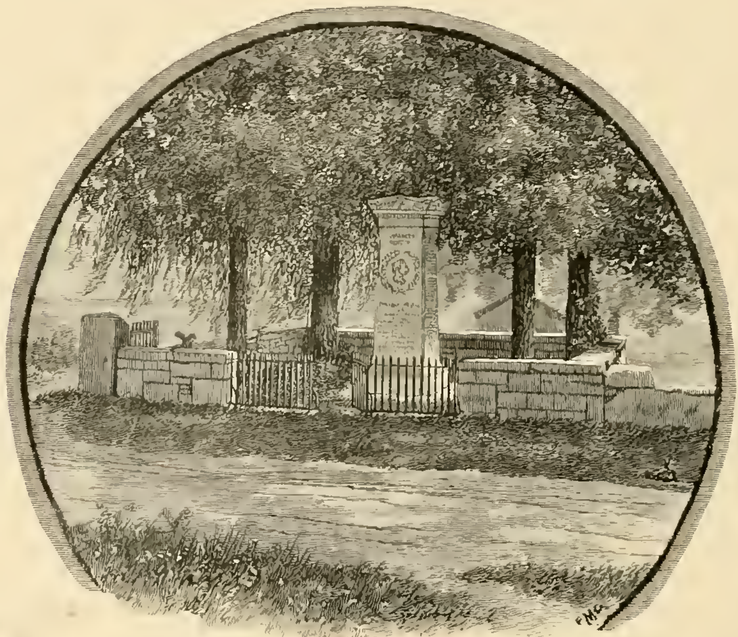
Chief Justice Jay had two sons, Peter Augustus and William. Peter Augustus Jay resided for most of his life in New York City, where he was a prominent lawyer and citizen. He filled various important public positions, was a leading anti-slavery advocate, and was president of the New York Historical Society. In 1821 he was a delegate from Westchester County to the State constitutional convention.

William Jay (born June 16, 1789; died October 14, 1858) inherited

[1] The following entry appears in the record of the Court of Common Pleas, of Westchester County, under date of May 25, 1829: "The court and members of this bar, entertaining the highest respect for the pure and exalted character of the late venerable John Jay, do resolve that we will wear crape upon the left arm for thirty days in token of our respect."

from his father the homestead at Bedford. He was one of the most respected Westchester citizens of his times, and for three years (1820 to 1823) served as county judge. He also was a conspicuous champion of the rights of the negroes. A portrait of Judge William Jay hangs in the court house at White Plains. He was the father of the very eminent Hon. John Jay of our own times (born June 23, 1817; died May 5, 1894), to whom he left the Bedford estate.

Neither the figures of the State census of 1825 nor those of the federal census of 1830 show any significant changes in the distribu-



—THE JAY CEMETERY, RYE.

tion of population in the county. In 1825 the total inhabitants were 33,131, and in 1830, 36,456. Mount Pleasant and Cortlandt continued far in the lead of all the other towns. Yonkers had a population of only 1,761.

No new village was incorporated between 1830 and 1840. This decade is memorable for the projection of the first railway enterprise in which Westchester County was interested, and the inception and approximate completion of the grand Croton Aqueduct.

The New York and Harlem Railroad, which traverses the central section of our county on the route to the northern end of its line at Chatham, antedates all other railways of the county. But, as its

Department of Commerce
U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
Washington.

December 28,1926.

Dr. Herbert Putnam,
Librarian of Congress,
Washington D.C.

My dear Dr. Putnam:

I have been looking through a copy of "The History of Westchester County, New York" by Shonnard & Spooner, and I find a rather serious mistake under an illustration on page 546. It reads "Jay Cemetery,Rye". Instead of it being what it says, it is the monument erected to Thomas Paine at Upper New Rochelle. I am positive of my statement as this monument was on my grandfather's estate and I spent many days there.

I thought you might like to have this correction and file it with the history so that those using the books in the Library may have the benefit of this information.

Faithfully yours,

E. Lester Jones.

name indicates, it was originally intended to be a line between New York City and Harlem only, terminating at the Harlem River. It was incorporated on the 25th of April, 1831, with a capital of $350,000, which in 1832 was increased to $500,000, it being stipulated that the road should be completed to the Harlem River in 1835. On the 17th of April, 1832, another company was incorporated, the New York and Albany, whose line was to start at a point on Manhattan Island where the present Fourth Avenue terminates, cross the Harlem River, and proceed through the center of Westchester County. (At that period the Hudson River route was not seriously thought of,[1] and indeed it was not chartered until 1846.) Owing to the great physical difficulties which had to be overcome in building the road on Manhattan Island, and the consequent heavy expenditures, the New York and Harlem line was not completed by the specified year (1835);[2] nevertheless, the legislature authorized further increases of capital. Meantime the New York and Albany Company found itself unable to carry out the provisions of its charter, and in 1838 surrendered its rights in Westchester County to the New York and Harlem Company, which assumed the construction of the bridge across the river and the building of the road as far as a point on the southern boundary of Putnam County. It was not, however, until May, 1840, that the compact between the two companies was approved by the legislature. By that time "the capital had been swollen to $1,950,000, and still another increase of $1,000,000 was needed to carry the road through the county." The railway was constructed and in operation to Fordham by October, 1841, but had not been extended to White Plains until late in 1844, and it was not until June, 1847, that it was opened through to Croton Falls. Thus from the time when the first charter for a railroad to traverse Westchester County was granted, until the complete realization of the project, a period of fifteen years elapsed. The cost of construction

[1] In 1842 a committee investigated a proposed railway route along the east shore of the Hudson River, and brought in a strongly adverse report. In this document it was alleged that the physical difficulties put the proposal beyond consideration; but the chief argument presented was as to "the impolicy of locating a great work of this sort upon a line immediately adjacent to the Hudson River, *where the novelty of the enterprise might seem to constitute its chief value*." (See Report, etc., to the New York board of aldermen, November 21, 1842.)

[2] The following, from Williams's "New York Annual Register for 1835" (p. 191), is of curious historical interest:

"This road [Harlem Railroad] was chartered in the winter of 1831, with a capital of $350,000. The work was commenced in the spring of 1832. The grade was required to correspond with the regulation of the streets, which had required much deep cutting and some high embankment. About four miles of the road are now in use, upon which pleasure cars are constantly run, for the accommodation of those who desire to get out of the city for a short time. When completed, there will be a tunnel of some length through a rock, at Yorkville, after which there will be a gradual descent to Harlem River. The work, thus far, has been very expensive, and will cost, when completed, at least its whole capital, and probably more. *At present horse-power is used. A locomotive engine was provided and used for a short time but the boiler burst and the engine was laid aside.*"

from the south side of the Harlem River Bridge to Williams's Bridge was $38,475 per mile, and from Williams's Bridge to White Plains $11,277 per mile.

It is noteworthy that the first telegraph line through Westchester County was erected (1846) under the superintendence of Ezra Cornell (subsequently the founder of Cornell University), a descendant of Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck. Ezra Cornell was, moreover, a native of this county, having been born at Westchester Landing. He was the father of Governor Alonzo B. Cornell.

The beginning of the gigantic Croton Aqueduct enterprise dates from about the same time as the chartering of the first Westchester County railroad. On November 10, 1832, the joint committee on fire and water of the New York City common council engaged Colonel De Witt Clinton, a competent engineer, to examine the various sources and routes of water supply which had been suggested up to that time, and to make a careful report on the subject. Colonel Clinton recommended the Croton watershed as the source of supply, and demonstrated by unanswerable facts that no other source adequate to the ultimate needs of the city was available. This report marks the beginning, as a serious undertaking, of the project to conduct the Croton water to the city.

The history of New York's water supply is the subject of a monumental work by Mr. Edward Wegmann (published in 1896), in which all the details of the earlier makeshift systems and schemes, and of the construction of both the old and the new aqueducts and the Bronx River conduit, with their associated dams, reservoirs, and other works in this county, Putnam, and New York City, are described.[1] We shall briefly summarize this history, so far as its particulars are apropos to our narrative, down to the period of the completion of the first aqueduct, reserving notice of the later works for the proper chronological sequence.

It is of interest that in July, 1774, a proposal made by Christopher Colles to erect a reservoir, pump water into it from wells, and convey the water through the several streets of the city in pipes, was adopted by the authorities of New York; and that land for the purpose of a reservoir on Great George Street, owned by Augustus Van Cortlandt and Frederick Van Cortlandt, of the Van Cortlandt family of our county, was purchased and works were built and put in operation. The Revolutionary War interfered with the development

[1] Another work of great authority (exclusively, however, on the old aqueduct and antecedent conditions) is the "Memoir, etc., of the Croton Aqueduct," compiled by Charles King (1843). Most of the particulars of the first aqueduct in our text are digested from Mr. King's "Memoir."

of the plans thus inaugurated. After the Revolution frequent attention was given to the water problem, but it was not until 1798 that the necessity of ultimately solving the question by resorting to the streams of Westchester County was foreshadowed. In that year a committee of the common council approved a proposal which had been made by Dr. Joseph Brown for procuring a supply from the Bronx River, and Mr. Weston, the engineer of the canal companies of the State, was employed to thoroughly inquire into the matter. Dr. Brown's plan was to dam the Bronx about half a mile below Williams's Bridge. Calculating, however, that the elevation of the Bronx at that point was not sufficient to admit of drawing the water to the city by natural fall, he proposed that it should be raised to the requisite height by pumping machinery. Mr. Weston fully indorsed the Bronx project, but thought that "the Bronx is sufficiently elevated above the highest parts of the city to introduce its waters therein without the use of machinery." (Mr. Weston, however, favored damming the Bronx at a northern point.) In addition, with far-seeing calculation, he advised the conversion of "Little Rye Pond" and "Big Rye Pond" into reservoirs by building a dam six feet high, and the conducting of their water in an open canal to the Harlem River, "that stream to be crossed by a cast-iron cylinder of two feet diameter, with a descent of eight feet." The common council, accepting the Bronx idea, applied to the legislature for authority to carry it into execution, but at this stage private interest stepped in and thwarted the whole underaking. The artful Aaron Burr was at that time seeking a banking privilege from the legislature, and, as an indirect means to his end, proposed to organize a water supply company, suited to the needs of the city, whose surplus capital should be employed in banking operations. Moreover, various eminent citizens, among whom was Alexander Hamilton, were skeptical as to the practicability of raising the money necessary for the Bronx enterprise as a public policy. The movement ended in the organization of the so-called "Manhattan Company," in which the city vested the sole right of procuring and furnishing an additional water supply. This company was empowered to draw water from Westchester County, but it contented itself with sinking a large well in the city and distributing its contents to customers.

The enlightened project of Dr. Brown and Mr. Weston was, indeed, laid on the shelf for thirty years, during which New York, despite its greatly growing population and wealth, complacently continued to satisfy itself with water from its own bowels. There were occasional recurrences to the Bronx conception, but they had no practical issue. At last, in 1829, the community was aroused to action by the appalling

increase of destructive fires, mainly owing to the difficulty of obtaining water. During the preceding year the fire losses in the city had aggregated $600,000. A committee of the fire department made a searching examination of the merits of the old proposal to utilize the Bronx water, and submitted a favorable report, which was approved by the common council; and the latter body, in January, 1832, applied to the legislature for authority to borrow $2,000,000, the sum estimated as necessary to accomplish the object resolved upon. But the legislature discreetly declined to sanction the raising of such an amount "until it should be satisfactorily ascertained that the object in view, both as to the quantity and quality of water, could be accomplished by the expenditure proposed." A certain apprehension was felt that the supply obtainable from the Bronx might in time prove insufficient. It was in consequence of this cautious attitude of the legislature that, as already noticed, Colonel Clinton was called upon, in November of the same year, to undertake a final investigation of the questions involved. His instructions were "to proceed and examine the continuation of the route from Chatterton Hill, near White Plains, to Croton River, or such other sources in that vicinity from which he may suppose that an inexhaustible supply of pure and wholesome water for the City of New York may be obtained."

In entering upon his very important commission Colonel Clinton labored under great disadvantages. No survey, even experimental, of a direct route from the Croton had ever been made. Attention had centered upon the Bronx River as the predestined source of supply, with incidental feeders from the Sawmill and Byram. The public mind shrank from such a tremendous and seemingly fantastic proceeding as the construction of an aqueduct from the far distant Croton; whereas the Bronx, running straight down into the Harlem River, seemed to have been appointed by nature for the exact emergency. Previously to the sending out of Colonel Clinton, the only thought bestowed upon the Croton in this connection had been with reference to the possible joining of it to the Bronx by means of an artificial canal; and surveys had actually been made to that end, which, however, afforded no satisfaction.

Colonel Clinton's report was a very able and elaborate document. Carefully examining the Bronx project, he estimated that the maximum quantity of water deliverable to the city from the Bronx River and the various feeders that could be availed of in connection with it would not exceed 12,000,000 gallons per day. He considered that this quantity would be sufficient for a quarter of a century, but predicted that the city would have to resort to the Croton eventually;

and he hence concluded that it was expedient to lead the Croton water at once directly to the city. "In the Croton River at Pine's Bridge," said he, "there is never less than 20,000,000 gallons of water passing in every twenty-four hours. The river at this point is therefore capable of supplying one million of people, allowing a consumption of twenty gallons to each person. This supply can be augmented by constructing reservoirs, and we have seen . . . that one reservoir could be constructed which would supply more than 7,000,000 of gallons per day within a few miles of Pine's Bridge. But if it were necessary, more than 7,000 acres could be ponded, and the water raised from six to sixteen feet; and also other supplies could be obtained, as I have before stated, in alluding to the Sharon Canal route and the East Branch of the Croton River." He favored the conveying of the water to New York in an open canal, and calculated that the total cost of the work, including the means of distributing the water through the city, would not exceed $2,500,000.

It appears, however, that the employment of Colonel Clinton by the common council to reconnoiter the Croton was only a concession to the advanced element of the population that demanded the most complete investigation of water supply conditions in Westchester County before definite steps should be taken. Simultaneously with his exploration of the Croton route, two other engineers were sent to make a final inquiry as to the Bronx and its related sources of supply; and their report indicates that they were relied on by the city officials to bring forward conclusive demonstration of the sufficiency of these sources. They marked out a route from Macomb's Dam to the Bronx River, which they declared to be the proper one for the long desired supply, and added: "The Croton cannot be brought in by this route, and *cannot ever be needed*, seeing that the quantity which can be obtained at a moderate cost through the valley of the Bronx will be sufficient for all city purposes." At the same time an analysis of the Bronx water was made by prominent chemists, which showed it to be of remarkable purity, not more than two grains of foreign matter being contained in a gallon. This is a fact of much historic interest in view of the present extreme contamination of the waters of the Bronx most of the way below White Plains.

But the common council, in spite of its bias in favor of the Bronx, was unwilling to risk another appeal to the legislature based on a single exclusive plan, and accordingly sent up a bill calling for the appointment of water commissioners, who should "be invested with full power to examine all the plans hitherto proposed, to cause actual surveys to be made, to have the water tested, to estimate the probable expense, and generally to do whatever in their judgment may

be necessary to arrive at a right conclusion in the premises." This bill was passed by the legislature on the 26th of February, 1833, and the governor appointed as water commissioners, for the period of one year, Stephen Allen, B. M. Brown, S. Dusenberry, S. Alley, and William W. Fox.[1] The commissioners engaged two engineers, Mr. Canvass White and Major Douglass, formerly professor of engineering at West Point, to undertake the requisite surveys, examinations, and estimates. Mr. White being occupied otherwise at the time, the whole work was performed by Major Douglass, who sub-

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1835 (NEW YORK CITY).

mitted his report in the November following. "Major Douglass adhered unfalteringly to the conviction that the Croton, and the Croton only, should be looked to and relied on. Like the Roman Marcius, . . . who, when the decemvirs and sybils indicated the Anio as the stream which the gods preferred for the supply of his aqueduct, still adhered to the cold, pure, and abundant springs from the mountains of Tivoli, so Mr. Douglass, disregarding difficulties real and

[1] Mr. Fox was at that time the most prominent citizen of our Village of West Farms.

imaginary, and heeding not at all the efforts still to cause the Bronx to be preferred, held fast to the Croton."

Major Douglass disposed forever of the Bronx proposal by demonstrating that it was impossible, by whatever expedients, to procure from the Bronx a supply which for any considerable period would be satisfactorily large. Regarding the quality of the Croton water, he made the following interesting statements:

The supplies of the Croton are derived almost exclusively from the elevated regions of the Highlands in Westchester and Putnam Counties, being furnished by the pure springs which so remarkably characterize the granitic formation of that region. The ponds and lakes delineated on the map, and spoken of in a former part of this report, are among the number of these springs; many of them three or four hundred acres in extent, and one as large as a thousand acres. All these ponds are surrounded by clear upland shores, without any intermixture of marsh; and the surrounding country, cultivated as it is generally in grazing farms, presents an aspect of more than ordinary cleanness. The water, as might be expected under such circumstances, is perfectly soft and clear, much superior in the former respect to the waters of our western lakes, and fully equal in the latter. The Croton, fed by such springs, could scarcely be otherwise than pure, and the fact of its purity was strongly verified by the experience of the party in every stage of the water during the season. Specimens were taken up both in the high and low state of the river, and have been analyzed by Mr. Chilton, and the results obtained fully corroborate these statements. It appears from his report annexed that the quantity of saline matter, probably the salts of lime and magnesia, does not exceed two and eight-tenths grains in the gallon; a quantity, he observes, so small that a considerable quantity of the water would be necessary to determine the proportions. About two grains of vegetable matter were also suspended in the water, in consequence of the rapid current in which it was taken up, and which would of course subside in the receiving reservoir.

At its next session (May 2, 1834) the legislature passed an act authorizing the reappointment of water commissioners, and directing the commissioners to adopt a definite plan "for procuring such supply of water," with estimates as to the cost, which plan was to be submitted to the electors of New York City for approval or rejection, by majority vote, at their regular city election in the year 1835. In the case of an affirmative vote by the people, the act provided that a sum not exceeding $2,500,000 should be raised as "Water Stock of the City of New York," bearing five per cent. interest. The old commissioners were reappointed by the governor. They made a thorough re-examination of the matter, concluding with the opinion that "the whole [Croton] river can be brought to Murray Hill in a close aqueduct of masonry, at an expense of $4,250,000," and that the revenue accruing from water-rates would "overpay the interest on the cost of the work." The plan was referred to the people of the city for ratification, and at an election held in April, 1835, they approved it by a vote of 17,330 to 5,963. In December of this year New York suffered from a conflagration which far exceeded anything in its previous history. Seventeen compact blocks in the business center of the city were totally destroyed, entailing a loss of more than

$18,000,000. This conflagration is historically known as the Great Fire of 1835.

The commissioners selected Major Douglass as their chief engineer, and on the 6th of July, 1835, that gentleman, with fifteen assistants, took the field for preliminary work in our county. Their first care was to stake out the lake to be formed by damming the Croton, which it was at first calculated would have an area of 496 acres. But it was nearly two years before construction work was actually begun. Much trouble was experienced in satisfying the land owners along the line of the proposed aqueduct, who made vexatious demands, among them the extraordinary one (expressed in a memorial to the legislature) that the legal possession and use of the land should remain with the original proprietors, notwithstanding the circumstance of its having been paid for by the city. A measure to conciliate the Westchester County owners was passed by the legislature, but it gave little satisfaction. "The consequence of this discontent was that the commissioners were unable to make any purchase, by private contract, of lands along the line, and were therefore compelled to resort to the vice-chancellor for the appointment of commissioners to take by appraisement whatever was needed." Major Douglass was superseded as chief engineer in 1836 by Mr. J. B. Jervis, under whose direction the whole work was carried to completion. On the 26th of April, 1837, bids were opened "for furnishing the materials and completing the construction of twenty-three sections of the Croton Aqueduct, including the dam in the Croton, the aqueduct bridge over Sing Sing Kill, and the necessary excavations and tunneling on the line of about eight and one-half miles from the Croton to Sing Sing village," three years being allowed for the fulfillment of these contracts. Apprehension having been harbored by the citizens of Westchester County that disorder and malicious destruction of property would result from the employment of the thousands of laborers, the contractors were required not to "give or sell any ardent spirits to their workmen," or to permit any such spirits to be given or sold, or even brought, upon the line; and that any trespasses committed by workmen should be punishable by the dismissal of the offenders. The line was divided into four divisions, the first extending from the Croton ten and one-half miles to below Sing Sing, the second ten miles farther to Hastings, the third ten miles to Fordham Church, and the fourth ten and one-half miles to the distributing reservoir in the city.

By the 1st of December, 1837, 2,455 feet of the aqueduct had been completed, and during the next year the whole of the work in West-

chester County, thirty-three miles in length, had either been finished or placed under contract.

