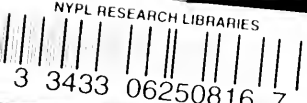


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To the honorable

Maurice L. Wright.

With Compliments of

Ralph D. Earl

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PAPERS

READ BEFORE THE

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HERKIMER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DURING THE YEARS

1899, 1900, 1901, to July 1, 1902.

VOLUME TWO.

COMPILED BY ARTHUR T. SMITH,
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY.

HERKIMER AND ILION, N. Y. :
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INTRODUCTORY.

The Herkimer County Historical Society was organized at a public meeting held at the Court House in Herkimer, January 2, 1896.

The objects of the Society are to discover, collect, preserve and publish the history, historical records and data of and relating to that portion of the State of New York formerly known as Tryon and later Herkimer county; the collection and preservation of books, newspapers, pamphlets, maps, genealogies, portraits, paintings, relics, manuscripts, letters, journals, field books, and any and all other materials, which may establish or illustrate such history, or the growth and progress of population, wealth, education, agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce in Herkimer county; and also to discuss and treat subjects of general history.

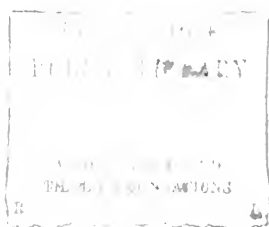
The membership consists of Resident, Life and Honorary members. Resident members pay annual dues of two dollars, a life membership costs ten dollars.

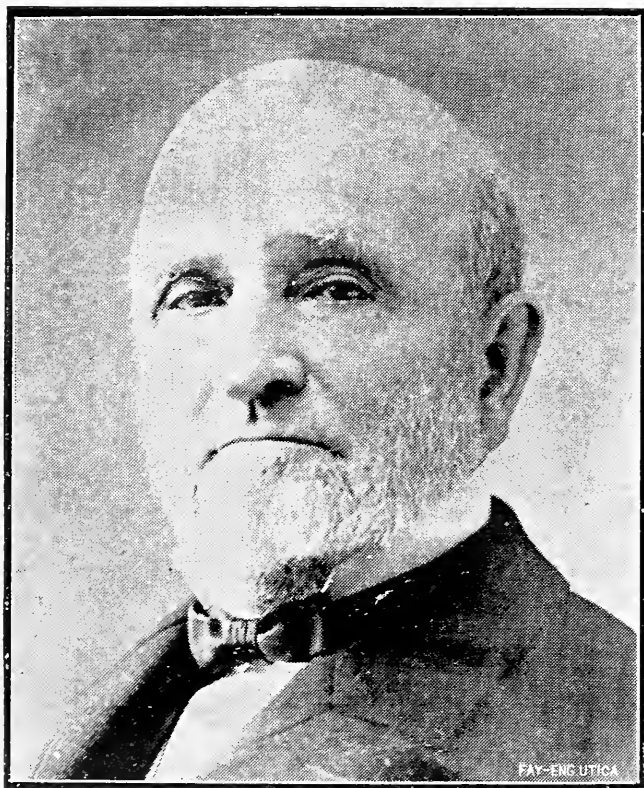
The papers read before the Society during the years 1896, 1897 and 1898 have been printed and bound in book form. Copies of the same can be obtained by addressing the secretary at Herkimer, N. Y. Copies bound in cloth cost \$1.00 and paper-bound, fifty cents. If to be sent by mail, fifteen cents should be added for postage.

This volume contains not only the addresses delivered before the Society for the past three and a half years, but also six prize essays, the writers being awarded prizes of \$25, \$10 and \$5 each, offered by Hon. Robert Earl of Herkimer and Albert N. Russell of Hion, for the best essays on historical subjects offered by Judge Earl, and like prizes offered by Mr. Russell for essays on "Our Common Free Schools."

The present officers of the Society are Hon. Robert Earl, Herkimer, president; Albert N. Russell, Hion, Frank B. Parkhurst, Frankfort, Mrs. P. C. Baldwin, Little Falls, vice-presidents; Arthur T. Smith, Herkimer, recording secretary; George W. Smith, Herkimer, corresponding secretary; John Dryden Henderson, Herkimer, treasurer; William M. Dutton, Herkimer, librarian; William C. Prescott, Herkimer, John V. Schmidt, Hion, J. H. J. Watkins, East Schuyler, John D. Henderson, Herkimer, Richard Lohrman, Herkimer, executive committee.

Fred P. Dougherty 16 Feb - 1943





HON. ROBERT EARL, LL. D.

First President of the Herkimer County Historical Society.

THE WAR OF 1812, ITS CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, January 10, 1899.

At the commencement of the Revolutionary era of our country, a large majority of thoughtful men were opposed to separation from England. They were and had been for some years contending for what they claimed to be fundamental rights of Englishmen—not for independence, but mainly for the doctrine that taxation and representation should go together—for the right of the people through their representatives in their Colonial Assemblies to regulate all forms of taxation affecting them. The stubborn and arbitrary conduct of England embittered the Colonists; and the Declaration of Independence came only after they became satisfied that they could not obtain, as an integral part of the British Empire, the rights which they claimed.

The conduct of the war on the part of England, with her Indian and Tory allies, was by the patriots considered so unjust and cruel that a bitter sense of wrong and feelings of great animosity survived the successful issue of the contest and the treaty of peace. Subsequent to the treaty, there were frequent causes of friction between the two countries. There were great delays on the part of England in surrendering territory and forts as stipulated in the treaty; and when she became involved in war with France, new causes of irritation arose. The French had been our allies in the Revolutionary war, and the sympathies of the great bulk of our people were with them in the titanic struggle growing out of the French Revolution and the ambition of Napoleon to dominate all Europe.

At first the commerce of this country was greatly stimulated by the European wars. But soon England and France issued orders and decrees which together in form blockaded all the ports of Europe against neutral commerce; and they both issued letters of marque to privateers who under one pretense or another preyed upon neutral commerce. The result was embargo, non-importation and non-inter-

course acts by our Congress, and for the time the practical destruction of nearly all of our commerce. England in effect, even as early as 1803, blockaded our ports, and English frigates cruised along our coasts and at the mouths of our harbors waiting for French privateers and searching our merchantmen for contraband goods and British seaman; and in this business many outrages were committed upon the rights of our citizens. The most fruitful cause of complaint on the part of our government was the right asserted and exercised by England to search for and to impress seaman claimed to be English subjects. She was engaged in a gigantic struggle in which she needed all her seamen; and she contended for the right to take them wherever she could find them and place them in her service on board of her war vessels. This right she based upon what was then the generally recognized principle of international law, that a subject could not change his national allegiance and thus escape any duty he owed to the government of his birth. She asserted, as a fundamental legal axiom, that an Englishman by birth always remained an Englishman. Thus she claimed the right to English seamen wherever they might be, the right to seize them wherever she could find them, and to search for them wherever she suspected them to be. In the exercise of this right to take her seamen she claimed the right to stop our ships upon the ocean, war vessels and merchantmen, and search them for English seamen and to forcibly take such as she found. This brought on frequent collisions between our vessels and hers, and created much bitterness and aroused much indignation throughout our country. In this way several thousand sailors were forcibly taken from our vessels and transferred to English war vessels. There were a large number of English seamen on board of American vessels attracted there by the larger pay and the more agreeable service. As our seamen and the English seaman looked alike and spoke the same language, it frequently happened that by mistake our sailors were thus seized and impressed into the English service on board of English war vessels. But this action was not always, not even usually due to mistake, as frequently colored seaman, and Dutch, Danish and others manifestly not English were arbitrarily seized.

I will here give two typical cases of these outrages which did much to arouse a determined spirit of hostility toward England. In April, 1806, the *Leander*, an English war ship, had long lain near Sandy Hook at the entrance to the port of New York, stopping coasters, searching merchantmen, seizing ships and impressing citizens of the United States, when a coasting sloop, *The Richard*, came along. Suddenly three shots came screaming toward her from the *Leander*, one of which carried off the head of John Pierce, the helmsman. *The Richard* made her escape and reached New York; and there the news of the outrage threw the whole population into commotion. In June, 1807, the frigate *Chesapeake* was in the Hampton Roads just starting on a voyage to Europe in the service of our government, when she

was overhauled by the English warship, *The Leopard*, which demanded the right to search her for English seaman and deserters. The demand not being complied with, *The Leopard* discharged repeated broadsides into her and disabled her, killing three men and wounding eighteen. *The Chesapeake* was obliged to haul down her flag and surrender, as she was not prepared for battle. She was then searched and four seamen were taken from her, three of whom were not English subjects. Wherever throughout our country the news of this outrage went, it created the greatest indignation. During several years, from time to time, our government protested against these repeated outrages and insults of English war vessels, and endeavored by negotiation to obtain redress for them, and to induce England to forego or surrender the right of search and impressment so offensively claimed and practiced by her. But no redress could be obtained and no satisfactory treaty could be negotiated; and mainly on account of these outrages finally war was declared by Congress, June 18th, 1812.

The war was popular with the great mass of our people. Their hatred of England came down from Revolutionary times. The declaration of war was approved with great unanimity by the friends of Jefferson and Madison, called Republicans; and it was disapproved generally by the Federalists who were mainly residents of New England, New York and New Jersey, and who thought there was just as much cause for war with France as with England. In Congress, all the representatives from Rhode Island and Connecticut, eight of the fourteen representatives of Massachusetts, eleven of the fourteen representatives of New York, four of the six representatives of New Jersey voted against the declaration; and all the representatives of South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee, sixteen of the eighteen representatives of Pennsylvania, six of the nine representatives of Maryland, and fourteen of the nineteen representatives of Virginia voted for it. The ministers of religion, unlike their attitude in the Revolutionary war, the war of the Rebellion, and the late war with Spain, generally opposed the war; and it was very unpopular in most parts of New England. There the news of the declaration of war was received with public manifestations of grief. Bells were tolled, shops closed, business suspended, and town meetings were called to denounce the war, as they had some years earlier been called in the same region to denounce Embargo acts.

Although we had been gradually drifting into war with England for several years, at the time of its declaration, our country was from culpable neglect quite unprepared for it. The national treasury was almost empty. Our regular army was but six thousand soldiers poorly equipped and enervated and demoralized by thirty years of peace. We had 20 large vessels and a few gun boats together carrying three hundred guns. We had five hundred naval officers of all grades and five thousand two hundred seamen, and but five of our vessels were ready for sea. At the same time, the English had one thousand vessels of

war manned by one hundred and forty thousand seaman and a large army, trained and disciplined in the gigantic wars which had been waged on the continent of Europe. We had a population of seven millions two hundred and fifty thousands which had grown to that number from three millions two hundred and fifty thousands at the close of the Revolutionary war, while the population of Great Britain was eighteen millions.

The war having been declared, active and vigorous efforts were at once made to meet its responsibilities. Congress passed acts increasing the regular army and calling for volunteers. Enlistments in the army were dilatory and volunteers came in slowly. The president called for militia from the States, and the governors of three States, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island absolutely refused to obey the call. They claimed that the constitution authorized the president to call out the militia for three purposes only, to-wit: to repel invasion, to put down insurrection, and to execute the laws of the United States; and these governors claimed the right to determine each for himself whether any of the constitutional conditions existed for making such a call; and each determined that there was no ground for the call; and during the war our government was further embarrassed by the refusal of the militia to invade Canada on the ground that they could not be required to go outside of the United States.

The president was singularly unfortunate in his selection of the prominent officers to command our soldiers. The historian McMaster says that: "As a class they were old, vain, respectable and incapable." General Scott who knew them well stated in subsequent years that: "Of the old officers, many were sunk in sloth and many ruined by intemperate drinking; that of the new appointments, some were positively bad and others indifferent and that as a class the officers were swaggerers, political dependents, poor gentlemen, who, as the phrase went, were fit for nothing else." The most prominent among these officers were Generals Dearborn, Pinckney, Wilkinson, Hull and Hampton; and wherever they were in command disaster befel our arms.

While President Madison was a genuine and useful patriot during the Revolutionary war, a good political thinker and writer, and of great intellectual ability, I am inclined to think that it is the verdict of impartial history that as an administrator of the government he was a conspicuous failure. It must, however, be put to his credit that he was forced into the war by the clamor of the Jingoers of that day as President McKinley was prematurely forced into the late war with Spain by the clamor of the same class.

It is not my purpose to give a detailed account of the war upon land or sea, as the exigencies of this occasion forbid it. At the commencement of the war it was the plan of our government to invade Canada and take it from the British. Repeated attempts were made to that end, but were always attended with failure. While our troops made

temporary lodgments in Canada, they were soon obliged to retire, and the British forces invaded our territory, captured Detroit and burned the villages at Niagara Falls, Black Rock and Buffalo; and at the close of the war they still held some of our territory on our Northern frontier.

While the British forces had for some time threatened our national capitol, it was not put in a state of adequate defense and in August, 1814 it was captured by them; and the capitol, executive mansion and nearly all the other public buildings were burned, the president and his cabinet having fled from the city. Indeed, there was no conspicuous success of the American forces upon land until the battle of New Orleans, fought on the 8th of January, 1815. There General Jackson had under his command about five thousand soldiers from the South Western frontier, mainly from Tennessee and Kentucky, who were Indian fighters, expert marksmen, courageous and fearless, made heroic by the leadership of the heroic general. The British soldiers, numbering about 12,000, were veterans who had fought under Wellington in the Peninsular Campaign and were commanded by his brother-in-law, General Packingham. The battle lasted about twenty-five minutes, and in that time seven hundred of the British, including their general, were killed, 1,400 wounded, and five hundred were taken prisoners. Of our forces, but eight were killed and thirteen wounded. The result of that battle made General Jackson a national hero; and of all the generals in our army, he came out of the war with the greatest reputation. The battle was actually fought after the treaty of peace had been concluded between the two countries at Ghent on the 24th day of December, 1814, news of which had not yet reached New Orleans.

Upon the sea our navy gained great glory. Our sailors were hardy and skilful and were not surpassed, probably not equalled, by any in the world; and our naval commanders, Porter, Rogers, Hull, Bainbridge, Jones, Decatur, Perry and Macdonough, will always have a high place in the annals of naval warfare. They were nearly always victorious and even in defeat exhibited the heroism which has excited the admiration of their countrymen ever since. The inspiring words of Captain Lawrence, after he was mortally wounded and his vessel rendered helpless, "Don't give up the ship!" will never be forgotten; and the laconic dispatch of Perry announcing his splendid victory on Lake Erie, "We have met the enemy and they are ours"—paralleled only by the famous dispatch of Julius Cæsar to the Roman Senate, *veni, vidi, vici*—still awaken enthusiasm as they did throughout the country when first read by the American people. His flagship in that battle was named *The Lawrence*, and she carried at her mast head a flag on which was emblazoned the talismanic words, "Don't give up the ship." These heroic commanders were the successors of our naval heroes of the Revolutionary period, and they remind us of John Paul Jones, who, when in command of the *Bon Homme Richard* in 1779,

fighting the English war vessel, The *Scrapis*, when his vessel was sinking under him, and when asked by the English commander, "Have you struck your colors," replied, "I have not yet began to fight;" and in a brief time the English ship surrendered and his own battered vessel helplessly went down in the waters of the ocean.

During the war, there was never at any time more than thirty thousand fighting men in our army; and in no battle were there more than 5,000 soldiers. The number of men killed in the war on land was under 1,600, and the wounded were under 3,500. The expenses of the war were about one hundred million dollars, and at its close our national debt was about one hundred and twenty million dollars. During the war there was intense animosity between the Republicans, who favored the war, and the Federalists, who opposed it; and between men of the two parties there were not infrequent collisions. The first blood shed after the declaration of war was drawn in Baltimore in a riot caused by the successful attempt of a Republican mob to wreck a Federal printing office, just as the first blood in the war of the Rebellion was shed there by mob violence when Union troops attempted to march to the defense of our national capitol.

This war, like the other wars in which our country has been engaged, made a resort to extraordinary taxation necessary to raise the needed revenue. Among other internal taxes, there was a stamp tax, as there was after the Revolutionary war during the administration of John Adams, during the war of the Rebellion, and as there now is as a consequence of the late war with Spain—four times since the adoption of our Federal Constitution.

In this war, as in the Revolutionary war and the war of the Rebellion, our currency became badly deranged. In 1814 all the banks suspended specie payment. The best currency disappeared and the poorest came into use. Specie disappeared and thus there was no small change, and all kinds of people, merchants, tradesmen, manufacturers, stage owners, tavern keepers, ferrymen, cities, towns, and all kinds of corporations issued paper bills, sometimes as small as one cent, to supply the needs of the people. After many futile efforts in various States and by the general government to force the banks to resume specie payment, resumption did not come until 1817, when it was brought about mainly by the Charter of the United States bank, which commenced business early in that year with a capital of \$35,000,000.

It was during the war that Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster laid the foundations of their great careers in American politics. The two former were among the most active supporters of the war, and the latter opposed it. Clay was speaker of the House of Representatives during the war and wielded much influence in shaping the legislation of Congress.

The closing of the war with the brilliant victory at New Orleans after so many humiliating disasters upon land in other places, made

General Jackson during his whole life the popular idol of the American people. No man anywhere aroused so much enthusiasm, and no political leader had more devoted followers.

President Madison was, according to the political classification of his day, a Republican; and hence he and the war had the support of the Republican party, and the opposition of the Federal party, which was most dominant in the New England States. Those States more largely than any others were engaged in commerce, navigation and fishing, and to them the embargo, non-intercourse and non-importation acts followed by the war were most disastrous, producing great distress and discontent. They were backward and unwilling to aid the government with either men or money to carry on the war. They were dissatisfied with their position in the union, and their conduct was such that Madison and his friends came to entertain a suspicion that many of their influential citizens contemplated a separate peace, secession and a union with Canada under the British Government. Their complaints were most rife in the darkest days of the war after many disasters to our armies and the capture and destruction of our national capitol. In the Massachusetts legislature, the voice of dissatisfaction was loudly heard and members denounced the administration and the war in the most violent terms, and demanded amendments of the Federal Constitution and a national convention for that purpose. To forward the project, they favored a conference of the New England States; and for that purpose the legislature in October, 1814, passed a resolution calling a convention to meet at Hartford on the 15th day of December—the famous Hartford Convention, which played such a prominent part in the politics of our country for many years thereafter. The governor appointed twelve delegates to that convention, and by a circular letter invited all the other New England States to do the same; and Connecticut and Rhode Island alone responded favorably and appointed delegates. The delegates, twenty-three in number, convened at the appointed time and place. They sat and deliberated with closed doors for three weeks. They framed a lengthy report which was made public and they adjourned subject to the call of their president. In their report they set forth their grievances in most vigorous terms and recommended among other things that if they were not redressed by proper amendments of the constitution and in other ways, "a separation by equitable arrangement will be preferable to an alliance by constraint among nominal friends but real enemies;" and they recommended a second convention to meet in Boston on the 3rd day of June then next. The Massachusetts General Court assembled and within a few days adopted the report, approving each recommendation thereof and selected three commissioners to carry her complaints to Washington and there demand of the government of the United States that Massachusetts be allowed to defend herself, enter into defensive alliances with her neighbors, and retain a reasonable share of the Federal revenues gathered within her boundaries and use

it to pay an army to be raised by herself. Connecticut added two more commissioners, and early in February the five set out. What made the situation of these commissioners embarrassing and to some extent even absurd and ludicrous were the facts unknown to them that a treaty of peace had been concluded on the 24th day of December, while the Hartford Convention was in session, and that the splendid victory of Jackson at New Orleans had been achieved on the 8th of January. When the commissioners reached Washington, they were confronted with these facts and they were there silenced by ridicule and they took no action to further the object of their mission; and the proposed second convention was never held.

In consequence of the Hartford Convention and their hostility to the war and their apparent leaning in favor of Great Britain, the Federalists were made so odious throughout the country that they soon disappeared as a party from our politics, most of them in the end being merged in the Whig party upon its formation. For more than a generation after the war, to have been a Federalist was as odious as it was after the Revolutionary war to have been a Tory.

The Hartford Convention was held during the most discouraging period of the war, when our national capitol had been burned, our currency was completely deranged, when taxes were pressing heavily upon our people, when business and commerce were prostrated and general distress prevailed; and if the war had continued for another year the schemes of the Federalists engaged in the Hartford Convention might have been carried to success and the Union thereby disrupted.

When peace came, it was hailed with great joy throughout the country. It was peculiarly acceptable to the Federalists, as they had always opposed the war; and however dissatisfied the Republicans might be with the terms of the Treaty of Peace, they became reconciled because the war had been inaugurated by them and the peace concluded by their administration. It was truthfully pointed out by the Federalists that the English did not in the treaty surrender any of the things for which the war was commenced. Not one word was said in the treaty about the right of search and impressment. But it cannot be said that the war was fruitless. The achievements of our navy and our victory at New Orleans gave us character and improved our standing among the nations. While England did not surrender her right to search our vessels and impress seamen therefrom, she has never exercised the right since in a single instance. She learned to respect our prowess upon the ocean and that she was not invulnerable there.

Until recent years, the hostility of our people to England engendered by this war and the war of the Revolution survived and seemed to be more potent than the unity of blood and language and the inheritance of a common literature and of similar free institutions. But of late years, this hostility has been gradually disappearing, and now

England and America, while not bound together by any formal alliance, are drawn together by feelings of most cordial friendship. War between them is now hardly a remote possibility, and it should be the ardent wish of every philanthropist that they may ever cooperate in spreading the Christian religion, free institutions and Anglo-Saxon civilization throughout the world.

I must not close this paper without some reference to the part taken by soldiers from Herkimer County in the war.

This State was called upon to furnish by draft from its militia 13,500 men; and the term of service was three months. This county furnished its full quota of soldiers. There was a case of conspicuous patriotism which deserves commemoration. George Widrig was a prominent citizen of this county, residing in the town of Frankfort, and he was major general of militia. He applied to have his whole division called into the service; and falling in that, and on account of his rank being unable to get any other position, he took the only one he could get, that of teamster, and served in that capacity during one campaign. He was a man of sound judgment and practical ability, although quite unlettered; and I was told by Dr. Harvey W. Doolittle, who was a surgeon in one of the regiments that was sent to Sacketts Harbor, that, the superior officers being to some extent incompetent and inefficient, General Widrig's advice was sought, and that he restored order out of chaos, and rendered valuable services in quartering and providing for the soldiers who, lacking other accommodations, were quartered in dwelling houses, stores, shops and barns.

Christopher P. Bellinger, a prominent resident of Little Falls and for many years one of its most distinguished citizens, was the colonel of a militia regiment of this county, and he was, in May, 1812, before the declaration of war, ordered with his regiment to Sacketts Harbor and other places on our Northern Frontier to watch the British, to protect the public property accumulated there, to enforce the Embargo and non-intercourse acts, and to prevent smuggling. After the declaration of war in the following month, his regiment was reinforced by a draft from the militia of this county. He served under General Brown, who, in letters to Governor Tompkins, spoke of him as "a brave officer and worthy man;" and said he was "one of the best of men." "The more I have seen of Colonel Bellinger, the more I am pleased with him. He is disposed to do everything for the best."

As the term of one regiment expired, another was called into the service; and in September, 1814, the militia of this county was ordered out en masse and marched to Sacketts Harbor. That place was a very important one, being a depot of supplies; and when it was attacked in May, 1813, by the British, its garrison was largely composed of men from this county.

Colonel Matthew Mayers of this village, a fine looking and dashing officer, was in command of one of the regiments sent to Sacketts Harbor, and in his regiment the late Major Bellinger of Mohawk served

as a captain. At one time Colonel Forsyth was Colonel Myers' superior, and for some alleged insubordination demanded his sword, and was promptly informed that he could not take it unless he took it point first, and he did not take it.

Thurlow Weed, the Warwick successively of the Whig and Republican parties, who was a journeyman printer here at the time under Mr. Stone, the publisher of the Herkimer American, being then under eighteen years of age, went as a volunteer with the militia to Sacketts Harbor; and his cheerful and humorous disposition made him a great favorite with his comrades.

Most of the able-bodied men liable to military duty who resided in this county were sent to our Northern Frontier; and for many years afterward they had many stories to relate of their campaigning, and had many jokes to tell of each other. Of one, a prominent citizen of this village, who was a captain or major in Colonel Myers' regiment, it was frequently told that when a battle was imminent at Sacketts Harbor he crawled into a cellar to get out of the way of harm, and said, in terms of great distress, that he wished he was home "wid his wife Katrine." He always denied the charge and was at all times ready to back up his word by combat. Of another well known citizen of this town it was told that, finding fault with his rations and the service, he said he would rather be home and eat "suppon and milk with his buppy dog Towser." These and many other similar stories were circulated when I was young and they could only be fully appreciated by one acquainted with the subjects of them. Our returned soldiers were also fond of telling this authentic story: "In the fall of 1814, Sir James Yeo was in command of the British fleet which appeared at Sacketts Harbor, made threatening demonstrations and sent a flag of truce demanding its immediate surrender. General Brown, in command of the American forces, sent one of his officers, a Frenchman, to meet the flag. In reply to the demand for the surrender, in decided French accents, he said: "Sir, you return to your ship and say to your master if he wants Sacketts Harbor he must come and take him. He no run away." Then turning his horse he galloped back to headquarters and the British fleet soon sailed away.

The men from this county who went into the service had the reputation of being brave and good soldiers. Such has been the character of Herkimer soldiers in all the wars in which our country has been engaged; and so may it always be! In civil and military life may the men of Herkimer always in every emergency stand by their guns and do their duty.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF GEN. FRANCIS E. SPINNER.

AN ADDRESS BY ALBERT L. HOWELL, OF MOHAWK.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, March 11, 1899.

In sketching some of the principal events in the life of this remarkably interesting man, pleasant memories are awakened. A life-long acquaintance prepares the writer to pen some of the leading events which characterized his youthful ambition, to become a useful man. To relate in detail of his subsequent and interesting life would consume too much space in this paper.

HIS BIRTHPLACE.

Comparatively but few of the present day know the early history of the Spinner family, especially the subject of this sketch. He was the eldest son of the Rev. John P. Spinner, and was born in the humble home of his parents in the town of German Flats, where the village of Mohawk is now situated, on December 21st, 1801. The house stood on "glebe land," belonging to the Reformed Church, of German Flats, near the southeast corner of Main and Columbia streets. Just one week after his birth the house took fire and burned. The fire occurred on a winter's night, his mother, barefoot and in her night-clothes, with her babe in her arms, waded through the deep snow to their nearest neighbors, the Campbells, then situated but a short distance west of the present old "General Spinner house."

His father soon after this misfortune, moved to the town of Herkimer, about one mile east of the village, on the turnpike road. Subsequently he purchased a three-acre plot of land at the foot of Prospect street in Herkimer and built the house that still stands there, where the rest of the children, consisting of five boys and three girls, were born and reared.

The lands and dwelling of my father joined that of the general's father on the south. And for about thirty years we were their nearest neighbor.

HIS LOVE FOR BOOKS.

At an early age young Spinner evinced a love for books, and the meager education he received in the district schools of those days, up to the age of fifteen years; his reflective mind began to take in the situation in regard to the store of knowledge he possessed, to prepare him for a useful life work. And (to use his own words) found he was comparatively an "ignoramus." He resolved at once to commence self-education. In order to carry out his plan he made it a rule never to associate with those who did not know more than he did, so that each day should add something to the desired fund of general information. And to this end he chose to be in the company of men.

APPRENTICED TO LEARN A TRADE.

His father seeing his inclination for books had no desire it should lead him to follow his calling, that of the ministry, and acting on the rule universally applied in the fatherland (Germany) that every boy of the proper age, and who might be spared from home, should learn some trade, he bound him to a manufacturer of confectionery in Albany. The father finding that he still continued the study of books much more than learning a trade, set aside the indenture and bound him to a harness maker in Amsterdam. Here young Spinner's greatest opportunity presented itself for the reading of good books.

A SHAREHOLDER IN A LIBRARY.

He managed to become a shareholder in the circulating library of that place. He improved all his spare time by reading, until he had read every book in the library; and had read more books than all the other shareholders combined. When he had served out his term of apprenticeship, he in company with a fellow apprentice, set up business for themselves, in a small way, at a settlement near Amsterdam. And subsequently alone, started in the same business in Herkimer village. He still continued the habit of reading and read Blackstone and other law books, and all the cases in the supreme courts of the state of New York. So well informed did he become that lawyers frequently consulted him on legal matters.

HELD PUBLIC OFFICE.

At the age of twenty-seven he was appointed deputy sheriff of Herkimer county. And during the six years service as deputy, the duties of the office were so satisfactorily rendered that in 1834 he was elected sheriff, which office he filled for three years. His popularity had so increased that his fellow townsmen were ready to bestow upon him further honors for his capabilities as an executive officer.

He was the organizer of the 26th N. Y. State Artillery, being chosen its first lieutenant, and subsequently attaining to the rank of Major General of the third division of artillery. The organization of the "La Fayette Guards" was due to his efforts, the finest military company as to tactics and equipment in the state.

In 1838 he was appointed by Governor Marcy one of the commissioners for the building of the state lunatic asylum at Utica. A position he filled with his characteristic energy. In 1839, upon the organization of the Mohawk Valley Bank, he was called to the office of cashier of that institution, which post he filled with honor for twenty years, as cashier or president, and by his able financiering, and his system of conducting affairs of the institution, he left it on a stable foundation, which it has ever since maintained.

In 1845, at the solicitation of Michael Hoffman of Herkimer, naval officer of the port of New York, the General was appointed auditor and deputy naval officer, which position he held for four years, but still retained the presidency of the Mohawk Valley Bank.

THREE TERMS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

In 1854 he was elected to Congress upon the Democratic ticket. And during this, his first term, he served on many important committees. In 1856 he was re-elected by the Republican party, which party he helped to organize, and with which he was ever after identified. He was re-elected for a third term in 1858, by the largest majority given any member of those two Congresses. Being an out and out freesoiler and strongly opposed to the extension of slavery into new territory, he became the humble instrument in bringing about the happy result of the election of Nathaniel P. Banks for speaker of the house, after a struggle of two months' voting. In this he acted as one of the advance guards on the first battle line of the war which soon followed, and brought to an end human slavery in our nation.

UNITED STATES TREASURER.

In 1861, through the recommendation of the secretary of the treasury, Salmon P. Chase, he was appointed by President Lincoln, United States treasurer. Upon assuming the office at the commencement of the war of the Rebellion, he found the treasury of the government empty and with no funds to carry on the war. But through his able advice to the secretary of the treasury, a system was adopted which relieved the immediate needs of the government.

Being the custodian of millions, he was allowed to call around him men for the different departments who were personally known to him, to fill responsible positions as accountants, clerks, etc., as he was a bonded officer by Congress and responsible not only for the faithful performance of his own duties, but the hundreds of those in his employ. The work was so systematized that every one had their specific duty to perform. And so faithfully and honest were they rendered that of the millions that were received and disbursed daily, not one dollar was ever lost.

The Hon. Hugh McCulloch, his old-time companion in the treasury, thus speaks of the General in his "Men and Measures of Half a Century:" "A more trustworthy, conscientious, upright man than Francis E. Spinner never held an office under this government or any other.

And his name should be inscribed high on the roll of honor, for meritorious services at a time when the government was greatly in need of such services as he was able to render. Until I knew him I had not met a man with more disposition or capacity for hard work than myself. He worked constantly from nine to ten hours a day and often this was extended to twelve or fifteen hours. Seemingly he never slept, as by day and late at night he could be seen at his desk, and the last one to leave the office at night."