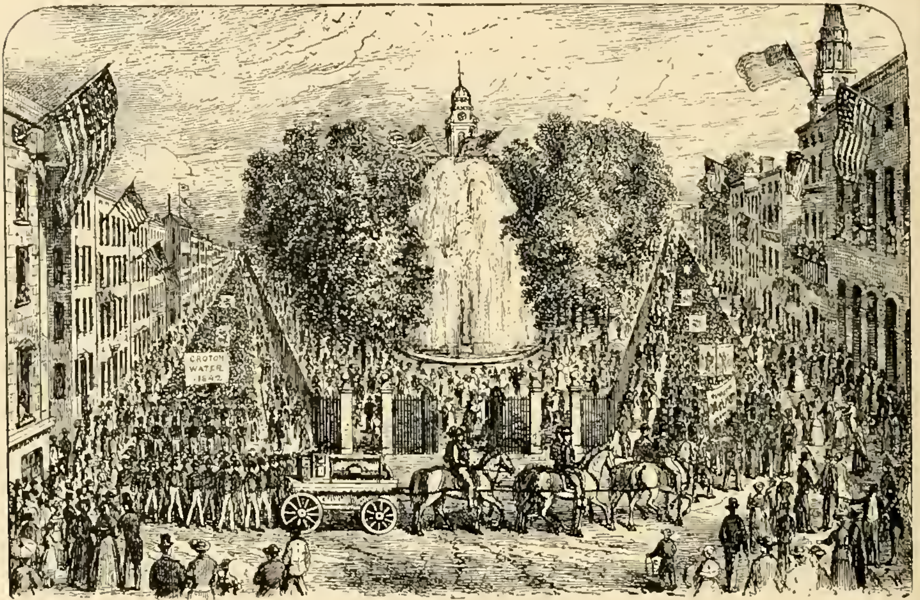
The means of crossing the Harlem River had become at this stage the most serious problem to be dealt with. At the time of the inauguration of the enterprise there was a general disposition on the part of the people of New York City to regard the Harlem River with but scant consideration—as a waterway upon which people might ply boats to suit an idle or at best purely local convenience, but forever incapable of continuous navigation for any practical uses in conjunction with the shallow projection of the Spuyten Duyvil Creek. Macomb's Dam was then still in existence, blocking all passage beyond the present Central Bridge. The old plan to bring the Bronx water into New York had been hampered by the fact that the Bronx River did not have a sufficient elevation at any point of its lower course to admit through the process of natural flow of the reception of its water in New York at a height suitable for distribution to the upper sections of the city; and to overcome this difficulty it had been coolly proposed to build pumping works on the Westchester side of the Harlem, just above Macomb's Dam, and, from the power afforded by the dam, raise the waiting stream to a satisfactory height and so pass it over to Manhattan Island. In 1833 Major Douglass estimated that the total power furnished by Macomb's Dam would suffice to thus raise but 5,000,000 gallons daily, which, even in the then existing conditions of the city, would not be enough for its safe supply—an estimate that brought dismay to the Bronx advocates, and doubtless caused them to most heartily objurgate the foolish Harlem River, that misplaced, misshapen, ridiculous stream—a mere spew of Hellgate,—worthless for navigation, a hindrance to commerce, and now found unqualified to generate the required volume of power.

This circumstance that the Bronx scheme involved, as one of its essential features, the conversion of the Harlem River into a mere producer of water power—and that in perpetuity—strikingly illustrates how contemptuously the Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil waterway was rated.

When it became certain, in 1834, that the water-supply problem was to find its solution in a continuous aqueduct from the Croton—such a continuous aqueduct being practicable in this case because of the Croton's sufficiently lofty elevation above tide,—it was proposed to carry the aqueduct across the Harlem River by a low siphon bridge, as the least expensive work. In that connection no thought was given to possible objections on the score that the construction would permanently close the waterway against naviga-

tion. The navigation of the Harlem was already completely obstructed by Macomb's Dam, and the addition of a new obstruction did not in the least trouble the New York public mind.

But in 1838 a bold stroke by the citizens of our Town of Westchester suddenly compelled the New Yorkers to change their attitude toward the Harlem. On March 3 of that year the Westchester



THE CROTON WATER CELEBRATION, 1842.

land-owners held a meeting at Christopher Walton's store, at Fordham Corners, and appointed a committee to memorialize the legislature against the proposed low bridge, and also to ascertain the best method of removing the existing obstructions in the Harlem River. The committee, acting on the advice of counsel, decided to proceed against Macomb's Dam as a nuisance and to clear a passage-way for vessels through it. The resulting transactions are thus described by Mr. Fordham Morris in his History of the Town of Westchester:

Lewis G. Morris, then quite a young man, was, by the votes of his associates, intrusted with the leadership of the fight. In order to bring the question, if necessary, within the jurisdiction of the United States courts, it was determined that a vessel laden with a cargo from a neighboring State should ascend the river and demand passage way through the *opening* which the grant had directed should be kept for vessels, but which Macomb and his successors had neglected to provide. Mr. Morris therefore built a dock on his place about a mile north of the present site of High Bridge and chartered a *periauger*, called the "Nonpariel," with a cargo of coal on board consigned for delivery at Morris Dock. He arrived with his boat at the dam one evening [September 14, 1838], at full tide, and demanded of Feeks, the toll

gatherer, that the draw or passage-way be opened ; of course Feeks could not comply. Some flat boats which had been provided had on board a band of one hundred men ; and Feeks not opening the draw, Mr. Morris with his men forcibly removed a portion of the dam, so that the " Nonpariel " floated across. From that time a draw was always kept in the bridge, but for many years the passage was very difficult, the tide being so strong that it was only possible to pass at slack water.

The legality of this performance was subsequently sustained by the highest court of the State, Chancellor Walworth writing the opinion. "The Harlem River," he said, "is an arm of the sea and a public navigable river. It was a public nuisance to obstruct the navigation thereof without authority of law."

At the time of this famous expedition the water commissioners had already officially adopted the plan for a low siphon bridge, to be "built over an embankment of stone, filling up the whole of the natural channel, and with only one archway on the New York side only eighty feet high." The estimates made on the basis of this plan indicated a cost of but $426,000, as against nearly $936,000 for the construction of a high bridge; so that the abandonment of the adopted project would mean an added expense to the city of more than half a million dollars. Moreover, the original calculations of the total probable cost of the aqueduct from the Croton had by this time been found to be ridiculously small, and it began to be realized that the ultimate aggregate would approximate or exceed $10,000,000. The disastrous effects of the financial panic of 1837 were at that period being felt in their full force. In such circumstances it is highly improbable that any change in the plan for the aqueduct bridge would have been made if the people of Westchester had not compelled it by their aggressive acts. On the 3d of May, 1839, the legislature passed the following law:

The water commissioners shall construct an aqueduct over the Harlem River with arches and piers ; the arches in the channel of said river shall be at least eighty feet span, and not less than one hundred feet from the usual high water mark of the river to the under side of the arches at the crown ; or they may carry the water across the river by a tunnel under the channel of the river, the top of which shall not be above the present bed of the said channel.

The "High Bridge" was contracted for in August, 1839. Soon afterward the works on Manhattan Island were placed under contract.

The original water commissioners appointed in 1833[1] retired in March, 1840, and were succeeded by Samuel Stevens, Benjamin Birdsall, John D. Ward, and Samuel R. Childs.

The dam across the Croton River was commenced in January, 1838, and was completed about the end of 1840. This dam was formed of

[1] All the original commissioners except B. M Brown served until the appointment of the new board. Mr. Brown was succeeded by Thomas T. Woodruff.

"hydraulic stone masonry, connected with an earthen embankment," the embankment being two hundred and fifty feet long, sixty-five feet high at its extreme height, two hundred and fifty feet wide at the base, and fifty-five feet wide at the top, "protected on its lower side by a heavy protection wall twenty feet wide at base." On the night of the 7th of January, 1841, in consequence of a sudden and great rise in the water of the Croton, the portion of the dam comprised in the earthen embankment gave way, and the whole country below was flooded. Three bridges—Tompkins's Bridge, the bridge at the Wire Mill, and Quaker's Bridge—were swept away, and several mills and dwelling houses were destroyed; but, so far as was known, only two residents lost their lives. This was the only serious casualty that occurred in connection with the building of the Croton Aqueduct.

It had been earnestly desired by the people of New York that the water should be introduced into the city by the 4th of July, 1842, and this wish was realized. At five o'clock on the morning of the 22d of June, water to the depth of eighteen inches was admitted into the aqueduct from Croton Lake. A boat called the "Croton Maid," carrying four persons, was placed in the aqueduct, to be floated down by the stream. The water, with the boat, arrived at the Harlem River during the night of the 23d. On the 27th it was allowed to enter the receiving reservoir at Yorkville, and on the 4th of July the distributing reservoir on Murray Hill,[1] both events being observed with great ceremony. The public celebration—the grandest demonstration in the history of the city up to that time—was held on the 14th of October. Near the head of the line, as one of the guards of honor, marched the Sing Sing Guards.

The total cost of the Croton Aqueduct enterprise (reckoning every item of expense) was nearly $12,500,000. High Bridge, as it is at present, was not completed until 1848. The quantity of water at first transmitted through the aqueduct did not exceed 12,000,000 gallons daily. The aqueduct was constructed to afford a maximum discharge of 72,000,000 United States gallons every twenty-four hours, and it was thought utterly impossible that such a supply would be required for generations to come. But within thirty years even this amount was found inadequate; and by permitting the water to rise in the aqueduct to within twelve and one-half inches of the crown of the arch—thirty-two inches higher than had been originally intended—a daily supply of 95,000,000 gallons was forced, which, in turn, was found so far from meeting requirements that two new sup-

[1] This was the old Forty-second Street reservoir, long since disused, whose site is to be occupied by the New York Public Library.

plies had to be procured—through the Bronx River conduit (1880-85) and the New Croton Aqueduct (1884-93).

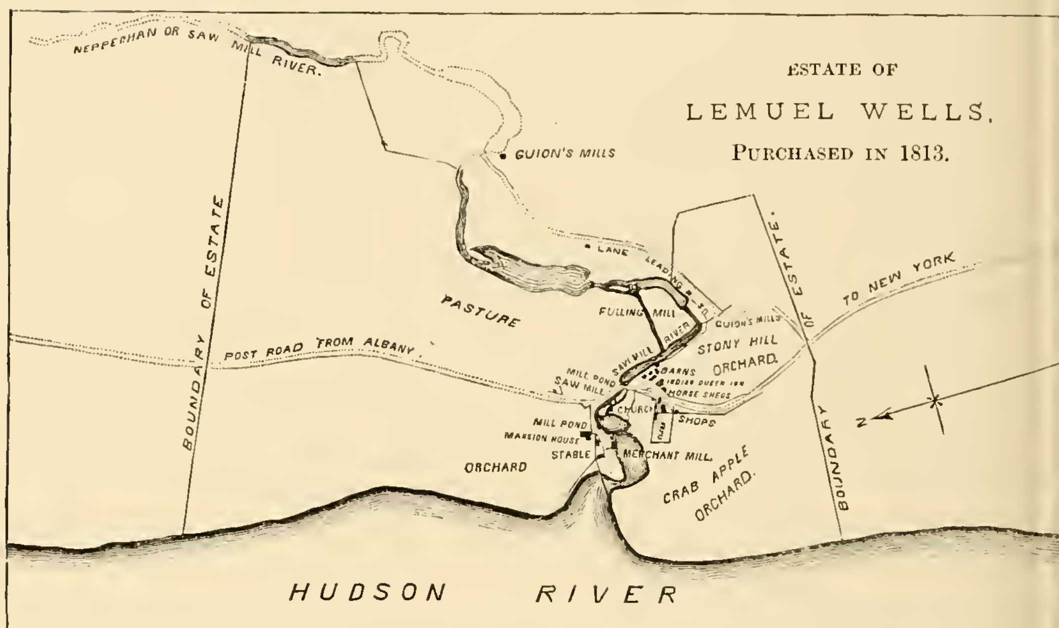
In this chapter we have undertaken to follow the successive events of principal importance from the close of the Revolution to the completion of the Croton Aqueduct. A glance at various particulars and aspects of incidental consequence and interest during this period of sixty years is necessary before continuing our narrative.

We have seen that the Villages of Sing Sing and Peekskill were incorporated, respectively, in 1813 and 1827. No new village incorporation was effected after that of Peekskill until 1853, when Mount Vernon was organized. It is a curious fact that our large City of Yonkers, which now is unapproached by any other municipality of the county, did not have its beginning as an organized village until 1855, and in that respect was preceded by three other communities.

At the termination of the Revolution what is now the City of Yonkers at the mouth of the Nepperhan was represented by a very few buildings, most of them widely separated. There were the Manor House of the Philipses, Saint John's Episcopal Church and parsonage, the immemorial mill, and some scattered farmhouses. The Manor House, with three hundred and twenty acres of land adjacent to it, as has been noted in the first part of this chapter, was purchased from the commissioners of forfeiture in 1785 by C. P. Low, a New York merchant, for £14,520. Mr. Low conveyed it in 1786 to William Constable, also a merchant of New York, who in 1796 sold it to Jacob Stout, of New York, for £13,500. Mr. Stout sold it in 1802 for $60,000 to Joseph Howland, of Norwich, Conn. In 1813 the property was bought at auction by Lemuel Wells, of New York, for $56,000. The estate as owned by Mr. Wells fronted on the Hudson both above and below the mouth of the Nepperhan, and the Albany Post Road ran through it. The accompanying map of the Wells estate gives a fair understanding of the condition, at the time of Lemuel Wells's purchase, and indeed throughout his proprietorship, of that portion of Yonkers where later the early village began to be built up. He was a man of abundant wealth and conservative ideas. "He did not buy," says Allison, "with the intention of selling his tract either in large or small plots. He was seldom induced to sell or even to lease any of it, but he was not particularly averse to settlers and would offer now and then to build a house on his property for them as tenants." "Of the twenty-six buildings of all kinds," he adds, "including barns, sheds, and little shops, then [1813] on the three hundred and twenty acres of land, about twelve could have been utilized as dwellings, five were mill buildings for grinding grain and plaster and for sawing and fulling, five were barns and sheds, and

one is represented as containing 'shops.'" On the outskirts of the Wells property there were various farmhouses.

Lemuel Wells died on the 11th of February, 1842. During the nearly thirty years of his proprietorship of the representative portion of Yonkers the improvements which he made on his estate were only of an incidental nature. It was not until 1831 that he built a wharf permitting steamboats to land, although for some years previously



THE REPRESENTATIVE PORTION OF YONKERS UNDER THE PROPRIETORSHIP OF LEMUEL WELLS.

these vessels had been making landings at Closter (now Alpine) on the opposite side of the river. Indeed, it was a frequent occurrence for Yonkers people desiring to board the steamers to cross over to Alpine. At the time of the death of Mr. Wells, says Allison, Yonkers was "a hamlet of one hundred people—more or less—and a little more than a score of houses."

Meanwhile, however, there had been a gradual accession of valuable citizens in the sections bordering the manor property—some of them land purchasers of substantial means, and others men of enterprising traits, all realizing the natural advantages of the locality and standing ready to promote its development. As early as 1804 Ebenezer Baldwin became a resident, coming from Norwich, Conn., at the solicitation of Mr. Howland, then the owner of the manor

estate, for the purpose of rebuilding the steeple of the church. Mr. Baldwin liked the place and remained, subsequently taking an active part in stimulating its growth and business activity. Many of the most conspicuous Yonkers people of this day are numbered among his descendants, or among those connected with his family by marriage. In 1820 some two hundred and twenty acres about one mile north of the Manor House were purchased by Frederic Shonnard, son of a French officer, who had served in the body guard of Frederick the Great. At that time Judge Aaron Vark, who united the functions of magistrate, country storekeeper, and postmaster, was the principal man in the little community. In 1828 William C. Waring and Hezekiah Nichols began to manufacture bodies for wool hats. This was the first introduction of the hat industry—now so important—in Yonkers, and it was also the first appearance of the name of Waring. The Warings were from Putnam County. John T. Waring came some years later. But our space does not admit of any attempt to recapitulate the names of the founders of the early Yonkers.

The Nepperhan River, with its long descent from a high elevation, and its considerable volume of water even in the dryest seasons, must have been appreciated from the earliest times by men of discreet perceptions as a stream affording ideal conditions for the inauguration of extensive manufacturing industries. But through practically all of its course suitable for mill sites the Nepperhan was embodied in the Manor House estate, and it was not the policy of Lemuel Wells to encourage private manufacturing enterprise on its banks. In 1837 he co-operated with Prince W. and Obed Paddock in the construction of a dam near the present Elm Street Bridge, which later came to be known as the "fifth water power." But this did not immediately lead to any important utilization of the water power. Meanwhile the abundant power of the lower stream was used exclusively for grist and sawmills.

Lemuel Wells left no children. His heirs were numerous, including his widow, three brothers, and their children. The estate was partitioned in 1843, the principal representative of the heirs being Lemuel W. Wells, familiarly known in Yonkers (where he lived until his death in 1861) as "Farmer" Wells. From this event dates the beginning of the serious development of Yonkers. "Released from the hand that had so long kept it out of the market, and catching the spirit of enterprise," says Dr. Cole, "the land so long unused, or, where used, devoted to farm purposes only, was quickly laid out in streets and lots, became the scene of busy activity, and was soon dotted with beautiful residences." This change did not transpire at

once, but a new local spirit began to obtain. One of Farmer Wells's earliest transactions was the sale to John Copcutt, for $17,500, of the "first water power"—that is, the first mill-site above the mouth of the Nepperhan. Mr. Copcutt had previously operated a veneer mill at West Farms, but he was quick to see the promise of superior opportunities at Yonkers. In 1845 he turned his purchase to practical use by converting the Nepperhan mill into an establishment for sawing mahogany wood. Mr. Wells sold the second water power, with its mill buildings, for $11,250, to Messrs. Mitchell and Hutchinson. Among the new citizens acquired by Yonkers through the partition of the Wells estate was Ethan Flagg, one of the heirs, who bore an exceedingly important part in the building up of the place.

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT.

Thus at the period at which we have arrived in our general narrative, Yonkers, destined to a position of unquestioned supremacy among the municipalities of Westchester County, was just preparing to emerge from a primitive condition of absolute insignificance.

Mount Vernon was still unthought of. The representative villages for local enterprise were Sing Sing and Peekskill on the Hudson, and West Farms in the southern section of the county. West Farms had by this time become the most progressive locality within the ancient Township of Westchester. To its prominence in this regard it was indebted for the employment of the water power of the Bronx River for manufacturing uses.

In 1836 an ambitious attempt was made by a syndicate of New York capitalists to create a new community in Westchester County, which it was fondly hoped would spring at once into a flourishing condition. Allen W. Hardy and nine associates, attracted by the beautiful situation of Verplanck's Point, and believing that a village founded there would speedily rival Peekskill, bought the property for $300,000 from its proprietor, Philip Verplanck, to whom it had descended from the original Philip Verplanck, grandson of Stephanus Van Cortlandt. These gentlemen laid off the Point into streets and

avenues, reserving portions of it for parks; but lot purchasers did not appear, and after a year or two the undertaking was abandoned with heavy loss. Thereupon John Henry, one of the chief members of the syndicate, acquired substantially the whole of the Point, and proceeded to organize the brick-making industry which has since become so extensive at Verplanck's. He was tolerably successful from the start, and within a few years the brick yards of Verplanck's Point were yielding a large output and giving employment to numerous workmen.

After the introduction of steamboats the river traffic between New York City and the villages of our county (in common with others along the Hudson) gradually became very animated, resulting in conditions of keen competition. "Before the construction of the railroads," says one of the contributors to Scharf's History,[1] "Peekskill was the depot from which from Westchester County for miles around, from a large portion of Putnam County, and even from Connecticut, the farmers shipped their produce to New York City. Apples and other fruit, butter, potatoes, cattle, sheep, calves, live pigs, and dressed pork were the principal articles of shipment, and were received in such quantities as to give employment at one time, when this commerce was at its height, to six market-sloops, while three passenger steamboats also shared in the business."

The early days on the river, when it furnished almost the only avenue of commerce, were full of life and bustle. Cornelius Vanderbilt for some years ran a boat between Peekskill and New York, and had quite a struggle for the mastery of the route. In 1832 he began operations with the steamboat "Westchester," having, as he avers in a card to the public some time later, no interest in any other boat in the North River. He met with a rival in the "Water-Witch," a steamboat which was owned by an association of the people all along the river, and farmers back in the country, and which was designed to enable them to resist the extravagant charges of steamboat-owners. The rivalry between the "Water-Witch" and the Commodore's craft waxed so hot that the former finally began to charge only one shilling (twelve and a half cents) for passage from New York to Peekskill. The losses occasioned by the cutting of rates resulted in some of the stockholders in the "Water-Witch" losing courage, and the wily Commodore was enabled to buy a controlling interest in her. After that the rivalry ceased. The "Water-Witch" was but one of several boats owned at different times by similar associations, all of which brought loss to the stockholders.

June 6, 1831, the "General Jackson," plying between Peekskill and New York, exploded on her down trip off Grassy Point, and all the front portion of the cabin was torn away. Three persons were killed outright,—the fireman, a little girl of twelve years of age, who had just tripped on board laughing and talking gayly, and William Mitchell, a resident of Peekskill. Beverly Rathbone, of Peekskill, was injured so severely that he died some time after the accident. Jacob Vanderbilt, brother of Cornelius, was captain of the boat, and escaped without injury.

Many other interesting particulars of the Hudson River traffic before the era of railways might be added. Peekskill had no monopoly of sloop proprietorship. From various points all the way down to

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[1] W. J. Cumming, II., 406.

Yonkers vessels, largely or wholly owned by the farmers and prominent citizens, were sailed to and from New York. The present well-known Ben Franklin Transportation Line of Yonkers took its name from a sloop of fifty-seven tons, launched July 4, 1831, which was for the exclusive service of the people of Yonkers and vicinity; and even the original "Ben Franklin" had several predecessors devoted to the local interests of Yonkers.

The organic law of the State of New York, as established by the constitution of 1777, underwent two radical alterations during the period of sixty years now under consideration. Constitutional conventions were held in 1801 and 1821, the delegates from Westchester County to the convention of 1801 being Thomas Ferris, Israel Honeywell, Jonathan G. Tompkins, Pierre Van Cortlandt, Jr., and Ebenezer White, and to that of 1821 Peter A. Jay, Jonathan Ward, and Peter J. Munro. Both conventions made revisions in the constitution designed to render it more acceptable to the democratic masses—changes which had the hearty support of the majority of the people of our county. The old property qualification for the suffrage was practically abolished in 1821.

For the purpose of representation in the State senate, Westchester County was from 1777 to 1815 associated with New York, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, and Richmond, in the so-called Southern district. From 1815 to 1821 the Counties of Dutchess, Putnam, and Rockland were added to the district, whose name was changed to the 1st. From 1821 to 1846 this county belonged to the 2d senatorial district, embracing also Dutchess, Putnam, Rockland, Orange, Sullivan, Ulster, Queens, and Suffolk.

Westchester County's representatives in the assembly, at first six in number, were reduced successively to five, four, three, and finally (May 23, 1836) to two. The number was again increased, in 1857, to three, at which figure it has since remained. The assemblymen were elected on a general ticket until 1847, when the county was first divided into assembly districts.

The county judges, district attorney, treasurer, clerk, and sheriff held their offices by appointment until the constitution of 1846 came into effect. Since then they have been elected by popular vote.

The presidential vote of the county from 1828 to 1840, inclusive, was as follows:

1828.—Andrew Jackson, 3,788 ; John Quincy Adams, 3,153.
1832.—Andrew Jackson, 3,133 ; Henry Clay, 2,293.
1836.—Martin Van Buren, 3,009 ; William H. Harrison, 1,749 ; scattering, 287.
1840 —Martin Van Buren, 4,354 ; William H. Harrison, 4,083.

The foundations of the common school system were laid, after an

elementary fashion, toward the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1795 the legislature passed an act giving annually for five years the sum of £1,192 of State money for school purposes in Westchester County, to which the people of each town added an amount equal to one-half that received from the State. Later the towns each contributed a sum equal to the State appropriation. The moneys were distributed by school commissioners specially selected. But the present system of school commissioners dates from the legislative act of 1849.

Ever since colonial times, the people of this county had always been rated as exceptionally intelligent, with but a small percentage of illiteracy. The New York newspapers enjoyed a very considerable patronage among our citizens before the Revolution, and after the beginning of the present century there was scarcely a farmhouse that did not receive some newspaper from New York. There were several early enterprises in the line of local newspaper publication in the Westchester villages. According to a generally reliable chronicler, a journal called the *Somers Museum* was published by Milton F. Cushing in 1810, and in the same year Robert Crombie started at Peekskill the *Westchester Gazette*, which, after various changes of name, finally became the *Peekskill Republican*. Other early newspaper ventures in West Farms, Sing Sing, White Plains, Port Chester, Morrisania, etc., are recorded by this authority.[1] The *Eastern State Journal*, of White Plains, appears to be the oldest present newspaper of the county retaining its original name. It was begun in 1845 by Edmund G. Southerland.

J. Fenimore Cooper

In 1840 the population of Westchester County was just about double that attained in 1790. During the half century there had been an average growth every ten years of slightly more than 4,000. The original character of the population had not yet been materially modified. Men engaged in active daily business in New York had not become regular inhabitants, although there was an increasing tendency to build country residences in which to spend portions of

[1] French's "Gazetteer of the State of New York" (1860), p. 697.

the year or to lead lives of retirement after the termination of eminent or otherwise successful careers.

The most distinguished citizen of our county during the period whose history has been traced in the present chapter was unquestionably the noble statesman, John Jay. His death in 1829 at his home in Bedford, where he spent the last twenty-eight years of his life, has already been noticed. Another of the great Revolutionary fathers, Gouverneur Morris, retired to his ancestral estate in this county in the fullness of his honors and fame, and was buried in our soil.

Throughout the Revolution Gouverneur Morris was a resident of Philadelphia, serving the government for a portion of the time as a member of congress, and later as assistant superintendent of the finances. His mother meantime had continued to live at Morrisania, where Gouverneur visited her at the conclusion of the war, after an absence of seven years. By purchasing the rights of his brother, General Staats Long Morris, of the British army, he became possessed of all the Morrisania estate east of Mill Brook. He did not, however, abandon his residence in Philadelphia, and in 1787 he was elected a delegate from Pennsylvania to the federal constitutional convention. He spent the next ten years in Europe, and during the most violent period of the French Revolution was the American minister at Paris. While abroad he was employed in other important diplomatic connections. Returning to this country in 1798, he established his residence at Morrisania, where he built a new house. From 1800 to 1803 he served as United States senator from New York. "A change in parties prevented his re-election, and with the expiration of his term his political life ended. He passed the remainder of his life at Morrisania. 'An ample fortune, numerous friends, a charming retreat, and a tranquil home were the elements of his happiness and filled up the measure of his hopes.'"[1] The leisure of his closing years was devoted to study, literary pursuits, and the advocacy of

[1] This citation well indicates the tastes and temperament of the man. He possessed a very lovable nature, though marked by great dignity of character. Asked to give his description of a gentleman, Gouverneur Morris wrote the following lines:

'Tis he whose every thought and deed
By rule of virtue moves,
Whose generous tongue disdains to speak
The thing his heart disproves.

Who never did a slander forge,
His neighbor's fame to wound;
Nor hearken to a false report
By malice whispered 'round.

Who vice, in all its pomp and power,
Can treat with just neglect;
And piety, though cloth'd in rags,
Religiously respect.

Who to his plighted words and trust
Has ever firmly stood;
And, though he promised to his loss,
He makes his promise good.

Whose soul in usury disdains
His treasures to employ,
Whom no reward can ever bribe
The guiltless to destroy.

useful schemes of public policy, especially internal improvements. He was one of the projectors and earnest promoters of the Erie Canal. He died at Morrisania on the 6th of November, 1816, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. "His remains were buried where Saint Anne's Church now stands, the east aisle covering their original resting place. They were afterward transferred to the family vault, which is the first one east of the church. His wife caused a marble slab to be placed over the temporary tomb, and that still remains."

Several of the most notable literary characters of the first half century of the republic were identified with Westchester County by residence.

James Fenimore Cooper, born in New Jersey and reared on the frontiers of New York, married, on the 1st of January, 1811, Susan Augusta, daughter of John Peter de Lancey, of Mamaroneck, and great-granddaughter of Colonel Caleb Heathcote. Cooper was at that time in his twenty-second year. The young couple made their home in Mamaroneck, where Cooper wrote his first novel, "Precaution." Contracting the acquaintance of John Jay, he obtained from him the suggestion for his second work, "The Spy," or "Tale of the Neutral Ground," which formed the basis of his literary reputation. Thus the beginnings of Cooper's fame were incidental exclusively to his residence in Westchester County.

J. RODMAN DRAKE.

The gifted Joseph Rodman Drake, known equally as the poet of the American flag and the poet of the Bronx, lived in our Town of West Farms and lies buried in the ancient family cemetery of the Leggetts, Willetts, and Hunts, on Hunt's Point. Many of his poems were written while musing by the side of the Bronx. His career was cut short by consumption at the early age of twenty-five. He died on the 21st of September, 1820. His grave and the simple monument which marks it long ago fell into extreme neglect. In the present march of city improvements in the Borough of the Bronx the plans adopted for street extensions involve the complete extinction of the old graveyard. Efforts have been made by the Society of American Authors to preserve the spot where Drake lies buried and to have a substantial monument raised upon it.

The residence of Washington Irving at Sunnyside began in the year 1836. Irving was born in New York City, April 3, 1783. He "first came to Tarrytown and Sleepy Hollow when a lad of fourteen or fifteen. He spent some of his holidays here, and formed an attachment for the spot which never left him." At frequent intervals in his literary career he visited Tarrytown, sometimes as a guest of his nephew, Oscar Irving. In a letter to his sister in 1832 he wrote: "I am more and more in the notion of having that little cottage below Oscar's house, and wish you to tell him to endeavor to get it for me." This cottage was a small stone Dutch dwelling, the identical "Wolfert's Roost" of his well-known sketch, built in early times by a member of the Acker family, and at the period of the Revolution occupied by Jacob Van Tassel as a tenant of Frederick Philipse. Irving purchased it, with about fifteen acres of land, in June, 1835. During that year and 1836 he had extensive alterations made, giving the name of Sunnyside to the place as then remodeled. Over the south entrance he placed a Dutch tablet, whose translation is as follows: "Erected in the year 1656.[1] Reconstructed by Washington Irving in the year 1835. Geo. Harvey, Architect." In October, 1836, he moved in.

Ever afterward Sunnyside was his home. There he wrote his "Life of Washington." He was constantly visited by men of distinction. During the first year of his residence he entertained Prince Louis Napoleon, afterward Napoleon III. Interesting reminiscences of his Sunnyside years appear in Scharf's History.[2] He was "a regular worshipper at Christ's Church, Tarrytown. . . . Mr. Irving was rarely absent from his pew at the morning service. . . . He was

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[1] This date was purely presumptive. There are sufficient reasons for believing that the house was not built until many years later. Irving always inclined to the opinion that Tarrytown was settled previously to 1650, and he even concluded that some of the graves in the Sleepy Hollow cemetery went back to that year. But Irving was entirely unacquainted with the early chronology of Westchester County. His historical studies, confined mostly to the immediate purposes of his own profitable writings on subjects of universal interest, did not descend to such local minutiæ. His published writings having reference to Tarrytown and vicinity are exclusively of the "quaint" variety. In 1835 Bolton had not yet begun his indefatigable researches into the early history of Westchester County; and indeed Irving, cogitating about the probable antiquity of his acquisition, must have had no other means of calculation than that of tradition, assisted by his gentle imagination. The original Wolfert Acker (the supposed builder of the house, and the first known Acker in this county) was certainly not a resident of Philipsburgh Manor until about 1680. This Wolfert Acker (or Ecker) was married March 4, 1680, to Maritje Sibouts. The record of the marriage, preserved in the register of the old Dutch Church of New York, describes him as "a young man of Midwout" [Long Island], and adds that both he and his spouse were at the time "on Frederick Philips land," and were "married on Frederick Philips land." (See Raymond's "Souvenir of the Revolutionary Soldiers' Monument Dedication at Tarrytown," p. 101.) This is conclusive evidence that Acker could not have built the house at the period conjectured by Irving. Manifestly Irving's Sunnyside inscription belongs to the all too numerous list of ill-authenticated graven historical remembrancers in Westchester County.

[2] ii., 235-241.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

Washington Irving

a devout and real believer. . . . He accepted freely and gladly the great truths of the Bible, and guided his life by them. His gentle ways, his simplicity and kindness of manner, his courtesy to all, and his frequent mingling with the neighbors, who made up all sorts and conditions of men, women, and children, made him very popular and much loved." He died at Sunnyside suddenly and peacefully on the 28th of November, 1859. His funeral was an event never to be forgotten by the people of Tarrytown. The whole village was in mourning, and all conditions of men came from far and wide to pay the last tributes of honor to the great and good man. He was buried in the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, beside his mother, where his remains still repose. Over them is a perfectly plain stone, inscribed as follows:

Washington Irving,
Born
April 3, 1783,
Died
Nov. 28, 1859.

The Fordham residence of Edgar Allan Poe, that gloomy and peculiar but resplendent and immortal genius—our American Marlowe,—dates from the year 1846, a period slightly later than the one selected for the termination of the present chapter; yet our mention of Poe may more appropriately occur here than in a subsequent connection.

Poe became a resident of New York City in 1844, having removed there from Philadelphia. At that time most of his magnificent tales had been written, and indeed he was at the zenith of his fame. But those were days of very slight recompense, and also of very uncertain employment, for authors not blessed with an acquisitive temperament and discreet character and habits. Though his genius was recognized and he had many sincere friends, he did not attain substantial success in New York City. It is related that his principal regular employment after coming there was as a writer for the *Evening Mirror*, on a salary of ten dollars a week. While living in New York he wrote the "Raven." In the spring of 1846 he removed to Fordham, renting for a hundred dollars a year a little frame cottage. The house was "pleasantly situated, with cherry trees about it, but was of the humble description and contained in all but three small rooms and a kind of a closet. It was furnished with only the necessary articles and a few keepsakes, among them presentation copies of the works of Mrs. Browning, to whom Poe had dedicated his poems, and from whom he had received the kindest acknowledgments." It is said that he procured the means to take the Fordham cottage and maintain existence there for a time from the proceeds of a libel suit, which yielded him several hundreds of dollars.

With him he brought to Fordham his wife Virginia—his "Annabel Lee"—and her mother, the tender, devoted Mrs. Clemm. Virginia Clemm was his cousin, whom he had married in her girlhood. A professional singer, she had ruptured a blood vessel some four years previously, and had ever since been in declining health. Even while they were living in Philadelphia she "could not bear the slightest exposure, and needed the utmost care; and all those conveniences as to apartments and surroundings which are so important in the case of an invalid were almost matters of life and death to her. And yet the room where she lay for weeks [in Philadelphia], hardly able to breathe, except as she was fanned, was a little place with the ceiling so low over the narrow bed that her head almost touched it. But no one dared to speak, Mr. Poe was so sensitive and irritable, 'quick as steel and flint,' said one who knew him in those days. And he would not allow a word about the danger of her dying; the mention of it drove him wild." At the time of the removal to Fordham she was but a shadow of her former self, and was plainly doomed to an early death. A recent writer in a New York newspaper relates that in 1846 he was sent twice, as a messenger boy, to the Fordham cottage, to deliver proofs to Poe and wait for the reading of them. "On both occasions I saw Mrs. Poe, then an invalid. On the first visit she was sitting in the sun on the little porch of the cottage, wrapped in what appeared to be a counterpane, her husband on one side of her and her mother on the other. At the next visit she was on a couch covered with a man's overcoat, for the weather was chilly and the house was cold. The recollection of her appearance is still vivid as of a picture of a saint seen long ago in a receding light. Probably in full health she was a beautiful girl, but at this time whatever vital beauty she had was already mystic if not spectral. Her face was thin and white, the kind of pallor that Carlyle calls 'the herald of the pale repose,' and her large dark eyes were

EDGAR ALLAN POE.

strangely and wonderingly obtrusive by contrast. I remember that they affected me with something like a searching omnipresence while I was waiting. . . . I remember that while I was waiting for him, his wife, who had gone into another room, coughed once or twice, and I saw him wince at the sound." During his first year at Fordham Poe also was in delicate health, and probably for much of that time he was held in powerful bonds by his besetting sin. He accomplished little literary work of importance, and when the winter of 1847 came on the family was in great destitution. "Mrs. Gove, hearing of this, visited the family, and found the dying wife with only sheets and a coverlet on the bed, wrapped in her husband's coat. She appealed to Mrs. Maria Louise Shaw, who immediately relieved the necessities of the family and raised a subscription of $60." Shortly afterward the plain facts were published in the New York newspapers, and further relief was forthcoming. The poor little lady died on the 30th of January, 1847, and was buried in the churchyard of the old Fordham Dutch Church. There her bones rested until 1878, when they were disinterred by Mr. William Fearing Gill, for the purpose of depositing them beside Poe's remains in Baltimore.

JAMES K. PAULDING.

The Fordham cottage continued to be Poe's home for the brief remainder of his life. Mrs. Clemm remained with him, and took loving motherly care of him. His literary productions assignable to the period of his Fordham abode are mostly of the hack variety, although interspersed among them are such gems as "Annabel Lee," "The Bells," the "Cask of Amontillado," the "Domain of Arnheim," and "Landor's Cottage." Also "Eureka" and "Ulalume" were written at Fordham. He died at Baltimore on the 7th of October, 1849, aged thirty-eight.

The Poe Cottage at Fordham is still preserved. Originally and until a quite recent period a plot of ground, containing perhaps a quarter of an acre, was attached to it. The writer of this History vividly recalls a visit made to the spot fifteen years ago, when the

ground was yet intact. Soon afterward it was announced in the press that the property had passed into new hands, and would probably be laid out into city lots. Sympathetic souls protested, and there were practical endeavors to prevent the impending desecration, which had no result. To-day several "modern" houses, of a distinctly indifferent order of architecture, occupy all of the land except the single lot where the cottage stands. We believe that the permanent preservation of the cottage has been provided for, and that it is intended to remove it ultimately to a new city park in the neighborhood.

The late J. Thomas Scharf, in his History of Westchester County, devotes a separate chapter to the literati identified by birth, residence, or otherwise with our county. Among the names which we have not previously mentioned, belonging to the first half of the nineteenth century, are those of William Leggett, the able journalist, a descendant of Gabriel Leggett, of West Farms, and a resident of New Rochelle, who died in 1839 at the early age of thirty-seven; Samuel Woodworth, author of the "Old Oaken Bucket," who lived at Westchester; and James K. Paulding, the friend of Irving and a very forcible and esteemed writer, who was of Westchester County extraction and received his education in this county.

CHAPTER XXV

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE COUNTY CONCLUDED

T the time of the introduction of the Croton water into New York, the summer of 1842, trains were running on the New York and Harlem Railroad as far as Williams's Bridge. It took more than two years longer to extend the road to White Plains, and it was not until June, 1847, that the line was opened to Croton Falls on the border of Putnam County. The early operation of this first railway in Westchester County was naturally conducted in very imperfect fashion, but its completion through the whole extent of the county was an event of great importance, not only to the people residing along the route, but to those of all other sections, stage communication with the various stations being immediately established from villages east and west as the work progressed.

Before the construction of this central route had been finished, the two other principal railways that now pass through Westchester County had been chartered and put on a basis assuring their early completion.

The New York and Albany division of what is now the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad was originally called the New York and Hudson River Railroad. In the early years of the New York and Harlem enterprise the idea of another line following the river shore had been scouted as both chimerical and inexpedient. In a sober official report it was declared that the chief value of a river route would be its "novelty," whereas the already chartered road "leading from the City of New York through the heart of Westchester County, at nearly equal distances from the waters of the Hudson on the one hand and of the East River and Long Island Sound on the other, and extending from thence through the upper valley of the Croton River near to the eastern border of the State," was the only satisfactory project for bringing the whole country as far as Albany into communication with the commercial metropolis. It was also argued that the same central route would serve the purpose of railway intercourse with New England, a road from Boston to

Albany having previously been built, which, by the way, was a grievous thorn in the side of New York, as that thoroughfare had operated to divert a heavy volume of the Erie Canal commerce to Boston. Capitalists were slow to formulate new plans of railway development centering in New York; but during the first half of the decade 1840-50 both the Hudson River and the New York and New Haven undertakings began to take shape.

The New York and Hudson River road was chartered by the legislature in May, 1846, and the company was soon after organized, Mr. John B. Jervis, the engineer of the Croton Aqueduct, being employed as chief engineer. Work was begun toward the middle of 1847, the entire line being placed under contract by sections, and the work was prosecuted so diligently that by the 29th of September, 1849, passenger travel was commenced between New York and Peekskill. "The average number of passengers per day for the first month (October) was 830, and the total number 21,593. . . . At this time it was calculated that the land taken for the roadway in Westchester County had cost the company, exclusive of agencies and other charges, $185,905.02, and also that the grading had involved an expenditure of not far from a million dollars, which was about $300,000 above the cost as estimated by the original lettings in 1847."[1]

It was a single track road, with "turnouts" where needed. This at once caused the New York and Albany stages to be withdrawn, and it also competed with the steamboats. The following advertisement was published in the New York *Herald:* "Passenger trains will commence to run between New York and Peekskill on Saturday, the 29th instant (September, 1849), stopping at the following places and at the rate of fare respectively stated, viz.: Manhattanville, twelve and one-half cents; Yonkers, twenty-five cents, etc. Omnibuses will be provided at the junction of Chambers Street and Hudson Street to convey passengers who furnish themselves with tickets at the engine-house, at Thirty-first Street, until the rails are laid to that point. Trains will start at 8 a.m., 12 noon, and 4 p.m. N. B.—Stockholders during the present week free of charge."[2]

Originally the Hudson River road followed the straight line to the foot of West Thirty-first Street.

The New York and New Haven Railroad (now the New York, New Haven, and Hartford) was in full operation nine months before the opening of the Hudson River route to Peekskill. This road was built downward from New Haven through the Towns of Rye, Harrison, Mamaroneck, New Rochelle, Pelham, and Eastchester, to its junction with the New York and Harlem at Washingtonville, a distance in our county of 13.6 miles. The first through train from New York to New Haven, bearing a party of stockholders, was run on Christmas

[1] Rev. W. S. Coffey, in Scharf's History, I., 480. [2] Allison's Hist. of Yonkers, 160.

Day, 1848, and the next day the road was opened for business. "It was at first a single track road. . . . The numerous curves on the road were caused by the restricted financial condition, making it necessary, as far as possible, to avoid cuttings and embankments. The desire had been to build the road in a substantial and permanent manner, but it was found difficult to complete it in any shape. . . . It is a curious fact that when the trains first commenced to run the passengers were booked as in the old stage-coach times, their names being duly reported by the conductors to the company."

Thus by the dawn of the second half of the nineteenth century the three great railway routes which traverse Westchester County had been completed and put in successful operation. The other two railways now existing—the Harlem River Branch of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford, and the New York and Putnam—were not built until many years later. The former, at first called the Harlem River and Port Chester Railroad, running on its own line from Morrisania to New Rochelle, and thence over the New Haven track to Port Chester, was undertaken in 1872, and was from the beginning leased by the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Company. The present New York and Putnam Railroad at its inception (1871) was designed to run from High Bridge to Brewsters, and there connect with the so-called New York and Boston. This road was not finished until 1881. It was long styled the New York and Northern. Its complete development was effected by the extension of the line from High Bridge to the terminus of the Elevated Railway at One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, and by the building of the branch from Van Cortlandt Station to Yonkers. In common with the New York and Harlem, the New York and Putnam is now incorporated in the New York Central and Hudson River system, with which also the New York, New Haven, and Hartford is closely affiliated; so that all the steam railways of Westchester County are substantially under one management.

Aside from the building of the railways, there were not many events of local importance in Westchester County from the completion of the Croton Aqueduct until 1850.

Two new townships were erected—Ossining (1845) and West Farms (1846), and the territorial dimensions of four others were somewhat changed by the annexation of a portion of North Salem to Lewisboro in 1844, and of a portion of Somers to New Castle in 1846.

From 1810 until 1845 Mount Pleasant, embracing the village of Sing Sing, had been the most populous township of the county. The federal enumeration of 1840 gave it a population of 7,307. It was also one of the largest townships in area, and chiefly on this account its

division was determined upon. By a legislative act passed May 2, 1845, the present Township of Ossining was erected from it. "The meaning of the term 'Ossining' and its derivation," says Dr. Fisher, "were given by Mr. Henry M. Schoolcraft in 1844, at the request of General Aaron Ward, member of congress from this district at the time. We are told that the word *ossin*, in the Chippeway language, signifies 'a stone'; that *ossinee* or *ossineen* is the plural for 'stones.' This etymology was accepted, and in May, 1845, when our town was taken from Mount Pleasant, it received the name of 'Ossin-sing.' In March, 1846, it was changed (by dropping the third *s*) and made to read 'Ossin-ing,' and still later the hyphen was omitted."[1] Including in its limits Sing Sing Village, Ossining naturally took a prominent place among the towns of the county from the start.