The General naturally inherited a splendid constitution to stand the long hours and overwork, together with the mental strain imposed upon him in the every-day duties of the office in detail, which would be considered very trying to most men.

HIS UNIQUE SIGNATURE.

That peculiar signature of his was first practiced on while he held the office of sheriff in 1835, and was used during the period of his office as commissioner, at the building of the state lunatic hospital at Utica. It was brought to its greatest perfection when he was United States treasurer, as the constant use of his pen in signing the greenbacks and fractional currency caused him to execute it perfectly. The daily and long continued use of his pen at one time caused a partial paralysis of the hand. But after a short rest he resumed the work, on to the time he was relieved by his signature being printed. The General never left his post for a vacation, only for a few hours spent in a row boat up the Potomac in the summer time, to enjoy a lunch on some mossy bank by the river side.

ACTING AS SOLDIER IN THE TREASURY BATTALION.

Among the many incidents of the General while in the treasury, none seemed to demonstrate his loyalty and patriotism more than the formation under his auspices of the Treasury Battalion, to aid in the defense of Washington against the raid of the rebel General Early, in the summer of 1864. He earnestly requested that the male force employed in the treasury should join this battalion, and set the example by shouldering a musket and drilling in the ranks as a private. No one knew better than the General what the result would be if the capital of the nation should fall into the hands of the confederate general and its treasury taken. He planned to put all the money in mail bags and, should it become necessary, put them aboard a tug and steam down the Potomac.

THE FIRST FEMALE CLERKS EMPLOYED IN THE U. S. TREASURY.

It was during the third year of General Spinner's term as U. S. treasurer that the first female clerks were employed in the different departments. And it was said that this innovation of his proved a wise one, as the ladies' department work was that which gave the best satisfaction for correctness and dispatch. Female clerks are still employed.

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO EUROPE.

While he was acting as treasurer, he was sent to Europe to represent this government in soliciting foreign capitalists to invest in our government securities. His mission was successful and he was everywhere cordially met, with but one exception, which the General related afterward. It occurred at the bank of the Rothschilds in London, he having called and sent in his card, and, after a long and patient wait, left the building. A messenger was sent after him but he could not be prevailed upon to return, saying, "Tell them I will not return, as such treatment as I have met with would not be given a dog by any American under similar circumstances." Promptness in all business matters was a virtue with him. He was quick and firm in his decisions but was ever ready to yield a point if there was good reason for it. No personal inconvenience was too great when a friend was to be helped. The open hand of charity was ever extended to help the needy and distressed.

THE GENERAL AS A SPEECH MAKER.

A few years previous to the war of the Rebellion and during his second year in Congress, being at his home in Mohawk during the stirring campaign of 1856, a Republican meeting was held at the old court house in Herkimer, the General being present and happening to enter the crowded court room rather late, was obliged to take a standing seat (as well as the writer, who stood a few feet from him). His presence when seen on the floor was the occasion of quite a sensation, he being called upon for a speech. The General's forte not being speech-making, he was rather backward in responding. But the cry of "Spinner, Spinner," rang out so forcibly and the occasion of the meeting being of a national character, the General yielded to the situation, and still standing in his place upon the floor, in well chosen words, delivered one of the most famous and prophetic speeches ever listened to. It was in substance a forecast of the inevitable struggle which would be caused by the slavery question between the north and south. The prophetic sentences he then uttered were fulfilled in 1861.

THE WATCHDOG OF THE TREASURY.

This sobriquet given the general was not misplaced. As his vigilant eye was ever on the alert for the safety of "Uncle Sam's pocketbook,"

Coupling this with his unique signature, which constituted a striking feature of every greenback and fractional currency, brought him prominently before the American people. Many visitors to Washington during the years he was treasurer were sure to make a visit to the treasury building to see the man who wrote that wonderful signature.

HIS RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC LIFE.

After nearly a score of years as the "watchdog of the treasury," he retired from active public life and chose to spend the remaining years allotted to him in a more congenial climate. He left his old home in

Mohawk and joined that of his daughter, Mrs. Schumacher, and her husband, James M. Shumacher, in Jacksonville, Florida, where his declining years were happily spent, surrounded by his children and grandchildren, in the pursuit of scientific subjects of which he was always fond, as his old home in Mohawk attested. His large library contained a fine selection of books; also one of the best private collection of mineral and geological specimens, petrifications, etc., in the State, together with a fine collection of fresh and salt water shells, all of which were mostly of his own collecting.

His southern home being situated on the banks of the beautiful St. John's river, afforded him enjoyment in boating and fishing, which pastime added much to the comforts he enjoyed in that genial climate. But at length a fatal disease fastened upon his stalwart form and, after a protracted illness of nearly two years, prepared him for the "Reaper." He passed on to the higher life December 31st, 1890, in his 90th year. His funeral obsequies took place in his old Mohawk home, January 4th, 1891.

THE GENERAL'S LIFE ONCE IN PERIL.

A daring attempt was once perpetrated on the life of General Spinner, during the first year he was cashier of the Mohawk Valley Bank. A plot was laid by a gang of robbers to possess the keys of the bank, knowing the General always closed the bank at night and carried the keys on his person. The scheme was to be consummated on a certain night on his way home, and the place selected to commit the deed (by assassination if need be) was but a short distance from his home, at a by-path he usually took to shorten the distance, it being at that time a rather secluded place, surrounded with trees and shrubbery, with a line fence to be crossed by steps. On the appointed night the General was confronted by a man at this fence crossing, and, strange as it may seem, there was no attempt made by the man to possess the keys or injure him, but he immediately fled. The man's courage failed him, as the sequel afterwards proved, as a letter soon after this was found by a friend of the General's, in Albany, giving a detailed account of the plan, which was sent to him. After that he went prepared and on the alert.

GENERAL SPINNER'S FATHER.

In penning briefly some of the principal events that occurred in the life of General Spinner's father, we will speak of those preceding and after his coming to this country from Germany in 1801. The Reverend John P. Spinner was born in Werbach, Germany, January 18th, 1768. In early life he was dedicated to the Roman Catholic priesthood and received a preliminary education preparatory to entering the University of Mentz. In 1789 he was admitted to exercise the office of a Roman Catholic priest, and for eleven years continued in the priesthood of that church. During this time he took part in the

funerals of Emperor Joseph 2nd, Leopold 2nd and other distinguished personages of that country.

In 1800 he changed his religious views and became a protestant, which created quite a sensation at Mentz. By his eloquent appeal to the people in defense of his new faith, and possibly in taking this step, it may have engendered some ill-feeling toward him by many, and he resolved to emigrate to America. The restriction of celibacy being removed he selected his life partner in the person of Miss Mary Magdalene Fidelis Bruuent, she being also a convert to the protestant faith, which left nothing to interfere to their becoming happily mated. They were soon after united in marriage, which took place just prior to their embarking for America, May 12th, 1801. After a tedious voyage of over two months (which was rather a prolonged bridal trip), they arrived in New York, and, having letters of introduction to John Jacob Astor, he being known by the up-country people, and mainly through his influence the young and talented preacher and his bride wended their way up the valley of the Mohawk and cast their lot with the people of his native country, in German Flats.

It was not long before he was called to the pastorate of the old Fort Herkimer church, he being the successor of Abraham Rosecranz (brother-in-law of General Herkimer), who served the parish for thirty-one years, and whose death occurred in 1796.

His engagement as pastor of this old historic church bears date of July 4th, 1801, which is on record in the county clerk's office in Herkimer, stipulating that services shall be held alternately in the places of worship, designated in German Flats and Herkimer, twice on each Lord's day. The salary was fixed at two hundred pounds in good and lawful money, together with thirty bushels of wheat, and he was looked upon by his parishioners as holding quite a lucrative position. Howsoever it was considered by the young preacher, he continued to serve his people up to the year of his death, which occurred in 1848.

In personal appearance the dominie was tall and very dignified, having a large head, a massive forehead and long, flowing locks, and his countenance revealed the strength of character he possessed. His garb was always of the ministerial order, at home or abroad. His step was measured and deliberate and he never seemed in a hurry on any occasion.

He was fond of horticulture and this afforded him out-door exercise. Whenever his parochial duties permitted, he might be seen busily engaged in cultivating his garden and extensive orchard of fine fruit. The trees he transplanted from his own nursery and afterward grafted upon, with the best scions of fruit obtainable.

He was much sought after on public occasions and outside the pulpit was popular from the fact of his remarkable versatility, and a certain dry humor and sparkling wit, which often found expression, together with a fine, sonorous voice, made him widely popular. He

was an excellent linguist and was more or less familiar with eight different languages.

About the year 1840, on the occasion of ex-President John Quincy Adams' visit to Herkimer, he was selected to meet him on the arrival of the train and escort him to the steps of the Railroad House, where the people could greet him with a handshake. On his arrival he was met by the dominie and arm in arm they proceeded to the steps, in the mean time they were conversing in German. The parting words were also spoken in German, the ex-president being known to the dominie as a linguist, and the pleasing incident of their meeting on this occasion, no doubt, was long remembered by the ex-president.

GENERAL SPINNER'S MOTHER.

In closing, we will speak briefly of the General's mother. She was one of that type which characterizes every true and devoted wife and mother. Having reared a large family of six sons and three daughters, most of her younger days were necessarily devoted to the domestic duties of her household, and she was seldom seen from it, choosing rather to be in the home with the husband and children. She was a most estimable lady of both mind and heart, and many of the good qualities that characterized the General were inherited from her, as he was always her favorite boy. The others never caused the father any anxiety on the score of too much "book lore," neither had they any desire to follow his calling, that of the ministry.

LAST LETTERS AND AUTOGRAPH OF GENERAL SPINNER.

Mr. Thomas Cunningham of Mohawk has many mementoes of General Spinner, being a life-long friend of his; they are highly prized. Among the many souvenirs, we will make mention of two remarkable letters, the last ones he wrote or dictated. One was written by him to a friend in Mohawk, several months previous to his demise, giving instructions in regard to his funeral, which would sooner or later occur there, as the wasting disease would soon "loose the silver chord." The other was dictated by him and written by a grandson to his brother Jacob in Mohawk, a few days before he passed away, with his last autograph. It shows the feeble hand and the blinded sight in its execution, and is hardly recognizable, compared to the ones he was enabled to execute so perfectly in the bye-gone years, a fac-simile of which is inscribed on the granite monument in the burial plot in the village cemetery at Mohawk, with no other inscription following this famous signature, to perpetuate in memory the life of this remarkable and self-made man. Being a co-adjutant of the immortal Lincoln during the struggle of '61 to '65, their work will long survive the crumbling monuments erected to their memories. Requiescat in pace.

JOSEPH BRANT—THAYENDANEGEA.

AN ADDRESS BY EDGAR JACKSON KLOCK, OF EAST SCHUYLER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, April 8, 1899.

There are two classes of people who, individually, are very unreliable biographers—personal enemies and personal friends. We would scarcely expect to find the true character of Washington transcribed by the average Englishman of 1777; nor were there many American patriots of the same date who would have given King George a fair rating. On the other hand a personal friend is apt to neglect to chronicle the mistakes and shortcomings of their heroes, while they are more than apt to overestimate their virtues. The true biographer, therefore, should be neutral; like the good cook, he must use the proper amount of vinegar as well as sugar, nor forget the salt, the spice, or the pepper. In gathering his information he must blend accounts of friend and foe, considering existing circumstances, the time, the age, and the motives of individual actions and form his estimates with the one all-important idea, that he is writing of a mortal and not of Gods. If Satan, the Prince of Hell, had had but one single friendly biographer from his own ranks to have left a counter-version of his satanic character, I doubt if that black record of unmitigated sin might not have had some silver lines; his biographers, however, have been his foes and he is, therefore, known to us accordingly.

Nearly parallel is the case of the American aborigines, untutored children of the chase, the early Indians knew but little of the use of the pen; traditions alone make up their early history, and while their stirring eloquence, excelled in depth of thought and beauty of expression by that of no other race on the face of the earth, has often been heard around their own council fires and even in our legislative chambers, pleading their hopeless cause and vainly reciting their wrongs, it is to be regretted that their histories have been written in most part by the white man, their worst foes and bitterest enemies. Those pale-faced brothers first engrafted upon this more simple race of the forest wilds, sins of which they were before entirely ignorant; then began that pushing, crowding and driving of them inland; de-

frauding them when practicable and stealing their lands where fraud would not suffice, until they were almost entirely driven from the homes of their fathers and the hunting grounds that the Great Spirit had given them. It is but little wonder that in this desperate state, they retaliated and it is less to be marveled at that from this race that was often made to feel the sting of the tomahawk and scalping knife, the Indian has had only bigoted biographers.

In this paper I shall give a brief sketch of the life of one of those American Indians and at the same time try to present some evidence to vindicate a character that I believe has to some extent been misrepresented and misunderstood. The subject of this sketch is Joseph Brant—Thayendanegea, the Washington of his people; a leader who never deserted his race in peace or war, in victory or defeat.

The parentage of this celebrated chief of the Mohawks is more or less shadowed in uncertainty, for, inasmuch as the Indians left no written record of the paternity of their people, high or low, we have to again resort to tradition. I think, however, it has been fully established that Brant was born of pure Mohawk blood, in the year 1742, on the banks of the Ohio, where his father, a full blooded Mohawk of the Wolf tribe, was camping with his family during a hunting trip which, as was customary, extended over a period of several years.

After the death of Tehowaghwengaraghkwinn, his father, who was by some supposed to be the Nickus Brant, "Old Nick" and "Old Brant," so often referred to by Sir William Johnson in his letters and papers; young Brant's mother returned with her two children, Joseph and Mary, to their family home at the middle castle of the Mohawks, at Canajoharie. Joseph was quite young at this time, Mary being the elder by several years. Soon after the return of the family to their native valley, the mother married Carrihogo, an Indian whose English name was Barnet or Barnard, contracted by some to Brant; whether the children took their name from this step-father or from their own lineal parent is a question of dispute which will probably never be fully settled. Certain it is, whether young Brant inherited his chieftainship as a birthright; or, if his name came from his foster-father and he won his position by personal actions, he was most worthy of the distinction and never dishonored the name. At about the time of the mother's second marriage, Mary Brant or Molly Brant, as she was more familiarly known, went to live with Sir William Johnson, of Johnson Hall, who had shortly before been left a widower in the prime of life. Whether Sir William ever married "Miss Molly" according to the church rites or whether she lived with him as his wife after the usages of the Indian marriage is not known, but it is certain that they lived together in perfect harmony until his death in 1774, several children were born to them and he always spoke of her with affection and pride, and took an unusual interest in her brother, Joseph.

Young Brant, at a very early age, with his tribe of warriors under

the brave old Hendrick, followed Sir William in that memorable battle of Lake George, where William won his title and Hendrick lost his life; the young brave also was with Sir William in the Niagara campaign of 1759, and when, after the death of Prideaux, Sir William took command, he greatly distinguished himself for bravery.

At about this time Sir William, who had interested himself to a large extent in the improvement, mentally and socially, of the Mohawks, at the request of Rev. Kirkland, selected Brant, together with several other Indian youths, and sent them to the "Moor Charity School, at Lebanon, Conn., where the youth lay down the tomahawk for the duties of the school room under the direction of Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, afterwards president of Dartmouth College." Whether Brant entered or left the school in 1761 is a question of dispute, but he probably left in that year, as only two of the Indians thus sent out by the Baronet ever received honors at the College. After Brant's school days he went on many important missions for Sir William, and also with the Rev. Chas. Jeffrey Smith, as interpreter among the Mohawks; but still when the war came on between the back Indians and the English, which drove Smith out of the country, Brant remained behind and soon took up arms, probably against the great Ottoway chief, Pontiac.

Thayendanegea's first wife was the daughter of an Oneida chief. Of the exact date or circumstances of this marriage but little is known, farther than that it must have been prior to 1765 and the last six years if not all of this married life was spent at the ancestral home at Canajoharie, where, probably he was enjoying the peace that had come to the country during that period. During the winter of 1771 Dr. Stewart says he visited Thayendanegea at the old family home and found him living there with his two children, Isaac and Christiana, and his first wife, who was dying with consumption; soon after occurred her death and Brant removed to Fort Hunter, where he resided with the Doctor, assisting him in translating and revising the Indian prayer book, a brief history of the Bible and a part of the Acts of the Apostles, together with an explanation of the church catechism in the Mohawk tongue. In the winter of '72-3, Stewart refusing to perform the ceremony on account of forbidden relationship, Brant was wedded to his first wife's half sister by a German minister. By this marriage he had no children.

After the death of Sir William, June 24th, 1774, his son, Sir John, succeeded him as major general of the Tryon County militia; his son-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson, who had been Sir William's assistant as deputy, became General Superintendent of the Indian Department and he in turn was assisted by another of the Baronet's sons-in-law, Col. Daniel Claus. Their influence with the Indians and whites were less than that of the father, but they were materially aided in their work by the superior talent and knowledge possessed by Molly Brant and

also by Joseph Brant, who was at once advanced to the position of secretary to Guy Johnson.

Ever loyal to his pledge of eternal friendship to the Johnsons, Brant followed Guy westward as the times and circumstances forced them, and eventually, at the beginning of the seven-year struggle, he went with him to Canada, never for a single moment forgetting his sacred pledge of friendship, and also ever mindful of that other pledge given to the English. Had it not been for this Indian idea ever present with him, that sacredness of a given promise, I sometimes like to think that he might have been as ardently ready to have fought for the struggling colonies and their liberty, as he was loyal to the king, and in that case, perhaps, the history of the Six Nations and the whole Indian race in America might have been different. Be that as it may, he remembered those pledges and threw his whole energy of mind and muscle on the side of the old government. If his methods of warfare seem to us cruel and unnatural, we must remember that he only fought according to the teachings and necessities of his race; we must remember, also, that the Indian's implements of war were much inferior to those of the whites, their numbers were much less and for those reasons they could not contend with them in the open field but must resort to ambuscades and deceptions to accomplish anything. They had no forts into which they might retreat, or jails to hold their prisoners and so their warfare must be that of extermination. Brant believed in those methods, but not in the common Indian practice of torture and notwithstanding the fact that all the cruelties practiced by his savage warriors are often attributed to him, directly or indirectly, the real truth of the matter is that he often exerted himself to stop such atrocities, sometimes in vain, but often with success. Some historians, mainly English, claim that Sir Guy Carleton did not favor the employment of the Indians against the colonists. To refute those assertions and also to express the Indian's motives for arraying themselves on the side of the king, we here quote from a speech of Brant, delivered in 1803 and preserved by Stone in his "Life of Brant." It is as follows:

"We were living at the former residence of Guy Johnson, when the news arrived that war had commenced between the king's people and the Americans. We took but little notice of this first report; but in a few days we heard that five hundred Americans were coming up to seize our Superintendent. Such news as this alarmed us, and we immediately consulted together as to what measures were necessary to be taken. We at once reflected upon the covenant of our forefathers as allies to the King, and said, It will not do for us to break it, let what will become of us. Indeed, it is a long time since the Governor (Sir Guy Carleton) said to us: I exhort you to continue your adherence to the King and not to break the solemn agreement made by your forefathers; for your own welfare is intimately connected with your continuing the allies of his majesty. He also said a great

deal more to the same purpose; and on this our minds were the more firmly fixed, for we acknowledged that it would certainly be the best in the end, for our families and ourselves to remain under the King's protection, whatever difficulties we might have to contend with. * * * A council was next convened at Montreal, in July, 1775, at which the Seven Nations (or Caughnawagas) were present as well as ourselves, the Six Nations. On this occasion Gen. Haldimand told us what had befallen the King's subjects, and said now is the time for you to help the King. The war has commenced. Assist the King now, and you will find it to your advantage. Go now and fight for your possessions, and whatever you lose of your property during the war, the King will make up to you when peace returns. This is the substance of what Gen. Haldimand said. The Caughnawaga Indians then joined themselves to us. We immediately commenced in good earnest and did our utmost during the war."

About the time of his arrival at Montreal with Johnson, Brant probably assumed the title of principal war chief, held at home by Little Abraham, who succeeded Hendrick nearly 20 years before and who had remained in the Mohawk with those few of the Nations still favorable to the colonies; and thus in full command and also having formed a compact with Carleton; yet this Indian diplomat hesitated to take up the hatchet until he had seen the "Great King," and his resources. Accordingly near the close of 1775 he made his first visit to England, where he was received with marked distinction by the first men of state. In March or early April he returned, landing near New York, fully determined to fulfill his part of the contract with Gen. Carleton.

Stealing his way through the country of the enemy, he returned to Canada, and first appeared on the scenes as a leader at the battle of the "Cedars," where he led his dusky warriors to victory. Contrary to some writers, afterwards he exerted himself nobly to prevent the cruelties of the massacre that followed Major Shurburne's surrender; a single example of which was his heroic rescue of Capt. McKinstry from the stake by supplying an ox in his stead; as proof of this we cite the fact that the Captain contracted a warm friendship for the great chief during his captivity and, returning to his Manor at Hudson, afterwards, often welcomed Brant there as a dear friend.

On the 19th of January, 1777, it was announced by a speech of the Oneida chiefs that the council fire at Onondaga, the capital of the Six Nations, had been extinguished and would no longer burn. The meaning of this announcement is not altogether clear, but Brant, returning from Canada in the spring with a body of warriors, came to Oghkwaga, at which place his following was greatly augmented. From there he went to Unadilla to attend that memorable conference with Gen. Herkimer in June or July, during which Herkimer presuming on his old friendship with Brant, they having been neighbors before the war, attempted to trap and kill the Indian chief and his attendants with the aid of one, Joseph Waggoner, whose manuscripts substantiate the

truth of the attempt. Owing to the native cunning of Brant, the scheme failed and only the attempt and not the deed remains to mar the character of Gen. Herkimer. This was the last conference held with the hostile Mohawks. Soon afterwards, probably in response to an invitation from Guy Johnson to a general council of the Six Nations, Brant withdrew his forces from the Susquehanna and soon united with the tory and refugee forces of Sir John Jelmson and Col. John Butler, at Oswego. From the date of this conference Brant was the acknowledged chief of the Six Nations and owing to his native hardihood and sagacity, combined with the advantage of education and civilization, he soon became the master spirit of the motley force in the valley of the Mohawk.

During the summer Brant and his warriors were active with St. Leger, who had been dispatched by way of the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario and Oswego to form a junction with Burgoyne on his expected arrival at Albany. Herkimer County people are all familiar with the facts of this campaign and the siege of Fort Schuyler (or as it ought to have been known, Fort Stanwix). Many of us can trace the names of lineal ancestors on the battle monument at Oriskany; in our local histories the year 1777 is pregnant with reminiscences of that sturdy old Dutch General who received his death wound upon that same battlefield and whose neglected grave this great patriotic nation and Empire State have but recently remembered, after an elapse of nearly a century and a quarter. Following close after this battle occurred that semi-comedy in which Han Yost Schuyler, the half-witted but shrewd convict-traitor, succeeded where an armed force had failed; having previously shot holes through his garments, he carried consternation into the Indian camp before Fort Stanwix by indicating the number of Arnold's approaching troops, from whom he was supposed by the Indians to have barely escaped with his life, as like unto the leaves on the forest trees and straightway the siege was raised, and Tories and Indians fled in terror. Returning with their scattered forces to Oswego, St. Leger and Brant proceeded to Lake Champlain, passing up as far as Ticonderoga to join Burgoyne.

In the spring of 1778 we find Brant with his warriors back again to his former haunts on the Susquehanna; many a field was devastated and many a family wiped out or crippled by his savage horde, and then on the 3d of July followed "Wyoming," one of the blackest pages in the history of the world. That Brant's warriors took an active part in this bloody tragedy there is no doubt, but from his own statements and those of the British, Brant was absent many miles away at the time of the massacre. Certain it is that many years afterwards, his son, John Brant, when he had succeeded his father as chief of the Six Nations, crossed the ocean that he might lay proofs of his father's absence and vindicate his memory from this calumny before the English people and the world. Campbell, the poet, who wrote "Gertrude of Wyoming," in which Thayendanegea was denounced as "The Mon-

ster Brant," thus fully convinced of Brant's absence, mildly exonerated him by publishing a foot-note to the effect that the name Brant as used, had no personal signification, only referring to the Indian warriors in general. The poem, however, remained the same for future generations to read, while that foot-note has long since been forgotten, and this gives another illustration of the generosity (?) of the Indian's white biographers.

During the rest of the summer Brant and his followers confined themselves to the plundering of small settlements; striking the first blow July 18th, at a little hamlet called Andrus-town, six miles southeast of the German Flats. The last of August or first of September he devastated German Flats, but warned by John Helmer, the only survivor of four scouts who had been sent towards Unadilla to learn the movements of Brant, most of the inhabitants escaped the night before to Fort Herkimer and Fort Dayton and only two lives were lost. Later in the season occurred that bloody day at Cherry Valley, where the pig-headedness of Col. Allen, commanding at the fort, in refusing to believe a warning of the approach of the enemy, cost that beautiful town so much life and property. In this massacre again Brant has been cited as the leader, while in reality he was but a subordinate under Walter N. Butler, a white-skinned, black-hearted savage. This ended the campaign for this year, but early in May, 1779, Brant was out again on the war-path and on the 20th plundered and laid waste Minisink, in Orange county, from whence Count Pulaski had just withdrawn his forces to join Lincoln's army. Being pursued by the Goshen militia and others to the fording place near the mouth of the Lackawaxen, by strategem and a counter-march, the Indians soon surrounded their pursuers and almost wiped them out. Thence by a rapid march Brant returned to the south bank of the Mohawk and resumed operations there, falling on small towns for plunder and prisoners.

It was during the summer of this year that occurred Sullivan's successful campaign against the Indians and Tories and the battle of Chemung, where Brant was the animating spirit of the Indians. Following up his victory, Sullivan marched to Catherine's town, which he pillaged; destroying everything on his route, houses, crops, orchards, etc., he advanced through Kanadseagea, Schoyere, the beautiful and prosperous Kanandaigua, Hineoye, far into the fruitful valley of the Genesee; every tree, field and village was laid waste. The army returned by the same route it had advanced and on September 30th reached Tioga, destroying their works rudely constructed when they concentrated their forces there at the opening of the campaign; returned to Easton, October 15th, and ended one of the most destructive campaigns in the Indian territory during the war. The Indians were driven from their cultivated lands to Niagara, "their habitations left in ruins, their fields laid waste, their orchards uprooted and their altars and the tombs of their fathers overthrown." During this winter, how-

ever, Brant succeeded in driving the unfriendly Oneidas from their homes down to the whites, who permitted them to settle near Schenectady, where they supported them until the close of the war.

At about this time Brant was married to his third wife, Catharine, by whom he had seven children, Joseph, Jacob, John, Margaret, Mary and Elizabeth, and by whom he was survived just thirty years to a day, she dying at Brantford on the Grand River, November 24, 1837, at the age of 78.

Early in April 1780 Brant took to the war-path; with a small band of Indians and Tories and on the 5th or 6th surprised and destroyed Harperfield, from whence it was his design to proceed to the upper fort of Schoharie; but on the following day, falling in and taking a party of sugar makers under Capt. Harper, who were at work in the "Bush," the wily chief was for once deceived by Harper, in believing that 300 Continentals had arrived only the day before to garrison the fort, and so he turned back with his prisoners to Niagara.

By the 2d of August Brant was again in the valley of the Mohawk. Circulating rumors of his intended invasion and capture of the stores destined for Fort Stanwix and even of the fort itself, he saw the militia called from the lower part of the valley for the defense and then swinging around to the rear he fell upon the defenseless valley at Canajoharie and its neighboring settlements. Being sole leader of this expedition, and no Tories with him, it certainly should add another item of importance to the final summing up of his character to know that while the country was left as desolate as was that of the Genesee by Sullivan, yet there was no instance of wanton cruelty and not a single act of outrage offered to defenseless women and children, excepting the carrying of them into captivity, which to him was one of the necessities of Indian warfare. Later on, still smarting under the memory of devastated Genesee, the Indians under Brant and the famous Seneca half-breed, Corn-Planter, joined with the forces of Sir John Johnson and invaded Schoharie. Successfully passing the upper fort unperceived, but failing to take the middle fort at Middleburg, which they attacked on the 16th of October, they proceeded toward Fort Hunter. Attacking the lower fort at Old Schoharie with like results, withdrawing they laid waste everything on the way, excepting the buildings and property known to belong to loyalists. Dividing their forces they proceeded up the Mohawk as far as Klock's Field, where the memorable battle was fought resulting in their complete defeat. And here had it not been for the Indians and Brant, their leader, who, though wounded in the head, still directed their course and captured Vrooman's troops that had been sent out from Fort Schuyler to cut off Johnson's retreat, Johnson, probably, would never have reached Oswego in safety.

And so this undaunted red man fought to the end of the war, appearing and disappearing like a will-o-the-wisp in true Indian style, using those methods inborn and bred with his race, confining his field of

operations mostly to the valley of the Mohawk and that immediate territory, with which he was as familiar as the scholar is with his A. B. C.'s; and when the struggle was over and the Great King, with whom he had cast his lot, was whipped, with his people he crossed into that King's territory, devoting the rest of his life to the interests of his own beloved race. No sacrifice was ever too much or labor too great if only he could advance their interests. Repeatedly visiting Quebec, he secured for his people from Sir Frederick Haldimand in the name of the crown all that tract of land, "upon the banks of the river Onise, commonly called Grand River, running into Lake Erie, of six miles breadth from each side of the river, beginning at Lake Erie, and extending in that proportion to the head of said river; which the Mohawks and others of the Six Nations who had either lost their possessions in the war, or wished to retire from them to the British, with their posterity, were to enjoy forever." Brant, however, did not relinquish his position as chief of that part of the Six Nations remaining in the United States, and postponing a visit to England in behalf of war claims of his people in Canada, he was active in the councils that brought about the Indian treaty at Fort Stanwix, late in 1784, relative to the boundary lines of the Indian territory. In 1785 that journey across the Atlantic was undertaken. He arrived at Salisbury early in December and was received and very cordially recognized by many of his old companions in arms, distinguished persons and even royalty. Meeting him at a royal reception, the Baroness Reidesel afterwards thus speaks of him in her memoirs: "I saw at that time the famous Indian chief, Captain Brant. His manners are polished; he expressed himself with fluency, and was much esteemed by Gen. Haldimand. I dined once with him at the General's. In his dress he showed off to advantage the half military and half savage costume. His countenance was manly and intelligent, and his disposition very mild." Among the anecdotes related of him during this visit to England was one that occurred at a grand masquerade. Brant as the guest of Earl Morra was present, "dressed in the costume of his nation, wearing no mask, but painting one-half of his face. His plumes nodded as proudly in his cap as though the blood of a hundred Percies coursed through his veins and his tomahawk glittered in his girdle like burnished silver. There was, likewise, in the gay and gallant throng a stately Turkish diplomat of rank, accompanied by two houris, whose attention was particularly attracted by the grotesque appearance of the chieftain's singular and, as he supposed fantastic attire, which, being natural, appeared to be the best made up. He scrutinized the chief very closely, and mistaking his complexion for a painted visor, the Turk took the liberty of attempting to handle his nose. Brant bad, of course, watched the workings of his observation, and felt in the humor of a little sport. No sooner, therefore, had Hassan touched his facial point of honor, under the mistaken idea that it was of no better material than the parchment nose of the Strasburgh trumpeter,

than the Chieftain made the hall resound with the appalling war-whoop, and at the same instant the tomahawk leaped from his girdle, and flashed around the astonished Musselman's head as though his good master, the Sultan, in a minute more would be relieved from any future trouble in the matter of taking it off. Such a piercing and frightful cry had never before rung through that salon of fashion; and breaking suddenly, and with startling wildness, upon the ears of the merry throng, its effect was prodigious. The Turk himself trembled with terror, while the female masquers—the gentle shepherdesses, and fortune telling crones, Turks, Jews, and gypsies, Sultans, nurses and Columbines, shrieked, screamed and scudded away as though the Mohawks had broken into the festive hall in a body. The matter, however, was soon explained; and the incident was accounted as happy in the end as it was adroitly enacted by the good-natured Mohawk."

Early in the summer of '86 Brant returned to this country and in December attended the council in the country of the Great Lakes. Wherever a council was called to advance the good of the Indians, during that unsettled period after the war, there you found Brant. At Huron Village in December, 1786, and at the councils of the west he was active. Much of his correspondence with the officials of this government relative to these councils has been saved and is published in "Stone's Life of Brant." He devoted much time also during this period to translating the Bible or parts of it into his own tongue and establishing missionaries among his people. On the 4th of November, 1791, however, Brant was one of the leading spirits in the defeat of St. Clair in the Northwest, notwithstanding the fact that all his previous efforts in the difficulty had been on the side of peace. Why he took an active part in this battle is not known, but probably he saw a possibility of perfecting his long-cherished scheme of uniting all the Indian tribes of this country in one great confederacy with himself at the head. Be that as it may, on the 23d of May, urged by Secretary of State Knox, he accepted an invitation to visit Philadelphia and to attend a conference on Indian affairs. In June, while making the journey through the valley of the Mohawk, several attempts to take his life were made by Germans, whose relatives had fallen at Oriskany 15 years before. On June 20th, he arrived safely at the national capital, and with the exception of the Germans above mentioned, was treated with distinction at every point.

During the conference at Philadelphia he emphatically refused several tempting offers from the United States Government to buy his influence in their difficulty of adjusting the boundary line with the Indians, but readily consented to carry any offer of peace made to those Indian tribes. Acting upon this situation the whole affair was fully explained to him and invested with power from this government and from the tribes of the Six Nations, he met that great number of Indian deputations from all parts of the country at the Rapids of the Miami and spoke much in the frequent councils that followed; but

influenced, either by the British Government or dissatisfied with the final result. Brant and the Six Nations failed to sign the ultimatum that the other tribes finally sent to the commissioners. During the campaign of Wayne, Brant was again active in behalf of the Indians, either in the field or as a dusky diplomat, but the end of this destructive war ended his military career.

Laying down the tomahawk, Thayendanegea devoted the rest of his life to advancing his people, morally and intellectually. It is a strange fact that the first Christian church ever built in upper Canada was erected by him, a chief of a once pagan race, and the first bell that ever rang to call the people to worship the true God in that country, was carried there by him. At the council fires and before the white man he always exerted himself to adjust the difficulties regarding their lands in New York, and on the Ohio, in Connecticut as well as on their grant in Canada and only once in all his efforts for his people was his zeal ever questioned by them. Worked upon by parties jealous of his success in securing the grant; and through the instrumentality of his arch-enemy, Red Jacket, and a few kindred spirits who were anxious to occupy his position, in 1803 he was illegally and contrary to their national laws, deposed. Only for a brief time, however, were the eyes of his people blinded: when he stood before them in all his disinterested glory, the scheme was more than evident to them and he was again placed at their head. After this time and while he was at work adjusting his people's land claims, he was alike busy upon their religious and educational advancement; through his instrumentality schools were established for his people and missionaries brought among them and he lived to see his work beginning to bear good fruit.

Regarding the closing days of his eventful life, we quote the following from Stone: "A few years before his death, Captain Brant built a commodious dwelling-house, two stories high, on a tract of land presented him by the King at the head of Lake Ontario—directly north of the beach which divided the lake from the sheet of water known as Burlington Bay. The situation is noble and commanding, affording a glorious prospect of that beautiful lake, with a fruitful soil and a picturesque country around it. At this place on the 24th of November, 1807, he closed a life of greater and more uninterrupted activity for the space of half a century, than has fallen to the lot of almost any other man whose name has been inscribed by the muse of history. He was a steadfast believer in the distinguishing doctrines of Christianity and a member of the Episcopal church at the time of his decease. He bore his illness, which was painful, with patience and resignation. He died in the full possession of his faculties, and, according to the belief of his attendants, in the full faith of the Christian religion. His age was 64 years and eight months. His remains were removed to the Mohawk village, on the Grand River, and interred by the side of the church which he had built. The interests of his people, as they had been the paramount object of his exertions through

life, were uppermost in his thoughts to the end. His last words that have been preserved upon this subject, were contained in a charge to his adopted nephew: 'Have pity on the poor Indians; if you can get any influence with the great, endeavor to do them all the good you can.' In summing up his character the same author said of him: "He was ambitious—and so was Caesar. He sought to combine many nations under his own dominion—and so did Napoleon. He ruled over barbarians—and so did Peter the Great." And to this let me add. He was ever first in the hearts of his countryman—and so was Washington.

At his death, according to the unwritten laws of the Mohawks, which is that the superior chieftainship descends to a son of the direct line on the mother's side, by her appointed; Catherine, the wife of Brant, named as his successor, John, her fourth and youngest son. John and his youngest sister, Elizabeth, remained at the Brant Mansion, while the mother, always partial to the manner of living and customs of the Indians, soon returned to the village on Grand River, where she afterwards lived mostly with her other children; and yet at John's death, in 1829, this venerable Indian princess did not name his successor from among her grandchildren in the Indian settlement, but selected for that place the infant son of Elizabeth, who had married William Johnson Karr, a grandson of Sir William Johnson and "Molly Brant," and who still occupied her father's old home.

Perhaps it would not add interest to this paper, which is already unavoidably too long, to name any of the intermediate chiefs, but to show how this remarkable family is still interwoven with the destiny of the Six Nations, I will say that the present Superior Chief, or as the title is now called, the President of the Council of the Six Nations, is Oronhyatekha, M. D., S. C. R., a graduate of Oxford; a personal friend of the Prince of Wales. He is a prominent politician and a well-known doctor of Toronto; is the head of the Independent Order of Foresters of this country, with the title of Supreme Chief Ranger; a thirty-third degree Mason, and is the husband of a granddaughter of Joseph Brant.

For the facts embodied in this sketch I am principally indebted to the works of Stone, Campbell, Benton and Heckwelder; from which I have freely copied; and also to letters in my own personal correspondence with Dr. Oronhyatekha and others of the race in Canada.

THE TOWN OF LITCHFIELD.—INCIDENTS AND ANECDOTES OF THE EARLY SETTLERS.

AN ADDRESS BY MRS. E. G. VAN HOUSEN, OF HERKIMER,
FORMERLY OF LITCHFIELD,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, May 13, 1899.

The towns of Litchfield and Frankfort were taken from German Flats and incorporated by an act of the legislature, February 5th, 1796. A part of the town was taken off and incorporated in the town of Winfield, in 1816. Litchfield was named by Addison Combs' grandfather, who came from Litchfield, Connecticut.

The surface is hilly; the highest land in the county, south of the Mohawk river, being Wheelock's hill, which is 500 feet above the river.

The soil is well adapted for dairying, which is the main industry at the present time. A watershed commences on West Dry hill and extends easterly, through North Litchfield to East Dry hill, thence southerly to the south bounds of the town. The streams south of this divide discharge their waters through the Susquehanna; while those having their sources north from it, flow through the Mohawk and Hudson.

The Dry hills are elevated plateaus of several hundred acres each, in the western and southern parts of the town. They were once the Mohawk Indians' hunting ground and contained several ponds where the Indians fished and shot ducks. A canoe was recently found at Smith's pond. All the ponds have disappeared except Smith's pond. There are no springs, as there is no land in the vicinity higher than they.

There are numerous caves. Some contain water. One near Goodier's Corners is so large a man lived in it for several years and the remains of a fireplace can still be seen.

The first settler of the town of Litchfield is believed by some to have been Elijah Snow, and by others to have been David Scott. Mr. Snow was a native of Westbury, Mass., and came in 1786 and settled on Wheelock's hill, then known as Snow's hill or Snow's Bush (the word bush meaning woods). It remained that name until after the Presby-

terian church was organized and there had been a religious revival there, then Ebenezer Goodale named it Jerusalem Hill, by which name it is still known.

As near as I can learn, in 1787, William Brewer and Ezekiel Goodale came from Massachusetts. John Andrews, Christopher Rider, John and Eleazer Crosby from Connecticut, Ebenezer Drewrey and John Everett from New Hampshire, settled in the town. In 1788 came Samuel Miller from Connecticut and James Gage from New Hampshire. In 1791 came Nathaniel Ball from Temple, New Hampshire, and Marshall and Selah Holcomb from Simsbury, Connecticut.

Mr. Hall brought four sons, the oldest but 12 years of age, and an invalid wife, using his own conveyance. As it was a long, cold journey, how could he keep his wife warm? He purchased a beautiful dog with her two babies, and placed them at his wife's feet, kept her comfortable all the way.

Their house was built of logs, the roof of bark, curled a little and extended from ridgepole to eaves, laid the inner side up. The next course was placed the bark side up, each strip meeting in the center of the under course, making a waterproof roof.

Mr. Ball brought the first apple seeds and distributed them among his friends. Selah Holcomb moved his family and all his goods on an ox sled. He settled near the present Talbot farm. As he cut the trees for his log house, they fell in the form of a triangle and he built his house in that shape. He used to catch fish for his breakfast, carried his grist to mill on his back and rocked two of his children in a hollow log. He was an industrious and economical farmer and accumulated considerable property. He made wooden land sides for the "old bull plow," and sold his wheat to the new settlers for \$3 per bushel. He frequently held town offices.

The Townsend family came in 1792, when there was but one frame house in Utica. As soon as they could clear a spot large enough and build a log cabin, they were all vaccinated for the small-pox. They were put on a diet of mush and molasses and came out of it very easy and said "It was not as hard as the 'fitch.'" The trees were so close to the cabin, they used to stand out of doors when they were felling them for fear they would fall on the cabin and kill them.

In 1793, Rev. William Underwood and two brothers, John and Nathan, came with their families from Connecticut. One ox sled was used for the people and one for their goods. They had great difficulty in crossing the Mohawk river. Grandmother Norton was one of those children, only four years of age. At this time William was a Baptist minister, but afterward became a Universal Restorationist. John was the father of Judge John C. Underwood, who married a niece of Stonewall Jackson. He died in Virginia.

In March, 1794, Rev. Aaron Goodier, wife and infant son, his brother, Henry, and wife came from Newton, Christian county, England. They came up the Mohawk on a raft, poling it along and using ropes to pull

it where necessary. There were but four buildings in Utica. It was called "Fort Schuyler." At New Hartford, they bought 500 acres of land in Litchfield, coming here on foot, following a line of marked trees. They built a log house. In 1808, Aaron was licensed as a local Methodist preacher, Bishops Hedding and Asbury each signing a license. He preached all about this locality for many years. At the centennial celebration of his settlement in town, in 1891, it was found his actual descendants numbered 251; 75 had married in the family, making 329, of whom 197 were then living.

In 1794, Rev. Archibald Parker of Rhode Island, came with his aged parents, wife and three children. As there were no palace cars, they came with an ox team, settled in the forest with bears and panthers for their neighbors. When a spot of land had been cleared, Mr. Parker walked 12 miles to the Mohawk river flats and purchased one-half bushel of oats for seed, carrying it home on his back, and received gratis, a sort of a legacy, in the form of quack seed that has yielded a dividend yearly, much to the annoyance of the generations who followed. Ten children grew to man and womanhood. One night, late in the season, one of the older sons was sent after the cows which were pastured in the forest; darkness came before he could find them and he lost his way home. To be out of the reach of wild animals he spent the night in a small tree, swaying the top to keep warm. Archibald, Jr., the seventh son, was born and spent his entire life on this farm, dying in 1885. He was well known throughout the county as a man of strong character and personal worth. He held many responsible places of trust in the town; was supervisor in the sixties. The Parker homestead passed into the possession of T. P. Parker, who still owns it. It is now occupied by Archibald E. Parker, only son of T. P. Parker, and representing the fifth generation of Parkers who had lived on his same farm.

Samuel Matthews came from North Prookfield, Massachusetts, in 1795.

Judge Boughton Everett, son of the original settler of that name, was born in Litchfield in 1798. He was well known and highly respected throughout Herkimer county. He was a man of dignified and courteous manners, always ready to help his fellow-men by advice or in a pecuniary way and held the esteem and confidence of his neighbors to a marked degree. Judge Everett ran for member of assembly, but was defeated by Col. Standish Barry of Newport. He was supervisor of the town in 1851. He died in 1871, ripe in years and good works, and was buried in the cemetery at Jerusalem Hill, where now rest representatives of five generations of the Everett family.

The Warren family, while not among the very earliest settlers, came to Litchfield from Connecticut about 1790. Elisha, the father of the family, was born in Massachusetts, where the name of Warren is held in honor. Boston in particular, has perpetuated it in numberless ways in memory of General Joseph Warren of Bunker Hill fame.

Elisha Warren was a very near relative of the Revolutionary hero, a fact which his descendants remembered with pardonable pride. Four generations of this name lived in Litchfield, intermarrying with many of the prominent families of the town, among which were the Snow, Ryder, Wheelock, Underwood and Fish families.

Julius C. Warren, grandson of Elisha, was a man respected in his day and generation. He occupied various positions of trust in his native town (he was born in 1804) having been at different times supervisor, justice of the peace and captain of militia. He was successful in business and owned and occupied the same farm fifty-two years. After his retirement from active affairs he removed to Ilion, where he died in 1878.

Henry L. Easton, who was born in Wilmington, Vt., in 1794, became a resident of the town in 1817, settling at Cedarville, where for fifty years he was a prominent and leading citizen. He was a practical surveyor and for a number of years a teacher. For a series of terms he filled the office of justice of the peace and in 1837 was a member of the legislature. He died in 1867. His brother, Dr. Charles L. Easton, who was a graduate of the Fairfield medical college, practiced his profession at Cedarville for many years, prior to 1850.

Other early settlers were Abner Rising and family, from Massachusetts; Nathaniel Fish, Silas Hamilton, John Locke, William Hadley, Ira Wilkinson, Timothy Fuller, Harry Crane, John Ross, William Brayton, Daniel Ellsworth, John S. Avery, David Beals, John Paddock, James Schooley, Samuel Brewer, Ethel Judd, John Ingersoll, Ezekiel Smith, and two Richard Smith's, Russell and Ezekiel Norton, also the Gilletts, Kinnes, Mattisons, Riders, Gaylords, Burpees, Harveys, Washburns, Condons, Brown and Bennetts.

When John Ingersoll came from Connecticut, two other families accompanied him with their oxen and sleds. Mrs. Ingersoll, being an invalid with a babe in her arms, rode in a rocking chair.

In 1800, Eliphalet Remington, Sr., wife and three sons, came from Connecticut and settled at Cranes Corners, later living near Ilion. At that time Eliphalet, Jr., was seven years of age. He was founder of the Ilion armory.

Wheelock's pond, the source of Moyer creek, was named after Alvin Wheelock, who came from Massachusetts and settled near it in 1791.

The first white daisies were brought by Benjamin Wood from Connecticut, in some hay in his sleigh, and they have replenished the town.

The first settlers received their mail once in three months. It was brought from Connecticut by a man on horseback, who acted as a guide and escort to anyone wishing to make the journey. Indeed, mothers with a child in their arms often made the journey in that manner.

The first store was kept by David Davis. Joseph Sheppard kept the first inn. John Littlejohn built the first grist mill, and one Talbot the first saw mill, in 1806 or 1807. Jeremiah Everett taught the first school.

In the early twenties there was an academy building on Jerusalem Hill, three stories high, where a school was maintained some years, but it was soon abandoned and the building sold to Lyman Gaylord, who demolished it and in 1842 erected the brick house, which is still standing.

The Litchfield Furnace Company was established by a joint stock company, about 1816. Their product was potash-kettles, hollow-ware and such articles as the people required. The ore this company smelted was brought from Clinton. As mineral coal was not in use here, the furnace furnished a market for vast quantities of charcoal, which the settlers burned just to get the timber out of their way. There was at one time a store on Jerusalem Hill, kept by Lauren Clark. Cyrus Norton had a gallery in part of the store, where he took ambrotypes of people.

The first settler of Cedarville was Henry Devendorf, in 1803. He kept the first tavern in 1811. The first store there was opened by John and Thurston Mabbit, in 1823. John Mabbit was made the first postmaster there, the same year. William Hosford started a tannery in Cedarville in 1824. It consisted of six vats. Boards placed on poles laid across crothces, the only roof.

Cranes Corners was named after Harry Crane, who kept a tavern there about 1828. John Ecker kept a store, and Colonel Roswell Champion carried on a tannery there. Other industries have been eight or ten saw mills, several cider mills, two flour mills, clothing mill, shingle mill, four hotels, six stores, a stage route, several lime kilns and other industries. In 1791 there was but one road through the town. Marked trees guided elsewhere.

The first road laid out and recorded after the incorporation of the town was surveyed by Israel Porter, recorded May 10, 1796. It is described as "a road from Aaron Budlong's to J. Shepperd's." The old Utica and Minden turnpike crossed the town; it was incorporated about 1824. It was never completed and its charter lapsed. The Utica and Burlington plank road crossed the town, ending at Burlington Flats. The Hion and Cedarville plank road was built in 1848; it was a toll road until 1868. The first birth was that of Lake Andrews, in 1790, son of John Andrews, named after John C. Lake, of New York. The first bridegroom was Joseph Hay, whose marriage occurred in 1798.

— According to some records, the first death was a young man, in 1791, and his funeral was held in the open air, under an elm tree, near the Jerusalem Hill cemetery. Other accounts are that Betsey Burns was the first death, aged 15 years, in 1793. Her funeral was held in the open air near Jerusalem Hill. The coffin was made of rough boards painted black, and rested on a stump during the service. The first religious services were held in 1794. The first Baptist church of Litchfield was organized March 15, 1795, at the house of Nathaniel Ball. Meetings were held in different houses until the school house at North

Litchfield was finished in 1815. Their first church edifice was erected about 1834, costing \$700. Elder Harris was their first pastor. No service has been held there in years and the building is rapidly decaying.

A Congregational church was organized in Norwich Corners in 1799 with 82 members. Their first church was erected in 1802, costing \$3,000. In 1810 it was struck by lightning and burned. In 1811 another building was erected, which is still in use and in good condition. The first pastor was Rev. John Eastman, of Massachusetts, who remained ten years. In 1876 the society united with the Jerusalem Hill church.

On August 13, 1796, a Congregational church was organized, but its history cannot be found. In a school house near John Underwood's, on the 24th of December, 1804, the Litchfield First Congregational Society was formed. April 11th, 1813, the church united with the Presbytery of Oneida, and took the name of the Litchfield Presbyterian Society, which it still retains. At this time Rev. Thomas Mills was the pastor and remained till 1820. This church is situated on Jerusalem Hill. The first church was built in 1804; it was a huge building, framed of hard wood and took two days to raise the frame. Matthew and Calvin Keith were the builders. It cost \$2,650. About 1834, William Brewer gave the church a bell and left the use of a legacy to help support preaching in this church, which they still receive. Cyrus Norton made an image of Gabriel blowing his horn, which was on top of the belfry many years. Some hunters passing, shot it, and it fell to the ground. June 7, 1874, the belfry containing the bell fell to the ground; the bell was not injured. Later the old church was sold and demolished. In 1890 the church standing on the other side of the street was moved on the site of the old one, a belfrey added and the bell rehung.

The Methodist Episcopal church at Cranes Corners was formed very early in this century, as a wooden building 40x90 feet, owned in part by this society, was standing there in 1804. It remained unfinished a few years, and was warmed (?) by coals placed in a large kettle. In 1814, Bishop McKendree spent a Sabbath here when Abner Chase was pastor. Thomas Kinne gave this church a bell. A new church was built in 1862 or 1863, costing \$3,000.

The Methodist Episcopal society was formed at Cedar Lake previous to 1813. In that year Aaron Goodier, a pioneer and an esteemed preacher, was ordained a deacon. A church was built in 1838 and dedicated by Aaron Goodier and Zachariah Paddock. This was burned in 1858 and another built in 1862 or 1863, costing \$4,000.

The Methodist Episcopal church of Cedarville was organized early in the century. The first church edifice was erected about 1826, costing \$1,500. In 1870 it was removed and converted into a village hall. The society is extinct.

The Universalist society of Cedarville was organized October 27, 1829. The first church was erected in 1829, costing \$2,500, and dedicated in 1830. Rev. Dolphus Skinner preached the dedication sermon.

The Universalist society of North Litchfield was organized May 19,

1838, the church built in 1810, costing \$3,000. John and Mary Ann Ramsay gave the land on which the church stands, on condition it be used only for a Universalist church. The Revs. Dolphus Skinner and T. D. Cook were among its pastors. For many years no services have been held there and it is now offered for sale.

Among the prominent men raised in Litchfield were Revs. Charles Mills of Syracuse, Moses E. Dunham of Whitestown, Oliver B. Beals of New York, Charles M. Dodge of Oriskany, Charles G. Matteson of Long Island, E. Watson Goodier of Connecticut, and John Donahoe. Joel T. and Phineas Hadley were distinguished authors. Among the lawyers were Delano T. Smith, William A. Matteson, Charles J. Everett, James W. Rayhill, Francis S. Wilcox, Wadsworth Z. Goodier, Bradley Fuller, William K. Harvey, the present city judge of Utica; Volney Owen and Irving Holcomb were sent to the state legislature; Levi C. Smith was county clerk. Among school commissioners were Judson Joslyn, Earl P. West, John Champion, Oliver Beals, Alonzo Goodier, Chas. Wheelock and S. Lincoln Fish. Henry Symonds taught singing school for years. Charles T. Barnes was a leading school teacher, and other good teachers were Abigail and Salina Cowles, and a half sister, Clarissa Merrill, also Mary, Sarah and Ellen Parker. Philander Rewry, Matthew J. Everett, Morgan Hooker and Frank Rayhill were merchants in Utica; D. G. Ross a merchant in Ilion. Alonzo Fish shipped the first cheese ever sent to England. Thaddeus Harrison moved to Oregon and became a successful business man and prominent office holder. Melville C. Smith, a prominent railroad man in New York, and many others. The Rev. Dana W. Bigelow, of Utica, began preaching in Norwich Corners' church. The noted Universalist preacher, E. H. Chapin, of New York, preached his first sermon in the North Litchfield school house. At one time eight settled ministers were here, and several doctors; among them were Drs. Gaylord, White, Randall, Thomas, Maltby, Skinner and others. There were many hardships among the early settlers.

All produce sold was drawn to Albany and wheat was carried there to be ground. All supplies came from there. The roads were terrible. Some were built of logs laid close together cross-ways. The country was all forest and the men worked hard to fell the trees and prepare the land for crops. The women worked hard, spun and wove all the material for the garments of the family. Once a year the cobbler and tailoress came to each house and made the shoes and clothes for the family. One lady says she had but one utensil to cook in for the family when she kept house and got along nicely. It was an iron basin with a cover. Gourds were made into dippers and dishes. Each family dipped their own candles, made their own starch by grating potatoes on the tin lantern. Their soda they made by burning cobs to ashes; they called it pearl-ash. There were no matches or stoves. The cooking was done on a crane in the fireplace and in a brick oven. If the fire went out they had to borrow fire of a neighbor.

Everybody attended the "general trainings" which were held yearly at Norwich Corners. The horse soldiers wore blue coats with steel buttons, leather caps trimmed with bear skin and a long white plume; they carried saddle bags with two pistols and a sword. On one occasion an attempt was made to get a minister's son drunk by pouring a glass of brandy over his rice pudding; it failed, as he did not eat the pudding. Thomas Goodier, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Truesdale, John Raymond, Silas Hamilton and Richard Smith were in the war of 1812, and nearly starved on their return from Sacketts Harbor.

A man found his cow and a bear grazing quietly together in a clearing. While after his gun the bear disappeared. While after the cows, two small girls were frightened at a bear. Calling the men with their guns, they surrounded the bear, which proved to be a large black stump. Mrs. Munn, when a young lady, had a calico dress from Albany costing \$1 a yard; it would be called poor cloth now. She wore it to a party with "Crosby," two on one horse, her mother spreading her apron on the horse to keep the dress clean, charging her not to fall off and spoil the precious dress. Miss Gillett, the mother of D. G. Ross, of Ilion, wore a pink cambrie dress to a party; it was the dress of the party. Traveling was done in lumber wagons and on horseback. People rode to church, two on one horse. Mrs. William Underwood was so homesick she went on horseback to her old home in Connecticut, carrying a small child with her. Mrs. Marshall wanted some johnny-cake so much she carried a peck of corn on her back to Whitestown, 10 miles, to get it ground, walking on snowshoes and marking the trees to find her way home. It is remembered how Joseph Ball fell into the creek on his way home from calling on a widow.

February 3d, 1805, Russell Norton and Nancy Underwood were married at her home by a justice of the peace, in the presence of three ministers. The bride's father was a minister, and two others chanced to call to spend the night there and were present at the ceremony. They were the grandparents of William and Charles Norton and E. G. Van Housen. I have the stockings the bridegroom wore, and part of the bride's gown, 94 years old. He raised the first building in town at which no liquor was used, but served pie and doughnuts instead, and it went up as nice as could be desired.

Captain Cowles was a great talker. One morning he borrowed a plow of a neighbor which he must return at noon. On his way home with the plow on his shoulder, he met a neighbor. They talked a while, when Mr. Cowles made a move to put the plow on the ground, then the neighbor made a move to start on. Mr. Cowles kept the plow on his shoulder and they kept on talking. Every time Mr. Cowles started to put down the plow the other man would make a move to start on. In this way they talked until noon, when Mr. Cowles had to return the plow without using it.

It was said if Lyman Gaylord got his foot on the hub of a wagon, there was no way of getting away from him for half a day. Early

in the century a man's barn was burned by lightning. The people built him a new barn; there were a few pieces of timber left. The next year his next neighbor's barn was burned by lightning. So the neighbors built a barn for him. When they asked for the timbers left of the first barn, the old man replied: "I really don't know, I had thought of building a shed of them." A sister of Lyman Gaylord lost her way in the woods, and coming to a place where men had been chopping, waited until they returned from dinner. One of the men guided her where she wished to go, and later married her. His name was Samuel Ferguson, the founder of that family in West Frankfort.

A schoolhouse stood near the road on the hill back of the stone house now owned by George Holland. Lyman Gaylord wished it moved near his home, where G. Griffiths now lives; Mr. Crosby wished it moved near his place, where B. Talbot now lives. One day each hitched four yoke of oxen to each of two corners; as Mr. Crosby's oxen pulled the strongest he got the schoolhouse where he wished.

The people opposed the building of the Utica and Minden turnpike. They worked all one night with over thirty yoke of oxen, putting a large rock in the road just west of Jerusalem Hill. Before noon the next day the road builders had it sunk in the ground.

The Spencer's often neglected their farm work to enjoy hunting and fishing. Wood-bees, husking-bees, paring-bees, singing schools and spelling schools were frequently held. No amusements were allowed at a church donation, which were attended in the afternoon by the older people and in the evening by the young people. On one occasion the Rev. Mr. Mills reluctantly consented to allow the young people to march about the room in pairs to the music of a flageolet.

The churches had no means of being warmed, and the people carried small foot-stoves, containing live coals, to keep them warm. Services were held in the forenoon and afternoon, the people carrying a lunch with them.

One Sabbath when Elder Loomis was preaching, one of his small sons began playing. He paused in his sermon and said, "Keep still, George." Another Sabbath when he reached home from church he found he had left one of his boys at the church and had to return for him. Among remarks made in a hot anti-slavery meeting, Mr. William Smith, a slave owner, became so indignant he left the house. There was one day so dark the people thought the world was coming to an end. They had to light candles in mid-day. The hens all went to roost and the Indians were so frightened they came to the homes of the white people.

One season was called the "year without a summer;" there was a frost every month except August. No crops could mature and once that summer they had to dig the lambs out of the snow to save their lives.

There was great excitement when the Millerites came preaching the end of the world was at hand. Rev. Augustus Beach and wife

held the meetings. Some gave up all work, expecting to see the end of the world. Mrs. Beach was a fine singer. A portion of one of her songs is remembered, as follows:

“The chariot, the chariot, as its
Wheels roll on fire,
As the God is descending
In the pomp of His ire,
Lo! self-moving He rides
On the wings of His cloud,
And His angels with the God-head are bowed.”

In 1842 a Fourth of July celebration was held in the old church on Jerusalem Hill, in the forenoon. Thaddeus Harrison was marshal of the day. The oration was by Rev. Edward M. Wooley. In the afternoon, the exercises were in the grove back of the church. Samuel Wells of New Hartford was the orator, and the Old Litchfield brass band furnished the music.

PIONEER TIMES ON THE ROYAL GRANT—WITH
PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THREE
GENERATIONS.

AN ADDRESS BY GEORGE L. JOHNSON, OF ILION,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, June 10, 1899.

The Royal Grant was opened to settlement by the Commissioners of Forfeiture, in September, 1784. A few lots were sold that fall, but there had been no permanent settlement from New England, or by one who spoke English, previous to that time.

The three German families, Maltanner, Goodbradt and Shaffer, who settled near the great spring, and head of the brook Maltanner, near the present village of Fairfield, in 1770, had been driven out by the Indians, in 1779. There was also a German settlement in the south-east part of the town, before the Revolution, upon what has been called Top Notch, near the town line, and about four miles north of Little Falls. Among these German families were the Kellars, Windeckers, Pickerts, and others, not of the Burnetsfield patentees, but who came up from the lower Mohawk valley and seated themselves in Glens' Purchase. When I collected the taxes in Fairfield, about 1852 or '53, I found sons of these, and some of the best tax payers in the town.

Mr. Cornelius Chatfield arrived with his family, March 24th, 1785, and settled at or near the spot where the village of Fairfield now is. He is supposed to have been the first settler from New England who came into the county after the war, for the purpose of settling on the Royal Grant.

Asa Chatfield, the father of the late Dr. Clinton Chatfield (dentist), had his home a mile or more north of the village, on the road to Norway. I remember Asa Chatfield well. In 1848 he was presidential elector. That year I cast my first vote, to elect Zachary Taylor president.

Abijah Mann, the father of Abijah Mann, Jr., Chas. A. and William Mann, arrived in May following, and located a little west of the village, on the present road to Middleville. There was upon or near the

lands taken up by Mr. Mann a small Indian orchard, and the Indians, many years after the war, would cluster around it as a loved and venerated spot. Abijah Mann, Jr., became a lawyer of note and settled in Frankfort. He represented the district in Assembly in 1828, '29, '30 and '38. Member of Congress in 1832, re-elected in 1834. Chas. A. studied law in Utica, became prominent, and a useful citizen there. He represented his district in Assembly and Senate. William remained on the farm a while. My first recollection of the Mann homestead was about 1838 or '40. William was then there.

Mason Morey, father of F. A. Morey, merchant, of Fairfield, owned and occupied the place many years. I think Charles Neely has it now.

Except Chatfield and Mann and one or two others, the first settlers from New England took up lands southwesterly of the village. Josiah, David and Lester Johnson came into the town from Connecticut in 1786. A Mr. Whipple and Christopher Hawkins, from Newport, R. I., in 1786, made an effort at clearing for a home in Norway, but did not prosecute their enterprise. It should be remembered that this was all Norway until 1796, when Fairfield was taken off and set up a town by itself.