WILLIAM W. SCRUGHAM.

The Town of West Farms was carved out of Westchester by a law passed May 13, 1846. The new township comprehended all of the ancient patents of West Farms, Morrisania Manor, and Fordham Manor, Westchester Town retaining only the territory east of the Bronx River. The three component parts of West Farms Township, being much more accessible to New York City than Westchester proper, had increased far more rapidly in population, and as they were separated from the parent town by a broad line of natural division, the Bronx River, it was esteemed very proper to organize them into a distinct political unit. West Farms Village, as has been noticed in the previous chapter, had become a locality of some manufacturing importance, on account of the utilization of the water of the Bronx River to turn mill wheels. Mr. John Copcutt and Mr. Alexander Smith, men who became conspicuous in founding the manufacturing industries of Yonkers, originally had their mills at

[1] Scharf, ii., 322.

West Farms. In view of the rapid growth which the Township of West Farms experienced after the opening of the Harlem Railroad, it was found advisable in 1855 to subdivide it and set apart Morrisania as a separate town.

In 1846 a final radical revision was effected in the State constitution of New York. Judges, district attorneys, and other officers formerly appointive were made elective. The first county judge elected in Westchester County was John W. Mills, of White Plains (1851-56); the first surrogate, Lewis C. Platt, of White Plains (1848-56); the first district attorney, William W. Scrugham,[1] of Yonkers (1848-51); the first county treasurer, Elisha Horton, of White Plains (1849-52).

At the State census of 1845—the last enumeration taken before the railways came into operation—Westchester County had 47,394 inhabitants, some 1,300 fewer than the number awarded the county by the federal census of 1840. The greater population of 1840 was probably due to the inclusion in the census at that time of the numerous workmen employed on the Croton Aqueduct. As classified by occupations in 1845, the adult males of the county included 4,369 farmers and agriculturists, 364 manufacturers, 275 merchants, 101 clergymen, 62 physicians and surgeons, and 42 lawyers. There were in that year 142 common schools and 69 select schools.

With the completion of the railways a great change at once transpired in local conditions in Westchester County. In the ten years from 1845 to 1855 the population rose from 47,394 to 80,678—a gain of more than 68 per cent. The following table shows the population by towns in 1845 and 1855, with the valuation of real estate and personal property in 1858:

TOWNS	POPULATION, 1845	POPULATION, 1855	VALUATION, REAL ESTATE & PERSONAL, 1858
Bedford	2,725	3,464	$1,602,170
Cortlandt	6,738	8,468	3,116,750
Eastchester	1,369	4,715	1,460,550
Greenburgh	3,205	6,135	4,538,657
Harrison	1,039	1,271	865,110
Lewisboro	1,541	1,775	955,127
Mamaroneck	780	1,068	629,695
Morrisania [1]	——	——	2,583,862
Mount Pleasant	2,778	3,677	1,846,745
New Castle	1,495	1,762	846,210
New Rochelle	1,977	3,101	1,780,700
North Castle	2,010	2,415	794,358

[1] Population for 1845 included in Westchester; for 1855 in West Farms.

[1] Mr. Scrugham also had the honor of being the first citizen of Westchester County elected to the office of justice of the Supreme Court of the State. He was chosen to that position in 1859, and continued in it until his death in 1867.

TOWNS	POPULATION, 1845	POPULATION, 1855	VALUATION, REAL ESTATE & PERSONAL 1858
North Salem	1,228	1,528	1,004,177
Ossining	3,312	5,758	1,820,433
Pelham	486	833	746,750
Poundridge	1,727	1,439	424,508
Rye	2,180	3,468	1,997,315
Scarsdale	341	445	421,412
Somers	1,761	1,744	1,366,533
Westchester	5,052	3,464	2,231,815
West Farms [1]	——	12,436	2,229,774
White Plains	1,155	1,512	942,365
Yonkers	2,517	7,554	4,887,668
Yorktown	2,278	2,346	1,246,377
Total	47,394	80,678	40,343,401

[1] Population for 1845 included in Westchester.

During the ten years the total population increased 32,284, of which increase 22,461 was in the Towns of West Farms (including Westchester), Yonkers, Eastchester, and Greenburgh—that is, in the localities brought within a comparatively short and inexpensive railway ride of New York. In former times, before railways existed, the local gains in population had invariably been without special reference to nearness to New York. A journey to the business sections of the city, even from Morrisania or Fordham, then involved a ride by carriage or stage of protracted duration; and thus for persons having daily business in New York, regular residence in any section of Westchester County was out of the question. Indeed, the tendency had steadily been toward a much larger growth in such remote towns as Sing Sing and Peekskill than in the nearby communities. Now, however, there was a reversal of this ancient order of things, and although Sing Sing and Peekskill, as well as New Rochelle, Rye, and all other places through which the railway lines passed, made respectable advances, the principal gains were in the section from which New York could be reached in the briefest time and at the minimum of expense, indicating the immigration of a large class of former New York residents. This fact is quite as strikingly evidenced by the nearly stationary condition of the exclusively agricultural townships of the northern portions of the county—such as Lewisboro, North Castle, North Salem, Poundridge, Somers, and Yorktown. Poundridge, not entered by any railway line, actually lost some 300 people in the ten years.

Amongst the significant local results thus brought to pass, the most interesting and important, whether considered in its original

aspects or in relation to its later developments, was unquestionably the foundation of the Village—now the prosperous and handsome City—of Mount Vernon. Unlike any other considerable community of Westchester County, Mount Vernon owes its very existence to the railroad. Yonkers, Tarrytown, Sing Sing, Peekskill, New Rochelle, Mamaroneck, Rye, and Port Chester, with White Plains, Bedford, and various other villages scattered through the central and northern parts of the county, existed before the period of railways, and doubtless would have enjoyed respectable growth if no railway had ever been built. But Mount Vernon had no such prior existence. In 1850 there was not even an elementary settlement on the site of the present city. Its very name belongs as strictly to the latter half of the nineteenth century as does the name of Irvington, Larchmont, or any other hamlet exclusively conceived and erected, within the memory of men still living, on the foundations of extemporized enterprise.

Although the Township of Eastchester, at least at its southern extremity, was one of the earliest settled localities of the county, no village of any noticeable pretensions or expectations had been established within its limits until Mount Vernon sprang into being. The hamlet of Eastchester, at the head of sloop navigation where Hutchinson's River or Eastchester Creek empties into Eastchester Bay, has associations as an organized community scarcely less venerable than those of Westchester Village. In 1850 some five hundred people were living there and in that vicinity. The total population of the township in the same year was 1,769. There was also a settlement of some size at Tuckahoe, resulting from the opening of marble quarries there about 1823, and Tuckahoe was consequently one of the original stations of the Harlem Railroad.

In 1850 there was organized in New York City an association called the "New York Industrial Home Association No. 1," composed mostly of tradesmen, employees, and other persons of small means. Its announced object was to see what could be done by co-operative action toward securing homes for its members where they could be relieved from the exorbitant rentals then exacted by landlords in the city; to which end it was proposed to purchase land and build a village within convenient distance of New York. One of the fundamental conditions on which the association was based was that a thousand members should be secured, and this object was accomplished in six months' time. Various men of influence in the city lent their hearty support to the project—among them Horace Greeley, the editor of the *Tribune*. The most active man in the enterprise was Mr. John Stevens, who was appointed purchasing agent.

It is said that the selection of the site for the desired village was determined by a suggestion from Gouverneur Morris (son of the statesman of the same name), who, commenting on the extensive growth attained by Morrisania, observed that the next large settlement should naturally be at a point near the intersection of the New York and Harlem and the New York and New Haven Railroads. Some one hundred farms in different parts of Westchester County were offered to the association, but the location pointed out by Mr. Morris was chosen by unanimous agreement. The land bought consisted of five farms, owned by Colonel John R. Hayward, Sylvanus Purdy, Andrew Purdy, and his two sons, John and Andrew Oscar Purdy—the aggregate area of the purchase being about three hundred and seventy acres. The first check in payment for the land, $3,400, was dated November 1, 1850. Among the names originally proposed for the place were Columbia, Fleetwood, Rising Sun, Stevensville, Jefferson, Thousandville, Palestine, New Washington, Monticello, Washington, Lafayette, Little New York, Linden, Olive Branch, New Amsterdam, Enterprise, Homesville, Industria, Youngfield, and Industry.[1] The name of Monticello was selected, but, as there was already a Monticello in the State of New York, this was soon changed to Monticello City. The postal authorities were still dissatisfied, however, and on the 10th of January, 1851, the present name of Mount Vernon was adopted. On the 12th of November, 1850, the site was visited by a large number of members of the association and practically dedicated to the uses of the new village, Mr. Greeley making an address in which he spoke in complimentary terms of the wisdom displayed in the choice of locality and predicted rapid growth for the community about to be established.

In the spring of 1851 the village was laid out into streets and avenues, various contracts for grading were effected, and the distribution of the one thousand quarter-acre lots among the members was made. A depot was erected at the expense of the association, and presented to the New Haven Railroad Company. In October there was a jubilee in celebration of the rapid progress attained in the space of a single year. On the 12th of December the president of the association, Mr. Stevens, reported that fifty-six houses had either been completed or were in various stages of construction, and this number had on the 6th of August, 1852, been increased to three hundred. "One of the causes of this rapid progress was the reversionary clause in the deeds given, which required the erection within three years or a forfeiture of the land. This provision in the deed undoubtedly

[1] Smith's Manual of Westchester County, 216.

was not legally binding, but effected the purpose for which the members of the association freely placed themselves under its seeming risks. The lots not improved, as so required, were, however, in a few years relieved from this incumbrance by releases freely given."[1]

By the fall of 1853 the settlement of the place had been so satisfactorily accomplished, and its preparation in other respects for organized government so far advanced, that its people were ready to consider the question of its incorporation as a village. This plan was agreed to by a majority vote in December. The first election for village officers was held on the 7th of March, 1854, when Stephen Bogart, John B. Brennan, Joseph S. Gregory, M.D., Thomas Jones, and William Saxton were chosen trustees. Dr. Gregory was the first president of the village, but resigned soon after his election and was succeeded by Thomas Jones. A census taken at the time of incorporation gave the place 1,370 inhabitants, of whom 564 were parents, 623 children, and the remainder unmarried adults and apprentices.

The original settlement of Mount Vernon was where the principal business portion of the city now is, on the line of the New Haven Railroad, and mainly on the southern side of that line, although a few houses were built at an early period to the northward of the railway. Contemporaneously, however, with the foundation of the village on the New Haven road, another village on the Harlem road was inaugurated, called West Mount Vernon. This also was begun under the auspices of an association organized on principles of economy—the Teutonic Homestead Association, composed, as its name indicates, mostly of Germans. The number of the Teutonic associators was five hundred, and the land which they bought consisted of about one hundred and thirty-one acres. Subsequently a third settlement, Central Mount Vernon, was built up between the two villages. Central and West Mount Vernon were incorporated as one village in 1869, and were consolidated with Mount Vernon in 1878. Various other outlying localities gradually came into being. After a career of about thirty-nine years as a village, Mount Vernon became a city in 1892, taking in, of course, all these connected districts.

The fundamental object of the founders of Mount Vernon, to establish a community of homes, is perpetuated by the motto of the official seal of the city, *Urbs Jucundarum Domium*—"A City of Happy Homes." But after serving its original purposes the association gradually underwent disorganization, and the ultimate development of the place was the result of private enterprise, con-

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[1] Rev. W. S. Coffey, in Scharf's History, II., 722.

ducted under the ordinary conditions of local progress. On the other hand, it is undeniable that the peculiar character given the community at the beginning operated continuously to attract to it, in the succeeding years, citizens of the same general spirit, aims, and conditions of life as the original associators—men chiefly of moderate means, but of providence, thrift, foresight, and energetic traits. For many years few men of large wealth, either inherited or self-acquired, came to live in Mount Vernon; but it could not be otherwise than that substantial and even opulent fortunes should in the course of time be gained by numerous citizens of a community erected on such a basis as that of Mount Vernon. Thus from a settlement of humble home-seekers it steadily grew into a flourishing suburb, with a population representing all degrees of individual prosperity.

Yonkers, when last noticed, had just acquired the essentials of serious development by the partition of the Wells estate, which occurred soon after the death of Lemuel Wells in 1842. The village was not incorporated, however, until 1855. During the thirteen years there was a steady improvement of the natural manufacturing facilities afforded by the power of the Nepperhan River, and with the opening of the Hudson River Railroad in 1849 the population began to receive large and valuable accessions from New York City. Some considerable local improvements were introduced. New streets were opened, a fire company, gaslight company, and library association were organized, and new churches and schools were built. In 1851 Mr. Robert P. Getty erected the Getty House at a cost of between $40,000 and $50,000, and other public-spirited citizens were active in promoting the general good. Meantime several new settlements were founded in the Township of Yonkers. In 1852 Elias Johnson, David B. Fox, and Joseph B. Fuller, of Troy, N. Y., purchased land near Spuyten Duyvil inlet and had surveys and plans made for a village, which it was at first intended should be called Fort Independence, but received the name of Spuyten Duyvil. Riverdale was laid out in 1853. To this period also belongs the erection of Edwin Forrest's famous home, which in 1856 was purchased by the sisters of Saint Vincent de Paul and took the name of Mount Saint Vincent. According to Allison, there were in 1852 537 buildings in the Town of Yonkers, "not including those in the southern portion subsequently set off."

The Village of Yonkers was incorporated by an act of the legislature, April 12, 1855. "It extended one mile and seven-tenths along the Hudson River. Its average breadth was eight-tenths of a mile. Edward F. Shonnard's farm was on the north and Thomas W. Ludlow's on the south. The area of the incorporated village was about

YONKERS MAP, 1847.

nine hundred acres." The population of the whole township at this time was 7,554. Five hundred and four votes were cast at the first village election, the officers chosen being: President, William Radford; Trustees, William C. Waring, Jacob Read, Lemuel W. Wells, Thomas O. Farrington, Reuben W. Van Pelt, and Fielding S. Gant; Clerk, William H. Post; Treasurer, John M. Stillwater; Collector, Lyman F. Bradley.

The settlement of Mount Vernon unquestionably operated materially to intercept the natural growth of New Rochelle after the opening of the New Haven Railroad. As the first important stopping place on that road above Fordham, and as a long established, beautifully located, and eminently substantial community, New Rochelle would naturally have drawn to itself a very considerable element of the large numbers of New York people who sought homes in Westchester County after the completion of the railways, had it not been for the organization of the new village, which offered superior advantages to most persons of that class. Thus the immediate progress of New Rochelle was effectually retarded. The growth of the township in the ten years from 1845 to 1855 did not compare with that of West Farms, Eastchester, Yonkers, or Greenburgh, being only 1,024. The population of the township in 1830 was 1,274; in 1835, 1,261; in 1840, 1,816; in 1845, 1,977; in 1850, 2,548; in 1855, 3,101.

Nevertheless, the village had long possessed every requirement for organized government. A town hall had been built as early as 1828, with money bequeathed for that purpose by a public-spirited citizen, William Henderson. In 1854 a cemetery, known as the Beechwood Cemetery, was located in New Rochelle by authority granted by the board of supervisors. The community was inhabited by many people of substance and progressiveness. A village charter was accordingly applied for, which was conferred by the legislature on the 5th of October, 1857. The first meeting of the officers of New Rochelle Village was held January 21, 1858, when Albert Smith was elected president of the board of trustees. The original charter of New Rochelle continued in effect until April 20, 1864, when a new charter was obtained from the legislature. The village, from its organization in 1858, endured until 1899, when the present City of New Rochelle was instituted.

It is noteworthy that the three cities of Westchester County—Yonkers, Mount Vernon, and New Rochelle—all had their birth as incorporated villages in the decade 1850-60.

In this decade also the Township of Morrisania—now the most populous portion of the old County of Westchester—came into being as a separate political division. By the act of 1788, which divided

the county into towns, Morrisania was designated as a distinct township, but shortly afterward it was restored to its ancient position as a portion of the Town of Westchester. In 1846 it became a part of the new Township of West Farms, carved out of Westchester. But the great growth of this new township in population, consequent upon the railway development—a growth of some 8,000 in the five years from 1850 to 1855,—made its subdivision necessary, and on the 7th of December, 1855, the Town of Morrisania was created. Its "north line began at Harlem River, near the present Aqueduct Bridge, and extended east to Union Avenue, which was practically the east bounds of the Morrisania Manor. Its east boundary was Union Avenue, continued to the head of Bungay Creek, and thence to Harlem Kills, and its south and west boundaries the Harlem River and Kills." The first supervisor of the town was Gouverneur Morris, son of the famous statesman. Morrisania Village was incorporated in 1864, when the town was divided into four wards, in each of which three trustees were elected.

The history of Westchester County to 1860 comprehends several matters of general interest in addition to the facts of development which have been noted in the preceding pages of this chapter.

In the year 1848 the original edition of Bolton's "History of Westchester County" was published. Giving due consideration to the conditions under which this work was compiled and to the volume and variety of its contents, it stands unapproached by any other early contribution to American local history. The unique value of the first edition of Bolton is now so well recognized that it has become a much prized book from the collector's point of view. Robert Bolton was born in the City of Bath, England, April 17, 1814, being the eldest of the fourteen children of the Rev. Robert Bolton, who, removing to America, became rector of Christ's Church at Pelham, this county, whence, however, he subsequently returned to England. The son studied medicine in England, but did not practice that profession. In 1836, at the age of thirty-two, he engaged in farming pursuits at Bronxville in the Town of Eastchester, and ever afterward he was a citizen of our county. He lived at various times in New Rochelle, Tarrytown, Bedford, Lewisboro, and Pelham. For many years he conducted select schools, but later was ordained a clergyman in the Episcopal Church and appointed to the parish of Saint John's in Lewisboro, his only charge. He died at Pelham Priory,[1] October 11, 1877. His original researches for his "History of Westchester County" covered a period of some ten years. That

[1] Pelham Priory was an estate purchased by his father. The residence was converted into a school for young ladies, conducted by the Misses Bolton.

was before the publication of the colonial and other historical documents, yet by great perseverance he was able to procure, in manuscript, nearly all the important original documents bearing upon the history of our county. His labors also included "personal visitation of every spot of interest and nearly every person of advanced age." In addition to his History of the county, he published a "Guide to New Rochelle" and a "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Westchester County." At the time of his death he had nearly completed a revision of his History of the county, which was issued under the editorship of his brother, the Rev. C. W. Bolton, of New Rochelle, in 1881.

On the 4th of December, 1851, occurred the first serious railway accident in the history of the county. This was of a decidedly sensational nature. An afternoon up train from New York was stopped by the conductor above Croton to put off two men who did not pay their fare, and was run into by an engine without cars, several passengers suffering injury. Another up train which followed it—an express train—was switched off to the west track and halted to render assistance; whereupon it was run into by a down train, resulting in more casualties. This double accident caused much newspaper comment.

The Village of Tarrytown was the scene of a notable monument dedication on the 7th of October, 1853. On the spot where Major Andre was captured by Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart, September 23, 1780, a monument in commemoration of that event was unveiled with much ceremony, the governor of the State and other distinguished guests being in attendance. In a previous chapter the particulars of this event and also of the dedication of the "new" monument on the same spot in 1880 have been given (see p. 493).

The burning of the Hudson River steamboat "Henry Clay" on the 28th of July, 1857, the most terrible disaster of that period, is vividly remembered by many citizens of Yonkers still living. The "Clay" was a fast passenger boat plying between New York and Albany, and had a competitor, the "Armenia," operated by another management. It was alleged that the two boats frequently raced, especially on the down trip, and although there was no conclusive evidence that they were engaged in racing on the day of the disaster, the burning of the "Clay" was supposed to have been attributable to the carelessness engendered in the crew by these efforts for undue speed, very inflammable material being sometimes thrown into the furnaces, in addition to the ordinary fuel, to increase the heat of the boilers. The two vessels came down the river on the afternoon of the fatal day,

the "Clay" being slightly in advance. As she passed Yonkers, moving at a high speed, smoke was seen issuing from her sides. She was at once headed for the dock at Riverdale, but meantime the flames had burst forth and it was necessary to beach her with all the haste possible. "Mr. Edwin Forrest, the actor, who lived near, was there, and soon others came. It was an awful sight. The steamer struck the shore and ran up so far that the bow lay across the western railroad track. The passengers were either pitched into the river by the sudden stopping of the boat as it struck the river bank, or they jumped overboard. The bodies were laid along the shore. Eighty or more were drowned or burned. All the bodies were not recovered on the day of the fire. They washed ashore at irregular intervals. This necessitated holding inquests through a period of two weeks. The coroner was Mr. William H. Lawrence. The inquests were held at the Yonkers railroad station. The captain of the boat and other officers escaped from the burning steamer."[1] Many of the bodies were buried in a plot in Saint John's Cemetery, Yonkers, and over their graves a marble column was erected, which still stands, although in a state of decay.

The year 1857 witnessed the completion and occupation of the present court house of the county at White Plains. "The commissioners in charge of the construction of the court house and jail were Supervisors Abraham Hatfield, of Westchester; States Barton, of New Rochelle; Daniel Hunt, of Lewisboro; William Marshall, Jr., of Somers; and George C. Finch, of North Salem. R. G. Hatfield was architect and D. I. Stagg assistant and superintendent; Theodore Hunt, builder of the court house; Seth Bird, of Tarrytown, builder of the jail. The amount appropriated to cover the cost of the building was $120,000. The hall of records was erected, as a wing of the court house, in 1894. Supervisors Moses W. Taylor, of Mount Pleasant; Joseph B. See, of North Castle; Odle Close, of North Salem; and Jacob Read, of Yonkers, were the commissioners in charge; Edwin A. Quick, architect."[2]

We have already noticed the political changes introduced by the State constitution of 1846, so far as they affected Westchester County. The further political history of the county to 1860 includes nothing of importance, aside from the party struggles on the great questions of the times. The presidential votes of Westchester County from 1848 to 1860, inclusive, were as follows:

1848.—Lewis Cass (Dem.), 2,146; Zachary Taylor (Whig), 4,312; Martin Van Buren (Free Soil), 1,312.