This Royal Grant was an inviting field for the people of New England, and they now came quite rapidly. John Bucklin, Benj. Bowen and two brothers, William and Ephraim, and David Benchley, all from Newport, R. I.; John Eaton, Nathaniel and William Brown from Massachusetts, and Samuel Low came in 1787; also the Potter family from Rhode Island came this year, and settled about one and one-half or two miles northwesterly of Norway village, on a tract known as the Hurricane. There is a very good story in reference to this family, and as it illustrates incidents in frontier life so well, I hope my hearers will kindly be willing to bear with me four or five minutes to repeat it.

They had opened a small clearing and built a log hut to shelter them from the frosts and snows of winter. Their whole store of provisions to carry them through their first long northern winter was a crop of potatoes, with some salt. Forest game had to supply the residue of a meager subsistence. A gun and suitable ammunition were indispensable to a frontier forest life and they were of course provided. A severe tempest had prostrated a strip of the forest near the place where this family had made their clearing and this spot in those days, and now, is called the Hurricane, and here was found the white forest rabbit in abundance. The snow had fallen to the depth of four of five feet, banking up the outside walls of the log hut, rendering it quite comfortable during the whole winter. The men were employed procuring fuel and hunting game. One cold, frosty morning, Fisher and Jeremiah strapped on their snow-shoes, took their guns and went into the Hurricane after rabbits. They had a small dog with them, only useful to start up the small game.

While earnestly intent on obtaining something which would render their potatoes and salt a little more savory and palatable, and

somewhat more nonrushing, they discovered a hole in the snow, nearly as large as a quart cup, extending down four or five feet deep. The sides of this hole were hard and covered with white frost flakes, showing that there was some heat below, the exhalations from which escaped through this aperture and kept it open. Whatever it might be our pioneers were not backward in finding it out, and Fisher converting his snow shoes into a shovel, with right good will, dug away the snow, down to a mass of hemlock boughs, and after removing a portion of them, a considerable cavity was discovered in the earth below, but nothing more. A question of some importance now presented itself, whether they should uncover the cavity further or resort to other means. The services of the little dog were put into requisition. He was brought to the hole and after taking two or three scents, barked valorously, but keeping himself ready to make a safe retreat if needful. This unusual disturbance roused the habitant below from his torpidity, and he gave evident tokens of disquiet. In the meantime, Fisher, believing that he had uncovered an animal that would require something more than rabbit shot to quiet him, stepped back a few paces from the hole and charged his gun with a ball, and then both were ready for the encounter.

Bruin not intimidated by the noise, had resolved to punish the intruders upon his dominions, with a few hard squeezes, if he could catch them, had presented his comely visage at the hole of his den, when Fisher, presenting the muzzle of his gun within a few feet of his bearship's head, gave him the whole charge. The bear was killed, and being large and fat, and the meat tender, was worth more than his weight in white rabbits to the famishing family.

The informant who possessed a remarkably clear and accurate recollection of the incidents attending the first immigration of the New Englanders into the county, said, "he saw old Mr. Potter and his son Fisher when they first came out of the woods the spring after the incident above related. He said Fisher was a tall man, but lean and gaunt, his complexion sallow and he appeared very much as though he had been nearly starved." Old Mr. Potter said, "that killing the bear was a lucky thing for the family, and probably saved them from starvation, as their other provisions, potatoes and rabbits (when they could kill any) were getting quite short." Mr. Potter lived to a good old age and died in 1813. The Potters were the first settlers in the present town of Norway. The centennial celebration, had in 1887, was in accordance therewith.

Now returning to and continuing in reference to the town of Fairfield. Elisha, Wyman and Comfort Eaton, came from Massachusetts in 1788. Jeremiah Bailard from Massachusetts in 1789. There may have been others, and probably were, whose names we have not obtained. William Bucklin, the Arnold families, Daniel Fennie, Nathan tained. William Bucklin, the Arnold families, Daniel Fenner, Nathan Smith, Nahum Daniels, Amos and James Haile, most of these from

Massachusetts in 1790. (Observed only one dwelling in Little Falls at this time.) Peter and Bela Ward in 1791. The Neelys in 1792. The Eatons, Browns, Hailes, Arnolds, Wards and Bucklins seated themselves at and near the present village of Eatonville. In 1793 came the Mathers, Seamans and Charles Willard, a lad with his father, like all the Yankees, always pushing west, settled west of the village of Fairfield about one and one-half miles, on the table land since known as the platform. In 1794 came Johnathan Buell with his family, from near Saybrook, Connecticut, and settled farther down the platform, toward Middleville; George and Luther, were sons of Jonathan.

Reckoning from the school house, district No. 3, as a centre of the platform, north toward Hardscrabble, district No. 2, first was Col. Charles Willard, as I knew him. He had a large family. His oldest daughter was the mother of the late Dr. C. W. Hamlin, of Middleville. The second, Ann, the wife of the late Dr. A. E. Varney of Middleville. The third, Louisa, the wife of the late Dr. Daniel M. Holt, of Newport, and four sons, George N., William, Charles W. and Samuel. Next north of Willard was Gilbert Corey, father of the late Jeremiah Corey, who kept the tavern at Middleville so long and was sheriff of the county one term; also was the grandfather of E. W. Corey the musician. Next beyond Corey was Joshua Bushnell, succeeded by his son Joseph. East from the school was Griswold and Kelsey; south Benjamin Stevens and the Buells; west Mr. Vischer, Davies Safford and John Boss, the two last also from Connecticut. In reference to the name "platform," I have heard it associated with Saybrook. I have seen, and know personally very many of these old first settlers, which I have named and others I shall name, and also their families, particularly their sons.

Now let us for a moment, consider conditions, circumstances and surroundings.

All this royal grant was an unbroken forest, wilderness, in March, 1785, when Chatfield came. Very heavy timber, indicating good soil, ready to produce any crop, adapted to this latitude, as soon as cleared. The people coming were not generally wealthy, but quite the reverse. Many of them had put their all in a cart, drawn by a pair of oxen, and thus they came trudging slowly along on roads far different from what they are now, perhaps a week or more on their way. My grand parents and my wife's came in about this way, and they had plenty of associates. Chatfield must have had something different from a cart if the March was like this of 1899. Those who had been here in the Fall and put up a cabin came early in the Spring with sleds. Where was there a mill to get lumber even for a shanty? There had been some mills before the war, about German Flats, eight or ten miles away; one at Little Falls, and one at Rheimensnyder's Bush, about four miles north of Little Falls. All burned during the war. The first thing needed, of course, would be some sort of a cabin, or

hut, as before noted in reference to the Potters. If one had a window and a few nails, four tools would suffice to build a comfortable place of abode, viz: the axe, saw, auger and hammer.

I was born in a log house, in Newport, in 1827. I lived in another six miles east of Rockford, in northern Illinois, in 1844 and 1845. Rockford then contained 500 or 600 inhabitants. Now it has over 31,000. Chicago, when I went, in 1844, contained according to history, the immense number of 8,000 and next year reached 42,000 inhabitants, and now it has about 1,750,000. There were many log houses at that time between Belvidere and Rockford. The best citizens lived in them. I helped raise one there in the spring of 1845, and had the honor of notching the logs at one corner. It only needed a little expertness in the use of the axe. The next fall I went to Belvidere to learn the carpenter's trade as a regular apprentice, and have worked continuously since, in some branch of wood work. The body of the log house being up, next in order were the gables, and as they went up poles were laid horizontally in notches in the gable in such a manner as to form the pitch of the roof, to be covered with bark or shakes laid on the poles. Shakes were split from timber in a similar manner as staves for cooper work. Shakes were used in Illinois, and if the work was well done, made a good, durable roof from the oak there used. For a floor, puncheons were laid, which were planks split from the log and hewn a little with the axe if necessary, and next came the door of similar materials, hung with wooden hinges, of course; a hook and eye hinge, made with axe, saw and auger. The latch, also of wood, lifted by a string pulled through a hole above the latch and hanging on the outside. Thus the saying in reference to the hospitable man, his latch string is on the outside. The latch string being pulled in at night left intruders out. The "Chinkin," bits of wood driven into the cracks and spaces between logs, and "Daubin," puttying cracks with clay mortar, completed the house.

Now we have the family sheltered, we will clear a spot in the forest, preparatory to raising a crop for food. Timber is worthless nearly; cut it down and burn it, out of the way. The ashes are of some value, furnishing potash in the soil to feed growing crops. Later, ashes were gathered and manufactured into potash of commerce, thus robbing the soil of a needed element. There was method in clearing, by falling the timber in winrows, to facilitate burning. An axe man, or chopper, as they were called, after viewing the piece to be cut or chopped, would cut in the side of the trees, nearly to the point of falling, in the line selected for the winrow, and leave them standing, on both sides of a center line, so that they would fall toward the center, on that that line. The last tree in the line he would fall against the next, which would break over and fall against the next, and so on through the whole line, falling in one grand crash as many rods long as was desired. Then another winrow along the side and parallel, and so on until the whole piece desired to be cleared was prostrate in winrows.

All cut in the winter and burned off in the spring, was ready for spring wheat, corn and potatoes, and other vegetables, but for winter wheat he would continue cutting through the summer until August. After the first burning, getting rid of the brush and fine stuff, what there was left in large brands, and some, perhaps, quite large logs, had to be rolled together and piled in heaps to continue the burning until all was finished, furnishing plenty of black for hands, face, and clothing. I have seen my father do it, when I was about eight or nine years old. Thus, when all was cleared off and ready, the pioneer with hoe and rake worked in seed among the stumps for a crop. Potatoes and other vegetables were of finest quality, better than we usually get now.

Just to show how a pioneer family may live for a time without access to a grist mill, I will repeat a little story.

As before mentioned, Jeremiah Ballarç came in 1789 and located about two miles northeast of Fairfield village. He left his family the first winter, and returned to Massachusetts, where he remained until Spring. The informant said: "This family had nothing to subsist on during a long and dreary winter but Indian corn and rabbits, if any could be killed. There being no mills then in the country, and if there had been any they could not be reached except by the use of snowshoes and carrying the grist on one's back. Having no hand or other mill to crack or break the corn in, a mortar was the only thing they could resort to, and even this they were destitute of. The family procured a large hardwood log and having no tools suitable to the object, they burned a hole or hollow in it by concentrating the fire, sufficiently deep to answer their purpose. After this it was an easy task to make a pestle out of some hard wood, and crack corn to their stomachs' content." By these means the resolute and noble mother carried her family through the winter, while the father was absent, and it should be hoped, was detained by sickness, at his former home in Massachusetts. It was very evident that at that time mills were a great necessity, especially for sawing lumber and grinding grain. We will start out from Mr. Boss's place, on the western part of the platform, to follow the pioneers, hunting for water power and mills, if there are any, in 1790. Going north a short distance, perhaps half a mile, and near the present fine residence of V. O. Phillips, we come to Mill Creek. The discoverer might say "Eureka! Here is a boon for the settlers." The eastern part of Fairfield was not well supplied with water powers; but here was the best in town. A fine stream in those days, rock bed and falling in a succession of falls 100 feet or more in half a mile, above and east of this point was the saw mill of Rowland Phillips, grandfather of V. O. Phillips, and whose present fine home is on a portion of the old Phillips homestead. Below and west a short distance was the home of Rowland Phillips, who came in 1806 and established himself here. Nearby on the bank of the creek, at a fine fall, was his bark mill and tannery, in operation in 1834, when I first knew the

place. The house then yellow, is still standing, painted yellow, and is now known as the old yellow house, occupied now by George Law. Mr. Phillips raised a large family here, some of them schoolmates of my father. About 1838 or '39 Mr. Phillips had the red house built, farther east, the site of it on the premises of V. O. Phillips, near his house. To this red house old Mr. Phillips and his wife retired, leaving some of their children at the yellow house to manage the farm, until 1858 or '9 (more than 50 years on this farm) he passed away. Down the hill a little west, a road crosses Mill Creek northerly toward Norway. On the north bank of the creek and west side of the road is the white school house of the "Old City," district No. 4, Fairfield and Newport. This is the third school house on this site. The first one burned when my father was a school boy there. No. 2, built to take its place, remained in use until 1858, when it was demolished and this one built on the same site. L. B. Arnold was my teacher in the winter of 1834 and '5 in house No. 2. John P. Griffin, a big boy there also. Just above the bridge, on that little falls, was the dam for the saw mill, which was on the bank, south side, at that considerable fall, below the school house and bridge. This was run by Mr. Samuel Fortune many years after he came in 1806, but was going to decay in 1834. A little below this, on top of the high falls, was the dam for the grist mill, water being taken out on the north side and carried along the precipice over the hill, higher than the roof of the mill, which stood on the site of the present John A. Crumby's barn; he tore down what remained of the old grist mill, after 1868, and erected his barn on the same spot, just at the end of the bridge. There were two overshot wheels, one above the other. Just below the pit for those wheels, but above the road bridge, was the dam for the fulling mill and carding works, which was just below on the other or west side of the road, also on the north bank of the creek. The race was under the bridge. This mill building was one of the old time heavy timber frames hewn with the axe from the forest timber when it was plenty and cheap. Asahel Harris coming into possession of this property about 1840, had repaired this mill building, covering it entirely new. During the great flood here in August, 1898, the severest known here, the northern end of the stone arched bridge, above which had recently been built, gave away, letting the whole force of the flood against the underpinning stone walls of this building, which soon crumbled like dirt; the mill tipped over into the raging torrent and was instantly carried down stream. This and the grist mill had been run, doing business until about 1838 or '39, and this one the last remaining of the old time mills of the Old City.

Immediately below this was the dam for the bark mill, tannery and potashery of Jonathan Card, which was on the south side and just below this was the dam for Leonard Fortune's gun shop, which was on the north side. This is not so old and is, or was recently, still standing. Below this on the south side on the lower falls, was the flax mill,

run by a 14 feet overshot wheel, recently built by Wm. R. Baker, who made a failure of it. I used the same from 1860 to '63 for sash, blinds doors and general builders' jobbing in lumber. After I left it in 1868 it was changed into a cheese factory, about 1870. After some years burned and not rebuilt. The gun shop and flax mill were in Newport. All the rest in Fairfield. All these mills above mentioned I have seen, except the Card tannery and potashery. I have been told there was a trip hammer, also, but I have failed to locate that. I had all this old mill property from the school house down for several years. The old deeds showed the water power rights. Here were eight dams and mills in about a mile, seven of them in half a mile. In those days the mills were mostly on small streams, requiring less capital to build and operate them. My Grandfather Johnson said that "Before the Bowens got started at Newport, the City was quite a place of business." Other old settlers and their descendants give the same testimony. Besides the mills mentioned, they had stores, taverns and mechanic shops. I have seen many of them. There was a shoe shop occupied as late as 1848. I have seen dancing in the "ballroom" of one of the old taverns, known as the Carpenter House. I think the late Hon. A. M. Ross was born there; his parents had lived there some time and he might at that time mentioned have been five or six years old.

I have before noted that Christopher Hawkins, the Bowens, Benchleys and some others from Newport, R. I., had come about 1787 and '88, and stopped in the present town of Fairfield. They were to be the first settlers of Newport, as I shall soon show.

In July, 1786, Daniel Campbell, of the City of New York purchased of the Commissioners of Forfeiture the lands where the present village of Newport is. In 1788-9 the Bowens before mentioned purchased of Mr. Campbell the water power and land for the village of Newport. In 1790, a Mr. Lawton made a small clearing and put up a log cabin in Newport, which he abandoned. In the fall of 1791, Christopher Hawkins removed into the present town of Newport, with a view of making a permanent settlement. He obtained title through a Mr. Vischer, of the Commissioners of Forfeiture. In the spring of 1792, Hawkins erected for the Bowens upon their property a small house and Benj. Bowen seated himself there the same year, and the next year built a dam and saw mill, and the next year, 1794, a grist mill. I have taken some pains to learn where that house was, what it was made of, whether of logs or sawed lumber, and if sawed, how and where obtained. I think Hawkins occupied the cabin built by Lawton temporarily until he could build for himself. Old Mrs. Barry, widow of the late Standish Barry, ex-county clerk, etc., now residing at Newport with her daughter, Mrs. Pomeroy, in the old Barry homestead, is the daughter of Benj. Bowen. She is also the grandmother of Frank G. and Theodore Barry of Herkimer. She was too aged and infirm more than two years ago to give me any information. I commenced this paper more than three years ago for my children only. I found two

men living whom I had known forty or fifty years. They were born in 1809, thus 90 years old. Henry Thornton had worked for Bowen in his mill, but was then, over two years ago, in bed and has since gone over the river. Sherman Wooster, son of Judge Sherman Wooster, apparently in good health and bright, clear memory and could tell about the first settlement of Newport, said: "Yes, I knew Christopher Hawkins very well. I didn't like school, and my father said if I wouldn't go to school I should work. I worked for Hawkins and he used to tell me many things about the early days of Newport. I have been in that house he built for Bowen many a time. It was of sawed lumber. He got it at the Old City, brought it over 'Woodehuck hill' on that old First road from the City to Newport. It was the central rear part of that great Waterman mansion, on the hill. The house was not large; it had a great kitchen, and large fire-place, to roll in great logs, and room to pile on long wood in front. When he had raised some grain for food he put some in a sack and on the back of a gentle ox he had and took it over to the City and got it ground." That settles the point for me. There were mills at the City before 1792, and they were among the earliest, if not the very earliest in this part of the country, and performed a very important part in the settlement.

Bowen's dam and mills at Newport were the first on the stream by many years. According to Mr. J. N. Walters, of Russia, there might have been one above Trenton Falls, and one below five or six years later, say about 1798. There was in early days a small affair on the east side of the creek below the present Middleville, at a sharp turn in the stream, opposite the home of Bela Ward, who was succeeded by his son, Henry L. Ward, on land long owned by David Ford, and now by his son, A. W. Ford. There was no dam across the creek, the water being run into a ditch, and thus down to the mill. There was nothing of mills yet at Middleville and not until 1810.

Now, as to that old First road over "Woodehuck hill," from the City to Newport. I suppose that with the exception of the little clearing made by Lawton, in 1790, it was an unbroken forest wilderness, beyond and west of the White Creek, when Hawkins went in 1791. Starting out from the City north, the road soon turns westerly, to the corner occupied many years by the late Wm. E. Morey. Among the earliest settlers were three families by the name of Post, from White Creek, Washington county, N. Y., but originally from Connecticut. The corner above mentioned was taken by Dan Post, Esq., and was his homestead more than fifty years, or until 1847, when he sold it and retired to Newport village. Nathaniel took up lands farther north. His homestead has been just across the roadway south of the stone school house, over seventy years, or until his death, about 1869, at 96 years of age. He is known to have voted at Norway in 1868, for U. S. Grant, which was all these years his voting place. The other brother settled on the farm on the north side of the White Creek and adjoining it about a half mile from its mouth, now owned by Joseph Spellman.

The house was near the creek; the barn is there yet, farther back in the meadow. Dan's farm adjoined the creek, about fifty rods, which also ran through Nathaniel's. Continuing west from Dan Post's to near White Creek, the road turned, just west of Spellman's house, directly north, across the creek, passing Post's house; ran on and up over the hill to Hawkins' place, where he made his settlement by the side of the West Canada, below Newport village. The Hawkins lands were held and occupied by his son, Christopher, and George B., a grandson now dead, about 100 years. The property now is owned by Mrs. Julia Crumby, widow of the late David Crumby. There were at one time five houses on that road, between Hawkins' and White Creek. His brother, Stephen, lived in one, nearest his, and three between Stephen and Post. Sherman Wooster gave me their names. I used to see the pits where cellars had been, and apple trees nearby. My father and grandfather had bought of Post's widow and heirs the land he had and then after buying another lot, between it and Hawkins; the two farms joined, and contained all of the old road, less than two miles. Four of the houses had been on ours. It had been the only road to Newport for some years. I am told that my grandfather's brother, Silas Johnson, lived at one time on Woodchuck hill. He was the grandfather of Alexis L. Johnson, of Schuyler. When I first knew Uncle Silas he lived at Eaton's Bush, now Eatonville.

About 1789, Oliver Lawton came on to the Royal Grant from Newport, R. I., and settled on lot No. 1, of the second allotment. He had five sons, David, Benjamin, George, Joseph and Oliver, and one daughter, Polly. They had 500 hundred acres of land. Hence the name Lawton street on which they were settled. It is the road up the hill directly east from the City to the State road, intersecting it, westerly of Ayres' place, in school district No. 1, Fairfield. It is about midway between Fairfield and Norway, and they were seated west of that main road crossing, toward the City. I knew George and Joseph; they remained on the street, kept their farms and raised up families. George was the grandfather of Levi A. Lawton, of Herkimer. Continuing on the same Lawton street road east toward the State road, we come to the Tanners, who also came from Rhode Island, at about the same time. Mr. Tanner, I think his name was Thomas, had three sons, Thomas, Perry and Smith. They had 100 acres, divided among them. Thomas' place was that of the late Warren Buck, now Voohtes, of Newport, on the Lawton street road. Smith was on the Jerseyfield road; is now the estate of the late Jarius Mather, merchant, of Fairfield; and Perry's place was not on any road, but between all three, viz., Jerseyfield, Lawton street and the State road. It is now owned and occupied by Miss F. Norton, daughter of the late Morgan Norton, who was the son of James Norton. The old Norton homestead is on the State road north, in plain sight.

Perry Tanner was my mother's father. She was born there in 1803. She said her father built there before the roads were laid, and thus

got left out; also that when Fairfield was divided from Norway, in 1796, he was in Fairfield. I think the town line is the north line of the farm. It is said that the Jerseyfield road was the first laid in the town of Fairfield. It was from some bush (I have forgotten the name) probably Rheimensyder's Bush. It is north of the river, and a road from it runs into Little Falls. Running thence north past Top Notch, the Dutch settlement, passes Bartow Hill, on its eastern side, crosses the road, Fairfield to Salisbury, at the Whipple school house; the late Smith Tanner's place, the site of the North Fairfield cheese factory, and is crossed by the State road (laid in 1803) at the homestead of the late Nathaniel S. Henderson, father of John D. Henderson, and continuing north on a line of lots, now nearly all the way, reaches Jerseyfield near Western's mill (which I think is now Bennett's) on the Black Creek. The Canadians and Indians in the French war and also in the Revolutionary war, in some of their raids came by way of the Black River and Jerseyfield, about on this line. Ross and Butler, in their famous raid and retreat at the time Butler was killed, were on this route.

My first recollection of my Grandfather Johnson was when I was seven years old, and his telling me something that occurred when he was seven years old. He was out in the woods where his people made sugar, and heard the firing of guns. It was, in fact, the memorable 19th of April, the day of the battle of Lexington and Concord, in 1775. He was a few miles west of Concord, in Worcester county. His father, Asa Johnson (in the fifth generation, in our line, from Capt. Edward, who came to Boston, in Winthrop's expedition in 1630), enlisted and served three short terms in the Revolutionary war (see Revolutionary N. Y. archives, secretary's office, Com., Mass., Boston called emergency terms. He had 14 children, 12 of them born before the war; the oldest son then only 14 years old. The next recollection of grandfather was in reference to that old first canal at Little Falls for the river boats. He said: "I struck almost the first blow struck on that work." I don't think he came for that; as he was soon settled on a fine farm just over the hill west of Eatonville, on the road to Middleville, as it now is. The oldest son of a large family was born there, in 1795, the same year the canal was finished. Also three more sons and three daughters were born there, my father being the youngest son. There was another notable figure on that canal work. Mr. Samuel Fortune, an English millwright, came from England to build those locks, which were of wood, and had charge of the work. More about him later. We may observe that two years before this canal work was commenced there was only one dwelling house in Little Falls.

In 1795, Joseph Benchley removed from Fairfield to Newport. Between this time and 1798, Wm. Wakely, Mr. Burton, Stephen Hawkins, brother of Christopher, George Cook, Nahum Daniels, Edward Coffin, John Nelson, John C. Green, John Churchill, George Fenner and Wm. Whipple made permanent locations in the town. These families were

from Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Mr. Wakely kept the first tavern and George Cook the first store. Coffin, Green, Nelson, Churchill and others purchased lands on the west side of the creek, in Walton's Patent.

The first town meeting took place in 1807. Doctor Westel Willoughby, Jr., was the moderator. Christopher Hawkins was chosen supervisor and Phineas Sherman, town clerk. Dr. Westel Willoughby, Jr., was a prominent personality, in both town and county, for 50 years or more. He was getting to be old, when I used to see him, in 1835 to 1840. Benjamin Bowen also was prominent and it was said of him that he was a business man, but his enterprises in Newport were not successful. I can surmise that his outlay of capital was too heavy for the times. Too many mills on small streams with small capital in competition.

The territory of the town was taken partly from Norway and Fairfield. The boundary, as described, places the northeast corner at the northeast corner of lot No. 23, in the second allotment of the Royal Grant, adjoining Norway. It is a little north of the State road, near the residence of Chas. Hines, running south; thence crosses the road east of Hines' house, on a line of lots, down the White Creek valley, crossing and re-crossing the road as it turns either way, and some of the way in the road, to the southeast corner of lot No. 42 in the said second allotment. That point is the southwest corner of Norway and the northwest corner of Fairfield. From thence on a line of lots, directly east to Salisbury, is the line between Norway and Fairfield. The late Dean Kely had on White Creek, near his residence, a cheese box shop. On the same site had been previously the shop of Joshua Howell, a wooden clock maker. Mr. Howell used water power from the creek to run a circular saw, turning lathe and such other special machinery as was considered needful in the manufacture of clocks. He made good clocks. I heard of one in that high case style, standing on the floor and reaching to a low ceiling, which was recently running right along and keeping good time. His residence was on the east side of the road, directly opposite. There was a story current when I was a school boy at the stone school house, in 1836 to 1842, that Mr. Howell could sleep in one town, his wife in another, and both in the same bed at the same time. Mr. Howell had a son, Julius, and two daughters, Laura and Mary, who was my school teacher.

Josiah Harris, a blacksmith, and one of the best of men, lived near the stone school house, on the west side of the road, in Newport, and had a stone shop down by the creek, with water power, for a trip hammer, grindstone, polishing wheels, turning lathe and a special wheel to blow his bellows. Agricultural implement manufacture was in its infancy before 1850. Mr. Harris not only shod the farmers' horses, but made their implements in iron, steel and some of wood, viz., axes, hoes, forks, rakes (some scythes, not many), spades, crowbars, chains, etc. Also carpenters' tools, chisels, adz, hatchets, axes and hammers. It

might truly be said he made all kinds but poor ones. I had a set of his carpenter tools. I never knew him to make a poor one. Getting advanced in years and his three sons, Edwin A., W. Irving and John not wishing to follow in the footsteps of their father, on the death of Linus Yale, at Newport, the inventor and founder of the Yale lock, they leased the shop, patents, tools and fixtures and run that, until Linus, Jr., had made arrangements east to have the locks made on a larger scale. Mr. Harris, his first wife being dead, and he had married a second, sold out his homestead there, including shop and tools, and having previously purchased the Howell homestead (a small farm) removed the old Howell house and about 1867 built himself one on the same site. Mr. Harris had at the above mentioned place been a resident of Newport for 35 years or more, perhaps 40. His postoffice, his church and voting place were Newport. He did not now wish to change his residence, although nearly all the Howell land was in Norway. He carefully planned the house, with the bedroom so located that he could sleep in Newport and his wife, who had been a Norway woman, on the other side of the bed in Norway, and thus Mr. Harris could honestly retain his residence in Newport. He was a true Christian and I never knew a child on White Creek that did not love him. The town's corner aforesaid is near this spot. I think the Howell lot, that part of it in Norway, runs to and is the town's corner; continuing thence south, on the same line of lots as heretofore, through the City on its western side to the Canada Creek at the bridge near the house, heretofore or late of Obediah Kniffin; thence west to the middle of the creek, thence down the middle of the creek, etc.

That point is opposite the homestead of the late Nicholas Smith, now of his son, A. G. Smith, one mile from Middleville. My father and my wife's father, George Buell, used to tell me about that bridge and how it was carried away by ice in a flood. There was none built to replace it, as one had been built at Middleville in 1810, and thus travel to Utica and in general also, was diverted. Over that bridge and directly on and up over the Hassenclaver hills as the road now runs into Schuyler, and on through Deerfield, was the route for many years from this section to Utica and Whitestown (now Whitesboro) the county seat of Herkimer county from its organization in 1791 to the organization of Oneida in 1798.

In 1802 the Rev. John Taylor of Massachusetts made a missionary tour through this section, and kept a diary, or journal. In it he wrote, July 29th: "I this morning left Norway for Utica, and arrived there about 5 o'clock, having traveled 23 miles. I passed through a corner of Schuyler into Deerfield, upon the Mohawk." He probably came down through the City and crossed this bridge. I have no idea there was any other way he could go. It was the first and only bridge over the creek for some years. A notable personality, on this Royal Grant in 1801, was the Rev. Caleb Alexander. He was a native of Northfield, Mass., graduated at Yale college, and having been admitted to the min-

istry, settled as pastor of the church at Mendon, Mass. Benton says: "He came into Western New York, as a missionary, in 1801, and I am enabled, through the kindness of one of his descendants, to consult his journal, from which I have made some extracts. He visited various localities on the North River and many places on the way to Onondaga and Ontario counties, and finally reached Norway in this county, November 10th."

The first entry copied is August 10th, 1801: "Having received my commission from the Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, D. D., president of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, having obtained consent of my church and congregation, and committed myself and family to the direction and disposal of God, I began my missionary tour to the people in the western part of the State of New York."

He remained in this vicinity until the 23d of November, thirteen days, visiting and preaching at Norway, Fairfield and Salisbury, and kept a daily journal. I infer from his journal that he was a Congregationalist. There were church organizations but no church buildings. Religious meetings were held in school houses and private houses. Preaching mainly by Baptist and Methodist. On the 18th, at Fairfield, he wrote: "In Fairfield is a Congregationalist church of 24 members: some attention to religion. This town contains 2,065 souls; no minister. Some Baptist, and some never attached themselves to any denomination. Salisbury, Fairfield and Norway contain 3,606 souls, and no minister. The county of Herkimer contains 14,503, and no minister, excepting illiterate Baptist preachers."

During the thirteen days he had been in this vicinity, he had been in Fairfield five different days and had made arrangements to have a building erected during the winter, for the purpose of opening a school in the Spring. A frame building was erected and in May, 1802, he returned with his family from Massachusetts and commenced in good earnest to lay the foundation of an institution which gave birth to Fairfield Academy. During the whole period of his engagement at the head of the Academy, ten years, he preached alternately at Fairfield, Norway, Salisbury and other places in the northern part of the county. He left Fairfield in 1812.

Mr. Alexander in his missionary tour in 1801 closed the work at Fairfield, and on Monday, November 23d, he wrote: "Set out from Fairfield on my journey homeward; cold weather; rode seven miles to the Little Falls with a view of taking a boat, to fall down the river to Schenectady. Found the Mohawk River covered with ice. Then rode up the river seven miles to German Flats, to take the stage. Finding that the stage is not to run until to-morrow, I crossed the Mohawk to Herkimer Court House, two miles.