1852.—Franklin Pierce (Dem.), 5,283; Winfield Scott (Whig), 4,033; scattering, 61.

[1] From the narrative of an eye-witness. Allison's Hist. of Yonkers, 187.

[2] Smith's Manual of Westchester County, 35.

1856.—James Buchanan (Dem.), 4,600; Millard Fillmore (Whig), 4,450; John C. Fremont (Rep.), 3,641.

1860.—United vote of Stephen A. Douglas, John C. Breckinridge, and John Bell, 8,100; Abraham Lincoln (Rep.), 6,771.

The divided condition of the Democratic party in 1848 caused the county, for the first time in its history, to give a plurality for the opposition candidate for president, but this was only a transient fickleness. The generally conservative character of our population is capitally evidenced by the result in 1856, when the new Republican

WESTCHESTER COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

party, organized on the issue of non-extension of slavery, made its first appearance, with John C. Fremont[1] as its candidate. Fremont received less than thirty per cent. of the total vote. In 1860, despite the great distractions from which the conservative forces suffered, they still rallied a united vote some 1,300 larger than that cast for Lincoln.[2]

[1] General Fremont resided at one time at Mount Pleasant, in the house built by General James Watson Webb.—Scharf, i., 599.

[2] It is of interest to record the names of the delegates from Westchester County to the State conventions held for the purpose of

The congressional district to which Westchester County belonged was represented at Washington by William Nelson, of Peekskill, from 1847 to 1851; Jared V. Peck, of Rye, from 1853 to 1855; and John B. Haskin, of Westchester, from 1857 to 1861.

In 1847 the first division of Westchester County into assembly districts was made, two districts being created, to which a third was added in 1858. The late Judge William H. Robertson began his public career as a member of the assembly from Westchester County in 1849 and 1850. He also served one term as State senator (1854-55), and in 1856 took his seat on the county bench, where he continued until 1868. He was one of the Lincoln presidential electors in 1860.

The total population of Westchester County in 1860 was 99,497—all but reaching the hundred thousand mark.

So far in our narrative, whilst progressively noticing the principal aspects of local change and development, we have not devoted any formal attention to the minuter facts of conditions in the townships and their numerous localities severally; and as the year 1860 is a convenient one for such a detailed review, we shall now give the needful space to it, avoiding, however, unnecessary repetitions. We shall here take the townships in alphabetical order, including under each township head various pertinent particulars for the local communities. The population statistics by towns are from the federal census of 1860; most of the other facts (including village populations) are extracted from a valuable work published at Syracuse in 1860—the "Gazetteer of the State of New York," by J. H. French.

THE TOWNS AND THEIR VILLAGES IN 1860.

Bedford.—Population, 3,639. Local particulars:—1. Bedford; contained a court house (still in use in 1860), two churches, the Bedford Academy, a Female Institute, and thirty houses. 2 Bedford Station, on the Harlem Railroad; contained ten houses. 3. Katonah; contained thirty houses. 4. Mount Kisco, a station on the Harlem Railroad; contained 200 inhabitants. 5. Whitlockville, "a station on the Harlem Railroad near the north border."

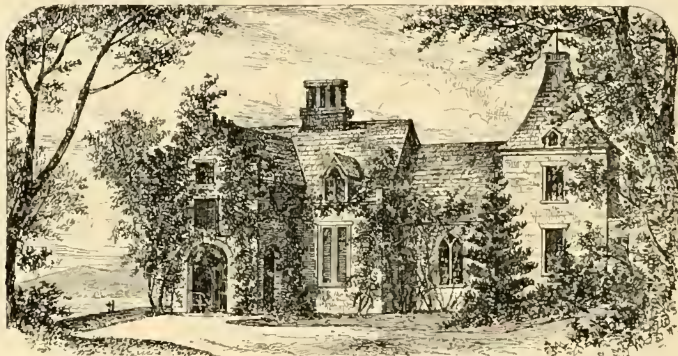
Cortlandt.—Population, 10,074. Local particulars:—1. Peekskill; an incorporated village; population, 3,538; contained ten churches, the Peekskill Academy, four boarding schools, a bank, newspaper office, six iron foundries (chiefly engaged in the manufacture of stoves and plows, and giving employment to 300 men), two machine shops, two tobacco factories, a pistol and gun factory, tannery, and gin distillery; connected by a steam ferry with Caldwell's Landing and by a daily steamer and line of sloops with New York. 2. Verplanck's Point; population, 1,456; contained a church, steamboat landing, and important brick manufactories, whose number in 1858 was thirty-four, giving employment to 1,350 men and turning out an-

selecting State delegates to the national conventions of the two parties in the historic year 1860. The Westchester County delegates to the Democratic State convention were Thomas Smith, Gilbert S. Lyon, and Abraham Hyatt. William Radford, of Yonkers, was a contesting delegate from the 9th congressional district (embracing Westchester County) to the Charleston national convention. To the Republican State convention, held at Syracuse in April, 1860, Westchester County sent the following delegates: Edward F. Shonnard, of Yonkers, and Harvey Kidd, of Westchester, from the 1st assembly district; Edward J. Porter, of New Rochelle, and John J. Clapp, from the 2d assembly district; and Odle Close, of North Salem, and J. H. Platt, of Ossining, from the 3d assembly district.

nually from 80,000,000 to 90,000,000 bricks. 3. Croton (formerly called Collaberg Landing); population, 400; a station on the Hudson River Railroad; contained four churches, a rolling mill, wire mill, and several brickyards. 4. Crugers[1] (Boscobel p. o.); a landing and railroad station. 5. Annsville; a small village, containing a church and wire mill. 6. Cortlandtville; contained a church, planing mill, and about twenty houses. 7. Oregon, on the line of Putnam County; contained a rolling mill and wire mill. 8. Croton Point; devoted chiefly to vineyards. 9. Montrose's Point.

Eastchester.—Population, 5,582. Local particulars:—1. Eastchester; population, 551; contained two churches. 2. Mount Vernon; an incorporated village; contained "four churches and several private schools." 3. West Mount Vernon (630 inhabitants), 4. East Mount Vernon (275 inhabitants), 5. Waverly, and 6. Washingtonville, are described as "suburban villages, inhabited principally by mechanics and men doing business in New York." 7. Bronxville; a railroad station; contained a manufactory of carriage axles. 8. Tuckahoe; a railroad station near the marble quarries. 9. Fleetwood, and 10. Jacksonville, places projected by building associations.

Greenburgh.—Population, 8,929. Local particulars:—1. Hastings; population, 1,135; a railroad station and a steamboat landing; contained two churches, steam marble works, limekilns, and a limited number of manufactories. 2. Dobbs Ferry;[2] population, 1,040; a railroad station and a landing on the river; contained three churches. 3. Irvington;[3] population,



SUNNYSIDE, WASHINGTON IRVING'S HOME.

599; a railroad station and a landing on the river; contained two churches. 4. Tarrytown; population, about 2,000; a steamboat landing and railroad station; contained four churches and the Pawling Institute. 5. Hart's Corners (Morningville p. o.); a station on the Harlem Railroad. 6. Middletown; a settlement below Tarrytown. 7. Hall's Corners; a neighborhood in the northern part of the town, and 8. Ashford; a settlement three miles below. 9. Abbotsford; a locality near Dobbs Ferry. 10. Greenville; a neighborhood in the southern part of the town.

Harrison.—Population, 1,413. The only locality mentioned by French in this town is Purchase (Harrison p. o.), a hamlet in the northern part, containing two Friends' meeting houses.

Lewisboro.—Population, 1,885. Local particulars:—1. South Salem; a scattered village, containing a church and fifteen houses. 2. Cross River; contained two churches, several manufactories, and twenty houses. 3. Golden's Bridge; a station on the Harlem Railroad. 4. Vista; a small settlement. 5. Lewisboro; a postoffice in the southern part.

Mamaroneck.—Population, 1,351. Local particulars:—1. Mamaroneck; contained two

[1] So called for Colonel John P. Cruger, whose estate, including Oscawana Island, was adjacent. "Boscobel" (the original name) was the residence of Staats Morris Dyckman.

[2] So called for an early family named Dobbs, who kept a ferry.

[3] So called for Washington Irving, whose homestead of Sunnyside was a short distance above. The village was formerly called Dearman's, or Dearman's Landing.

churches and "several manufactories, not at present in operation." 2. Orienta,[1] 3. Washingtonville, 4. Chatsworth, and 5. Hickory Grove, are described as "village plats and prospective villages." 6. Kelloggsville, on the line of New Rochelle, had an extension tide-mill.

Morrisania.—Population, 9,245. Local particulars:—1. Morrisania; population, 2,587; a railroad station; contained Saint Joseph's Ursuline Convent, an academy, and free school. 2. Mott Haven;[2] population, 843; contained two churches and an extensive iron foundry. 3. Port Morris;[3] prominent for its harbor, sixty feet deep, where it was "proposed to land vessels that draw too much water to enter New York Harbor"; connected with Melrose by a branch of the Harlem Railroad two and one-half miles long. 4. Wilton, 5. Old Morrisania, 6. East Morrisania, 7. West Morrisania, 8. South Melrose, 9. East Melrose, 10. Eltona, 11. Woodstock, 12. Claremont, and 13. High Bridgeville, are described as "suburban village plats."

Mount Pleasant.—Population, 4,517. Local particulars:—1. Pleasantville;[4] population, 358; contained two churches. 2. Unionville (Nepperhan p. o.); population, 97; a station on the Harlem Railroad. 3. Beekmantown; population, about 1,500; a suburb of Tarrytown; contained five churches and the Irving and Tarrytown Institutes. 4. Sleepy Hollow, 5. Upper Cross Roads, and 6. Lower Cross Roads were hamlets.

New Castle.—Population, 1,817. Local particulars:—1. Mount Kisco; a small village and railroad on the line of Bedford. 2. New Castle; a small scattered village near the Bedford line. 3. Chappaqua; a railroad station. 4. Sarlesville; a hamlet near the center of the town, where the town business was generally transacted.

New Rochelle.—Population, 3,519. Local particulars:—1. New Rochelle; an incorporated village; population, about 2,000; contained six churches and several private schools; a portion of the village and the lands surrounding it were "occupied by elegant villas and country residences of persons doing business in New York"; the steamboat landing was "half a mile southwest of the village, on a small island connected with the main land by a stone causeway." 2. West New Rochelle, 3. Petersville,[5] and 4. Upper New Rochelle were scattered villages, mostly inhabited by Germans.

North Castle.—Population, 2,487. Local particulars:—1. North Castle; contained a church and a few houses. 2. Armonk;[6] contained three churches, a woolen factory, and twenty houses. 3. Kensico;[7] population, 103; contained several manufactories. 4. Quarter Station; in the extreme southern part of the town, on the Harlem Railroad.

North Salem.—Population, 1,497. Local particulars:—1. North Salem; contained two churches, a paper mill, and thirty houses. 2. Salem Center; a hamlet, the seat of the North Salem Academy. 3. Purdy's Station; a station on the Harlem Railroad; contained two churches and a small woolen factory. 4. Croton Falls; a station on the Harlem Railroad.

Ossining.—Population, 6,766. Local particulars:—1. Sing Sing; an incorporated village; population, about 5,300; contained four churches, the Mount Pleasant Academy, a female seminary, and several other popular female schools. 2. Prospect Hill;[8] a scattered settlement on the southern border. 3. Spring Valley and 4. Sparta were hamlets.

Pelham.—Population, 1,025. Local particulars:—1. Pelhamville; a newly surveyed village and station on the New Haven Railroad. 2. Prospect Hill; a locality near the center of the town. 3. Pelham Priory; the seat of a young ladies' seminary, "established by the late Rev. Robert Bolton, and conducted by his daughters."

Poundridge.—Population, 1,471. Local particulars:—1. Poundridge; a small settlement with two churches. 2. Boretontown; a hamlet on the northern corner.

Rye.—Population, 4,447. Local particulars:—1. Rye; population, about 300; a railroad station, and contained three churches and a private seminary. 2. Milton; a hamlet, with one church. 3. Ryebeach; "a place of resort during the hot season." 4. Port Chester; population, 1,695; a railroad station, containing five churches, several private seminaries, and ex-

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[1] Formerly called Mamaroneck Point, Great Neck, and de Lancey's Neck.

[2] Named for Jordan L. Mott, principal founder of the iron works.

[3] Sometimes called Morrisport. Named for Gouverneur Morris, the principal owner.

[4] Formerly called Clark's Corners.

[5] Formerly called New Jerusalem.

[6] Formerly Mill Square.

[7] Formerly Robbins Mills.

[8] Formerly Long Hill.

tensive manufactories, which included a foundry, edge tool factory, tide gristmill, and a last and shoe factory. 5. King Street; "a fine agricultural district, extending nearly seven miles north of Port Chester." 6. Glenville; a hamlet on the Byram River.

Scarsdale.—Population, 518. Local particulars:—1. Scarsdale; contained a church and a few houses. 2. Scarsdale Station; a station on the Harlem Railroad.

Somers.—Population, 2,012. Local particulars:—1. Somers; contained two churches, a bank, and twenty houses. 2 Croton Falls; on the line of North Salem; a small village and station on the Harlem Railroad; had a good water power. 3. West Somers; a hamlet.

Westchester.—Population, 4,250. Local particulars:—1. Westchester; population, about 1,000. 2. Bronxdale; population, about 400; had an extensive tape factory and a dye and bleach works. 3. Schuylerville; population, about 300; a scattered village on Throgg's Neck. 4. Integrity; near Bronxdale; had a tape factory. 5. Connersville, 6. Wakefield, 7. Centreville, and 8. Unionport, were "modern villages." Fort Schuyler, at the extremity of Throgg's Neck, was begun by the United States government in 1833, and was built to accommodate 1,250 men and to mount 318 cannon.

West Farms.—Population, 7,098. Local particulars:—1. West Farms; a "large village," containing four churches, a carpet factory, molding mill, and gristmill. 2. Fordham; a railroad station; contained four churches and Saint John's College.[1] 2. Tremont,[2] 3. Central Morrisania, 4. Williams's Bridge, and 5. Fairmount, were "modern villages." 6. Claremont; a small village on the line of Morrisania.

White Plains.—Population, 1,846. The only locality mentioned by French is White Plains village, containing the "old and new county buildings, three churches, and several private seminaries," and having a population of about 1,000.

Yonkers.—Population, 11,848. Local particulars:—1. Yonkers; an incorporated village; population in 1859, 6,800; contained nine churches, several private seminaries, two banks, two newspaper offices, and various manufactories 2. Spuyten Duyvil; the seat of several large foundries; inhabited chiefly by operatives. 3. Tuckahoe; a station on the Harlem Railroad; Hodgman's rubber goods manufactory employed about seventy-five hands. 4. Kingsbridge. 5. Riverdale; "a group of villas, and a railroad station." 6. South Yonkers; a post-office.

Yorktown.—Population, 2,231. Local particulars:—1. Crompond (Yorktown p. o.), 2. Jefferson Valley, and 3. Shrub Oak, were hamlets. A rolling mill, wire factory, gristmill, and sawmill had been erected two miles west of Croton dam.

Intense partisan feeling characterized the discussion of political issues in Westchester County in the electoral campaign of 1860. At that time the leading newspapers of the county were the *Eastern State Journal*, of White Plains, the *Highland Democrat*, of Peekskill, and the Yonkers *Herald*; and all three were aggressively Democratic. They took the election of Lincoln with very bad grace, and indeed never became entirely reconciled to it or to the prosecution of the war with the seceding States. Such a spirit in the County of Westchester, which had always been on the conservative side politically, was naturally to have been expected. It was a spirit conspicuously manifest in the editorial conduct of very able newspapers in New York City, which gave nearly thirty thousand majority against Lincoln. The dominant political party of the metropolis had always been the dominant political party of Westchester County; and opinions which had been insisted on and stood the test of popular

[1] This institution of the Roman Catholic Church was opened for students June 24, 1841, and incorporated April 10, 1846.

[2] Formerly Upper Morrisania, South Fordham, Adamsville, and Mount Hope.

appeal through all the years of the slavery agitation were not to be resigned when the long expected crisis arrived.

On the other hand, the sentiment in the county favorable to the national policies for which Mr. Lincoln stood at the election of 1860 was, even in the conditions of mere partisan strife then obtaining, not very seriously in the minority. There had been a remarkable growth in this sentiment since the campaign of 1856. Fremont received only 28.7 per cent. of the total vote in Westchester County, but Lincoln's percentage was 45.5. Everywhere in the county the Republican organization had most influential supporters. At elections in the "off" years it was formidable. In 1860 the most dignified official position in this county, that of county judge, was occupied by one of the leading Westchester Republicans, the Hon. William H. Robertson. Even the member of congress for the 9th district, which included Westchester County, the Hon. John B. Haskin, had been elected mainly by Republican votes. Mr. Haskin's position was unique. First chosen to congress as a Democrat in 1856, he became disaffected toward the administration on account of President Buchanan's extreme pro-slavery bias in dealing with questions arising out of the organization of local government in Kansas. Consequently, when up for re-election in 1858, the regular Democratic organization repudiated him. He ran nevertheless, receiving the support of the Republicans and of Democrats who approved his course. The election was bitterly contested, but he won by a small majority, and again took his seat in congress as an avowed opponent of the Democratic administration. "An incident in congress, of a startling nature, in the early part of 1860, brings to notice the continued, determined, and ardent part taken, after his re-election, by the representative of Westchester County in the fulfillment of his duties. While addressing the house Mr. Haskin accidentally let fall from the breast pocket of his coat a loaded revolver. On the question of the propriety of carrying this weapon into the house, not only in congress, but among his constituents and throughout the country, warmest discussions followed. The explanation given was preparation for self-defense in the unprotected neighborhood in Washington in which Mr. Haskin resided, in which much lawlessness prevailed. Many years have passed since this incident, but, taken in connection with the Rebellion which soon followed, and the tragic and dastardly scenes in it, it illustrates the dangers in public life at the time and the unflinching determination of those called to mingle in the discussions introductory to the strife." [1]

[1] Rev. W. S. Coffey in Scharf, I., 488.

The startling events which followed the triumph of Lincoln—the secession of the Southern States, the firing on Sumter, and the presidential proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers to put down the Rebellion—brought a prompt realization in Westchester County, as everywhere in the North, of the utter change in conditions which had come to pass since the presidential election. It was no longer a question of the supremacy of this party or that, but of the existence of the federal union. Whilst the views of the Democratic press on the merits of the tremendous new issues were conservative, the instinctive feeling of the masses of the people, of every party, was devotion to the constituted government of the nation. Measures might be criticised, "coercion" of the South might be deprecated, and concessions, even very extreme, for averting an armed conflict or composing it after precipitated might be favored by individual opinion; but the prevailing spirit amongst the eight thousand citizens of our county who voted against Mr. Lincoln was one of unquestioning loyalty to the government.

HIRAM PAULDING.[1]

The president's proclamation calling for 75,000 militia volunteers was issued on the 15th of April, 1861. The period of service specified was three months. New York's quota was 13,280 men. The legislature immediately passed an act providing not only for furnishing that number from the State militia to the government, but for the enlistment of 30,000 volunteers more, to serve for two years; these 30,000 to be "in addition to the present military organization of the State, and as a part of the militia thereof," and to be "liable at all times to be turned over to the service of the United States, on the order of the governor, as a part of the militia of the State, upon the requisition of the president of the United States."

It appears that the first military body dispatched from Westchester County was a company organized in Yonkers as the result of a call for a public meeting issued on the 16th of April, the day after the president's proclamation. This call was signed by two hundred and fifty-four citizens. The meeting was held at Farrington Hall on the evening of the 18th, and a large number of men came forward as volunteers. The next day Mr. John T. Waring and Mr. Ethan Flagg made inquiries as to the circumstances of the families of the enlisting men, and found that sixty-five of them would need regular assistance

[1] Hiram Paulding, an admiral in the United States Navy during the Rebellion, was a son of John Paulding, one of the captors of Andre. See p. 485.

of various amounts. Mr. Waring therefore pledged his word that this aid should be forthcoming, a pledge which he faithfully kept. He was subsequently reimbursed by the town. The company left Yonkers on the 25th of April, and was incorporated in the Westchester Chasseurs. Its original officers were: captain, Charles H. Smith; lieutenant, Gardner S. Hawes; ensign, Romeyn Bogardus; orderly sergeant, George Reynolds; sergeants, John C. Coates, Thomas Hill, and George Andrews; corporals, Edwin Cumberbeach, C. Wigo French, Alfred Bowler, and W. J. Townsend.

Another village which gave an almost instantaneous response to the president's appeal was Port Chester. It contributed a body known as Company B of the 17th Infantry—the "Westchester Chasseurs." This company consisted of seventy-eight officers and men. Its officers were: captain, Nelson B. Bartram; 1st lieutenant, John Vickers; 2d lieutenant, Charles Hilbert; 1st sergeant, James Fox; sergeants, Thomas Beal, Louis Neething, and August Dittman; corporals, William Crothers, John Beal, Joseph Beal, and Robert Magee. The response of the Port Chester company was to the call for two years' volunteers, and the men left on the 30th of April. Meantime several patriotic citizens of the place joined in a "Union Defense Committee," of which James H. Titus, a prominent Republican, was president, and John E. Marshall, a prominent Democrat, was treasurer, having for its object to raise sufficient money to forward the men to camp and to make weekly payments to such of their families as required help during their absence.

The 17th Infantry, or Westchester Chasseurs, to which both these first companies of Yonkers and Port Chester (together with the volunteers from Westchester County) belonged, was a mixed organization, including troops not only from our county, but from New York, Rockland, Wayne, Wyoming, and Chenango Counties. The ladies of Yonkers presented it with seven hundred havelocks. Captain Nelson B. Bartram, of Port Chester, ultimately became its lieutenant-colonel. "It left for the seat of war June, 1861, and participated in the siege of Yorktown and battles of Hanover Court House—where it captured the first cannon taken from the enemy by the Army of the Potomac,—Groveton (known as the second battle of Bull Run), where it lost thirteen officers and 250 men, killed and wounded, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. It was mustered out in the spring of 1863 after two years' service, was immediately reorganized for three years' service, and took the field in September, being the first of the thirty-nine old regiments to report for duty." The number of men lost by the regiment at the second Bull Run was almost half the whole number who went into the battle.

Mr. Frederick Whittaker, author of the article on the Civil War in Scharf's History, after giving the particulars of the organization of the Port Chester company (he does not mention the Yonkers company), says:

> The Town of Cortlandt, almost at the same time, sent out sixty men, raised by Mr. Benjamin R. Simpkins. For the want of the money that kept the Port Chester company together, this fine body of young men became lost in the great City of New York, and drifted into different regiments, so that not a man of the sixty was ever credited to the county, and not a few of them returned home. Another party of sixteen went off to White Plains, under the command of Mr. William M. Bleakly, of Verplanck's Point. On the roll of Company A, 27th Regiment, they appear as credited to Elmira, of all places in the world. Mr. Bleakly afterwards became Captain Bleakly in the 27th, and was discharged in February, 1862. The company of Mr. Joseph J. Chambers is another instance of the same state of affairs; for, though the men undoubtedly hailed from White Plains, they are likewise credited to Elmira, their captain being made lieutenant-colonel on the 21st of May. Yorktown also lost a great number of men in the same way, no mention of them being found in the official records of the two years' volunteers; and of other towns there is still less trace in any documents by which official proof can be furnished of the facts. The whole history of the two years' volunteers, in Westchester County, is one of men pressing their services on the government, which seemed not to want them; and it cost more trouble, in the months of April and May, 1861, to get into the army at all than it afterwards did to get out of the draft.

The 5th New York Volunteers, known as Colonel Duryea's Zouaves, received a goodly number of Westchester County men, especially from Yonkers. In this regiment Ralph E. Prime (afterward nominated by the president to be brevet brigadier-general) was a captain. John G. Peene, another well-known citizen of Yonkers (subsequently mayor of the city), was among the first to enlist.

The original demand for two-years' men was soon modified so as to require a service of three years. From August 10 to November 15, 1861, the 4th New York Cavalry was mustered in, comprehending three companies (B, C, and F) from Yonkers. The 5th Independent Battery, mustered in November 8, 1861, included several privates from Yonkers, Mount Vernon, and Peekskill, and in the 1st Regiment Mounted Rifles, mustered in all the way from August 31, 1861, to September 9, 1862, there were volunteers from Tarrytown, Mount Pleasant, and Harrison. "This," says Mr. Whittaker, "concludes the three years' volunteers in Westchester County as organizations of which the records are accessible in an official form," up to the enlistment of the famous 6th New York Heavy Artillery.

The 6th New York Heavy Artillery was recruited obediently to a call issued by the president in 1862 for 300,000 volunteers for three years. Governor Morgan appointed a union defense committee[1] for

[1] The members of this committee were: William H. Robertson, of Katonah; Hezekiah D. Robertson, of Bedford; Chauncey M. Depew, of Peekskill; Edward F. Shonnard, of Yonkers; John Jay, of Bedford; James A. Hamilton, of Dobbs Ferry; Thomas Nelson, of Peekskill; Gouverneur Morris, of Morrisania; Gouverneur Kemble, of Cold Spring (Putnam County); Lewis G. Morris, of Fordham; Moses G. Leonard, of Rockland Lake (Rockland County); Saxton Smith, of Saxton Valley (Putnam County); Silas D. Gifford, of

the 8th senatorial district—then comprising the Counties of Westchester, Rockland, and Putnam—which proceeded to raise the troops required to make up the quota of the district. "It began its work by promptly effecting the organization of an infantry regiment of ten full companies of more than one hundred men each, enlisted to serve for three years, which was designated by the authorities of the State of New York as the 135th New York Volunteer Infantry, and was named by the committee the Anthony Wayne Guard." The original line officers were:

Company A. (Peekskill): Captain A. A. Crookston, Lieutenants George W. Smith and Richard M. Gilleo.

Company B. (White Plains): Captain E. W. Anderson, Lieutenants Thomas W. Dick and Horton R. Platt.

Company C. (West Farms): Captain B. B. Valentine, Lieutenants James Smith and George C. Kibbe.

Company D. (Somers): Captain Eward Jones, Lieutenants W. S. Scribner and Platt Benedict.

Company E. (Port Chester): Captain C. H. Palmer, Lieutenants W. T. Morse and Fordham Morris.

Company F. (Yonkers): Captain Edmund Y. Morris, Lieutenants Samuel Bassett and Henry A. Chadeayne.

Company G. (Carmel, Putnam County): Captain Webster Smith, Lieutenants Stephen Baker and Charles F. Hazen.

Company H. (Morrisania): Captain H. B. Hall (wounded), Lieutenants David Harmel (mortally wounded) and Gouverneur Morris, Jr.

Company I. (Sing Sing): Captain Clark Peck, Lieutenants Charles C. Hyatt and J. H. Ashton.

Company K. (Nyack, Rockland County): Captain Wilson Defendorf, Lieutenants John Davidson and Frederic Shonnard, of Yonkers.

The villages mentioned in this list were the places where the various companies were raised. Absolutely every township of the county, and probably every hamlet, was represented among the volunteers. It was distinctively a Westchester County regiment. Yonkers was the headquarters of the enlisting officers. The regiment was first assembled there about the end of August, 1862, and it was mustered into the United States service on the 2d of September. Pending the appointment of field officers, Lewis G. Morris acted as provisional colonel. The position of colonel was tendered to Thomas Arden, a graduate of West Point, but he declined it. Thereupon Captain William Hopkins Morris, also a West Point graduate, was made colonel. He had previously been an officer in active service in the Army of the Potomac. Colonel Morris subsequently rose to the grades of brigadier-general and brevet major-general of United

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Morrisania; Munson I. Lockwood, of White Plains; Robert H. Ludlow, of Westchester; John W. Mills, of White Plains; Chauncey R. Weeks, of Carmel (Putnam County); Abraham B. Conger, of Rockland (Rockland County); William Bleakley, Jr., of Cortlandt; Aaron L. Christie, of Nyack (Rockland County); John B Wandle, of Piermont (Rockland County), Andrew E. Suffern, of Haverstraw (Rockland County); Edward J. Straut, of Nanuet (Rockland County), and Daniel Tomkins, of Stony Point (Rockland County).

States volunteers. To General Morris belongs the honor of having attained the highest rank awarded to any citizen of Westchester County during the War of the Rebellion. The appointment of lieutenant-colonel of the regiment was given to Captain Ralph E. Prime, then of White Plains, now of Yonkers, a gallant officer of the 5th New York Volunteers. But for various reasons Captain Prime did not assume this command, and the lieutenant-coloneley fell to Captain J. Howard Kitching, of Dobbs Ferry, an officer in the 2d New York Light Artillery. By the promotion of Colonel Morris to the rank of brigadier-general, Kitching became colonel of the regiment (April 11, 1863). He was at that time only twenty-five years old. His services as commander of the regiment were most brilliant. At the battle of Cedar Creek, August 19, 1864, he received a wound from which he died at Dobbs Ferry on the 16th of January, 1865. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Lieutenant-Colonel George C. Kibbe, who was commissioned colonel March 17, 1865.

GEN. WM. H. MORRIS.

Although instituted as an infantry organization, this regiment took the name of the 6th New York Heavy Artillery. "Nevertheless, during its whole three years of arduous service with the 8th Corps, with the Army of the Potomac, with the Army of the James, and with Sheridan's Army of the Shenandoah, it continued to serve as infantry. On and after December 26, 1862, the regiment was sent to Harper's Ferry in detachments. . . . After six months or more of very varied service in the Shenandoah Valley with other troops, guarding the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, performing skirmishing, scouting, and general outpost duties, the regiment formally joined the Army of the Potomac during the Gettysburg campaign, becoming part of French's 3d Corps, which was held in the neighborhood of Frederick City as a reserve to protect Washington, by the orders of the war department. The regiment, first with General Morris's brigade of the 3d Division, 3d Army Corps, then with the reserve artillery, and afterward with Ayres's division of the 5th Corps, participated in all the campaigns of the Army of the Potomac from Gettysburg, in July, 1863, to August 13, 1864, in the siege of Petersburg, including the Bristol Station, the Mine Run, and the great Grant campaigns, and has probably the unique record of having served in battle with every corps of the Army of the Potomac, with Sheridan's Army in the Shenandoah, and with the Army of the James. . . . The last time the regiment was under fire was in a brief engagement at Bermuda Hundred, April 2, 1865. The original members were mus-

tered out of the United States service June 27, 1865. The remainder, with a battalion of the 10th New York Artillery, became the consolidated 6th New York Artillery."[1]

About a year before the termination of its period of enlistment the regiment unanimously tendered its services to the government for another term of three years. This offer was declined on the ground that the men would probably not be needed.

The 6th New York Heavy Artillery is recognized by all writers on the campaigns and battles of the Civil War as one of the great fighting regiments. It is estimated that during its career of less than three years the total number of men who fought in its ranks—the great majority of them from Westchester County—was fully four thousand. Its surviving members retain to this day a fraternal organization, which holds annual reunions.

Another regiment to which Westchester County largely contributed was the 16th New York Cavalry, better known as the Sprague Light Cavalry, mustered into the service between June and October, 1863. Companies K, L, and M of this organization consisted mostly of men hailing from the Towns of Mount Pleasant, Yonkers, Greenburgh, and White Plains.

No attempt can be made in the present work to embody a complete or even a measurably thorough record of the contributions of organized bodies of men by the different localities of our county to the armies of the United States during the Rebellion. A previous writer on this phase of the county's history states that in entering upon his undertaking—which specially involved the satisfaction of local readers—he had it in view to make a complete compilation, but found that impracticable, "while an incomplete one might give just offense to men whose names would be unavoidably left out from lack of information."[2] In a comprehensive history of the county confined to reasonable limits it is of course out of the question to introduce a precise record by localities, and none other would meet the requirements of any formal treatment of the subject.

Several painstaking local historians of the county have carefully calculated the total enlistments in their respective townships, adding other exact particulars of much interest.

Yorktown, according to the Rev. W. J. Cumming, "sent out approximately 281 soldiers." He has been able to identify the regiments to which 133 of these men were attached: they were nineteen in number, the 6th New York Heavy Artillery leading with 56. It is not known in what regiments the remainder of the enlisting men from

[1] Yonkers in the Rebellion. [2] Scharf, I., 496.

Yorktown—constituting a majority of the whole number—served. This is a specimen case. In the first months of the war it was comparatively an easy matter to raise recruits, but as the struggle progressed bounties had to be paid and drafts resorted to. "In accordance with a resolution adopted at a town meeting held on September 23, 1863, a system of mutual insurance, as it were, against draft, was established, which provided that every person enrolled as liable to military service who should pay into a common fund the sum of $30 should be entitled, if drafted, to receive from the town the sum of $300 to procure a substitute or pay the government for his exemption." Agreeably to this plan the bonds of the town were issued at various times, according to the quotas required from the town under different calls. "The total sum expended in Yorktown for volunteers was $87,745, and by the town itself, exclusive of the help received by the State, . . . $66,445."[1]

Mr. Charles E. Culver, the historian of Somers, gives the names and dates of enlistment of sixty soldiers from that township, distributed among seventeen regiments. In addition to these, he says, there were twenty-three substitutes enlisted and twenty-five others were enlisted from other places for the town. "Every burial place in the town contains the headstones of some of our soldiers." One of the heroic dead of Somers was Major Edward Jones, of the 6th New York Heavy Artillery, who fell at Cedar Creek. The amount required to be paid in Somers for what Mr. Cumming styles the insurance against draft was only $25.[2] In the Town of North Salem Mr. Culver finds thirty-five records of enlistment.[3]

Mr. George Thatcher Smith, in his contribution to Scharf's History on the Town of Poundridge, presents a variety of interesting particulars. At the election of 1860 there were only 328 votes cast in the township, yet "before the close of the war 94 residents had enlisted in the army and three in the navy," there being also ten reenlistments; and in addition about thirty-six non-residents were procured by the supervisors as substitutes. The really remarkable circumstance is stated that of the ninety-seven residents who went to the war *sixty-one were shoemakers*, only twenty-eight being farmers. A payment of $10 sufficed in Poundridge to exempt from draft. The total indebtedness incurred by the township on account of the war was $35,280.[4]

In New Castle, says Barrett, the war debt amounted to about $48,000,[5] and in North Castle to $50,000.[6] He gives the names of 161 soldiers (including eleven colored men) from North Castle.

"Rye," says the able historian of that town (the late Rev. C. W.

[1] Scharf, ii., 452. [2] Ibid., ii., 477. [3] Ibid., ii., 502. [4] Ibid., ii., 568. [5] Ibid., ii., 619. [6] Ibid., ii., 635.

Baird), "furnished from the opening of the Rebellion about 350 men for the war. Of these, 126 were residents of the town and were volunteers under the first call; 138 enlisted under Governor Morgan's proclamation of August 13, 1862; one man was drafted; forty-one substitutes were provided, and forty-five recruits obtained. The town responded promptly to every call made for troops, either by national or by State government, and provided bountifully for the families of those who went forth to sustain the honor of the country. It is supposed that in addition to the numbers already stated, as many as fifty persons from the town enlisted in Connecticut regiments."[1] From Harrison, according to Mr. Baird's researches, there were altogether 168 enlistments.[2] Only one of the Harrison men died from a bullet wound—certainly a curious and probably an unparalleled fact in view of their considerable number.

THE JAY HOMESTEAD, BEDFORD.

Throughout the war, in spite of the very hearty responses of our citizens to the numerous calls for troops, the majority of the people of Westchester County continued in sympathy with the prevailing political sentiment of New York City. The three leading Democratic newspapers were so emphatic in their expressions that the grand jury of Westchester County, in August, 1861, brought in a presentment against them. The following is a portion of this interesting document:

The Yonkers *Herald*, *Highland Democrat*, and *Eastern State Journal* have, from the time of the issue of the president's proclamation, immediately after the firing on Fort Sumter, steadily treated the war which has followed, in the extracts and articles they have published, as an unholy and partisan war, unjustly commenced and prosecuted by the administration. In so doing it has evidently been their purpose to consolidate a party by the aid of whose opposition and influence they might prevent enlistments and retard the successful prosecution of the war. . . .

The grand jurors therefore invoke the attention of the district attorney of this county to the prosecution of the editors and proprietors named if hereafter, after this public notice of their evil course, they should persist in thus continuing to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the government.

[1] Ibid., II., 681. [2] Ibid., II., 718.

No prosecutions resulted, and indeed the admonition thus given had little effect upon the editorial attitude of the newspapers concerned.

At the election of 1862, when Horatio Seymour was chosen governor, Westchester County gave 7,866 votes for the Democratic State ticket and 5,556 for the Republican, showing a Democratic gain in plurality of more than a thousand votes since the election of 1860.

During the celebrated draft riots of 1863 in New York City there were various sympathetic disturbances in Westchester County, which are recorded with particularity by Mr. Frederick Whittaker in Scharf's History. On the 14th of July—the second day of the New York riots—"crowds visited the enrolling offices of Morrisania and West Farms, tore up the enrolling lists, destroyed the telegraph offices at Williams's Bridge and Melrose, ripped up some rails on the New Haven and Harlem roads near the Bronx River, had pickets on both roads as far as Mount Vernon to signal when a general attempt to tear up tracks might be safe, but were quieted in Morrisania and West Farms by appeals made by Supervisor Cauldwell and Mr. Pierre G. Talman." On the 15th "the Hudson River train was stopped at Yonkers, the rails having been torn up between that place and the city, so that the Canadian mail had to be taken to New York on the boat. The citizens of Yonkers formed two companies of Home Guards to keep property and life safe, but there was no serious disturbance. The arsenal was guarded day and night. At Tarrytown a guard was also formed, and procured a cannon to overawe the mob, so that all was peaceful along the Hudson River." A mob from the marble quarries at Tuckahoe marched to Mount Vernon, with the avowed purpose of "burning down the houses of all the Republicans in the place." They contented themselves, however, with noisy demonstrations and stone throwing. On the evening of the 15th a large public meeting was held in the town hall at Tremont. It was under the auspices mainly of influential citizens of Democratic antecedents, who, whilst deprecating violence, were strongly opposed to the draft on grounds of public policy, and hence were in position to make their recommendations respected by the excited populace. The principal speaker was Mr. John B. Haskin. This meeting was instrumental in calming the passions of the time.

The vote of the county for president in 1864 stood: George B. McClellan (Dem.), 9,353; Abraham Lincoln (Rep.), 7,593. In 1868 the vote for Horatio Seymour (Dem.) was 11,667, and for Ulysses S. Grant (Rep.) 9,641.

Between 1860 and 1865 only one new village was incorporated—

that of Morrisania (1864). A notable event of this period was the organization of the Woodlawn Cemetery in December, 1863. The improvement of the grounds was commenced in April, 1864, and the first interment was made January 14, 1865.

The war interfered seriously with the growth of population in Westchester County. In 1865 the total population was 101,197, a gain of only 1,700 over 1860. The Village and Township of Yonkers had a combined population of 11,049, being considerably in advance of that of any other political division of the county except the Town of Morrisania. In 1865 the total number of people living in the portion of the county which now constitutes the Borough of the Bronx was about 20,600.

The Village of White Plains was incorporated by an act passed April 3, 1866. The first officers of the village were: president, John Swinburne; clerk, John M. Rowell; trustees, Gilbert S. Lyon, Edward Sleath, H. P. Rowell, J. P. Jenkins, J. W. Mills, and Harvey Groot.

In 1868 (May 14) Port Chester received a village charter. This place was originally called Saw Pit. "That very inelegant name," says Baird, "had its origin in the fact that a spot on Lyon's Point, now part of the Village of Port Chester, was occupied in ancient times for the building of boats." The present name was adopted in 1837. Port Chester's growth has been rapid, owing to the development of its manufacturing industries, and, with the exception of New Rochelle, it is now the largest community of Westchester County on the Sound.

During the decade 1860-70 two men who, with the late Judge Robertson, are probably to be regarded as the most representative public characters of Westchester County birth and antecedents in our generation—Chauncey M. Depew and James W. Husted,—entered political life. Mr. Depew, born in Peekskill in 1834, began the practice of law in his native village in 1859, and in 1861 was elected member of the assembly on the Union Republican ticket from the 3d assembly district. He was re-elected in 1862, and in 1863 was elected secretary of state. In 1867 he was appointed county clerk of Westchester County to fill a vacancy, but declined the office. His career since then has been one of great prominence and usefulness in varied connections; and probably no other American of our times has become more widely known or enjoys a higher or more distinguished popularity. Mr. Husted (born in Bedford, October 31, 1833) was a classmate of Mr. Depew's at college, studied law with Edward Wells at Peekskill, and was admitted to the bar in 1857. Although elected school commissioner of the 3d district of Westchester County in 1859, it was not until eleven years later that he began his phenomenal

career in the assembly. Meantime, however, he held important appointive positions under the State government. "He was first elected a member of the assembly in 1869, to represent the 3d assembly district of this county, and he continued being elected and re-elected to the latter office up to and including the year of his death [1892]; serving from 1869 to 1878 from this county, 1879-80 from Rockland County, and again in 1881 and 1883 to 1892 from this county. He

JAMES W. HUSTED.

was speaker of the assembly in the years 1874, '76, '78, '86, '87, and '90. He had a longer legislative experience than any other man in the history of the State—twenty-two years; he also had the distinction of having been speaker more times than any other man."[1] He was only once defeated as a candidate for the assembly—in 1882, by John Hoag.

In 1868 John Thompson Hoffman, a native of Westchester County,

[1] Smith's Manual of Westchester County, 77.

was elected governor of the State. He was a son of Dr. A. K. Thompson, of Sing Sing, and was born in that village on the 10th of January, 1828. After completing his general education he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and engaged in the practice of law in New York City. He soon became prominent both in his profession and in politics. He served two terms as governor, being re-elected in 1870. It was unfortunate for him that his career in the executive office was coincident with the Tweed Ring exposures, which involved much criticism of his political affiliations with Tammany. Upon the completion of his second term he retired from public life. He died on the 24th of March, 1888.

Eighteen hundred and seventy was the last census year in which Westchester County retained the bounds established for it under the original county act of 1683. The population in 1870, by townships and villages, was as follows:

TOWNS	POPULATION	
Bedford	3,697	
Cortlandt	11,691	
Peekskill Village		6,560
Verplanck Village		1,500
Eastchester	7,491	
Central Mount Vernon Village		150
East Mount Vernon Village		500
Mount Vernon Village		2,700
West Mount Vernon Village		1,200
Greenburgh	10,790	
Harrison	787	
Lewisboro	1,601	
Mamaroneck	1,483	
Morrisania	19,609	
Mount Pleasant	5,210	
Beekmantown Village		2,206
New Castle	2,152	
New Rochelle	3,915	
New Rochelle Village		279
North Castle	1,996	
North Salem	1,754	
Ossining	7,798	
Sing Sing Village		1,696
Pelham	1,790	
Poundridge	1,191	
Rye	7,150	
Port Chester Village		3,797
Somers	1,721	
Westchester	6,015	
West Farms	9,372	
Belmont Village		171
Clairmont "		158
Fairmount "		508
Fordham "		2,151
Monterey "		118
Mount Eden "		116

TOWNS		POPULATION
West Farms—Continued		
Mount Hope Village		487
Tremont "		2,025
West Farms "		1,761
Williams's Bridge "		144
Woodstock "		307
White Plains	2,630	
Yonkers	18,357	
Yonkers Village		12,733
Yorktown	2,635	
Total	131,348	

The steady growth of Yonkers had long foreshadowed the conversion of that village into a city, and after the census enumeration of 1870 the important change began to be agitated. The legislative act creating the City of Yonkers was passed on the 1st of June, 1872, and received Governor Hoffman's signature the same day. By this measure the whole of the former Township of Yonkers, excepting a strip at its southern extremity, was incorporated in the new city. The southern strip excluded from the city limits extended from Spuyten Duyvil Creek to a point on the Hudson beginning at "the northerly line of the land belonging to the Sisters of Charity, known as Mount Saint Vincent de Paul," which line was continued eastward along specified bounds to the Bronx River. The portion of the ancient territory of Yonkers thus reserved continued, however, to belong to Yonkers Township until the 16th of December, 1872, when it was set off by the board of supervisors as a separate township, receiving the name of the Town of Kingsbridge. The City of Yonkers has preserved to the present day the exact limits appointed to it by the act of 1872. It has an area of seventeen and one-half square miles.