"Around the Little Falls the country is hilly and very rocky near the river. On the northern bank is a canal with seven (five) locks for the conveyance of boats. Here is a village of forty houses, several merchant stores, mechanic shops and a new meeting house of octagonal

construction. The people are principally English, and they seldom have preaching. The place abounds in vice, especially profanity. Since my arrival on the river I have heard more cursing and swearing, horrid oaths and imprecations, than in ten years past. They fell chiefly from the lips of boatmen. In some taverns were English and Dutch farmers drinking and swearing, and the English appeared to be the most abandoned. They regard not the presence of a clergyman, for the Dominic drinks and swears as much as the common people. At German Flats I observed an old Dutch stone chapel. There is a Dutch clergyman who preaches to the people every second Sabbath."

This was undoubtedly the Rev. John Spinner, the father and founder of the Spinner family in Herkimer—F. E. Spinner and others. Mr. Spinner from Germany had landed in New York on the 12th of May, 1801. Soon after he was called to the spiritual charge of the German congregations at Herkimer and German Flats, and commenced his pastoral functions in September and his connection with these churches continued forty years.

Continuing, Mr. Alexander said: "On the flats in the town of Herkimer is a handsome flourishing village. Nine years since, viz., 1792, there were only two Dutch buildings in the place. There is now a handsome street, a meeting house, a court house, a jail, a printing office, merchant stores, about thirty elegant dwellings and several mechanic shops. No minister. Religion appears to have no footing here. In the whole county of Herkimer there is neither a Presbyterian or a Congregationalist minister. The people in general seem to be growing up in ignorance and wickedness.

"Tuesday, 24th, Took the stage at Herkimer and passed through the German Flats and Minden, to Canajoharie, twenty-six miles." Observe that at this time the stages from here to Schenectady ran on the south side of the river, passing Little Falls over Fall hill. The Rev. John Taylor, missionary in 1802, before mentioned, I think also was a Congregationalist. When in Norway he wrote in his journal: "A young gent by the name of Johnson has preached in this town several Sabbaths, and the people have hired him for three or four to come; but it is in this town, as in all these parts, there is a mixture of Baptists, Methodists, Universalists and Diests. In the various parts of the town there is preaching by sectarians of almost all kinds, every Sabbath. There is one Methodist church, prosperous; two Baptist, and part of a third. No meeting houses. The people almost universally inclined to hear preaching of their various sects." Thus we have a picture of what Herkimer and Little Falls were 98 years ago, and also 107 years ago, when there were two Dutch buildings in Herkimer and one dwelling in Little Falls.

About 1790 to 1800, roads centered at the City from all points and business was booming. The Herkimer county clerk's office was burned in the Spring of 1804. Thus the oldest deed I found recorded on property at the City was 1799. Peleg Card was the first grantor of mill

property, which I found record of. Wm. Card was an early purchaser of land. Jonathan Card, before mentioned, bought the mill property on the south side in 1802. He was the father of Mrs. Graves, wife of the late Judge Ezra Graves of Herkimer. She was born in 1803, probably on that property. When I lived there she told me of her girlhood days, playing around on those grounds. She has been known to visit the spot as a loved one. There was a disposition at one time to call it Card City. I think that, besides the tannery and potashery, he had a store of general merchandise. Elijah Holmes, the grandfather of Mrs. A. L. Howell, of Mohawk, was one of the early grantees in 1800. Caleb Sheldon another. Mr. Holmes had mill property and land. Thus things went on until 1806, when Mr. Samuel Fortune, that English millwright who had done those wooden locks at Little Falls, was purchaser of the mill property and established himself here for 25 years or more, raising up a large family. Rowland Phillips, before mentioned, came this year; also Sheffield Kenyon, whom I knew as late as 1851, and who was the father of the late Varnum S. Kenyon, merchant and manufacturer, of Middleville, came this year, 1806, and obtained title to land for Middleville, and that same year a tavern was built on that corner and kept by Mr. McMitchell, where J. Cory kept so long. It is now kept by Spellman. In 1807 Samuel Stevens built a tavern a little farther west and nearby was the mechanic shop of Eber Stevens. I first knew the spot as the home of Shibley Nichols, and later, of Wm. Griswold, who had retired here from Fairfield village. He had quite a family, four sons and three daughters; Samuel, a merchant at Middleville; George, Walter and William, three farms on the west side, above Middleville; Rebecca, the wife of V. S. Kenyon; Almy, the wife of E. T. Tefft, a New York merchant; Eliza, the wife of Rev. David Chassell, D. D., principal of Fairfield Academy over twenty years; retired to the Oxbow farm, toward Newport, after 1840.

Middleville got its name in 1808. Streeter had a blacksmith shop; first bridge and saw mill, 1810; school house, 1813; John Wood, tannery, 1815. John Wood was the grandfather of Geo. H. Thomas; post-office and "weekly mail," 1816; Union church, 1828.

February 29th, 1808, my Grandfather Johnson was still on the farm he took up in the south part of Fairfield, about fifteen years ago, but this day conveyed it (108 acres) to Stephen Brayton. The next day, March 1st, grandfather obtained title from Joseph Waldo to 107 acres, which he held about thirty years, about one and one-half miles westerly of Middleville, and about half a mile southerly from the City. My father was then three years old. This corner has been occupied by H. W. Dexter the last 50 years.

Stephen Brayton and three of his sons removed into Newport, west of the village, and became large land owners, viz., Smith, Stephen and Rensselaer. Daniel remained on the Johnson farm his lifetime, or until about or after 1860. His daughter, Maria, now Mrs. M. C. Crist, of Middleville, still holds it, or her husband does.

As Newport advanced in population and wealth a better road, from the east was needed than I have described. Starting from grandfather's corner above named, as now Dexter's, the new road crossed Mill Creek, near its mouth (when I first knew it in 1834) on a fine stone arched bridge of two arches on bed rock. (During the great flood of August, 1898 those were cut out clean.) Continuing on it crossed the White Creek near its mouth, and came to the clay slip bank, by the side of West Canada Creek. A road was cut along it a few feet above the water line, and continued on thence to Newport. That clay slip bank proved very troublesome. After heavy rains, or in spring when the frost came out it would slide and fill the roadway or carry all into the creek. For a time it was abandoned, and a road made over the hill farther east, in a little cut or pass and along down the side hill west, into the road before mentioned, near the creek. But this road was also troublesome on the side hill west of the pass, being clay also, like the other, it would slide and spoil the road, and thus things went on until 1825. That hill being so hard to climb and troublesome about sliding, the people of Newport, in 1825, set to work in good earnest to open the dug way road again, which they did permanently, although the clay bank was troublesome many years. About 1840, or a little after a retaining wall was built, next the water and as the bank had slid down so much as to make the grade better, not so much difficulty is experienced now. Thus a pretty good highway was open to Little Falls. A bridge being built at Middleville, in 1819, thus a road was open down through the Farmer Settlement (now Hildreth's) and over Osborn hill, to Herkimer. Later a road was worked along those two slip banks (dug ways) where the railroad now runs.

In 1818 and 1819 a great improvement was made in the road from Newport to Herkimer by filling hollows, grading down hills and making cross cuts, to avoid hills and bad places, also to shorten the distance, thus cross cuts were made preparatory to the laying of plank. The first change of route from Newport was commenced just west of Mill Creek, by grading down, very near its mouth and below the old stone arches, and crossing on a low bridge to the flat, and thence continuing along side the West Canada to the old road again, at the old bridge place, opposite Nicholas Smith's. Next cutting down from where the Countryman cheese factory was built later, across the flat by the side of the West Canada to the dug way. Countryman built his white house on the plank road in 1852. Next below, at the upper end of the lower dug way, a bridge was built, and the road made across the flat to the east end of the Kast bridge, and last just beyond the present cheese factory a cut across the flat to near Folt's by the brick school house. The whole completed, and plank laid and in use in 1850. Then the mail route was changed. Warren Galusha was the first to carry the mail on the new plank road route with two horses. Later George W. Payne put on a tallyho, and sometimes four horses if more than two

were needed; going down in the morning and back in the afternoon, bringing the daily mail except Sunday. The mail route had been Little Falls to Trenton, tri-weekly, going up one day and down the next, except Sunday. The route and stations thus: Little Falls to Eatonville, Fairfield, Middleville, Newport, Poland, Cold Brook, Russia, Gravesville, Trenton Falls and Trenton, connecting therewith the Black River route, Utica to Boonville and Watertown, run by John Butterfield; tallyho, coaches and four. When the plank road was new, Newport to Herkimer, they used to run it, going down from Middleville, eight miles in 50 minutes. Thus we of the Kurayahoorra valley were doing a little something to keep up with the improvements of the age. In February, 1851, there was a good wooden bridge with shingle roof, over the creek at Middleville. I have before noted that the first bridge was built there in 1810. This may have been the same. If so it had only been there 40 or 41 years. It was same style as the one below Dempsters, built in 1848, for the plank road, which has been there 50 or 51 years and appears good for 50 more years. The winter had been cold and the ice on the creek thick and strong and the snow deep. A protracted thaw had caused a high water and broken up the ice in the creek above Newport, except in the pond above the dam, which broken ice had come down to the upper end of the pond and lodged there. Also below the dam the ice had gone down to the pond, above Middleville, and lodged there. Friday it was still raining. Saturday night it turned cold. Sunday morning was cold, with a north-wester. At Newport, below the dam, on the east side, next the village, and above the bridge, of the same style as the one just mentioned, on a point there, stood the little stone blacksmith shop of Ezekiel Angell. He had a trip hammer and grind stone, etc., run by water power. On Sunday afternoon following the Friday mentioned, the dam near Angell's shop, gave way, and then the terrible break up occurred. Soon the whole body of ice was moving and down the stream it went as fast as a horse could run, with a swell of water in front of it two or three feet high, noted by those who saw it. The ice at Middleville could not stop this and thus that was lifted and loosened and started on down stream at a furious rate. For a little while it went under the bridge, but soon the stream was so full of ice, piling higher and higher, it lifted the bridge from its foundation and carried it away bodily on the ice. Many bystanders saw it go, and some that night following walked eight or ten miles to get home. Angell's shop was demolished, completely ruined, and never rebuilt.

In the great flood of August, 1898, the White Creek caused trouble on the old plank road route, near its mouth and east of the dugway. The iron bridge over it was undermined and carried down stream, warped and twisted as if it had been tin or lead. Also the creek cut across the road, some rods west, toward the dugway, an entire new channel, where the creek now runs, emptying into the West Canada some distance nearer the dugway, making it necessary for the town to

build two long, heavy and costly iron bridges. The stone-arched bridge at Newport was built about 1854-6. It was after March, 1853, and was two or more years in building.

Samuel Fortune, before mentioned as established in the mills at the City in 1806, had four sons and three or more daughters, as I knew them—John, Eli, Leonard and Edward. The daughters were the Mrs. Bates, Collins and Fenner. The sons had assisted their father in the business, John, the oldest, had married my father's sister, Lucy, and settled on a fine farm about two miles northwesterly of Newport, on the old road to Poland. Eli remained for a time with his father at the mills, building himself a home on the south side (on the premises formerly occupied by Jonathan Card), the white house which I occupied ten years, 1858 to 1868, and which was burned three or four years ago. Occasionally he and his father would go out and do some job of millwright work. Later he removed to a small suburban farm at Newport, on the west side. Leonard ran the saw mill some of the time and I suppose assisted in a general way in all of the mills; I think he was competent to run any or all of them. He lived in the old house on the north side of the creek, below the road on the west side; his shop on the bank of the creek. Later he became a gunsmith and carried on the business of making sharp-shooting sporting rifles, getting his barrels of old Mr. E. Remington, at the "Forge," as he used to say when going for barrels. (Dayton Ross, father of the late Hon. A. M. Ross, made the stocks). Ilion was not named then and not until after he quit business there, about 1843. He rifled and finished the barrels by hand. He was an athlete and expert in anything he attempted. I have been told that old Mr. E. Remington, the founder of the gun works at Ilion, had watched there at Fortune's shop for hours to obtain some of his process, which may be in use to-day in the Remington works in reference to drilling and straightening barrels. At a military parade in Norway, in 1825, when there was a sham fight going on, his rifle barrel burst, destroying his left hand. My father was with him and went for the doctor, who performed the amputation just above the wrist joint. That did not stop him from work. He made an appliance to strap on the stub of his forearm with an iron socket, with a set screw in the side, in which he would put his fork to be held while eating, and also he used it in the shop, holding many tools, etc. He was a violinist, or as people used to say, a "fiddler." After losing his hand he required some one to hold the instrument and finger the strings while he drew the bow. Nathaniel Post, a son of Dan Post, Esq., a near neighbor, also a fiddler, would perform that duty for him. Also he had a son, Henry, (about my age), grow up, and becoming a violinist. I have seen him perform that service for his father. At the raising of frames for buildings, like a squirrel, with his one hand he was always on top. No man could do more, if as much. At playing ball after the raising, he was a match for the smartest; and also in jumping he took the lead. He invented and built a machine for turning axe helves. Sold out at the

City and about 1842 or '43 removed to St. Lawrence county. Time and space will not allow me to say more of him.

Edward was also something of an expert when a lad and companion of my venerable cousin, Alexis L. Johnson, of East Schuyler, who was then, in 1825, fourteen years of age, living at my grandfather's, on the corner. Edward would make a cross-gun and with it kill a squirrel or a pigeon. They were very much more plentiful and not as wild as now. I have seen pigeons in flocks of thousands, and at nesting time in spring, when they came out of the woods to find food, walking over a meadow of spring grain they would cover acres thickly. For the benefit of the young people I will try to briefly describe the cross-gun. The bow and string, much like that used by the Aborigine! Indians. The stock shaped somewhat like any gun, with a groove in the upper side, capped over, to help guide the arrow and prevent it flying out. The bow framed into the stock, crosswise near the muzzle end. The string under the cap drawn to a notch in the place for a lock, strained the bow. The arrow slid down the groove under the cap and resting against the string, and all was ready. A trigger released the string from the notch and drove the arrow flying. Edward settled in Lapiér county, Mich., and was there about 1860. When I first knew old Mr. Samuel Fortune he had retired some little time before, 1834, to a comfortable home very near to his son, John; was only a few rods away. He was able to work some in the garden and there with his good wife the venerable pair lived in quiet peace, enjoying the fruit of labor.

Referring to Jonathan Buell and his family, before mentioned, on the platform just above the present Middleville. He had four sons and four daughters, George, Luther, Jonathan S. and Charles, Mrs. Cook, Wright, Safford and Paddock. After paying for land they had bought for a home, they learned that the title was worthless. They then bought over again of the real owner, causing a hard struggle. George became an expert carpenter and builder; Luther worked with him awhile after 1808. There were no machine made nails at the time. The nails they did have were all forged by a blacksmith on the anvil under his hammer and cut off without heads, and could be bought in that form by the one hundred pounds, the heading being an after consideration. They then could be headed and straightened and the points fixed up a little if necessary. They bought their nails in this way, without heads, and did their own heading in Winter time or any other odd spells. I have been enabled to see the old account book they were using in 1817. They had an assortment of sizes, as now, No. 3s, 6s, 8s, 10s, etc., the price according to size. Small sizes the highest priced, as now, thus, No. 6s, or 6 penny, 17 cents per pound; 10s, 15 cents, etc. I bought 3 penny iron nails in 1898, for \$2.45 per 100 pounds at retail; that is, single hundred weight, and not by the ton. That same size in 1817 would have cost about \$20 per hundred weight.

One of their ventures was to purchase some stock in a manufacturing enterprise, to be at Newport. I think it was to be a cotton mill, proba-

bly in Bowen's time. I have heard my wife's father, George Buell, tell, but do not remember particulars. But I do remember that they lost what they put in. Some of those old worthless certificates can be seen now. After a while Luther removed to the vicinity of the rest of the family, in Onondaga county, just west of Cazenovia, where his father and a portion of the family had previously gone. Some years ago I read in the Northern Christian Advocate a sketch of early history, of the organization and founding of Cazenovia Seminary. Luther Buell's name was given as one of the first promoters. He lived nearby there, in Pompey, Onondaga county, and his name was prominently mentioned. He had quite a business turn and later established himself in manufacturing in woolen and mercantile enterprises at or near Manlius, Onondaga county. Hattie E. Buell, the wife of his son, Willard, besides other poems, wrote the poem entitled, "The Child of a King," the music to which was written by Rev. J. B. Sumner, of the Wyoming conference, by whom I have been entertained, with my son, Rev. H. B. Johnson. George alone retained the homestead farm and besides managing it, continued the building business quite extensively, becoming a noted church builder. He built a Baptist church at Norway, a Union church at Russia, a Union church at Middleville, and a Methodist Episcopal church at Fairfield. Mr. Buell, after forty or fifty years of active life in carpentry and farming, bought an addition to his farm on its western side, known as the son Eber Stevens place. To that he retired, leaving his second son, George S., to manage the farm awhile, and later, Truman B. took his place. Although quite active and in health for one of his age, Mr. Buell had become very nearly blind, about 1858, and sold his farm and retired to a home in Middleville, not far from the church, to which he could go with others, a privilege he enjoyed many years, a much esteemed and respected citizen to 1871, and at 90 years of age he passed over on the other side,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN HIS RELATION TO SLAVERY.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, September 9,
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Abraham Lincoln was one of the world's greatest characters. He was so unlike other great men commemorated in history that it is difficult to make a comparison between him and them. We cannot well measure him by the same standards which we use in estimating the characters of Julius Cæsar, Napoleon Bonaparte, the great Prince of Orange, Oliver Cromwell, or even of George Washington. He was unique in his endowments, and stands alone in his glory. He was self-cultured, self-reliant, and wise beyond the wisdom of most of the contemporary statesmen.

His real career commenced with the culmination of the anti-slavery agitation in this country, and his permanent fame depends largely, if not exclusively, upon his attitude towards slavery prior to and during the Civil War. He was not a great general, and his knowledge of and insight into military affairs were not greater than those of many other civilians then in public and private life. His interference with the Union army in the field was often unwise; and it was not until he left the Union generals untrammelled in the management of the armies that the telling blows were dealt which finally crushed the rebellion.

The story of his relation to slavery will always be an interesting one, and I will here undertake to give its brief outline.

He was by nature a humane man, opposed to wrong and cruelty in all their forms; and a fair and just man, and any unfairness and injury were quite sure to arouse his indignation and call out his active interference in favor of the weak and oppressed. Hence we find him at the age of fifteen reading a composition on "Cruelty to Animals," in which he maintained that to give pain to dumb animals was contemptible, cruel and wicked. In early life, he saw in Kentucky something of slavery in its mildest form; and it did not take him long to

reach the conclusion that a negro was a fellow man, and that it was wrong to enslave him. In 1830, when he was under 21 years old, he went down the Mississippi River in a flat boat, and at New Orleans he witnessed the sale of slaves in all its revolting details; and it so aroused his indignation and offended his sense of right and justice that he said to a companion with great emotion: "John, if ever I get a chance to hit that institution, I'll hit it hard"; and so he did many times.

About 1836, the anti-slavery men of the north began to raise a loud clamor against slavery, claiming that the general government should cease to be responsible for it in the District of Columbia, and in all other places under its control. Newspapers were established, societies organized, public addresses made, and petitions sent to Congress to further the aims of the agitators. This agitation aroused great indignation at the south, and excited great animosity even in the north. An abolitionist was almost as unpopular throughout the north—in Boston, Illinois, and Herkimer county—as in the south. At this time Lincoln was a member of the Illinois Legislature, and there a member introduced a series of resolutions, similar to those about that time introduced into Congress and the legislatures of nearly all the northern States, deprecating any discussion of slavery by the people, and denouncing the Abolitionists. Lincoln did not like the spirit of the resolutions, believing that the people had the right to freely discuss any question; and he took the ground then, which he maintained to the end of his life, that the institution of slavery was founded on both injustice and bad policy; that Congress had the right to abolish it in the District of Columbia, but that it ought not to exercise the right except with the consent of the people of the District; and standing almost alone—but one other member joining him—he wrote a protest against the resolutions which was his first public expression in regard to slavery.

At this time no one could speak against slavery in the South with impunity; and it was almost equally dangerous to do so in the North. A clergyman in New Hampshire was offering prayer at an anti-slavery meeting when the sheriff entered the pulpit and dragged him down the steps and out of doors. In Boston, October 21st, 1835, a mob seized William Lloyd Garrison at an abolition meeting, and dragged him from the building in which the meeting was held into the street with a rope around his neck. On the same day, an abolition meeting in Utica was broken up by a mob of men some of whom were from this village. During this time, Mr. Lincoln, at the risk of his personal popularity, stood for fair play and free speech. A negro was lynched in St. Louis; and Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, publishing a paper there, denounced the lynching, and a mob destroyed his printing press, and he was obliged to flee from the city. He went to Alton, in Illinois, not far from the home of Mr. Lincoln, with the intention of publishing his paper there; and there, again, November 7, 1837, a mob destroyed his press and also

took his life. These acts of violence greatly aroused the indignation of Mr. Lincoln, and he fearlessly denounced them.

He always took the side of freedom against slavery. The census of 1840 showed that there were some slaves in Illinois, although it was a free State. In 1841 a slave was sold there, and a note taken for the purchase price; and the note not being paid, it was sued and a recovery had upon it at a Circuit Court. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, and there Mr. Lincoln was brought into the case for the defense. He took the ground that the ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in the Northwest territory, and the prohibition of slavery in the State Constitution, made the note illegal and void; and he procured a reversal of the judgment. In the same year, or about the same time, a free negro boy went from Illinois to New Orleans as a cabin boy on a steamboat. There he went on shore without a pass, and he was arrested and put in prison, and would soon have been sold into slavery. Mr. Lincoln interested himself in the case, and, finding no other remedy, raised two hundred dollars and procured his release.

He was elected to Congress in 1846, and he there supported the Wilmot Proviso, prohibiting slavery in all the territory to be acquired from Mexico in the war then pending. While in Washington he saw slaves in chains marched away to be sold in the southern States; and he looked upon this as a national disgrace. He favored a Congressional act not only prohibiting the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but also making free all slave children born after July 1, 1850, providing for the purchase by the Government of all slaves which their owners were willing to sell, and that the act should be submitted to the popular vote in the District before it could become operative. But he failed to get much effective support for his views.

During all this time, the anti-slavery sentiment in the North was spreading, and the time had come before 1848 when people opposed to slavery could get a hearing in any part of the North. The Free Soil party had been formed; and in 1848 it placed before the people a presidential ticket upon a platform of opposition to the extension of slavery into any of the territories of the United States, and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The public conscience at the north had become awakened concerning slavery; and the agitation North and South was so fierce that many citizens began to fear that it might result in the disruption of the Union. To avoid such a direful catastrophe, and to give peace to our distracted country, Clay, Webster, Cass, Crittenden, Douglass, and other leading statesmen, North and South, evolved the compromise measures of 1850, which it was hoped would put at rest the troublesome question of slavery for a long time at least. But they failed to accomplish their purpose. In the minds of a constantly increasing number of people at the North slavery was wrong, and they would tolerate no compromise with it; and the slave holders were constantly on the alert to protect and intrench the institution of slavery, and to extend its dominion. And finally, to lay

the ghost of the slavery question again, a new scheme was brought forward in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854. That Bill repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and provided territorial governments for Kansas and Nebraska, declaring for non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, and asserting that it was the true intent and meaning of the act "not to legislate slavery into any territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution." By the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, there was opened to slavery territory larger in extent than the original thirteen States. The act was carried through Congress largely by the efforts of Stephen A. Douglass, then Senator from Illinois; and it embodied what came to be known as the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," sometimes called "Squatter Sovereignty." It was the last effort before the Civil War to compromise with slavery. It was the culmination of the anti-slavery agitation and marks a great era in the history of American politics. It was followed by the complete destruction of the Whig party, and the formation of the Republican party, which soon became dominant in nearly all the northern states. A majority of the northern people saw in it a fresh evidence of the determination of the slave holders to strengthen their power by the extension of slavery into the territories. Douglass, more than anyone else the author of the bill, lost some of his popularity in his own State; and upon his return home at the close of the Congressional session of 1854, he deemed it important to attempt to stem the rising tide of indignation against him. He, therefore, made speeches at Chicago and at Springfield, defining his position as to slavery and defending his course in Congress. He was one of the greatest debaters, and one of the ablest popular orators in this country. Mr. Lincoln, who had never measured swords with him in debate, was a listener to his Springfield address and announced that he would speak in reply the next evening. On that evening, a large audience gathered to hear him. He spoke for four hours with only a scrap of paper before him, and is said to have made a masterly reply to Mr. Douglass, and to have stirred his hearers to a high state of enthusiasm. Mr. Douglass replied in a speech of two hours; and he afterward spoke at Peoria, and was followed there by Mr. Lincoln, and the debate then ended. In those debates, the whole merits of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill were thoroughly discussed, and Mr. Lincoln's attitude towards slavery fully defined.

By the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the General Government was pledged to absolute indifference to the question of slavery in the territories; and that question was relegated absolutely to the people of the territories for their determination. Slavery had been kept out of Kansas by the Missouri Compromise of 1820; and that Compromise being now repealed, the slave holders of the South at once inaugurated strenuous efforts to introduce it there. Societies were formed in the North to

counteract these efforts, and Mr. Lincoln was a member of the executive committee of one of the societies. The result of these efforts was civil war in Kansas, and great excitement throughout the country. Emigrants were hurried into the territory from the North and the South armed and sometimes marching in military array. Those from the North, as they marched into the territory, were sometimes heard to sing a song composed by Whittier:

“We cross the prairies, as of old
The pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free.

We go to rear a wall of men
On Freedom's southern line,
And plant beside the cotton tree
The rugged northern pine.

We go to plant her common schools
On distant prairie swells,
And give the Sabbath of the wilds
The music of her bells.”

The North, having the greater resources and being the most populous, won the race, and finally secured Kansas for freedom. But the battle was not won without many interesting episodes. The Dred Scott Decision came the day after the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan, as President, in March, 1857, holding that slaves were property, and that their owners were entitled to protection in their possession as such in the territories. This was regarded by many people in the North as another bold step on behalf of the South to bolster up and fortify the institution of slavery; and it added fuel to the flame already sweeping over the North to the destruction of slavery. At the South, it was hoped that with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise this decision would secure to slave holders the right to take their slaves into any of the territories and hold them there, at least until they should become States, when and not before by their sovereign action the people could prohibit or abolish slavery—thus giving the South the advantage of having slavery planted in the soil of a territory before any attempt could be made to root it up.

We now come to the year 1858, and the anti-slavery fight was on with constantly increasing vigor. In June of that year, Mr. Lincoln made his famous speech, a model of forcible, terse and felicitous expression, before the Republican State Convention at Springfield, Ill., in which he fully defined his attitude toward slavery, making the notable announcement that “a house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not

expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South." Before its delivery, he read the speech to a few selected friends, and they advised him that it would be unwise for him to deliver it, and that it would defeat his election as United States Senator and with him the Republican party in his State. But he replied: "My friends, I have given much thought to this question. The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered. If it is decreed that I shall go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked with it to the truth. Let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right." This was about four months before William H. Seward, in October of the same year, made his famous speech at Auburn in this State in which he took substantially the same ground as Mr. Lincoln in the announcement of his doctrine of "the irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery. In concluding that speech, Mr. Lincoln, with the foresight of a seer, expressed his confidence in the triumph of the cause he advocated as follows: "We shall not fail—if we stand firm we shall not fail. Wise counsels may accelerate, or mistakes delay it, but sooner or later, the victory is sure to come." He was there nominated for United States Senator to succeed Mr. Douglass, whose term of office was about to expire. On the 24th of July thereafter, he challenged Mr. Douglass to a joint debate before the people, and his challenge was accepted. That debate was the most interesting and notable joint discussion before the people ever held in this country. Audiences of from ten thousand to twenty thousand people came out to hear the distinguished orators. There were seven joint debates, and their arguments reached nearly the whole people of Illinois, and also many thousands through the entire North. Slavery in all its phases—the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the Doctrine of Popular and Squatter Sovereignty, the power of the people over slavery in the territories, the Dred Scott Decision, the Fugitive Slave Law, and the violent and extraordinary efforts made to introduce slavery into and to keep it out of Kansas were discussed as never before with masterly ability. Mr. Lincoln in his arguments and statements was reasonable, conscientious and practical. He did not play the role of a mere idealist, dreamer, or philosopher. He did not advocate the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, but objected to some of its features. He did not absolutely oppose the admission of more slave States, but said: "If slavery shall be kept out of the territories during the territorial existence of any one given territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt their constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution

among them. I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union."

He said he would be "exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia," that Congress had "the constitutional power to abolish it there; but that he would favor the measure only upon condition: 'First, that the abolition should be gradual; second, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and third, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners.'" He held that Congress had the right, and that it was its duty to prohibit slavery in all the territories, and reiterated his belief that slavery was "a moral, a social and a political wrong." He said more than once that he would faithfully stand by the guarantees and compromises of the Constitution in reference to slavery, and that he had "no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery where it existed; that he had no lawful right to do so and no inclination to do so;" that he was not in favor of the social and political equality of the Negro with the white man, but that he was in favor of allowing him "to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hands earn;" and that in that respect "he was the equal of every living man." With a magnanimity and charity which characterized all his subsequent career, he said: "I have no prejudice against the southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did exist among us, we would not instantly give it up. * * * It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South." "If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution." In these debates, he advocated a scheme for the colonization of the freed Negroes, and their deportation to Africa; and he declared that it would be "best for all concerned to have the colored population in a State by themselves." Colonization of the Negroes was with him a favorite scheme in all his after life. He frequently recommended it while he was President, and attempted to enforce his views upon Congress and the people of the border States; and he never seemed to realize its utter impracticability. In all other respects, so far as I can discover, his views regarding slavery, and his treatment of it were eminently feasible and practical. But, apparently, he never perceived how impossible it would be to transport and colonize four millions of Negroes, and how ruinous it would be to the slave States to be thus deprived of almost all their laboring population. He seemed to sum up the discussion in these forcible phrases: "The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong; and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong * * * No man can logically say he does not care whether a wrong is voted up or voted down. He (Douglass) contends that whatever community wants slaves has a right

to have them. So they have, if it is not wrong. But if it is wrong, he cannot say people have a right to do wrong. He says that, upon a score of equality, slaves should be allowed to go into a new territory like other property. This is strictly logical if there is no difference between it and other property. * * * But if you insist that one is wrong and the other right, there is no use to institute a comparison between right and wrong. * * * That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglass and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles, right and wrong, throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever state it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says: 'You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it.' I ask you if it is not a false philosophy? Is it not a false statesmanship that undertakes to build up a system of policy upon the basis of caring nothing about the very things that everybody does care most about." In these debates he indulged in little humor or wit, for which he had great aptitude. He seemed to regard the matter in hand as too momentous to be dealt with except in the most earnest, serious and solemn manner. He wished to present the right, and the moral aspect of the questions discussed, and to fortify his position by the best arguments he could make, and thus furnish to the thousands who heard and should read his speeches, food for thought and reflection. Once during the debate he said to a friend: "Sometimes in the excitement of speaking, I seem to see the end of slavery. I feel that the time is soon coming when the sun shall shine, the rain fall on no man who shall go forth to unrequited toil. How this will come, when it will come, by whom it will come, I cannot tell, but that time will surely come."