At the first election held for city officers, Mr. James C. Courter and Mr. Robert P. Getty were, respectively, the Democratic and Republican candidates. Mr. Courter received a majority.[1] John F. Brennan, E. L. Seger, Albert Keeler, William MacFarlane, Ethan Flagg, H. L. Garrison, Henry R. Hicks, and Z. H. Brower were chosen aldermen. "When the city was incorporated," says Allison, "it had no asphalt avenues and streets, no waterworks to supply water for domestic use, for power, and for extinguishing fires, no system of sewers, no firebells, no electric fire-alarm, and no electric lights. There were no steam cars running to Getty Square, no street cars." From the

[1] Mayors of the City of Yonkers to the present time: 1872-74, James C. Courter; 1874-76, Joseph Masten; 1876-78, William A. Gibson; 1878-80, Joseph Masten; 1880-82, Norton P. Otis; 1882-84, Samuel Swift; 1884-86, William G. Stahlnecker; 1886-90, J. Harvey Bell; 1890-92, James Millward; 1892-94, James H. Weller; 1896-98, John G. Peene; 1898-1900, Leslie Sutherland.

first the seat of the city government was the Philipse Manor House, which in 1868 had been purchased by the village from its owner, Judge William W. Woodworth.

The presidential campaign of 1872 is ever memorable as the one in which Horace Greeley, the great editor of the New York *Tribune*, ran against General Grant. Mr. Greeley was for some twenty years a citizen of Westchester County. He was one of the early incomers from New York City after the opening of the railways. In the summer of 1850 he lived with his family on the Todd Bailey estate in the Town of North Salem.[1] We have seen that during the same year he took a very prominent part in the steps which led to the settlement of Mount Vernon. In 1851 he purchased a farm of seventy-five acres at Chappaqua in the Town of New Castle. Unlike most other prominent New Yorkers who came to Westchester County to live, Mr. Greeley sought a strictly rural abode without any of the accessories of aristocratic pretension. He wished to be a plain farmer, and to prosecute agricultural pursuits in a perfectly serious way. His purposes in moving to Chappaqua were thus eloquently expressed in an address delivered before the Indiana Agricultural Society in 1853: "As for me, long tossed on the stormiest waves of doubtful conflict and arduous endeavor, I have begun to feel, since the shades of forty years fell upon me, the weary, tempest-driven voyager's longing for land, the wanderer's yearning for the hamlet where in childhood he nestled by his mother's knee, and was soothed to sleep on her breast. The sober down-hill of life dispels many illusions, while it develops or strengthens within us the attachment, perhaps long smothered or overlaid, for ' that dear hut, our home.' And so I, in the sober afternoon of life, when its sun, if not high, is still warm, have bought a few acres of land in the broad, still country, and, bearing thither my household treasures, have resolved to steal from the city's labors and anxieties at least one day in each week, wherein to revive as a farmer the memories of my childhood's humble home. And already I realize that the experiment can not cost so much as it is worth. Already I find in that day's quiet an antidote and a solace for the feverish, festering cares of the weeks which environ it. Already my brook murmurs a soothing even-song to my burning, throbbing brain; and my trees, gently stirred by the fresh breezes, whisper to my spirit something of their own quiet strength and patient trust in God. And thus do I faintly realize, though but for a brief and flitting day, the serene joy which shall irradiate the farmer's vocation, when a fuller and truer education shall have refined and chastened his animal cravings, and when science shall have endowed

[1] Scharf, ii., 515.

him with her treasures, redeeming labor from drudgery while quadrupling its efficiency, and crowning with beauty and plenty our bounteous, beneficent Earth."

Mr. Greeley was accustomed to come up to Chappaqua Saturday morning, returning to the city Sunday morning. He converted the place into a model farm, and his celebrated book, "What I Know About Farming," was the result of his experiences in developing his Chappaqua land. "It was his custom," says Barrett, in his History of the Town of New Castle, "always to vote, both at general and local elections, and it was usual for him to spend the whole day at the polls when the election was important, discussing public questions with those who would gather about him for that purpose." He retired to his farm toward the close of the presidential canvass, and there, worn out by his exertions and sorely afflicted by the fatal illness of his wife, received the news of his crushing defeat. He died on the 29th of November, 1872, at the residence of Dr. Choate, several miles distant from his home. The Chappaqua farm ultimately became the property of his daughter, Gabrielle, now the wife of the Rev. F. M. Clendenin, of Westchester.

Westchester County gave Greeley 11,112 votes, against 10,223 for General Grant.

The advisability of annexing a portion of Westchester County to the City of New York began to receive some consideration many years before the formal annexation movement was inaugurated. As early as 1864 it was proposed to combine the Towns of Morrisania and West Farms under a special city charter, but owing to opposition on the part of land owners in West Farms the idea was abandoned. Morrisania, however, received in that year a village charter, which "conferred upon the trustees nearly all the powers of a city corporation without the incidental expenses; and this act enabled the town authorities to pioneer annexation by proceeding to make such improvements in streets and highways as were demanded by an increasing population flowing in from below the Harlem River." About the same time some new cross streets were indicated in the sections adjacent to the Harlem River, and were numbered in continuation of the streets below the river—a proceeding significant of the general belief in the early upward expansion of the city.

In an article on the history of the annexation movement, Mr. William Cauldwell, one of the fathers of that movement, says:

"The first positive move in the legislature toward annexation was in the year 1869, when Mr. Cornelius Corson, then a resident of Mount Vernon, Westchester County, and a close adherent to what was known as the Tweed régime, having prepared a bill providing for

Horace Greeley.

the annexation of the Towns of Morrisania, West Farms, Westchester, and Mount Vernon to the City of New York, had notice of such proposed bill given by the late Senator Genet. I had the honor at the time of representing, among other localities, the Westchester towns in the State senate, and regarding it as an act of discourtesy that such a move should have been made without consultation, and without the request of my immediate constituents, on the spur of the moment I arose in my place in the senate and gave notice that I would, at some future time, present a 'bill to annex the City of New York to the Town of Morrisania.' This sarcasm hit the nail on the head, and nothing further was heard of the Corson bill; for soon thereafter the adherents of the Tweed Ring got to quarreling and battering each other's heads, and the combination was utterly destroyed."[1]

The earliest definite measure looking to annexation was the action of the legislature at the time of the passage of the Yonkers city charter, June 1, 1872, in excluding from the territory of the City of Yonkers all that portion of the old Town of Yonkers lying below Mount Saint Vincent. This exclusion was clearly with a view to reserving the section thus cut off for subsequent incorporation in the City of New York. On December 16, 1872, a further step in the same direction was taken by the erection of the excised strip into a new "town" called Kingsbridge. Meantime the annexation enterprise had been fairly launched. In the autumn of 1872 some of the principal property-owners of Morrisania and West Farms held conferences, which resulted in the preparation of an annexation bill by Samuel E. Lyon, a well-known lawyer. The bill was introduced in the assembly early in 1873 by William Herring, representative from the 1st district of Westchester County. "The city authorities," says Mr. Cauldwell, "did not take kindly to the project of annexation, and the animosity then existing between the department of public works and the department of public parks nearly throttled the bill

SAINT JOHN'S COLLEGE, FORDHAM.

[1] The Great North Side (published by the North Side Board of Trade, 1897), 22.

in the legislature. But Governor Dix saved it by making known most emphatically that he would favor no bill for annexation which did not give exclusive jurisdiction over the streets, roads, and avenues of the proposed new district to the department of public parks. This ended the struggle between the rival departments, so far as the annexation bill was concerned, and it became a law." It provided for submitting the annexation question to the decision of the people of New York City and also of Westchester County at the next ensuing election, in November, 1873. Fortunately the momentous issue was determined by the people on its exact merits, no partisan influences being thrown against the annexation programme. The city gave 55,319 votes for annexation and 8,380 against; the towns directly concerned—Morrisania, West Farms, and Kingsbridge—cast 4,230 affirmative and 109 negative votes, and in the remainder of Westchester County the result was 9,023 for and 2,643 against. The formal annexation occurred on the 1st of January, 1874. The area added to the city was 12,317 acres. The population of the three annexed towns was in excess of 30,000, and the total assessed value of the property was about $23,000,000. In the words of the act, Morrisania, West Farms, and Kingsbridge were "annexed to, merged in, and made part of the City of New York, subject to the same laws, ordinances, regulations, obligations, and liabilities, and entitled to the same rights, privileges, franchises, and immunities, in every respect, and to the same extent, as if such territory had been included within said City of New York at the time of the grant and adoption of the first charter and organization thereof, and had so remained up to the passage of this act."

Morrisania, West Farms, and Kingsbridge, as a portion of the metropolis, became popularly known as the "Annexed District," a name which, though always rather distasteful to the residents, clung to the section until the adoption of the present official style of the Borough of the Bronx. The territory was organized into two city wards, the 23d and 24th. Notwithstanding the guarantee of equal rights, etc., contained in the act, the annexed territory was for many years regarded more as a suburban locality than as a portion of the city. It continued under the administrative care of the department of public parks until 1891, when the law creating a special department of public works for the 23d and 24th wards came into operation. Up to that time, and until 1895, there was no further annexation from our county to New York City, Westchester County still retaining the Township of Westchester.

In 1874 occurred the incorporation of the Westchester County Historical Society. This organization has always maintained an active

existence. Its annual meetings are held on the 28th of October, the anniversary of the battle of White Plains.

In 1876 two distinguished New Yorkers of Westchester County antecedents were candidates for president of the United States—Samuel J. Tilden and Peter Cooper.

Mr. Tilden several years previously had become a resident of Yonkers by purchasing from Mr. John T. Waring the magnificent Greystone estate. This continued to be his country home for the remainder of his life, and he died there on the 4th of August, 1886. One of his last public appearances was on the occasion of the dedication of the new monument to the captors of Andre at Tarrytown, September 23, 1880. He was the presiding officer. His Greystone estate is now the property of Mr. Samuel Untermyer, the prominent New York lawyer. Westchester County gave Mr. Tilden, at the election of 1876, 12,050 votes, a majority of 2,476 over Mr. Hayes, his principal opponent.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

Peter Cooper, in his boyhood, lived in Peekskill, where his father conducted a small beer brewery. He went to New York City at the age of seventeen to seek his fortune, and was not subsequently, to our knowledge, connected with our county.

Six new villages were incorporated between 1870 and 1880—Tarrytown (1870), Irvington (1872), Dobbs Ferry (1873), Mount Kisco (1875), North Tarrytown (1875), and Hastings (1879). It is noteworthy that four of these places belonged to the Town of Greenburgh, while a fifth was located on its borders.

Population of Westchester County in 1880:

TOWNS	POPULATION	
Bedford	3,731	
Mount Kisco Village		728
Cortlandt	12,664	
Peekskill Village		6,893
Eastchester	8,737	
Mount Vernon Village		4,586
Greenburgh	8,931	
Tarrytown Village		3,025
Harrison	1,491	
Lewisboro	1,612	

TOWNS	POPULATION	
Mamaroneck	1,863	
Mount Pleasant	5,450	
North Tarrytown Village		2,684
New Castle	2,297	
New Rochelle	5,276	
North Castle	1,818	
North Salem	1,693	
Ossining	8,769	
Sing Sing Village		6,578
Pelham	2,540	
Poundridge	1,034	
Rye	6,576	
Port Chester Village		3,254
Scarsdale	614	
Somers	1,630	
Westchester	6,789	
White Plains	4,094	
White Plains Village		2,381
Yonkers City	18,892	
Yorktown	2,481	
Total	108,988	

The loss of population as compared with 1870 was the consequence of the transfer of the three Towns of Morrisania, West Farms, and Kingsbridge to the jurisdiction of New York City. The population of these three towns in 1880 was 42,898, a growth of about 10,000 since 1870.

From 1880 to 1882 the governor of New York was the Hon. Alonzo B. Cornell, a descendant of Thomas Cornell, the grantee of Cornell's Neck (1645), and a son of Ezra Cornell, the founder of Cornell University. Governor Cornell has at various times been a resident of this county.

In the sensational transactions in national politics which began with the nomination and election of James A. Garfield to the presidency in 1880, Judge William H. Robertson, of our county, was a conspicuous figure. The nomination of Garfield by the Republican national convention was a compromise between the faction which favored Mr. Blaine and that which, under the leadership of Roscoe Conkling, urged a third term for General Grant. At the Republican State convention held to select delegates to the national convention Conkling had overcome all opposition and secured the choice of a delegation bound by the unit rule. Judge Robertson, however, with several other friends of Blaine, undertook to dispute the Conkling supremacy and break the unit rule. The determined spirit thus shown by an element of the party in New York was one of the instrumentalities which prevented Conkling from forcing Grant's nomination and led to the selection of Garfield. After Garfield's

inauguration one of his first acts was the appointment of Judge Robertson as collector of the port of New York. This gave mortal offense to Mr. Conkling, and impelled him to resign his seat in the United States senate and appeal to his New York constituents for vindication—a proceeding in which he was joined by his colleague, Mr. Platt. Hence resulted the bitter feeling which first caused a lunatic to assassinate the president, and subsequently brought the

WILLIAM H. ROBERTSON.

Democratic party back to power. Judge Robertson's part in the political strife of those memorable times has been reviewed with great fairness and discrimination in a public address by the Hon. Chauncey M. Depew.[1]

In the year 1880 works for increasing New York City's water supply from Westchester County were commenced, which are still in progress; for although the new Croton Aqueduct was completed in 1891,

[1] See Smith's Manual of Westchester County, 95.

the great dam, which is to convert the present Croton Lake into a body eleven miles long, is not yet finished.

Complaints about the insufficiency of the old aqueduct began to be expressed as early as 1875, but the city officials were slow to embark upon the necessarily elaborate and costly enterprise required —a new aqueduct from the Croton River. In 1880, however, the ancient project to obtain a supply from the Bronx watershed and the Rye Ponds was revived, leading to the construction of the so-called Bronx River Conduit from the dam near Kensico Station to the receiving reservoir at Williams's Bridge. This work was concluded in 1884. The quantity of water thus provided, however, afforded only incidental relief, and it was recognized that a grand new aqueduct was indispensable. On the 1st of June, 1883, the legislature authorized the construction of the necessary works, and on the 24th of June, 1891, the second aqueduct was finished and turned over to the department of public works of New York City. Since 1888 the building of subsidiary basins and reservoirs in Westchester and Putnam Counties has been steadily prosecuted. It was originally proposed to construct the new Croton Dam at Quaker Bridge, but that plan was abandoned, and in August, 1892, the contract was awarded for the Cornell Dam, now approaching completion, about a mile and a half above the Quaker Bridge site. No fewer than seven of the townships of Westchester County have made extensive contributions of land for the purposes of the new works, involving the extinction of several settlements. On this point a recent writer says:

"The additional land required for the construction of the New Croton Reservoir has been taken from the Towns of Cortlandt, Yorktown, New Castle, Bedford, Somers, Lewisboro, and North Salem, in Westchester County, covering an area of 6,398.244 acres. From the Town of Cortlandt, 752.654 acres were taken; from the Town of Yorktown, 1,752.932 acres were taken; from the Town of New Castle, 154.697 acres; from the Town of Bedford, 801.860 acres; from the Town of Lewisboro, 850.236 acres; from the Town of North Salem, 351.823 acres; from the Town of Somers, 1,925.042 acres, making a total of 6,398.244 acres. Takings, under provisions of Chapter 490 of the Laws of 1883, were commenced in the years 1892, 1894, 1895, and 1897.

"Many attractive residence localities in the territory taken will soon be, if not so already, among the things of the past. What was known as the Village of Katonah, in the Town of Bedford, has become extinct, and is now only a matter of history; its buildings, appraised and sold by order of New York City, have vanished; many of the frame dwellings and business structures were removed, intact,

one mile distant south to the new settlement where old residents of Katonah are establishing new homes and a new resident village, to be known as New Katonah. Whitlockville and Wood's Bridge, also in the Town of Bedford, will pass out as did old Katonah, and its people will find habitations elsewhere. The thriving locality of Purdy Station, or a greater part thereof, shares the fate of Katonah, and will lie in peace hereafter as a part of the bed of the new reservoir; Purdy Station, within the Township of North Salem, and Pine's Bridge, in the Town of Yorktown, lying close to the borders of Croton Lake, attractive and popular as a summer resort, and famous as the scene of numerous hard-fought and exciting political conventions, held in the interest of all parties, likewise will be submerged. Croton Falls, in the Town of North Salem, will contribute a portion of its territory, a section lying near and just west of the Harlem Railroad station. A tribute has also been laid upon Golden's Bridge, in the Town of Lewisboro, and it will relinquish a portion of its land, near the railroad station. The Huntersville section of the Town of Cortlandt, well known to sportsmen, as it is famous for its excellent trout brooks; the Quaker Meeting House locality, in the Town of New Castle, the Wiremill Bridge, in the Town of Cortlandt, and other localities of historic interest, are among the places that will be extinguished and 'go under with the flood.'

"To give some idea of the amount of property recently acquired in Westchester County for this reservoir, mention is made of the fact that the distance around said property is seventy-five miles. Not only handsome residences and choice building sites, but church edifices and public school buildings, are among the property condemned. As might be expected, numerous cemeteries were found located within the territory required and taken; at the expense of the City of New York bodies were removed from these cemeteries and re-interred elsewhere in accordance with the wishes of relatives or friends. The old highways on the condemned land, taken by the city, have been left open for public travel until such time as the city shall substitute others, which right the city is now endeavoring to obtain from property-owners."[1]

The daily delivering capacities of the three aqueducts leading through Westchester to New York City are, according to Wegman: Old Croton Aqueduct, 95,000,000 gallons; Bronx River Conduit, 28,000,000 gallons; New Croton Aqueduct, 300,000,000 gallons—total, 425,000,000 gallons. With the completion of the works now in their last stages, the supply obtainable by New York City from the Croton watershed will be exhausted, and it will be necessary to seek new

[1] Smith's Manual of Westchester County, 27.

supplies from other quarters. Already there is a demand for additional works. In the early part of 1900 great public interest and not a little bitter feeling were excited by the action of the city authorities in arranging with the so-called Ramapo Water Company for a further supply on the basis of $70 per million gallons. The Ramapo Company, a private corporation, proposed to bring water to New York from the west bank of the Hudson River, and had made preparations toward securing a monopoly of rights in the section whence it designed to draw its supply. The price which it proposed charging for its water was deemed exorbitant—hence the public indignation and the present defeat of the plan. On the other hand it is the general opinion of experts that the city's water problem will again become serious before many years pass by. According to a report submitted to Controller Coler in May, 1900, embodying a careful study of the whole matter, the present supply will safely meet all demands for five years to come, and if proper measures are taken to curtail the excessive waste of water now prevalent, a period of ten years of abundance can reasonably be calculated on; but in either eventuality the need of immediate steps to secure new supplies is insisted on.

SCENE IN PEEKSKILL DURING THE BLIZZARD OF 1888.

The local water supply systems of the cities and principal villages of Westchester County are entirely independent of the New York City system. To Yonkers belongs the credit of having been the first community to erect waterworks of any dignified character. The Yonkers water board was organized in 1873, the year after the incorporation of the city, and in 1874 steps were taken which resulted in damming the Sprain and Grassy Sprain Brooks, the building of an extremely creditable system of works, and the distribution of a plentiful supply. Equally commendable enterprise in this particular has been displayed by the other leading communities of the county.