These debates with the most conspicuous and popular Democrat in the country, afterward his competitor for the presidency, attracted the attention of the whole land, and gave Mr. Lincoln a national reputation. While his candidates for the legislature at the election received a popular majority of about four thousand, the friends of Mr. Douglass were in a majority in the legislature, and he was chosen United States Senator. Afterward writing to a friend of the contest he made for the office, Mr. Lincoln said: "I am glad that I made the race. It gave me a hearing on the question of the age which I could have had in no other way; and though I may sink entirely out of mind, and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some remarks which will tell for the cause of liberty when I am gone." And to another friend he wrote: "The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one thousand defeats." During this great discussion, as in all his after life, he had no unkind words for slave holders, and manifested no animosity toward them. Over them his great heart threw the mantle of charity. But he de-

nounced the institution of slavery. Speaking of the debate afterward, Mr. Douglass said of Mr. Lincoln: "He is an able and honest man, one of the ablest men in the nation. I have been in Congress sixteen years, and there is not a man in the Senate I would not rather encounter in debate."

In May, 1859, in answer to an invitation from Boston to a festival in honor of Jefferson's birthday, referring to the language of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal" and have certain "inalienable rights," and claiming then, as he always did, that these words condemned slavery, he said: "This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and under a just God cannot long retain it."

In the fall of the same year, Mr. Douglass went to Ohio where a canvass for the office of Governor was pending, and made some speeches there; and Mr. Lincoln followed him, and also spoke there, his main topic being the exclusion of slavery from the territories, and the effect of the Dred Scott Decision; and he added to his reputation as a debater and an anti-slavery champion. And in December, he made several speeches in Kansas, and there gladly met the men who had imperiled their lives in the battle for freedom stimulated somewhat by the eloquent words which he had uttered. In February, 1860, he went by invitation to New York, and addressed a large meeting in Cooper institute, presided over by William Cullen Bryant who introduced him simply as "An eminent citizen of the West, hitherto known to you only by reputation." His audience contained Horace Greely, ex-Governor John A. King, David Dudley Field, and many others of the most prominent men of the city. It is safe to say that never before had the questions then pending relating to slavery been presented in a more forcible and convincing style. He there reiterated the views he had expressed in the West; and he also went to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, and spoke to large and enthusiastic audiences, everywhere presenting his views upon the pending slavery questions with a force and freshness never before experienced by the people of the East.

Down to this time, his reputation depended wholly upon his relation to the anti-slavery discussion. He was not distinguished above some others in his own state as a lawyer. He had held but two offices, member of the Illinois Legislature, and member of Congress; and in these positions he had not achieved any peculiar success. He had not become prominent in the treatment of questions of finance, of tariff and other matters to which statesmen give much of their time. He had become one of the ablest and most conspicuous champions in the country of the anti-slavery cause as embodied in the platform of the Republican party. He was probably the best and fittest representative in the country of the wise, conservative, practical, and at the same time, determined, earnest, and fearless anti-slavery men. It is not, therefore,

wonderful that, at a time when slavery was the all absorbing topic for discussion everywhere, north and south, he should have received the nomination of the Republican party for President in May, 1860. After his nomination, he did not say much for the public ear until he delivered his inaugural address. He did, however, say to a friend before the election: "I know there is a God, and that He hates injustice and slavery. * * * I have told them that a house divided against itself cannot stand. Christ and reason say the same, and they will find it so. Douglass doesn't care whether slavery was voted up or down. But God cares, humanity cares, and I care. With God's help, I shall not fail." As the time approached for his inauguration, he saw with alarm a tendency, even among the members of his own party, for further compromises with slavery, and against this he protested most vigorously. He wrote to a prominent Republican member of Congress from his own State: "Entertain no propositions for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do, they have us under again; all our labor is lost, and sooner or later must be done over again;" and he wrote to other members of Congress, and to Horace Greely to the same effect. To all efforts made during these days, under many specious pretexts, by editors, public men, and other citizens, to get from him some new or further expression of his views upon the subject of slavery, he generally replied by referring them to his record made in his public speeches, and to the platform of the Republican party. Upon one point more than any other he was inflexible, and that was his opposition to the extension of slavery into any of the territories.

Down to this time, and at all times thereafter, Mr. Lincoln, in all his views on slavery, and in all the measures he proposed in reference thereto, kept within the constitution. Where slavery constitutionally existed, he would leave it untouched. What rights the slave holders had under the constitution, he would always respect; and so he was not popular with the genuine Abolitionists who denounced both the constitution and the Union. Wendell Phillips spoke of him as "The slave hound of Illinois." He had two forces to contend with in the North—those Abolitionists who really wanted the Union dissolved so as to have no further responsibility for slavery or association with it; and a large body of citizens who wanted further compromises with slavery to save the Union; and we shall see how he dealt with these forces, and with the people of the border States who wanted to save both the Union and slavery.

When he was inaugurated, March 4, 1861, seven of the southern States had in form seceded from the Union, and the Confederate Government had been established; and secession was fiercely agitated in the other southern States, all but four of which, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, soon formally joined the seceding States. No statesman ever before, upon entering office, was confronted with graver problems for solution. The key note of his inaugural address was the

preservation of the Union. It was conciliatory in its language, and at this day, separated by many years from the passions and prejudices of the times when it was delivered, we wonder that its touching appeals did not reach more hearts in the south, and to a larger extent disarm that resentment which the fiery leaders of that region were endeavoring to foment. In that address, he said: "Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the southern States, that by the accession of the Republican administration their property, and their peace, and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches where I declare that: 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.' Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I made this, and many similar declarations, and have never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read: 'Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.'" There was more to the same effect, including the recognition of the duty to enforce the clause in the Federal constitution as to the rendition of fugitive slaves on the claim of their owners; and he concluded with this forcible, pathetic appeal: "We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every loving heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angel of our nature."

Difficult problems, as to the treatment of slavery and the slaves, soon after his inauguration, came before him for solution. On the one hand were the old-time Abolitionists, with some recent allies, who were urging upon him radical action—the freeing and arming of slaves so far as he could. On the other hand, were the people of the border States, the great mass of Democrats, and many of his own party urging him to touch the institution of slavery as little as possible, and to make the restoration of the Union the sole issue of the armed contest.

Of advice, much of it very bewildering, there was great abundance; and through the clash of discordant opinions, he had a hard task to

steer his way. He immediately adopted the opinion that he had the right to interfere with slavery in the revolted States only as a war measure; and he early refused to use the war power, except so far as he could be satisfied that it would aid the Union cause; and he did not at any time, so far as I can perceive, let his feelings of hostility to slavery, or motives of pure humanity influence his action. He set before him the task of saving and restoring the Union, and he kept his eye single upon that end.

The question very soon arose, what should be done with slaves that came within the lines of the Union army? And he forbade their return to their masters; and the question, what should be done with slaves used for carrying on the war of the Rebellion? And that was answered by the passage of the congressional act of August 6th, 1861, freeing such slaves. He feared that the arming of Negroes to fight in the Union cause would alienate the people of the border states whom he was most solicitous to keep on the side of the Union, or at least neutral; and so, when in October, 1861, Secretary of War Cameron issued an order to General Sherman, then at Port Royal, authorizing him to employ Negroes in any capacity which he might "deem most beneficial to the service," he interlined in the order: "This, however, not to mean a general arming of them for military service." A few months later the same secretary inserted in his report, which was to accompany the President's annual message to Congress, this language: "As the labor and service of their slaves constitute the chief property of the rebels, they should share the common fate of war. * * * It is clearly a right of the government to arm slaves when it becomes necessary, as it is to use gun powder taken from the enemy. Whether it is expedient to do so is purely a military question." When this language came to the President's knowledge, he ordered the secretary to omit it, and insert in its place these words: "Slaves on captured or abandoned plantations should not be returned to their masters, but withheld to lessen the enemy's military resources." About that time he was much bothered with what should be done with slaves who should in any way become free; and his general views in reference to the emancipation of slaves, so far as it could be achieved, were these: Voluntary action of the individual slave States by the exercise of their sovereign power; compensation of slave owners; and colonization, and the appropriation of money by Congress for acquiring territory for that purpose.

When General Fremont, in the Fall of 1861, while commander in Missouri, proclaimed the slaves of rebel owners free, the President set aside the proclamation. When General Butler went with his expedition to New Orleans, knowing his meddlesome disposition, he told him not to interfere with the institution of slavery. In May, 1862, General Hunter, in command of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, issued a proclamation freeing all the slaves in his department, and the President set it aside by a proclamation, in which he

said: "Whether it be competent for me, as Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free, and whether, at any time or in any place, it shall become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed powers, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the discretion of commanders in the field," closing with the following most urgent and tender appeal: "To the people of the border States, I now earnestly appeal—I do not argue; I beseech you to make the arguments for yourselves; you cannot, if you would, be blind to the signs of the times. I beg of you a calm and enlarged consideration of them, ranging, if it may be, far above personal and partisan politics. This proposal (referring to the joint resolution of Congress adopted March 6) makes common cause for a common object, casting no reproach upon any one. It acts not the Pharasee. The change it contemplates would come as gently as the dews of heaven, not rending or wrecking anything. Will you not entertain it? So much good has not been done by one effort in all past time as, in the providence of God, it is now your privilege to do. May the vast future not have it to lament that you neglected it." In these acts, the mass of northern people sustained the President. But Fremont and Hunter became the idols of most of the radicals, and they denounced him. William Lloyd Garrison said: "All honor to General Hunter. With cheer upon cheer, the welkin rings. Shame and confusion of face to the President for his halting, shuffling, backward policy. By his act, he has dispirited and alienated the truest friends of freedom universally, and gratified the malignity of the enemies of his administration who are at heart rebels."

In his annual message delivered to Congress, December 3, 1861, he again advocated his pet scheme of compensation for slaves made free by the voluntary action of slave States, and for the colonization of such and other colored persons in territory to be acquired by the United States. In a special message sent to Congress, March 6th, 1862, he recommended, giving his reasons therefor at some length, the adoption by Congress of the following joint resolution: "Resolved, that the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving such State pecuniary aid to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such change of system." This resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives by Roseoe Conkling, and was passed by large majorities in both houses.

In April, 1862, Congress passed an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, providing for compensation and colonization, and the President approved it. He was so anxious that his views should be kept before the people that he sent to Congress a special message in which he said: "I am gratified that the two principles of compensation and colonization are both recognized and practically applied in the

act." In June, Congress passed another act, approved by the President, securing freedom to all persons within the territories of the United States.

On the 14th of July, the President sent to Congress a draft of a bill to make compensation to States which would abolish slavery, and recommended its passage. Before sending the draft, July 12th, he invited the members of Congress from the border States to a conference with him; and he submitted the draft to them, and made an earnest appeal, expressed in the forcible language he was able to use, to abolish slavery in their States, receiving compensation for the slaves so freed, saying to them: "The incidents of war cannot be avoided. If it continues, as it must if the object is not sooner attained, the institution in your States will be extinguished by mere friction and abrasion. It will be gone, and you will have nothing valuable in lieu of it. Much of its value is gone already. * * * How much better for you as seller, and the Nation as buyer, to sell out and buy out; that without which the war could never have been than to sink both the thing to be sold and the price of it in cutting one another's throats." He spoke of the difficulties which surrounded him and the pressure which was brought to bear upon him against slavery, and of the dissatisfaction created by his recent repudiation of General Fremont's proclamation of freedom. What he earnestly asked of them was to vote a sum of money for purchasing the slaves in their respective States sufficient to fully compensate the owners. But he failed to convince them. A majority of them claimed that the people of their States had the right to hold slaves; and they were not ready to give up slavery. About this time he said to two members of Congress: "Oh, if the border States would accept my proposition! Then you, Lovejoy, and Arnold, and all of us would not have lived in vain! The labor of your life, Lovejoy, would be crowned with success! You would live to see the end of slavery."

On the 17th day of July, Congress passed an act which was approved by the President, "to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," which, among other things, provided that the slaves of persons convicted of treason, and of all persons thereafter convicted of inciting, setting on foot, assisting, or engaging in rebellion against the United States should be liberated; that all slaves of persons who should thereafter be engaged in the rebellion, or who should give aid or comfort thereto escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the Union lines, and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government, and all slaves of such persons found or being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterward occupied by the forces of the United States should be deemed captives of war and forever free; that no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia from any other State should be delivered up unless the person claiming the

fugitive should first make oath that he is the owner and that he had not borne arms against the United States in the rebellion nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no military officer should assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to any fugitive slave, or surrender up such fugitive on pain of being dismissed from the service; that the President should be authorized to employ as many persons of African descent as he might deem necessary and proper for the suppression of the rebellion; and for this purpose he might organize and use them in such manner as he might judge best for the public welfare; that the President should be authorized to make provision for the transportation, colonization and settlement in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States, of such Negroes made free by the act as might be willing to emigrate. There had been great clamor on the part of the radicals in favor of arming the freed Negroes of the South to fight against their former masters, and to free the slaves of those engaged in the rebellion or in giving aid and comfort thereto; and this was the first act to accomplish these ends. The President had been reluctant to use the war power to accomplish these ends, fearing to exasperate the people of the rebel States, to suppress the Union sentiment there, to alienate the people of the border States, and to prejudice the Union cause at the North. The radicals were beginning to denounce him in unmeasured terms, were clamoring for the emancipation of the slaves in the southern States, and were pressing him to issue an emancipation proclamation. He resisted the pressure, and bided his time, waiting for the opportune moment when he could issue such a proclamation with telling effect upon the rebellion, at the same time doing as little harm as possible in other directions. He had meditated much and anxiously upon the subject, and finally reached the conclusion that he ought to issue the proclamation; and on Sunday, July 13th, the next day after the conference with the border State Congressmen above referred to, while riding in a funeral procession in a carriage with Secretaries Seward and Wells for the burial of a son of Secretary Stanton, after saying, among other things, that he had given much thought to the matter of issuing a proclamation of emancipation, he said: "I have about come to the conclusion that it is a military necessity essential for the salvation of the nation. This is the first time I have ever mentioned it to any one. What do you think of it?" They replied separately in substance that the subject was so vast that they must have time for reflection; and that the measure might be justifiable and necessary. He replied that he wished them to give the question careful consideration, for "something must be done." Congress had then finished its session and adjourned. It had passed the act referred to confiscating the property of those in rebellion. Slaves were property and under the act they might be seized and used for the benefit of the government; and they were so seized and used; and Mr. Lincoln concluded that the time had come to give them their freedom. His Cab-

inct was in session on the 22nd day of July. Much thought had given him a firm conclusion. The rebels in spite of all his appeals clung to the institution of slavery, and were determined and aggressive. Thick clouds impended over the Union cause. With the members of his Cabinet seated around him, he took from his desk the draft of his emancipation proclamation, and read it to them. They listened in amazement. The stupendous scheme of giving freedom to four millions of slaves challenged their faith and perplexed their minds. They sat as if dazed. Lincoln with self-contained confidence, and a vision inspired, calmly said to them: "I have not called you together to ask your advice, but to lay the subject before you. I shall be pleased to hear any suggestions from you." It was criticised some. Mr. Chase wanted the language stronger. Mr. Blair said it would cost the fall elections. Mr. Seward approved the proclamation, but thought the time had not yet come to issue it—that many reverses to the Union arms had caused great depression in the public mind—that it might be viewed as a confession of weakness and evidence of despair, and that he had better defer it until it could follow some military success. Mr. Lincoln acceded to this view. Some months later he said of the proclamation: "It had to come. Things had gone from bad to worse until I felt that we had reached the end of our rope on the plan of operations we had been pursuing, that we had played our last card and must change our tactics, or lose the game. I determined on the emancipation proclamation, and without consultation with or knowledge of the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft; and after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting upon the subject." On the same day, July 22nd, he issued an order to the military commanders within the States of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas that they should "employ as laborers within and from said States so many persons of African descent as can be advantageously used for military or naval purposes, giving them reasonable wages for their labor."

At that time, in July, 1862, there was much vigorous criticism, even by members of Mr. Lincoln's party, of his treatment of the institution of slavery, and of the conduct of the war; and the fault finding was particularly rife in Congress. Mr. Julien, a prominent Republican member of Congress, afterwards said: "No one at a distance could have formed any adequate conception of the hostility of Republican members towards Mr. Lincoln at the final adjournment (the middle of July), while it was the belief of many that our last session of Congress had been held in Washington." Senator Wade of Ohio said: "The country was going to hell, and that the scenes witnessed in the French Revolution were nothing in comparison with what we should see here."

At that time New Orleans was in possession of the Union troops, under the command of General Butler, and Negroes were, to the great disgust of the people of that city, armed and drilled as soldiers. Reverdy Johnson of Maryland had been sent there on public business,

and he wrote to Mr. Lincoln, deprecating the arming of the Negroes, and saying that it would have a depressing effect upon the Union sentiment in that locality. To this Mr. Lincoln replied: "The People of Louisiana, all intelligent people everywhere, know full well that I never had a wish to touch the foundation of their society or any right of theirs."

In August, 1862, Horace Greely had published a letter in his own paper, the *Tribune*, criticising Mr. Lincoln and the conduct of the war. To this letter he wrote a reply, which at the time excited much comment, in which he said: "If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it helps to save the Union. * * * I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free."

The battle of Manassas, usually called the second battle of Bull Run, resulting in the disastrous defeat of General Pope, and spreading consternation throughout the loyal North, was fought the latter part of August, 1862; and soon after, a delegation of ministers from Chicago reached Washington to urge the President to do something to abolish slavery. Among other things, he said in reply: "Gentlemen, you know I am powerless to enforce the constitution in the States now in rebellion. Allow me to ask if you think that I can enforce a proclamation of emancipation better?" The delegates interpreted the question as indicating reluctance under any circumstances to issue such a proclamation; and one of them replied: "What you have said compels me to say that it is a message of the Divine Master, through me, commanding you, sir, to open the doors and let the oppressed go free." "Well, that may be," said the President humorously, "but if it is as you say a message from your Divine Master, is it not a little odd that the only channel of communication to me must be by the roundabout way of that awfully wicked city of Chicago?" And they departed without having obtained any satisfaction.

All this time, Mr. Lincoln was keeping from the public his own counsels; and he had locked up in his desk the proclamation which at the proper time he would issue. That time soon came. The battle of Antietam was fought on the 17th of September, and resulted in a great victory for the Union army. The tide of rebel invasion was stayed, and confidence was awakened, and enthusiasm aroused throughout the North. The time had come when he thought he could safely and effect-

ively issue the proclamation of emancipation and he called a meeting of his Cabinet on Monday, September 22nd. He read to them his proclamation; and then what took place at this, the most momentous Cabinet meeting ever held in Washington, marking an epoch in the world's history, must be stated as subsequently related by Mr. Secretary Wells, who was present: "The President stated that the question was finally decided—the act and the consequences were his—but that he felt it due to us to make us acquainted with the facts and to invite criticism on the paper which he had prepared. There were, he had found not unexpectedly, some differences in his Cabinet; but he had, after ascertaining in his own way the views of each and all, individually and collectively, formed his own conclusions and made his own decision. In the course of the discussion on this paper, which was long, earnest, and on the general principles involved, harmonious, he remarked that he had made a vow—a covenant—that if God gave us the victory in the approaching battle, he would consider it an indication of Divine will, and that it was his duty to move forward in the cause of emancipation. It might be thought strange, he said, that he had in this way submitted the disposal of matters when the way was not clear in his own mind what he should do. God had decided this question in favor of the slaves. He was satisfied it was right—was confirmed and strengthened in his action by the vow and the results. His mind was fixed, his decision made, but he wished his paper announcing his course as correct as it could be made without any change in his determination."

The proclamation awakened much enthusiasm in the North generally, although there were very many who thought it untimely and unwise as a matter of public policy. With the exception of the proclamation of Alexander II., the Czar of Russia, issued about eighteen months earlier, March 3rd, 1861, the day before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln as President, freeing more than twenty millions of serfs, this was the most momentous proclamation ever issued by any ruler in the world. It announced freedom to four millions of slaves, and transformed the character of our government and changed the whole future history of our country.

In the proclamation, he stated that the war would, in the future as in the past, be prosecuted for the restoration of the Union; that it was his purpose to again recommend to Congress, at its next meeting, the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave States, "the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent or elsewhere" will be continued; and he proclaimed "that on the 1st day of January, A. D., 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State the people whereof shall then be in Rebellion against the United States shall be

then, thenceforward and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any effort they may make for their actual freedom." "That the executive will on the 1st day of January aforesaid by proclamation designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States."

On the last day of December, 1862, he delivered his second annual message to Congress in which again he called attention to the language of his inaugural address, and recommended certain amendments of the Constitution providing for compensation to States in which slavery should be voluntarily abolished before January 1st, 1863; and he enforced his views recommending emancipation of slaves with compensation and colonization at considerable length; and he closed with this eloquent appeal: "Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slaves, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give, and in what we preserve. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

The 1st of January was drawing nigh. There was much to discourage the President. There was want of harmony in his Cabinet, and the success of the Union arms had not been all that could be hoped. But undismayed and resolute in his great purpose he went forward, and on that day issued his final proclamation of freedom of the slaves in the States and parts of States then in rebellion which he designated, closing with these words: "And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

About this time it came to his attention that the Confederates were disposed to disregard the ordinary rules of civilized warfare in the treatment of captive colored soldiers, and their white officers; and, determined to give protection to such soldiers, he issued the following order: "That for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a rebel soldier shall be executed; and for everyone enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on the public works and continued at such labor

until the other shall be released and receive the treatment due to a prisoner of war." Afterward, in the Spring of 1864, speaking of the colored soldiers, he said in an address at Baltimore: "At the beginning of the war and for some time, the use of colored troops was not contemplated; and how the change or purpose was wrought I will not now take time to explain. Upon a clear conviction of duty I resolved to turn that element of strength to account; and I am responsible for it to the American people, to the Christian world, to history, and, in my final account, to God. Having determined to use the Negro as a soldier, there is no way but to give him all the protection given to any other soldier." His judgment as to the use of colored soldiers was vindicated by events. During the war, mostly during the last two years, 186,017 colored soldiers were enlisted, and at the close of the war there were of such soldiers in the ranks of the army 123,156.

In August, 1863, the President was invited to attend a mass meeting of unconditional Union men, at Springfield, Ill.; and on the 26th of that month he wrote a characteristic letter to Hon. James C. Conkling, stating his inability to attend, and defending with great vigor his emancipation proclamation at considerable length. The letter is a notable one, and will well repay perusal. About this time, speaking to Governor Morgan of what had been done in reference to slavery, and of the impetuosity of some of his friends, he said: "We are like whalers who have been long on a chase; we have at last got the harpoon into the monster, but we must now look how we steer, or with one flop of his tail he will send us all into eternity."

On the 8th of December, he sent to Congress his third annual message in which he said: "The policy of emancipation and of employing black soldiers gave to the future a new aspect about which hope and fear and doubt contended in uncertain conflict. According to our political system, as a matter of civil administration, the general government had no lawful power to effect emancipation in any State; and for a long time it had been hoped that the rebellion could be suppressed without resorting to it as a military measure. It was all the while deemed possible that the necessity for it might come, and that if it should, the crisis of the contest would then be presented. * * * Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, full one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks. * * * I may add at this point that while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation; nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress. * * * The movements by State action for emancipation in several of the States not included in the emancipation proclamation are matters of profound gratulation. And while I do not repeat in detail what I have heretofore so earnestly urged upon this subject, my general views and feelings remain unchanged; and I trust that Congress will omit no fair

opportunity of aiding these important steps to a great consumation." Accompanying the message was an amnesty proclamation in which he offered pardon to all, with a few exceptions, who had participated in the rebellion, upon condition that they would take an oath, among other things, that they would "abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion freeing slaves so long and so far as not modified or declared void by the decisions of the Supreme Court." And he said: "And I do further proclaim, declare and make known that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom and provide for their education, and which, may yet be consistent as a temporary arrangement with their condition as a laboring, landless and homeless class will not be objected to by the national executive."

Congress just before its adjournment in July, passed a bill for the reorganization of the rebel States which, among other things, required that the conventions in those States should adopt the following provision in their State constitutions: "Involuntary servitude is forever prohibited, and the freedom of all persons is guaranteed in said State;" and the twelfth section emancipated the slaves in the rebel States, and declared them and their posterity forever free. This bill was presented to the President less than an hour before the adjournment of Congress; and he did not sign it, and it did not become a law. He issued a proclamation to which he annexed a copy of the bill, giving his reasons for not signing it, in which he stated he was unprepared "to declare a constitutional competency in Congress to abolish slavery in States," but at the same time he sincerely hoped and expected that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation would be adopted. He never believed that Congress had authority to abolish slavery in any State, but claimed, as Commander-in-chief of the army, that he could free the slaves in a State in rebellion as a necessary war measure.

During the year 1863 and subsequently, whenever negotiations for peace or terms of peace with the rebel States were suggested or taken in hand by any one, he firmly and always insisted upon two conditions: the integrity of the Union, and the abandonment of slavery. In May, 1864, he said: "There have been men base enough to propose to me to return to slavery our black warriors of Pert Hudson and Olustee, and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what will, I will keep my faith with friend and foe."

In 1864 the President wrote to Mr. Hodges, a southern citizen, about slavery as follows: "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what any party or any man expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also

that we of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new causes to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God."

The time had come when he earnestly desired the abolition of slavery in all the slave States by constitutional methods. He was brought slowly and gradually to this position. The Republican national convention was about to convene, June 8, 1861. And he said to Governor Morgan, who was expected to call the convention to order: "I would like you in your address when you call the convention to order, as its keynote, and to put into its platform as its keystone, the amendment to the constitution abolishing slavery." Governor Morgan in his address calling the convention to order accordingly said: "We shall fail of accomplishing our great mission unless we shall declare for such an amendment to the constitution as will positively forbid African slavery in the United States;" and Rev. Robert J. Breckenridge, who was chosen temporary chairman of the convention, in his address said: "We must use all power to exterminate the institution of slavery which has raised the sword against the Union;" and the convention adopted a resolution, demanding an amendment of the Constitution prohibiting slavery in any part of the Union. In his reply to the committee which notified him of his nomination, Mr. Lincoln said: "I approve the declaration in favor of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the nation. Such an amendment is a necessary conclusion to the final success of the Union cause."

Shortly after this, Frederick Douglass, who had been a slave, was in Washington, and was invited to take tea with the President, and was taken to the White House in the President's carriage. He afterward said: "The President is one of the few men with whom I have passed an hour who did not remind me in some way that I am a Negro."

At the election in November, 1864, Mr. Lincoln was again elected President; and December 6, he delivered to Congress his fourth annual message in which he strongly recommended the adoption of the proposed constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the Union, and announced his determination to adhere to his emancipation proclamation, and not to return to slavery any person made free by that proclamation or by any act of Congress, saying: "If the people should by whatever mode or means make it an executive duty to re-enslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it." He was not content with what he said in his message. He used his personal influence with members of Congress in favor of the amendment; and it was finally carried through Congress in January, 1865, and was subsequently ratified by the States; and thus it became what is now known as the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The formal ratification of the amendment by a sufficient number of States came after his death in December, 1865. But he lived to foresee the certain accomplishment of a purpose he had very much at heart during his last year upon earth. It is clear from his public

utterances that in the early stages of the Civil War, he did not contemplate the abolition of slavery in any of the States. He gradually reached the conclusion that he could and should abolish it in the rebel States as a war measure; and it was only after the war had been waged for two years or more that the conviction was forced upon him that slavery must absolutely die in all the States, and that to accomplish that end the constitution ought to be amended.

Preceding his second inauguration as President, on the 4th of March, 1865, there were negotiations for peace with the rebel States conducted with the sanction of the President, but always on the two fundamental conditions of the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery. He would not recede from any of the positions he had taken in reference to slavery. In his second inaugural address, he said that at his first inauguration, one-eighth of the whole population of the country were colored slaves; that all knew that slavery was somehow the cause of the war; that neither party to the civil strife expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it had attained; that neither party anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease; that "both read the same Bible and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces. But let us judge not that we be not judged. * * Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether;'" and this large-hearted, generous man, not embittered by the long and bloody strife, and the many misconceptions of his own character and motives, closed with the following beautiful and generous sentiments: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

In less than six weeks after the utterance of these beautiful words, forever a part of the best literature of our language, he fell a victim to the hate, bred of the civil strife. His work was done. The measure of his fame was full, and he became one of the world's immortals. It is useless to speculate as to what would have been the course of events in this country if he had survived to serve out his second presidential term. A careful study of his acts and of his character leads me to believe that he would not have favored the re-construction of the revolted States in the precise way it was subsequently accomplished.

I do not believe that he would have favored depriving the great bulk of the whites in the southern States of the right to vote, and conferring that right upon all the enfranchised Negroes. He was never in favor of conferring universal suffrage upon persons of color. He seems to have been in favor of giving the right to vote to very intelligent Negroes and especially to those who had fought in the Union ranks.

I must here bring this paper to a close, for fear I may transcend the limits which the occasion puts upon me, finally saying that this study of Mr. Lincoln's relation to slavery has given me a more exalted estimate of his character, and of the enduring value of the work he achieved.

THE FRENCH IN CANADA AND OUR OBLIGATION TO THE IROQUOIS.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. J. DRYDEN HENDERSON, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, October 14, 1899.

Much has been written, and some of it very well written, about those Frenchmen, and their descendants, who settled Canada, explored the country about the Great Lakes, the valleys of the Ohio, the Illinois and the Mississippi, and for nearly two centuries struggled with our British ancestors for the mastery of the American continent.

"The French in Canada!" What visions of forest adventure, what instances of devoted piety, what tales of heroic sacrifice, what quiet days of happiness, what wild nights of terror, what hardships endured, what cruelties perpetrated, what glorious triumphs, and what miserable failures the words suggest.

The French based their claim to Canada and the Northern Atlantic coast on the alleged discoveries of Verazanno, in 1524, entirely ignoring the previous voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497 and '98, along the same shore. England claimed under the Cabots, and also by virtue of treaties with the New England Indians, and later with the Iroquois. None but Spain of the European nations made permanent settlements in North America during the 16th Century, and for more than a hundred years after the discovery of the continent, no attempt of consequence was made to civilize or Christianize the savages. But early in the 17th Century the struggle for the possession of America began. England founded colonies in Virginia and in New England. Sweden tried her luck in New Jersey; Holland established herself in New York, and France took possession of Nova Scotia and entered Canada. Jacques Cartier, an adventurous Frenchman, in 1534 sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Anticosti, and in 1535 to the palisaded Indian town of Hochelaga (now Montreal). He returned to Stadacona (Quebec) and spent the winter; twenty-five of his men died of scurvy, and in the Spring he treacherously took and carried off to France several of the natives, all of whom were baptized and died abroad.

Cartier came back in 1540 with Robeval's expedition, and attempted a colony, but the Indian remembered his former conduct and two of his men were killed. Cartier abandoned Robeval, near Quebec, in the night, but came back again in 1543, and took away the remnant of Robeval's colony. Not until 1598 did the French try again, when De La Roche met with failure in Acadia.

When Champlain came in 1603, he found the Indian town of Hochelaga a ruin, and abandoned. An entirely different nation of Indians from those Cartier found there in 1535 occupied the country. Champlain, too, was a different kind of a man from Cartier. He was brave, adventurous and honorable, and may well be regarded as the founder of Canada, or New France, as it was then called. In 1608 Champlain founded Quebec, building three houses, surrounded by a wooden wall for defense, and outside the wall a moat like a European fortress. He gained the friendship of his Algonquin neighbors, and, in the summer of 1609, joined with them and the Hurons in an expedition against the Iroquois.

How long before the Dutch came to New York the Iroquois had occupied and dominated the territory from Niagara to the Hudson river no one can tell; their traditions furnish no reliable information; with them it was the stone age and there is no written history of their career up to that time. When the Dutch came in 1609, they found the five nations, or Iroquois, in possession, firmly established, feared by all their neighbors and leagued together against the Hurons and other Canadian Nations on the north, the Algonquins on the east, the Creeks and Cherokees on the south, and the Sioux on the west.