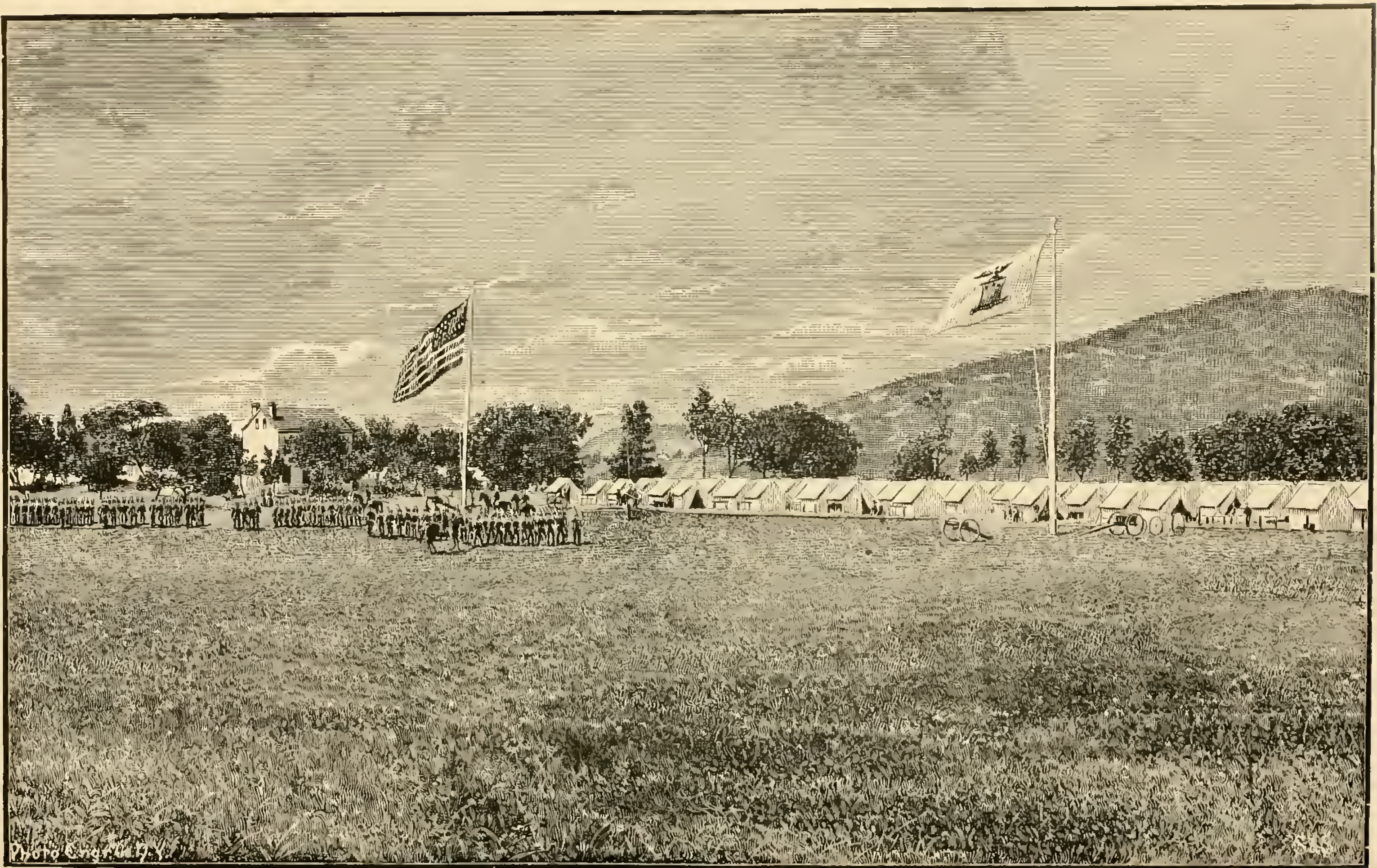
The selection of Peekskill as the locality for the New York State Military Camp was determined on by a military commission, acting in behalf of the State government, in the spring of 1882. The need

of establishing an annual encampment for the national guard had been impressed upon the attention of the authorities for several years, but no definite action had been taken. In March, 1882, Governor Cornell appointed a commission with instructions to make a thorough investigation. Mr. James T. Sutton, a public-spirited citizen of Peekskill, at once entered into communication with this body, and also procured from the owners of the land on which the State Camp now stands an option of purchase for three years. When the commissioners visited Peekskill they at once recognized the unequaled advantages of the site suggested by Mr. Sutton, and on the 30th of May they leased the ground for three years with the privilege of purchase. The place was immediately prepared for occupation, and on the 1st of July the 23d Regiment arrived and inaugurated the camp. In April, 1885, the legislature appropriated $30,000 for the purchase and improvement of the site, and shortly afterward the purchase of the land, consisting of about a hundred acres, was consummated. The camp is situated on a plain one hundred feet above the river, amid scenery of great beauty. The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad has a station at Roa Hook, and during the camping season brings thousands of visitors to the spot.

An interesting event of the year 1882 was the Manor Hall celebration in the City of Yonkers. We have already noticed the purchase of the Philipse Manor House by the municipal authorities in 1868, and its use as the seat of the local government. In 1877, during the mayoralty of the Hon. William A. Gibson, resolutions (offered by Frederic Shonnard) were adopted by the board of aldermen providing for the appointment of a permanent "committee on history and historical relics," among whose members were to be four prominent private citizens, and giving to this committee certain responsibilities in connection with matters relating to the Manor Hall building and its grounds. This action was instrumental in stimulating interest in the early history of Yonkers, and it was decided to hold a grand celebration of the bicentennial of the founding of the Manor House. The 18th of October, 1882, was selected as the date for the important event. The resulting demonstration was the greatest in the history of Yonkers. The oration was delivered by the Rev. Dr. David Cole.[1]

In 1883 proceedings were begun on behalf of the City of New York for the acquisition of land for new public parks in the "annexed district," and also in territory at that time still belonging to Westchester County. Up to that year the city had been very deficient in park area, not fewer than five cities in the United States exceeding

[1] The Soldiers' Monument in front of Manor Hall was dedicated September 17, 1891.



THE STATE CAMP NEAR PEEKSKILL—PARADE GROUND.

her in that respect, and many other small cities almost equaling her. The movement for locating new parks on the north side of the Harlem was started by some public spirited citizens of that section, and on the 19th of April, 1883, the legislature passed an act authorizing the appointment of commissioners to select park lands. The commissioners appointed were Luther R. Marsh, Louis Fitzgerald, Waldo Hutchins, C. L. Tiffany, George W. McLean, Thomas J. Crombie, and William W. Niles. As the outcome of their labors, three great and three small parks were laid out, as follows: Pelham Bay Park, 1,756 acres; Van Cortlandt Park, 1,131.35 acres; Bronx Park, 661.60 acres; Crotona Park, 141.65 acres; Claremont Park, 38.05 acres; Saint Mary's Park, 28.70 acres—total, 3,757.35 acres. Van Cortlandt Park was constructed mainly out of the ancient Van Cortlandt estate of the Lower Yonkers. The city's purchase included the historic mansion (erected by Frederick Van Cortlandt in 1748), which was placed in the custody of the Colonial Dames of the State of New York, and by them converted into a historical museum. Van Cortlandt Park is now utilized for military reviews. Bronx Park and Pelham Bay Park are noted for their diversified natural scenery, and whatever improvements may be made in their grounds in the course of time, they will doubtless always retain this distinctive characteristic. Crotona Park, at the intersection of Third and Tremont Avenues, is the seat of the fine municipal building of the Borough of the Bronx.

No new village was incorporated in Westchester County between 1880 and 1890. The population of the county in 1890 was 146,772, distributed as follows:

TOWNS	POPULATION	
Bedford	3,291	
Part of Katonah Village		378
" Mount Kisco "		632
Cortlandt	15,139	
Peekskill Village		9,676
Verplanck "		1,515
Eastchester	15,442	
Mount Vernon Village		10,830
Greenburgh	11,613	
Dobbs Ferry Village		2,083
Hastings "		1,466
Irvington "		2,299
Tarrytown "		3,562
Part of White Plains "		223
Harrison	1,485	
Lewisboro	1,117	
Part of Katonah Village		146
Mamaroneck	2,385	

TOWNS	POPULATION	
Mount Pleasant	5,847	
North Tarrytown Village		3,179
New Castle	2,110	
Chappaqua Village		733
Part of Mount Kisco "		463
New Rochelle	9,057	
New Rochelle Village		8,217
North Castle	1,475	
North Salem	1,730	
Ossining	10,058	
Sing Sing Village		9,352
Pelham	3,941	
City Island		1,206
Poundridge	830	
Rye	9,477	
Port Chester Village		5,274
Scarsdale	633	
Somers	1,897	
Westchester	10,029	
Williams's Bridge Village		1,685
White Plains	4,508	
Part of White Plains Village		3,819
Yonkers City	32,033	
Yorktown	2,378	
Total	146,772	

The old Westchester County Towns of Morrisania, West Farms, and Kingsbridge, annexed to New York City in 1874, had a population in 1890 of 74,085 according to the federal census, and of 81,255 according to the police enumeration.

In 1892 a State census was taken, which gave Westchester County a total of 147,830, and the three annexed towns a total of 86,757. Local enumerations in the cities and villages of the county were made in 1898, whose results will be included at the end of this chapter.

The incorporation of the City of Mount Vernon was effected by a legislative act passed March 12, 1892. At the first city election, held in the succeeding May, Dr. Edward F. Brush was chosen mayor.[1] By the organization of the city the old Town of Eastchester was dismembered—in fact, divided into two remotely separated parts, with Mount Vernon lying betwixt them. The lower part of Eastchester Town has since been annexed to New York City. The development of Mount Vernon in all municipal regards has been extremely rapid and most creditable during the eight years of its existence as a city. There is no doubt that its population has more than doubled since its incorporation.

[1] Mayor Brush served for one term. He was succeeded by Edson Lewis, who served from 1894 to 1896. The present mayor (August, 1900) is Edwin W. Fiske, who was first elected in 1896, and re-elected in 1898 and 1900.

In 1892 the City of Yonkers still retained the primitive system of milldams which in early times had been constructed to furnish water-power to the local industries. These dams, forming stagnant ponds in the Nepperhan River, which in the summer season were quite pestilential, had come to be regarded by the general public as a nuisance; yet the city officials had been loath to assume the responsibility of summarily removing them. To the administration of Mayor James H. Weller (1892-94) belongs the honor of instituting the necessary proceedings and accomplishing the wholesome work. Mayor Weller, finding it impossible to deal otherwise with the problem than summarily, and believing the dams to be a public nuisance which should be abated by arbitrary methods in the absence of other remedy, caused them to be torn down. It was a courageous act, similar to the one of the citizens of Westchester in forcing open Macomb's Dam in 1838. In the legal processes that resulted the mayor and city government were fully sustained by the courts.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

In 1895 (June 1) the second and (up to the present time) last annexation of Westchester County territory to New York City was made. This important annexation was accomplished mainly at the instance of citizens of the Town of Westchester, who felt that the time had arrived when their section ought to be brought within the city limits and enjoy a measure of attention corresponding to that given to the districts west of the Bronx River. In addition to the whole of Westchester Town, parts of Eastchester and Pelham (including City Island) were embraced in the annexation act of 1895—"all that territory (to quote the words of the act) comprised within the limits of the Towns of Westchester, Eastchester, and Pelham which has not been annexed to the City and County of New York at the time of the passage of this act, which lies southerly of a

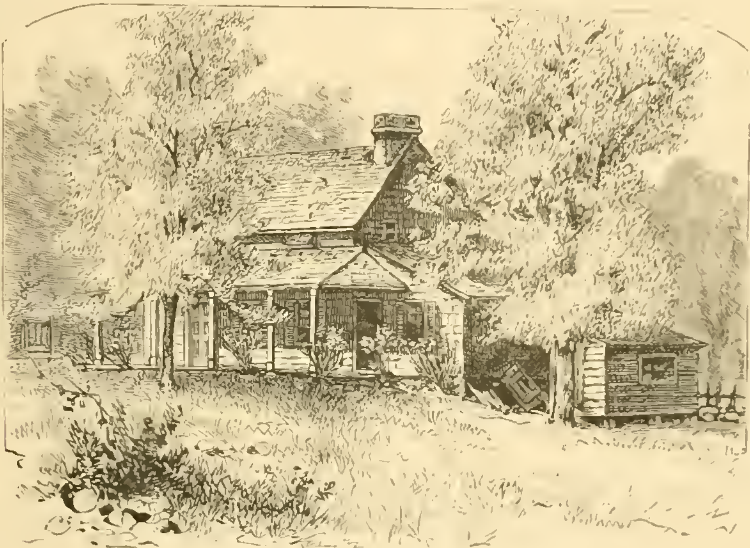
straight line drawn from the point where the northerly line of the City of New York meets the center line of the Bronx River, to the middle of the channel between Hunter's and Glen Islands, in Long Island Sound, and all that territory lying within the incorporated limits of the Village of Wakefield, which lies northerly of said line, with the inhabitants and estates therein."

The additional territory thus severed from the County of Westchester and given to the City of New York comprehended about 14,500 acres, in which were some forty-five villages, islands, and other definitely named localities. The annexation included the sites of four of the most ancient settlements of our county—Pelham Neck, Westchester, Cornell's Neck (Clason's Point), and Eastchester.

The annexation of June 1, 1895, was really incidental to the "Greater New York" project, which, although not yet brought to its fruition, had passed the stage of agitation and seemed reasonably certain to be soon carried to a successful issue. The popular referendum on the Greater New York proposition occurred November 6, 1894, the annexation question being submitted not only to the people of Westchester, Eastchester, and Pelham Village, but also to those of the City of Mount Vernon. In these several localities the vote on the question of consolidation with New York City stood: Mount Vernon, 873 for and 1,603 against; Eastchester, 374 for and 260 against; Westchester, 620 for and 621 against; Pelham Village, 251 for and 153 against. The large adverse majority in Mount Vernon caused the advocates of the Greater New York programme to omit that city from their calculations; but notwithstanding a majority of one against consolidation in Westchester Town, there was no hesitation in preparing to annex the other three localities interested. The present City of New York, with its five Boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx, Richmond, Brooklyn, and Queens, came into official existence on the 1st of January, 1898.

In noticing the changed conditions which were brought to pass in the former Towns of Morrisania, West Farms, and Kingsbridge after their annexation to the city in 1874, it has been observed that for many years their progress was not what had been hoped for by the more sanguine promoters of the change. This comparatively unsatisfactory state of things was felt to be largely due to neglect of their local interests by the general city authorities. It finally became the firm conviction of the public spirited citizens of the "North Side" that the special concerns of their section ought to be under the care of a separate department of the city government organized and administered with exclusive reference to North Side circumstances and needs. In 1887 a movement was begun by property-

owners' associations in behalf of such a reform, and in 1889 a bill was submitted to the legislature which provided for the creation of "a department of street improvements of the 23d and 24th wards of the City of New York." This measure did not pass, but the State senate appointed a committee to make an investigation and report as to the necessity of the proposed department. The reasons in favor of the plan were ascertained to be so strong that in 1890 a law was enacted creating the new department, which was to be under the direction of a commissioner elected by the people of the two wards. The act took effect on the 1st of January, 1891, the first incumbent of the position being Louis J. Heintz. He died in 1893, and



THE POE COTTAGE, FORDHAM.

was succeeded by Louis F. Haffen. With the inauguration of the department of public improvements a new order of things obtained in the North Side, and it presently began to be realized that the so-styled "annexed district" was something more than an outlying locality, and was in process of rapid transformation into an integral part of the metropolis. When it is considered that the portion of the present Borough of the Bronx west of the Bronx River nearly equals Manhattan Island in area, while the portion east of that stream exceeds it, the difficulty of the problems to be dealt with in building up the city on the North Side will be readily appreciated. With regard to the district annexed in 1874, these problems have

already been largely solved, and the outcome arrived at, viewed in its grand proportions, is not merely impressive from the circumstance of the material results accomplished, but is peculiarly satisfying in its esthetic aspects. New York City above the Harlem has been laid out with pre-eminent good taste, and the greater public works in that quarter have been characterized by breadth and generosity of conception and alacrity and thoroughness of execution. One of the most valuable improvements of the last ten years, apparent to anybody who makes a trip out of the city over the Harlem road, is the depression of the tracks of that railway, so that from the Harlem River to above Bedford Park it nowhere crosses a public thoroughfare at grade. Magnificent avenues and parkways have been opened, and there is now in process of construction a grand concourse and boulevard which, when completed, will be the finest driveway in the world.

The most conspicuous public improvement connected with the history of the North Side is the Harlem Ship Canal, opened to commerce on the 17th of June, 1895. After the tearing down of Macomb's Dam by Lewis G. Morris and his companions in 1838, there was no renewed attempt by private persons to obstruct the navigation of the Harlem River. Attention was given at various times to the question of dredging a navigable waterway through to the Hudson River, surveys were made, and two Harlem Ship Canal companies, organized by private capitalists, were incorporated. It was finally deemed expedient to undertake the work as a public enterprise, and the matter was brought to the attention of congress, which in 1874 ordered a government survey and in 1875 made the first appropriation. The work was planned by General John Newton, best remembered for his connection with the clearing of the Hellgate channel. It was carried to completion under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel George L. Gillespie, of the United States army. At the time of the opening of the canal, in 1895, 550,000 tons of rock had been removed, 162,000 cubic yards of earth excavated, 1,000,000 cubic yards of earth and mud dredged, 5,000 cubic yards of retaining walls built, and 2,000,000 tons of dynamite exploded. The canal follows the course of the Harlem River to near Kingsbridge, where it leaves the natural waterway and passes through an open cut in the "Dyckman Meadows" to its junction with Spuyten Duyvil Creek. Additional improvements have been prosecuted since 1895.

Much of the credit for the great progress made during the last decade in the portion of New York City annexed from Westchester County is due to the North Side Board of Trade, an organization incorporated in 1894 for the purposes of "diffusing information as to

the many advantages of the section as a business and commercial center, as well as a district of homes; of attracting capital, manufacturing interests, and desirable residents; of promoting the development and patronage of local business enterprise; of advancing public improvements; and of encouraging public spirit and a local community feeling."

At the first election under the Greater New York charter, held in 1897, Mr. Louis F. Haffen, the former efficient commissioner of the department of street improvements, was chosen president of the Borough of the Bronx. The following striking facts of progress in the Borough of the Bronx are taken from a recent statement by Mr. James L. Wells:

"The fact should be realized that in point of population the 23d and 24th wards constitute the fourth largest city in the State, leaving New York out, of course, and that, with the rapid transit road to aid in development, it will be but a very few years until that section will rank second in population to the aggregation of humanity on Manhattan Island.

"If the increase of population continues proportionately in only the same ratio as in the recent past, the population of that section of the city above the Harlem River should in 1910 be 330,000, in 1920 should be 660,000, and in 1930 may reasonably be expected to be 1,300,000; and that this growth will be attained when the proposed rapid transit road is constructed is beyond question. And it need not be feared that there is not territory enough for such a large population. With the newly annexed territory the portion of the city above the Harlem River is double the size of that below, and if you can put two millions on Manhattan Island, there is surely ample room for a million and a half in twice as much space.

"In 1874, when the original 23d and 24th wards were annexed to New York, the total assessed value of the property was about $23,000,000. The total assessed value for the year 1896 was $86,405,405. The first large increase after 1874 was in 1890, when the valuation went up to $44,000,000; but from 1890 to 1897 it ran up to $96,000,000—more than doubling in seven years with the improved transportation facilities, while it required sixteen years for doubling prior to the creation of such facilities. In ten years, when the rapid transit road is built, the assessed value of the property in the city limits north of the Harlem River will be $200,000,000."

In Westchester County proper there has been a steady and quite uniform development during the last decade. The most noticeable feature of this growth is, of course, the advance in population in Yonkers, Mount Vernon, Pelham, and New Rochelle, along the New

York City line—an inevitable concomitant of the great strides made in the annexed territory. A potent factor of the general improvement in this section has been the introduction of trolley roads, affording quick transit and a practically universal "transfer" system. In 1894 the elevated railway established a uniform fare of five cents from the Battery to the end of its suburban line at Tremont. This produced a vast increase in the trans-Harlem traffic: in 1893, while the ten-cent fare still prevailed, the suburban branch of the elevated road carried 5,867,848 passengers, but in 1897, after a brief trial of the five-cent rate, the number had increased to 11,145,134. Mean-

YONKERS HIGH SCHOOL.

time electric cars were being substituted for horse cars throughout the annexed territory, and also in Yonkers, Mount Vernon, and New Rochelle. In 1899 the culmination was reached by establishing a single five-cent fare from Yonkers to New Rochelle by way of Mount Vernon, and from all these places to the Harlem River; and in addition the elevated railway instituted a transfer arrangement by which trolley passengers were carried to the Battery, or elevated passengers to Mount Vernon, Yonkers, and New Rochelle, for a total of eight cents. This remarkable cheapening of fare for the long ride is but an incident of general concessions to the public which leave

nothing to be desired except improvements in the service commensurate to the enormous growth in the trolley traffic.

The trolley is likewise exercising a peculiar developing influence in the Hudson River municipalities, where the steepness of the ascent from the railway and from the village centers to many of the residence localities has always been a hindrance to diversified progress. Two trolley routes now cross the county: one from Yonkers through Mount Vernon to New Rochelle, the other from Tarrytown through White Plains to Mamaroneck.

Nine new villages have been incorporated during the present decade: Pelham Manor and Larchmont in 1891, Mamaroneck in 1895, Pelham, North Pelham, and Ardsley in 1896, Pleasantville in 1897, and Bronxville and Croton in 1898.

This volume is issued before the appearance of the census returns of 1900 for Westchester County proper. [1] In 1898, however, local enumerations were made in the villages of the county, with the following results in the incorporated places: [2]

VILLAGES	POPULATION
New Rochelle (Town of New Rochelle)	12,297
Peekskill (Town of Cortlandt)	9,496
Sing Sing (Town of Ossining)	8,160
White Plains (Town of White Plains)	7,363
Port Chester (Town of Rye)	7,257
Tarrytown (Town of Greenburgh)	4,674
North Tarrytown (Town of Mount Pleasant)	4,011
Mamaroneck (Towns of Mamaroneck and Rye)	3,729
Dobbs Ferry (Town of Greenburgh)	2,840
Irvington (Town of Greenburgh)	2,013
Hastings (Town of Greenburgh)	1,712
Mount Kisco (Towns of Bedford and New Castle)	1,371
Croton (Town of Cortlandt)	1,244
Pleasantville (Town of Mount Pleasant)	1,181
Larchmont (Town of Mamaroneck)	711
North Pelham (Town of Pelham)	627
Pelham Manor (Town of Pelham)	436
Bronxville (Town of Eastchester)	391
Ardsley (Town of Greenburgh)	372
Pelham (Town of Pelham)	112

In the same year the estimated populations of the Cities of Yonkers and Mount Vernon were, respectively, 40,000 and 23,000. Thus the total urban population of the county in 1898, contained in two cities and twenty incorporated villages, was about 133,000.

New Rochelle was incorporated as a city by an act of the legislature of 1899, which received the governor's signature on the 24th day of March. The first city election was held April 25, 1899, resulting in the election of Michael J. Dillon (Democrat) as mayor, the other city

[1] The population of the Borough of the Bronx for 1900 (official) is 200,507.

[2] From Smith's Manual of Westchester County, 152.

officers chosen being: treasurer, J. Arthur Huntington; police justice, John A. Van Zelm; assessors, Augustine Smith, P. B. Brady, and H. W. Tassler; aldermen at large, Henry C. Kuchler, Jacob Hollwegs, John Stephenson, John Kress, and Frank Holler; aldermen, William H. Neilson, Robert C. Archer, John Grab, Ulric X. Griffen, H. A. Siebrecht, Sr., and Peter Cunneen; supervisors, George H. Crawford, Jacob R. Wilkins, and Peter Doern. The city government was organized on the 28th of April following.

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Cornell, Thomas, 93.
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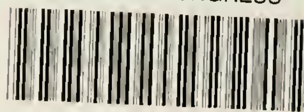
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