They were the most powerful confederation of savages on the continent. They were hunters and eaters of men, levying continual war from Niagara to the Mississippi; from the St. Lawrence to Hudson's Bay; from the Hudson River to the Atlantic coast and from their own southern boundary to Georgia and the Carolinas. They killed, scalped, tortured and ate their enemies, and while in some respects much superior to their neighbors, they were the fiercest and most savage of American Indians.

These wild men welcomed the Dutch to New Amsterdam and Albany because they bought their furs and supplied them with guns and powder. The Dutch were traders and came in peace, and a firm and lasting friendship was established with the Mohawks, which continued during the entire Dutch occupancy, and under their English successors.

Champlain and the French came as enemies, allies of the hated Hurons, and the manner of their coming was never forgiven or forgotten. The same summer that Hudson sailed up the great river which bears his name, Champlain with two Frenchmen, and a large party of Hurons and Algonquin warriors, came up the St. Lawrence and the Sorel, entered that beautiful lake now called Champlain, and, paddling along its shore, met a large party of Mohawk warriors, who were on their way to invade the country of their northern neighbors. The

Hurons and the three Frenchmen were greatly outnumbered, but the Mohawks then knew nothing of fire arms and after two discharges of the guns of the Frenchmen, the Iroquois fled in terror, and Champlain and his allies returned to Quebec in triumph. He soon after returned to France but came back in 1611, made another expedition into Lake Champlain against the Iroquois, and attempted a settlement at Montreal, but it did not thrive. Champlain also ascended the Ottawa to the Huron towns, thinking that he might by that way reach Hudson's Bay and perhaps find the long sought Northwest passage to India, but he met with so much difficulty that he turned back and did not get even to Georgian Bay, until his next trip up the Ottawa, in 1614. Thence coasting southward, along the eastern shore of that bay, he reached the Huron towns overland. One of the zealous Reccolet missionaries had already begun work among the Hurons, and the Indians had built him a chapel of bark; the first mass was said in this chapel after Champlain's arrival. He then joined these Hurons in a campaign against the Iroquois, crossing Lake Ontario, and attacking them at Onondaga. Here they found a fortified town and were defeated. The Hurons returned to their own country and refused to allow Champlain to go back to Quebec until the following summer.

The French had made another attempt at settlement in Acadia. Port Royal was founded in 1604, abandoned in 1607 and again occupied in 1610. The Micmac Indians all became Christians, and they with the Abonakis, allies of the French, and later on the scourge and terror of the English settlements of northern and eastern New England.

In 1622 the Iroquois attempted to exterminate the French in Canada because of the help they had given their enemies, and an army of savages attacked the convent and fort at Quebec, but they were defeated and secured only a few Huron prisoners.

Aside from these raids of the Iroquois, the new settlers had troubles of their own, Jesuits and Reccolets could not agree in Quebec any better than they could in France, and the colony did not prosper. In 1627 Cardinal Richelieu put the control of New France into the hands of "The Company of One Hundred Associates," but the attempt to farm out the colonies in Canada was not more successful than in other parts of America. In 1626 war broke out between France and England. The French colonies in Acadia had been partially destroyed by an English expedition from Virginia in 1613 and in 1629 Captain David Kirk ascended the St. Lawrence and captured Quebec. It was restored to France in 1633 and in 1635 its founder, Samuel De Champlain, died. Settlements were established along the St. Lawrence, and some interest was awakened in France in the project of Christianizing the Algonquins and the Hurons. There was a continual state of war with the Iroquois, and the houses of the French habitants were liable to attack at any time day or night. The Jesuits obtained the controlling influence in the colony. Their missionaries penetrated the interior and established themselves in the Huron villages, and while they made no serious attempt

to civilize, they baptized the savages and called them Christians; the converts became the firm friends of the French and fiercely fought the common enemy, the Iroquois.

The Jesuits discouraged the cannibal practice of eating prisoners, but thought it well enough to torture and burn them, provided a Jesuit priest could baptize the victim just before he gave up the ghost, so as to insure his salvation from eternal fire.

In 1650, the Iroquois attacked the Huron villages located between Lake Ontario and the Georgian Bay, and nearly destroyed the entire nation, numbering about 6,000 people.

A remnant took refuge on an island in the Bay and later went farther west and were known as Wyandots. A few went among the Algonquins, and under the walls of Quebec found comparative safety, but even there the Iroquois pursued them, and the French themselves escaped destruction only because of their guns and wooden walls. Jesuit priests were taken, tortured and murdered, and died rejoicing that they had been found worthy of martyrdom.

Among these were Goupil de Nove, Daniel, Couture, Garnier, Chabaneau, Brebeuf and Lallemant. No braver men ever lived or died in the service of the Savior.

Parkman says: "The movement in western Europe known as the Renaissance, was far more than a revival of arts and letters—it was an awakening of intellectual, moral and religious life, the offspring of cause long in action, and the parent of other movements in action to this day. "The Protestant reformation was a part of it. That revolt against Rome produced a counter renaissance in the bosom of the ancient church itself. In presence of that peril she awoke from sloth and corruption, and girded herself to beat back the invading heresies, by fraud or by craft, by inquisitorial fires, by the arms of princely and imperial allies and by the self-sacrificing enthusiasm of her saints and martyrs.

"That time of change produced the exalted piety of Xavier and the intense, thoughtful zeal of Loyola. After a century had passed, the flame still burned and it never shone with a purer or brighter radiance than in the early missions of New France. But before the end of the 17th Century the functions of the Canadian Jesuit had become as much political as religious."

In 1656 the Canadians yielding to the solicitation of the Iroquois, and accepting their invitations, formed a colony at Onondaga. They were received with apparent friendship and the Indians listened to the teaching of the priests with seeming interest, but the whites were soon convinced that they were being deceived, and that in the end the Indians intended to torture and destroy them. Then followed for more than a year a great game of dissimulation. The French determined that they would not wait until the fires were lighted for their sacrifice, but would escape if possible and return home.

They secretly began the building of boats in their house by the lake shore, and at the same time used every effort to flatter and cajole the

Indians. Finally one night late in March, 1658, as soon as the ice had gone out of the lake and river, they gathered the Indians to the rear of their great bark building and gave them a feast. It was the Indian custom to gorge themselves with food at these feasts so as to be almost unable to move, and on this occasion when the Indians were thus gorged and sleeping off the effects of the mighty meal, the French quietly placed their boats in the lake and all started for Canada. When the Indians awoke, their intended victims had escaped; how, the Indians could not tell, as they knew nothing about the boats and the fugitives had left no trail. The fleeing French had a perilous passage, mid snow and ice, by lake and river, but finally arrived in safety at Montreal.

The French built a fort at the mouth of the Sorel, and maintained a garrison there, but it was easily avoided and the enemy coming down Lake Champlain simply carried their canoes around the fort, and launched them below on the St. Lawrence.

Many hostile raids were made in the dead of winter, and every man who laid down to sleep in his forest camp knew that he was liable to be killed before morning.

In 1660, Adam Dollard and 17 Frenchmen with 40 Hurons, learning of a threatened Iroquois invasion, took quarters in an old fort at the foot of the Long Sault on the St. Lawrence. The enemy came, laid siege to the fort, and after several days of very severe fighting, in which many of the besiegers were killed, all but one of the Hurons deserted, the Iroquois entered the fort and Dollard and 16 of his Frenchmen were butchered, but the victorious Iroquois were discouraged by this brave resistance, and by their own losses, and turning back, abandoned the enterprise.

In the Winter of 1665 and '66, Courcelle, then Governor of Canada, took the offensive and invaded the Mohawk valley. The western confederates had suffered greatly in the Huron and Shawnee wars and had made peace with the French, but the Mohawks and Oneidas were constantly raiding into Canada, down the Sorel, and about Montreal, at which place since 1642, the French had maintained a convent, hospital and garrison.

This expedition of Courcelle reached the Mohawk valley but accomplished nothing. In the Fall of 1666, Tracy, with the first regiment of regular troops that ever came to America, numbering 1,000 men, and a large body of Canadian and Indian allies, came by the usual route, up the Sorel and through Lake Champlain, and carried the war into our fair valley. The towns of the Mohawks and Oneidas were burned and their crops destroyed.

The Indians fled before the invading French without striking a blow, and they received such severe treatment that for twenty years the Canadian colonists enjoyed peace and prosperity and multiplied exceedingly.

During these years of comparative peace, Fathers Allouez, Dablon,

Marquette and Hennepin taught and baptized the heathen and explored the great West. Father Dollé De Casson was another devoted priest who figured in many an expedition of trial and hardship. He was the first white man to sail through Lakes Erie and St. Clair. A giant in stature, it is said that he could stretch his arms and hold a man on each hand; tender hearted as a woman, he nursed the sick, shrived the dying and was greatly beloved by his associates, the soldiers and the people.

Louis Joliet traversed the upper Mississippi country, and the region about Lake Winnipeg and accomplished much as an explorer. But greatest of all was Robert De La Salle, who after repeated trials and many failures, overcame all obstacles, pushed his way down the Illinois and the Mississippi to its mouth, claimed the whole country west of the Ohio and the Mississippi for the King of France, founded a colony in Texas, and at last in the solitudes of that lonely region fell, murdered by his own men.

He it was who first proposed that vast scheme of continental empire, which, for a hundred years was the dream of France, and the menace of the American colonies. With her ships on the Great Lakes and her forts along the Ohio and the Mississippi reaching from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, France hoped to push the English colonies into the Atlantic, but between these scattered settlements, straggling along the coast, and the armies of France advancing from Canada, stood the Iroquois, like a wall of fire, ever to be reckoned with, and never overcome.

In 1669 the Massachusetts Indians made their last hostile raid into our valley and were cut to pieces and driven out by the Mohawks.

The French made some attempt to secure the friendship of and to Christianize the Iroquois and sent missionaries among them.

No prospect of torture could deter the zealous Jesuit priests from these enterprises; and Father Joques, after having been mutilated by the Mohawks and held by them for more than a year in a most terrible slavery, escaped by the assistance of the Dutch at Albany, went to France, obtained liberty from his Bishop to celebrate the mass with his mutilated hands and returned to Canada, to again take up his work and die a martyr's death at their hands. The scene of his final suffering has become the shrine at Auriesville, and is visited by many pious Catholics who revere his memory.

In this period Frontenac ruled Canada his first term and loyally he served the grand monarch, Louis the 14th, in that policy of paternalism which sapped the life blood of the State and fostered the tyranny of the Church. Proud and arrogant, he quarreled with the Bishop and the Jesuits and like other Canadian governors, sought to enrich himself at the expense of the colony.

But he was bold and able; the Iroquois feared him. He established forts and trading posts upon the frontier, and kept open the avenues of trade so that the colony prospered.

Parkman says of Frontenac: "Many surpassed him in cruelty; none equalled him in capacity and vigor."

Before the reign of Louis the 14th, the entire white population of Canada did not exceed 2,500. In 1668 it was 5,870 and during this reign every effort possible was made by the King to increase the number.

Girls were sent out from France by the ship load as wives for the colonists and when they arrived, as an old writer says: "Bridegrooms chose their wives as a butcher chooses sheep out of the midst of the flock." The marriages took place at once, and the next day the Governor gave each new couple an ox, a cow, two hogs, two fowls, two barrels of salt meat and eleven crowns in money.

Young men were required to marry at twenty, girls at sixteen. No mercy was shown to odbrate batchelors; they were forbidden to hunt, fish, trade with the Indians, or go into the forest under any pretense whatever, and were excluded from all offices. In spite of these aids to matrimony, many young men took to the woods and refused the wives so kindly furnished by the King.

De Casson tells of a widow who was married afresh before her late husband was buried. Bounties were paid for large families: For ten children, 300 livres; for twelve, 400 livres, and for fifteen, 1,200 livres per year. Yet with all this stimulation and encouragement by the government in half a century the gain was only 20,000.

The people were regarded as the children of the King. Lands were held by feudal tenure, and this system was not entirely abolished in Canada until 1854.

The Governor, and the intendant, who was always a mere spy on the Governor, each wrote long letters, from forty to sixty pages, home, giving their views of the situation and complaining of the conduct of the other. The power of the Governor, intendant and council was absolute, and only limited by the will of the King. No foreign trade was allowed. All trade was in the hands of the government, prices on all articles and the per cent. of profit allowed to a merchant were fixed by the council, home traders were favored, Huguenots and Protestants were forbidden to exercise their religion, or to remain in the colony during Winter without special license. Not an enterprise was set up without a petition to the King for aid, and it was rarely refused.

The instructions to Gov. Talon in 1666 from Colbert, the French Prime Minister contains the following words:

"As the King regards his Canadian subjects from the highest to the lowest almost as his own children and wishes them to enjoy equally with the people of France the mildness and happiness of his reign, the Sieur Talon is to solace them in all things, and encourage them to trade and industry, and seeing that nothing can better promote this end, than entering into the details of their households, and of all their little affairs, it will not be amiss that he visit all their settlements, one after the other in order to learn the true conditions,

provide as much as possible for their wants and performing the duty of a good head of a family put them in the way of making some profit."

The King did everything, the people did nothing for themselves. The festivals of the Church became so numerous that not ninety working days were left in the whole working season. Beaver and moose skins were used for money and wheat was made a legal tender. At one time there was an issue of playing cards stamped as money and the scheme of fiat money was fully developed. A candid study of the history of those times ought to satisfy the most rabid inflationist of our day. A writer of that age says: "It is the sign of a sign, and has no value as the representative of money." Yet it bore the government stamp of value. Would fiat money be any better now? The beaver trade, and the law against bachelors produced "Coureur de bois;" young men who adopted the customs of the savages, and became wilder than the Indians themselves. At one time eight hundred out of a population of less than ten thousand were living in the woods, and when these men came into the settlement, "There was a hot time in the old town."

The government outlawed these wild rovers, but the governor and his business partners found it profitable to maintain friendly relations with them, and they could always be depended on as volunteers in expeditions against the English colonies.

The Jesuits opposed balls, dancing and the sale of liquor to the Indians, they tried hard to draw the Iroquois away from the Dutch and English, and to divert their trade to Canada. The first temperance meeting in America was held in 1648 at the Jesuit missions of Sillery, but the priests could not break up the trade in rum.

The plan of the Jesuits was "for the church to rule the world, the Pope to rule the church, and the Jesuits to rule the Pope."

Laval became "Bishop of Petraea," Vicar Apostolic of Canada, in 1659, at the age of 36, and at once had a bitter contest with Queylus, the Sulpitian Priest of Montreal, who opposed him, and who would not admit his authority; but the Jesuits sided with Laval and after seven years of strife, Queylus submitted.

Laval was a Montmorancy and could brook no divided authority. He quarreled with Governor after Governor and drove one after another from the colony. The Jesuit principles were never better explained than by one of their own number as late as 1872, the Rev. Father Braun, in a sermon at Montreal: "The supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, the independence and liberty of the church, the subordination and submission of the State to the church; in case of conflict between them, the church to decide, the State to submit; for whoever follows and defends these principles, life and a blessing; for whoever rejects and combats them, death and a curse." Laval always acted upon this theory of ethics and his successors followed him.

The English succeeded the Dutch in New York and Albany in 1664,

and maintained friendly relations with the Iroquois. During the years of peace with the French, the Iroquois recruited their strength; they destroyed the Illinois in 1680, the Eries and Andastes in 1682 and in 1684 again defied the French. Denonville fought the Senecas in their own country in 1687, and when the war between France and England broke out in 1688 the contest became general and New York and Canada again a battle ground.

The Iroquois attacked Montreal in 1689 and massacred many of the inhabitants. Count Frontenac after an absence of ten years returned as Governor of Canada in 1689. He was seventy years old, but he entered upon the defense of his country with all the energy of his youthful days. He immediately laid plans to capture New York and Boston, but did not receive the expected aid from France and the scheme was abandoned.

Among those hardy Frenchmen who made Canada their home was Charles LeMoynes, a man of great courage and ability. He was the father of eleven sons, at least five of whom, Serigny, Chateaugay, St. Helene, Bienville and Iberville, left great names behind them.

The three last named were with Mantel in February, 1690, at the burning of Schenectady. During a terrible storm on the night of February 8th, the palisade of that town was entered by a party of three hundred French and Indians, the houses fired and the inhabitants murdered as they ran from their beds. The town was completely destroyed and only a few escaped to tell the dreadful tale.

Four of the LeMoynes brothers were engaged in the attack on Fort Nelson on Hudson's Bay. Iberville was educated in France and was regarded as the most skillful captain in the French navy. While commanding the French frigate "Pelican," in 1697, he sailed into Hudson's Bay and fought in those icy waters that remarkable battle with three English ships in which he destroyed them all and added to his own fame.

He also ravaged the English settlements of New Foundland, terrorized the Atlantic coast, founded a French colony in Louisiana, and finally, as he was preparing for an attack on North Carolina died of fever at Havana, at the age of forty-five. Bienville was twice Governor of Louisiana and had a great career in that colony. St. Helene fell during the British attack on Quebec. Captain John Schuyler led a party of English and Indians into Canada in 1690, and destroyed the village of LaPrarie, near Montreal, but the Boston expedition up the river against Quebec was a complete failure.

In January, 1693, an army of nearly seven hundred Canadians came out of the forest near Schenectady, burned the houses of the settlers, destroyed the Mohawk towns and having captured some three hundred prisoners, retreated.

They were pursued by Captain Peter Schuyler with a small party of militia and Indians. He came up with them near Saratoga, killed about twenty of them and harrassed them until they reached Lake Cham-

plain, when they escaped on the ice, but many of them perished with cold on their way to Canada.

The settlements of northern New England suffered terribly in this war, town after town was burned and destroyed, and the people murdered or carried into captivity, but it is not my purpose to tell the tale of blood and fire, outside our own valley. The Massachusetts men retaliated on Acadia, and the Iroquois and New Yorkers on Canada.

A single incident of the New England trouble will suffice. In 1697, Haverhill, in Massachusetts, was attacked by the Canadian Indians and the Dustan house burned. Hannah Dustan and Mary Neff were taken prisoners. Mrs. Dustan's baby, one week old, was murdered before her eyes and the prisoners started for Canada. One night Mrs. Dustan, who had planned an escape, inspired Mary Neff and a white boy taken at Wooster, to attack their captors. Rising quietly, the boy and the two women each took a tomahawk and striking rapidly killed all of the sleeping Indians but a little boy and a squaw, who escaped wounded into the woods. Mrs. Dustan returned to her desolated home with a canoe, gun, tomahawk and ten Indian scalps as trophies of her valor.

Frontenac crossed Lake Ontario in 1696 and attacked Onondaga without doing very much damage. He returned to Canada and died in 1698. His successor, Calliere, made peace with the Iroquois, but war broke out again in 1703 and lasted until 1712. During these years New York did not suffer as much as did New England. In 1712 the Outagamiens of Fox River, Wisconsin, formed an alliance with the Iroquois and attacked the western outposts of the French, but did not destroy them.

By the peace of Utrecht, France and England each restored captured territory and the Iroquois were recognized by France as being within the English domain, but the Iroquois themselves acknowledged no master. They simply called the English brothers and the King their father. Parkman says that in 1701, "The power of the Iroquois was so far broken that they were never again very formidable to the French. Canada had confirmed her Indian alliances and rebutted the English claim to sovereignty over the five tribes with all the consequences that hung upon it;" and also in a note, "That the Iroquois numbered twenty-five hundred warriors in 1699; twelve hundred and fifty in 1698, and twelve hundred in 1701. After the Tuscaroras joined them in 1720, they numbered two thousand."

In their best days they never could muster more than five thousand warriors, and La Potherie says of them: "Strange that four or five thousand should make a whole new world tremble. New England is but too happy to gain their good graces. New France is often wasted by their wars and our allies dread them over an extent of more than fifteen hundred miles."

Acadia was ceded to England in 1713.

After 1712 the English colonies increased in population much more rapidly than did Canada. The Iroquois adopted a policy of neutrality

and had it not been for the great influence of the Schuylers and of Sir William Johnson they might have yielded to the solicitation of the Jesuit priests and joined France against the English: but the Mohawks and Oneidas generally stood firm and acted with the English in the wars of '45 and '56.

The French priests labored diligently and somewhat effectively to win the friendship of the Iroquois, but in 1738, William Johnson came from Ireland into the Mohawk valley and settled among the Mohawks. He was the nephew of Sir Peter Warren. He learned the language of the Iroquois, adopted their mode of living when among them, and became the most able and efficient Indian Agent that England ever had. How much this valley owes to Sir William Johnson no one can know without a diligent study of his life and the history of those times. It was through him, more than by any other influence that the Six Nations were kept in alliance with the English, and eventually that the tide of battle was turned against the French. Some Iroquois were drawn away and became mission or praying Indians, settling near Montreal. They joined the French in their attacks on the English settlements and murdered, scalped and burned their poor captives just as if they had not been Christianized. Mercy to heretics and protestants had no place in the French creed of those days.

Saratoga was destroyed and thirty families slaughtered in 1747, and a sharp battle with a party of French and Indians fought near Schenectady in the summer of 1748. The French were defeated and retreated, taking the unusual route via the Sacandaga, and thus escaped a party lying in wait to cut them off.

The English took Louisburgh in that war, but much to the disgust of the colonists, by the peace of 1748, captured territory, except Acadia, was again restored to France and for a few years more there was a nominal peace until the final struggle began in 1754. Each party had tried to strengthen itself by building forts in the disputed territory. The French at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara and down the Ohio. The English on the eastern border of Maine, in New Hampshire, at Fort Edward and at Oswego.

The Iroquois urged the English to action and in a council held in 1754 at Albany, for the common defense, between the Governors of the several colonies and the chiefs of the Six Nations, a Mohawk chief said: "Look at the French; they are men; they are fortifying everywhere. It is but one step from Canada hither and they may easily come and turn you out of doors."

One is reminded by the words of this savage orator of Cato's "*Carthago est delenda*" in the Roman senate. There had been skirmishing all along the disputed boundary and French priests were constantly trying to stir the Acadians to revolt, and to violate their oath of allegiance to the British crown.

So, almost at the beginning of the struggle the Acadians were expelled from the peninsula and driven into exile. We see now that the

exile of the Acadians was excusable if not justifiable, but it has furnished foundation for many a pathetic tale, both in prose and poetry, and is regarded as one of the saddest incidents in history.

Late in November, 1757, Captain Belletre, with three hundred French and Indians, attacked the German settlement where Herkimer village is now situated. Friendly Oneidas and Tuscaroras had warned the settlers but the warning for some reason was unheeded and the settlement was unprepared.

In the Doc. History of New York, Vol. X, page 672, there is a translation of the French Captain's official report of his exploit. Whether or not he was a great fighter, he was certainly a great liar. He says he burned sixty houses, killed forty English, took one hundred and fifty prisoners and a large amount of plunder; that one Indian alone secured \$6,000 in money, and that the mayor of the town lost \$80,000 worth of property. We all know there was no such amount of wealth here at that time.

The inhabitants of the village fled to Fort Herkimer, across the river. Some were killed, nearly one hundred carried into captivity and their property and homes burned and destroyed. The enemy did not attack the fort, but after securing their plunder, took the back track for Canada.

On April 30th, 1758, a party of eighty Indians and four Frenchmen entered the valley and appeared near Fort Herkimer. This time they attacked the settlements on the south side of the river and killed some thirty of the inhabitants, but were driven off by Captain Blair and his rangers from the fort.

That the French were thoroughly posted on the situation through the Valley may be seen from the following translation of a document in the French archives at Paris, Doc. History, Vol 10, page 678: "Fort Kouari is situate on the right bank of the Mohawk river, on a small hill on the scarp of the river. It is a large three-story stone house, with port holes at each story and likewise in the basement, for the purpose of cross firing.

"The Palatine village, which consisted of thirty houses, has been entirely destroyed and burnt by a detachment under M. de Belletre's orders. The inhabitants of this village formed a company of one hundred men bearing arms. They reckoned three hundred persons, men, women and children, one hundred and two of whom were made prisoners and the remainder fled to Fort Kouari, except a few who were killed whilst fording the river. From the Palatine village to the Little Falls, still continuing along the banks of the river, is estimated about three leagues. In this distance there had been eight houses, which have been abandoned. The inhabitants of these houses compose a company with those of Fort Kouari, at the opposite of the river."

Also in a note, page 680, from another French document, we get this: "In the whole country of the river Corlae there were nine companies of militia under the command of Colonel Johnson, eight only remain,

that of the village of the Palantines being no longer in existence, the greater portion having been defeated by M. De Belletre's detachment. Colonel Johnson assembles these companies when he has news of any expedition which may concern the Mohawk river. He did so in April, 1757, and with twelve hundred, in all two thousand men, entrenched himself at the head of the Palatine village when the French went up the St. Lawrence to re-enforce the beautiful river (Ohio)."

The Shawnees and Delawares, though vassals of the Iroquois, went over to the French, but the Cherokees were faithful to the English.

Braddock's defeat was a great disaster and many of the wavering Indians, especially Senecas, thinking that the French would be victorious, took sides with them. Johnson's victory at Lake George in 1755, in which two hundred Mohawks took part and Hendrick, the Mohawk chieftain, fell, slightly stemmed the tide. Montcalm took and destroyed the English fort at Oswego and obtained entire control of Lake Ontario in 1756. Lord Loudon and General Abercrombie made a miserable failure of the campaign against Ticonderoga in 1757, so that at the close of 1757 the French were triumphant all along the line. They were fortified at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, had destroyed Fort William Henry and Oswego, were in possession of the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, had won over many of the Iroquois, and even the Cherokees had begun to waver. But now the elder Pitt became Premier of England. A vigorous policy was adopted, all quarrels with the colonies about raising funds were put aside, Lord Loudon was recalled and able commanders with large English armies were sent to America. In that war England sent more soldiers to assist the Americans to conquer Canada than she did later in the Revolutionary war to attempt to maintain her own supremacy.

At the close of 1757 the victorious French, however, had begun to feel the exhaustion of war: the fields had not been tilled, for the men had been with Montcalm in the enemy's country; the crops failed; no supplies came from France and the English colonists far outnumbered the French.

Fort Stanwix was built in 1758 and Colonel Bradstreet with twenty-seven hundred provincials and one hundred and fifty Iroquois marched in September from that post, crossed Lake Ontario from the site of Oswego and took and destroyed Fort Frontenac.

In November of the same year General Forbes and Colonel George Washington took Fort DuQuesne and changed its name to Fort Pitt.

General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen captured Louisburg, and a French army of five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven men, in July, 1758, and here General Wolfe distinguished himself. General Amherst then turned his victorious army to help Abercrombie on Lake George against the hitherto invincible Montcalm. In a preliminary skirmish at Ticonderoga, Lord Howe, a man of great ability, and from whom much was expected, had been killed, and later Abercrombie, who had little capacity, and no faith in his provincial officers, Putnam,

Stark, Bradstreet and Rogers, had suffered defeat with the loss of two thousand men. He retreated to the site of Fort William Henry and even prepared to flee to Albany and New York, but when Amherst came the situation was changed.

In June, 1759, General Amherst with an overwhelming force proceeded against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which posts the French abandoned, and retreated down the lake. Amherst was slow about pursuing, and when in September he was ready to follow the French, it was too late to proceed against Montreal. Sir William Johnson with his Iroquois allies, and General Prideaux with two British regiments went to Niagara in the summer of 1759 and took the fort. Prideaux was killed early in the siege and Johnson obtained all the glory of the victory, as his Mohawks were of great assistance in the battle which preceded the surrender of the Fort. Colonel Boquet took the French forts at Presque Isle. Venango and Le Boef and Colonel Haldemand successfully resisted a French attack on Oswego. The French commander at Toronto burned his buildings and took his garrison to Montreal. General Gage, although ordered to attack the French post at Ogdensburg, failed to do so. Captain Rogers with his rangers attacked the village of St. Francis Indians about midway between Montreal and Quebec. They had been great freebooters and had often ravaged the New England settlements. He found them holding a feast, and waiting until about 3 o'clock in the morning when they were all asleep, entered the town and killed two hundred Indians. He returned to the settlements by the way of the Connecticut River.

Late in June, 1759, Wolfe arrived before and laid siege to Quebec, and on the 12th of September he fought that battle on the Plains of Abraham, which sealed the fate of New France, and gained for him the glory of a soldier's death. Montcalm, the ablest general France ever had in America, was mortally wounded and died September 14th. DeLevis, who succeeded Montcalm, attempted in April, 1760, to retake Quebec, he moved down from Montreal with about ten thousand men, defeated General Murray on the Plains of Abraham, and invested the town; but on the 9th of May a British ship arrived with relief and other vessels came on the 15th. DeLevis raised the siege and retreated up the river. General Amherst came down from Oswego and invested Montreal on the 6th of September. Murray came up from Quebec and Haviland from Crown Point, and on the 8th of September, 1760, Vaudreuil surrendered all Canada to the English. Pontiac in 1762 was able to draw only a few of the Senecas into his conspiracy, and Johnson held through that trying time nearly all of the Iroquois, as firm friends of the English king, so that our valley did not suffer again until the Revolutionary war.

The treaty of peace was signed in 1762 and Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were ceded to Great Britain. France reserved Louisiana and the territory west of the Mississippi, but soon after ceded it to Spain, and Spain, later on, ceded to Napoleon, who sold that whole

territory to the United States when Jefferson was President, in 1803. Thus just two hundred years after France began the settlement of Canada she finally retired and gave up forever the scheme of empire in North America, but what a terrible tale of blood is the history of those two centuries. The contest with France was the school in which the American colonies learned their own strength when united in a common cause.

In the battles with the French they learned to fight, and there such generals as Stark, Herkimer and Washington were educated.

It is no wonder that the Iroquois generally sided with the King in the war of the Revolution. The King of England had been their friend for many generations, his agent Johnson was like one of their own nation, he was their brother, his sons were loyalists and they cast in their lot with them. In that struggle they lost their homes and their country.

We have been so accustomed to blame the Indians for the cruelties perpetrated on the patriots, during that war, that we have forgotten the long period of more than a century in which the land of the Iroquois stood an almost impassable barrier between the hostile French of Canada, with their Indian allies on the one side, and the weak settlements of New York on the other. Now we know that we are under great obligations to the Iroquois. More than once they saved the settlers in this valley from destruction, and what is better still, they saved the continent from Jesuit domination, and French civilization.

Let us give them the honor they deserve, and remember that they were true friends of our fathers when our fathers most needed friends, and although they were savages and heathen, they loved the valley of the Mohawk, and the places where we delight to dwell.

CHRONOLOGY.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, November 11,
1899.

Chronology and geography are said to be the two eyes of history. The student who would properly understand and appreciate the story of any people must consider their relations in time and space to other people and other countries.

The science of Chronology deals with time in its succession; and many Chronological systems formerly prevailed and several still prevail. Among all nations having Chronological tables, time has always been computed from some important event in their history. In ancient Rome, it was computed from the founding of Rome by Romulus, in 753 B. C., in the fourth year of the sixth Olympiad. In Greece, the Olympic Games were great national events. They were instituted in honor of Jupiter to exercise the Grecian youths in various athletic contests and combats. They took place near Olympia in the Peloponesus, now the Morea, every four years; and hence an Olympiad was a period of four years. The victor in those games was honored with a crown of wild olives and sometimes he became a national hero. In 776 B. C. Coroebus, one of the contestants in the games of that year, achieved great and conspicuous success, and hence the Olympiads were reckoned from that date. The Mohammedans (except in Persia) reckon time from the Hegira, the flight of their prophet from Mecca to Medina, July 16, A. D. 622. The Jews reckon time from the date of the Creation as they learn it from their Bible. Biblical scholars differ widely as to that date, their computations depending upon the Biblican versions they use and upon their views of the facts there recorded. Their estimates vary from 3616 the time usually accepted by the Jews, to 6984 years before Christ. The ordinarily received Biblical chronology is that of Archbishop Usher, who put the date of the Creation at 4004 B. C.

Among some of the older nations of the East, there is a remarkable coincidence in the commencement of their chronologies, which are all

based upon very little if any data of facts even authenticated by any established traditions. The Hindoos in their count of time reach back 6174, the Babylonians 6158 and the Chinese 6157 years before Christ.

The year has not always had the same length. In Rome it was at one time 354 days, then 360, then 365; and finally the calendar was reformed under Julius Cæsar, and the year was made 365 days and one-quarter, and that has been called the Julian Year. It was divided into twelve months, January, March, May, July, September and November having 31 days, and all the remainder but February having 30 days. February had 29 days except every fourth year, when it had 30 days. As July, named after Julius Cæsar, had 31 days, the Emperor Augustus, who succeeded Julius, determined that August, named after him, should also have 31 days; and he caused the calendar to be rearranged as to the lengths of the months, as it now is.

There have in different ages and countries been different times for the commencement of the year. Among the Latin Christian nations it began variously January 1st, March 1st, March 25th, December 25th, and at Easter. In England, from the Fourteenth Century until the change from the Old Style to the New, in 1752, the legal and ecclesiastical year began on the 25th of March.

Among the ancients, astronomy was a very imperfect science. The Ptolemaic system, which placed the earth in the center of the universe, with the sun and all the other planets revolving around it, prevailed until the present Copernican system, due to a better knowledge of astronomy was established in the early part of the Sixteenth Century.

At the time of the establishment of the Julian year, 45 B. C., the instruments for measuring time were very primitive and imperfect. There were then probably no clocks operated by wheels or springs as we now have them. There were three means of measuring time, to-wit: Sun dials, the hour glass, and vessels holding water, which was permitted to run out through an orifice. Cæsar, therefore, in his reformation of the calendar made a mistake in the precise length of the year; and when he made it 365 days and six hours he made it about eleven minutes too long, the more accurate measurement of modern times making the true length of the mean solar year 365 days 5 hours, 49 minutes and 46 seconds. The consequence of this error in the length of the Julian year was a constantly increasing discrepancy between the calendar time and the true solar time; and by the year 1582, this discrepancy amounted to about ten days—the calendar time being so much behind the solar time. Astronomical science had made such progress that the error was discovered, and Pope Gregory XIII determined that the calendar should be reformed; and, therefore, he issued a Bull on the 15th day of October, 1582, advancing the calendar 10 days and calling that day the 15th; and the calendar as thus reformed was adopted in all the countries which acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope; and this mode of computing time came to be called the "New Style," and this reformed calendar was called the "Gregorian

calendar," to distinguish it from the "Julian calendar." It was not adopted in all the Protestant states of Germany and northern Europe until 1774. It was adopted by act of Parliament in England in 1752, and now is in use in the whole of Europe except Russia, where the Old Style, the Julian calendar, is still used. But measures have recently been taken there to change to the New Style on the 1st day of January, 1901.

By the time the New Style came to be adopted in England the discrepancy between it and the Old Style was eleven days, and hence the calendar was advanced eleven days, the 3rd of the month being called the 14th. The discrepancy remained eleven days until 1800, and since then it has been twelve days, and after 1900 it will be 13 days.

These changes in the calendar and conflicting methods of computing time has introduced some confusion into history, and historians differ in their records of many important events as to the precise dates when they occurred.

The system of counting time from the foundation of Rome and by the Olympiads was continued until about the middle of the Sixth Century of the present era, when Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman Abbot, introduced into Italy the method of counting time from the birth of Christ, which according to his computation occurred in the fourth year of the one hundred and ninety-fourth Olympiad and the 753rd year of the foundation of Rome; and this method came into vogue in other parts of Europe at later periods. More accurate calculations since have shown that he made a mistake and that he placed that event about four years too late; and hence its date must be placed in the year 4 B. C. Therefore, counting from the birth of Christ, as now ascertained, this is the 1903rd year from that event.

The system of reckoning time from the supposed birth of Christ has universally been adopted among Christian nations, and since its adoption has been departed from but once. During the French revolution, when the churches were closed, and religion was abolished by law, and reason enthroned in its stead, a new calendar was introduced, counting time from September 22nd, 1792, the first year being the "first of the French Republic." The Christian calendar was restored there after the madness bred of the revolution had passed away in 1806.

The change from the Old to the New Style was not made in England without considerable agitation and opposition. Pope Gregory XIII was from various reasons very odious to the Protestants throughout Europe; and they were very reluctant to follow his lead in the reformation of the calendar. The reformation was carried through Parliament on the initiative of Lord Chesterfield, who introduced the act into the House of Lords, in the reign of George II, while the Duke of Newcastle was Prime Minister. Lord Chesterfield had the assistance of the eminent mathematicians, Lord Macclesfield and Mr. Bradley. The Prime Minister, dreading an explosion of popular feeling, entreated Chesterfield not to "stir matters that had long been quiet," or to med-

dle with "new fangled things;" and his apprehensions were to some extent realized, as a widespread irritation was for a time aroused. By the opponents of the measure, much was said about the profanity of altering Saints' days and immovable feasts. Many of the common people felt as if eleven days had been taken out of their lives as they went to bed on the 2nd of September and woke up on the 14th; and at the next election one of the most popular cries of the mob was, "Give us back the eleven days we have been robbed of." Hogarth, the great caricaturist, in one of his pictures representing an election feast, introduces a banner carried by one of the crowd, bearing the inscription, "Give us back our eleven days!"

When many years later Mr. Bradley died of a lingering disease, his sufferings were supposed by the populace to be a judgment due to the part he had taken in the "impious transaction;" and in subsequent years, when a bill was pending in Parliament for the naturalization of the Jews, it was said in debate: "It is no wonder he should be for naturalizing the devil who was one of those that banished old Christmas." And there was a ballad against the bill with these lines:

"In seventeen hundred and fifty-three
The style it was changed to Popery."

The change to the New Style was, indeed, an achievement of infinite difficulty. Many statesmen shrank from the undertaking, and Lord Chesterfield found it essential to prepare the public by writing and publishing papers on the subject. After he had made a speech in the House of Lords in favor of his bill, he wrote to his son: "I had not even attempted to explain the bill to them; I might as soon have talked Celtic or Slavonic to them as astronomy. They would have understood it full as well." No better illustration can be found than the popular clamor in England over the change to the New Style to show that ignorance is the foster mother of superstition and bigotry. We are fortunate to live in an age when the cry of most intelligent men and women is *Fiat Lux* in the pursuit of truth wherever it leads.

ARPHAXED LOOMIS—HIS CAREER AND PUBLIC SERVICES.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. GEO. W. SMITH, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, December 9, 1899.

The subject of this sketch was in many respects the foremost lawyer of Herkimer county, and in what was his distinguishing line in jurisprudence, he was one of the most truly eminent in the state or nation.

There are lawyers and lawyers, some who are governed only by precedent. They abide by the mediaeval superstition that all wisdom was of the ancients; they are wholly bound by "ita lex scripta est," and think it temerity to attempt to be "wise above what is written." There are others who better deserve the plaudits and gratitude of posterity. These discern the evils perpetuated by precedents, they recognize the truth that the latest experience is the sum of our knowledge; to them, errors and abuses are not venerable, though imbedded in usage and sanctioned by tradition, but things to be attacked and abolished. They realize that every human institution should be informed and modified by the enlightened spirit of the age, be made flexible to the movement of events and adjusted to new conditions. Such minds do not hesitate to consign outworn and obstructive forms to the limbo of things useless and the obsolete.

To this latter class Arphaxed Loomis belonged, and guided by the ideas of men of that school, he was instrumental in producing the greatest reform in the exercise of popular self-government and in the administration of the law that has been accomplished within any century since written constitutions and laws have existed.

Mr. Loomis at an early day pointed out the necessary restriction of the legislative power to impose public debt upon the people, and the necessity for enlarging the same power over the corporations which it created. The limitation of legislative power was repugnant to generally accepted ideas. The representation of the people by their agents in the legislature had been regarded as the very palladium of the public safety, the safety of the public purse, and of most of the citizens'

rights. But experience had shown that this delegated power had often been exercised to the public detriment in expending the public money and should be limited. Indeed, when a government is dictated by the popular will, the most essential provisions of the organic law are those which limit the power of the people themselves or of their agents. There is no human sovereignty, whether of monarch or people, but must be restrained by some higher law than any present impulse of mere desire or will, either autocratic or popular.

It was said against this check upon the debt creating power that it discredited the representative system. Daniel S. Dickinson, addressing the graduates of Hamilton Law School in 1852, attacked this provision and said that it "practically concedes that popular representative government had proved a failure—that no persons can be found possessing sufficient wisdom and integrity to discharge faithfully the representative office, or if such exist, that the electors have not the honesty or discernment to select them. * * * So long as representative government is upheld, legislation should, said he, be permitted freely to exercise its functions upon all legislative subjects, leaving its errors to be corrected, its abuses restrained, not by constitutional fetters, but by elevating the representative standard, and holding the servant to a strict and fearful accountability, etc. This superficial reasoning of a statesman, more superficial than profound, practically advises allowing the abuses which are known to be incident to legislation, to go on, and then look to a responsibility that has no practical existence, and, in short, to "lock the door after the horse is stolen." Wiser men than Mr. Dickinson had learned that there must be checks on legislative power, and that they were nowhere more necessary than where they were applied to the debt making power.

The compelling the reference of the question of incurring debts to the vote of the people liable to pay them, is a provision second in salutary effects to no other ever adopted in this state, and such a "referendum" now gaining favor in popular government, might well be required on other questions of general public concern, even if it should imply some discontent with the manner in which legislative agents discharge their representative trust.

Mr. Loomis' eminent constructive faculties as constitutional and legal reformer provided the means of checking the imposition of public debt upon the State, and the means of correcting corporate abuses by enlarging the control of the legislature over their charters, a control before abridged by a series of decisions beginning with the Dartmouth College case, and he initiated and more than any other carried forward the simplifying of the legal procedure by which rights are asserted and wrongs redressed. Practice and pleading are the law, practically applied, and Charles O'Connor held this to be the chief department of jurisprudence.

To these great objects Mr. Loomis devoted a large part of his life, his deafness having precluded him, in a great degree, from the more active pursuit of his profession. His persevering efforts for constitu-

tional and legal reform were an unselfish labor. For this devotion of his energies and a large part of his life to these great public objects, there was no incentive of personal ambition or of pecuniary gain. His efforts were from the impulse of a patriotic public spirit, his reward was the reflection that he had conferred great and enduring benefits upon the whole State.

There have been many much applauded careers in the Senate and in the field, noisy with a public fame, which have left no monument that suggest any enduring or real public service. Mr. Loomis' name is writ large upon an improved constitution and upon a reformed judiciary, adopted by great numbers of our own and in foreign states, and which reforms are engrafted upon the procedure of that ancient temple of Anglo-Saxon law, Westminster Hall.

Arphaxed Loomis was born at Winchester, Conn., April 9, 1798. His father, Thaddeus Loomis, and his mother, Lois (Griswold) Loomis, settled in Salisbury, Herkimer county, when he was three years old. His father's means were small and he had a large family, and in his younger days Arphaxed worked on his father's farm. His father's health was not good; he was considerably occupied by his duties as justice of the peace, and the labor of his sons was required to aid in the support of the family. Mr. Loomis, Sr., was afterwards one of the associate judges of the Common Pleas, held at Johnstown, then the county seat for Salisbury, and known as "Judge."

At the age of fifteen Arphaxed was "hired out" by his father at first to teach school three months at \$6.00 per month and board "around," after the custom of those days. The school house was distant eight miles from his home, in the town of Norway. His father gave him his time and wages, about all that he was able to afford, and Arphaxed, by teaching school in Winter, obtained the means of paying his way at Fairfield Academy in the Summer. He entered the Academy in 1815 and attended there Summers until 1818, boarding himself, doing the little cooking required on a box stove, and bringing most of his provisions from home. Among his associates were Albert Barnes, author of the "Notes" on the Biblical writings, and Hiram Denio and Addison Gardner, who afterwards became Judges of the Court of Appeals, and he fully ranked with them in scholarship. The Academy was then in charge of Rev. Virgil H. Barber, a man of learning, who created a sensation by announcing his conversion to the Roman Catholic church, resigning his position as principal and temporarily breaking up the school.

Arphaxed remained at Fairfield, except when teaching, until 1818, when he began the study of law with William I. Dodge of Johnstown. In December he went to Watertown, continued teaching there, and read law in the office of Ford & Bucklin. He then spent a year and a half in the law office of Alfred Lathrop, at Champion, Jefferson county. Here, too, for a time sojourned the celebrated Henry R. Storrs, Judge Moss Kent, brother of the Chancellor, and Judge Egbert Ten Eyck,

father-in-law of Judge Joseph Mullen, who were attracted to that place by the project for making it a county seat for Jefferson county. Mr. Loomis finally finished his preparatory legal course with Justin Butterfield, an eminent lawyer at Sacketts Harbor, in whose office he remained for three years. He was admitted to practice in January, 1822, at Albany, his diploma being signed by Chief Justice Ambrose Spencer.

On his admission, he practiced law with Mr. Butterfield for about two years and then returned to Salisbury. In May, 1824, he went to Sacketts Harbor and from there sailed for Rochester, finally extending his trip to Buffalo, Pittsburg, Louisville and Nashville, with a view of finding a suitable location for practice. He visited General Jackson, at the "Hermitage," near Nashville, who hospitably entertained him and gave him a horse-back ride by his side to attend an old fashioned Fourth of July celebration. In July, 1824, he abandoned his purpose of a western location, and returned to Little Falls, with somewhat broken health, in September. He remained at his old home in Salisbury some months to recover his health and then revisited Sacketts Harbor, thinking he might resume practice there, but finally decided to begin his life work at Little Falls, where he opened an office March 4, 1825, taking the small law business of Oran G. Otis, then about to leave that place.

A great obstacle to the growth of Little Falls at that time was the policy of Edward Ellice, who owned most of the lands north of and adjoining the river. On the south the lands were owned by General Beltinger and non-residents of the Herkimer family. Ellice resided in England and had never visited Little Falls. He rented his lands on long leases and refused to sell. Only four or five of the residents had deeds in fee of their lands, and fifty of sixty held under leases, reserving a rent of \$3 per year for lots 60 by 120 feet. But relief was found in a clause inserted in the law giving Ellice's heir authority as an alien to take and convey real estate, forbidding Edward Ellice to lease, and this prohibition which had been overlooked, was found by Mr. Loomis and pleaded as a bar in an action brought by Ellice's agents to recover rent. The citizens organized an anti-rent war against the Ellice policy by public meetings, petitions to the legislature, etc., in which Mr. Loomis took a leading part, until Ellice was driven to make a sale of his lands in fee, which he did to six persons. This event was celebrated as a popular triumph, lots and water power were sold at auction, and the future prosperity of Little Falls was assured.

In 1828, Mr. Loomis was appointed surrogate by Governor Clinton, one of the few appointments made by Governor Clinton of Democrats. The compensation of the surrogate was then by fees, which amounted to about \$500 to \$600 per annum, the surrogate providing his own record books, blanks and stationery. In 1835 Mr. Loomis was appointed first judge of the Common Pleas, and held that office until 1840. The compensation for discharging the duties of

this office was a per diem of \$2 per day when holding court, and some small fees, the whole being less than \$100 per year. It is safe to say that large salaries have never secured a better or more satisfactory performance of the duties of these offices in this county, or elsewhere. The honor and dignity of these positions sufficed for the noble and healthy ambition of that time, and they secured the services of the highest order of talent.

On the 25th of October, 1831, Judge Loomis was married to Ann P., daughter of Dr. Stephen Todd, of Salisbury, the family residence being the well known "Todd Place," later the "Carr Place," about two miles from the residence of Judge Loomis' father. Dr. Todd, Member of Assembly in 1822, was the leading physician of that section and one of the pioneer dairymen of the country. Judge Loomis and his wife in November following took up their residence in Little Falls, where the rest of their lives was spent. Of their eight children, three survive, Watts T. Loomis, Miss Adeline A. Loomis and Louisa L., wife of David H. Burrell.

In 1834 Judge Loomis was appointed by Governor Marcy a commissioner to investigate the subject of the management and discipline of the State's prisons, and especially in regard to the employment of prisoners in mechanical industries. Judge Loomis' report to the legislature on that subject became the basis of the State's prison system until recent changes.

In 1836 he was elected to Congress for the twentieth district and took his seat at the extra session called in September, 1837. At this session he was appointed chairman of the Committee on Patents, and at the regular session, 1837-38, he was on the committee on Private Land Claims. At the third session he was on the committee on Public Lands and there advocated the just policy of limiting the sales of public lands to actual settlers. At this session he introduced resolutions looking to the abolition of the franking system and the reduction of the rates of postage. He served but one term in Congress. The other county of the district was Lewis, and as Herkimer had had the representative since 1824, the claims of Lewis were allowed and Andrew W. Doig was elected from that county for the succeeding term.

In 1834, when Judge Nathan Williams, of Oneida, was retired by age, Judge Loomis, then about thirty-five years of age, was nominated to the Senate by Governor Marcy as his successor. But senators knowing Judge Loomis' difficulty of hearing, brought the Governor's attention to that fact, and the nomination was for that reason withdrawn. These senators united in a kind letter to Judge Loomis, saying that his deafness was the sole cause of their action, and but for this, they would have promptly confirmed the nomination.

Could Judge Loomis have gone upon the bench, he would have stood in the first rank of the jurists of this country, but while he might have acquired greater reputation as a lawyer in a strictly judicial career, his services could not have been so widely useful as were those he gave

to the great subjects with which his name will always be connected. To those subjects he devoted strong originating and constructive powers, and in that field he justly ranks as a lawgiver, adjusting political and legal systems to the wants and conditions of the age, and to a rational and salutary progress.

As stated in the chapter on the "Herkimer School," the subject of legal reform, as well as that of limiting the creation of public debt, began to engage the attention of Mr. Loomis as early as 1835. In that year a series of resolutions, the joint product of Mr. Loomis and Dudley Burwell, were adopted by the Herkimer County Democratic Convention, and those portions which are from the pen of Mr. Loomis, embody the germs of the signal reforms in matter of State finance and of control over legislative charters, which were incorporated in the Constitution of 1846. Mr. Cambreling referred to these resolutions in the debate on the Constitution of 1846, when he said: "It (the Constitutional limiting of debt) was from this State, originating in the proceedings of 1835, (in Herkimer county), and later years, which demanded the 'People's Resolution' and the act of 1842," and he referred to the fact that this feature had then found its way into the constitutions of the several States.

In 1842, as chairman of the Assembly Judiciary committee, Mr. Loomis reported three bills which contained the substance of the new system of legal practice and procedure. David Dudley Field had bestowed his labors upon very similar lines of legal reform and these two original and constructive minds, each without communication with the other, laid a comprehensive basis for the new system. Mr. Field, after Mr. Loomis had prepared his bills and report, sent to a member of the committee an essay, and three bills upon the same subject. These Mr. Loomis attached to his own report and they were printed together in number 81 of the Assembly Documents of 1842. These bills did not pass. As Mr. Loomis remarks in his historic sketch of law reform, "public opinion was not yet ripe for the reforms which at a later day it demanded and achieved in a more extended and efficient form." The constitution of 1846 enjoined upon the legislature, at its first session after the adoption of that constitution, the appointment of three commissioners to revise, reform, simplify and abridge the practice and proceedings of the courts of record. The legislature of 1846 created a commission for this purpose, consisting of Arphaxed Loomis, Nicholas Hill and David Graham. The commission proceeded to its work in April, 1847, and in the following September Mr. Loomis presented a working code governing civil actions and a general outline of a plan abolishing mere forms of actions, and uniting the procedure in law and equity. Mr. Graham coincided, but Mr. Hill dissented and soon resigned, because he thought it impracticable to administer law and equity under one system, and he regarded Mr. Loomis' propositions as dangerous experiments. Mr. Hill claimed too, that this was the view generally taken by judges and lawyers. While

Mr. Hill still acted with the commission he had given his assent to the vital principle of the new pleading set forth by Mr. Loomis, "Ought it to be sufficient to state substantially for the cause of action or defense, so far set forth as to inform the other party of the grounds of action or defense without misleading him?" All the commissioners answered this inquiry in the affirmative. The work of Mr. Loomis, presented at this session, contained the essential principles of the system that was finally framed in more extended detail. At the same time he submitted his guiding principles in working out the contemplated reform in these propositions:

1. "A new system of practice and pleading to be established, and not a system of mere amendments to the existing practice."

2. "None of the present forms of common actions to be retained, but every action, as well of a legal as of an equitable nature, to rest on its own facts and the law applicable to them without regard to any legal definition of the kind of action, the remedy to be applied as the nature of the case may require."

3. "The affirmative pleadings to be confined to the complaint and answer, allowing a replication only to deny matter alleged in the answer."

4. "All existing remedies and rights to be retained, but the distinction of legal and equitable forms not to be retained. The remedy to be adjudged as the case when proven may require."

Mr. Loomis was asked to name a colleague in the place of Mr. Hill, and he selected David Dudley Field and he was soon after chosen. The commission, now including Mr. Field, met in January, 1848. The work allotted to each, the manner of proceeding and the labor of Mr. Loomis upon the common subject, are more fully stated in the chapter on the "Herkimer School," where the error of the "Bench and Bar" in ascribing the preparation of the celebrated code of civil procedure to Mr. Field, as if it were his more special production, is corrected. The facts show that Mr. Loomis was the original projector of this reform, suggested all the essential features of the new system and contributed as much of service, at least, in working out its details, as either of his associates. Mr. Loomis, in the sketch before referred to, says: "For myself, after it became a law and went into use, I felt that a large share of the odium and censure bestowed on its instigators and authors, seemed to fall upon me as the supposed chief offender."

But what was odium, finally became an enviable fame. The censure of a generation of lawyers whose toilsome study of special pleadings made them regard their knowledge of pleas, replications, rebutters and surrebutters, and the other venerable cobwebs of the law, as valuable possessions, and necessary to the attainment of justice, now gives place to a sense of gratitude to a clear sighted jurist who did so much to simplify legal methods, to substitute truth for fiction, and to make practical common sense, the foundation of practical law. This salutary system of administering the law, after some years, was

adopted in twenty-seven states and territories, and it is destined to accompany everywhere Anglo-Saxon legal institutions, and to form the common-sense method of invoking legal remedies.

Such men as Loomis and Hoffman, saw in 1842, that complete legal reform and financial security demanded radical changes in the organic law. A large and growing debt had carried state stocks from above par to twenty per cent below par. State bankruptcy impended. These two tribunes of the people, self devoted to this task, then resolved upon measures for restoring the credit of the state. Both were elected to the Assembly of 1841 on account of their known views on the subject of the state finances, and they divided the requisite labor which was thus committed to them. Mr. Hoffman undertook the enactment of a law to stop the present increase of debt and provide for the payment of that which then weighed down the credit of the state. Mr. Loomis' part was the more far-reaching measure for preventing the recurrence of state debts, except by the will and direct voice of the people. In the Democratic Herkimer County Convention in 1835, Mr. Loomis by a resolution presented by him and there adopted, proposed the initiative proposition for checking the creation of state debt. This was to require the annual interest of state loans to be levied by direct tax, so far as they should exceed the income of a proposed improvement, thus forcibly warning the tax payers of the effects of growing debt, and the resolution called for the engrafting of a clause into the constitution requiring such a provision in all state loans. In 1837 this proposition was further matured in the mind of Mr. Loomis, so as to embrace a submission of the question of public debt to a vote by the people and in that form it was adopted by the Democratic County Convention. This resolution, at first known as "Loomis' Resolution," was afterwards styled the "People's Resolution," at Mr. Loomis' request, and it was kept standing at the head of the radical press of the State. He continued the discussion in favor of this measure in the Mohawk Courier and other publications, until it was presented in the Assembly at the session of 1841. It then failed but had a majority in 1842, but still not the two-thirds vote requisite for its submission as an amendment to the Constitution. Mr. Loomis continued to urge it upon public attention in leading journals until it was made a part of the Constitution in 1846. As finally framed it required every law creating a State debt to specify the purpose of the expenditure, which could not be diverted to any other object; that it should embrace but one object and that specifically stated, and that it should not take effect until submitted to, and approved by the people at the next general election, but the provisions did not apply to laws for raising money in case of insurrection or hostile invasion. The financial article in the Constitution of 1846 gave effect to these provisions. It prohibited the sale of the canals, devoted their revenues to paying the State debt and to the support of the government, and any surplus to canal improvements.

The delay in the adoption of this measure by amending the Consti-

tution was, as Mr. Loomis suggests, prominent among the inducements for calling the Constitutional Convention. In November, 1843, Mr. Hoffman made an elaborate speech in a meeting at Albany in favor of sweeping changes in the Constitution, embracing those contemplated by the "People's Resolution," and others, which could only be made effective by a new Constitution. In 1841 both houses of the Legislature adopted resolutions for submitting to the people the question of embodying the act of 1842, and the substance of the "People's Resolution," in the Constitution. The Senate, in 1845, adopted these amendments by the required two-thirds vote. The radicals, however, thought these amendments inadequate and they withheld their votes in the Assembly for the reason that the adoption of the amendments would nullify many of the grounds upon which the calling of the convention was urged. On the advice of Mr. Loomis and Mr. Hoffman, Mr. William C. Crain, then a member from this county, brought in a bill in the session of 1845 for calling a convention, which passed, by the radicals voting with the Whigs. In the convention of 1846, Mr. Loomis was a leading member of the judiciary committee, composed of thirteen members. His colleague, Mr. Hoffman, was chairman of the committee on finance, and among the most important of his efforts were those carrying through the constitutional restrictions on State indebtedness, conceived, matured, and so long advocated by Mr. Loomis. His suggestions on all the details of the topics relating to law reform and to State finances, were elaborated in committee, and enforced by lucid statement and argument by Judge Loomis on the floor of the convention. In their special fields of action, the two representatives from Herkimer county were the most impressive and powerful members of that body. One of its prominent members said at the close of its labors that "the finger marks of Mr. Loomis in the Constitution as adopted, were more perceptible than those of any other."

Mr. Loomis was again elected to the Assembly in 1853. He was nominated in view of the exigency arising from the passage in 1852 of the \$9,000,000 Loan Bill. Large contracts had been made under this law, and the Court of Appeals had declared it to be unconstitutional. This law was an attempt to get around the constitutional barrier against borrowing or creating a State debt, by a scheme to raise money, by pledging the canal revenues for its repayment, although the Constitution had applied those revenues to the payment of the debts of the State. The Legislature had invented, as Mr. Loomis said, "a form of certificate by which the State could promise to pay money out of its treasury without calling it a debt." The decision of the Court pronouncing this device null and void, embarrassed the treasury. There had been raised and expended \$1,500,000, and contracts had been made involving \$8,000,000 or more. Mr. Loomis accepted the nomination, being anxious that "measures of reform with which our past history is identified, should be effectual to obviate the evils, and prevent the abuses they were designed to meet." He was further constrained to

accept the nomination by the fact that much of the work reported to carry the law reform measures into harmonious operation had not been acted on by the Legislature. His increased deafness would make his labors in the Legislature very difficult, and his return to the public service involved a great sacrifice of his private interests, but he deemed his acceptance an act of public duty. The Senate and the House were not in political accord and could not agree upon any measure to meet the urgency of the situation. In this state of the affair, Mr. Loomis proposed an amendment to the Constitution which would give relief to the treasury and to the public creditors without violating the constitutional provision against increasing State liability by mere legislative act. It was passed by the present and the succeeding Legislature, and adopted by the vote of the people.

At the session of 1853, Mr. Loomis introduced a resolution impeaching John C. Mather for misconduct as Canal Commissioner. It was adopted and Mr. Loomis was chairman of the committee to appear and represent the Assembly before the Court of Impeachment. He had as associates on the trial, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Champlain and Mr. John K. Porter. The charges were sustained by a majority of the Court, but not the two-thirds necessary to sustain an impeachment. Mr. Loomis' last appearance before the public as a candidate for office was for delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1867, his associate nominee being Judge Robert Earl. The slavery question and the war of the Rebellion had thrown a large majority in the county to the adverse side and the Republican candidates were elected.

Mr. Loomis had for many years an extensive legal practice, and was employed in many important litigations. He was thoroughly grounded and versed in the law, and notably accurate in the application of legal principles. He had as partners, Hiram Nolton, in 1836, Powers L. Greene and William M. Griswold were associated with him about 1845, the firm name being Loomis, Green & Griswold. James Hart was afterwards associated with Judge Loomis, but retired when Watts T. Loomis and Sidney Loomis became partners with their father. Sidney Loomis died in 1879, and upon the death of Judge Loomis, Watts T. Loomis became surviving member of the firm.

In the year 1854 Mr. Loomis successfully defended the occupants of Sussanna Johnson's tract against the claims of descendants of Sir William Johnson's Indian children. His opponent was David Dudley Feld, his former colleague on the revision of the system of Pleading and Practice. This case is more fully stated in the chapter on the Royal Grant, and it is found in 31 Barbour's Reports, 180, and 21 N. Y. Reports, 206.

The impression which force of intellect and character makes upon contemporaries is seen in the personal titles bestowed upon them. Thus in the debate in the Constitutional Convention of 1846, Mr. Archer, of Wayne, an earnest adversary of the policy of Herkimer's representatives, speaks of Mr. Hoffman as the Ajax Telemón of the debate, and

of Mr. Loomis as the Ulysses who aided him with statistics and suggestions as he proceeded—a tribute to the force and wisdom of these men, which is a striking proof of their pre-eminent standing in a body which was illustrious for its men of mark and intellectual power. In 1855 the New York Association, an organ of the "Hards," styled Mr. Loomis as the "Anti-Canal Ajax"—an appellation misleading as to his real attitude toward the canals, since he uniformly advocated the policy in that behalf, which he deemed the most prudent and judicious for maintaining their prosperity and permanent usefulness, and our canal history confirms the soundness of the judgment on which he acted.

Judge Loomis was alert to detect public wrongs. In the New York World of April 17, 1875, he pointed out that the patent laws, a subject studied by him when a member of the committee on patents in Congress, were an obstruction to real improvement, that they gave no desirable or needed stimulus to invention, but were often made use of to extort from the community wide-spread exactions. He alludes to the fact that really useful inventions are clogged by numberless patents for petty devices, which would readily occur to those using the original invention, petty patents that operate to the detriment of the original patentee and of those using the right. The facility with which patents are obtained leads to great abuses. It is said that a patent may be obtained for the manner of cutting off a nail. A rack for the standing of a bicycle is now said to be covered by a patent, and \$5 demanded for using that trivial and wholly obvious device. When the owner of a patent, held in ambush, it may be, sallies forth against the unwary infringer, he points to the pains and penalties of the patent law. The defendant soon learns that suits in some distant United States Court, Federal injunctions, and the enormous fees of patent lawyers are fearful things. Once the patentee has, by whatever means, obtained from whatever judge a decision that his patent is valid, the whole country is laid under contribution. In this way parties have been enjoined under penalty from the use of their own inventions.

It has truly been said that "it is the age that invents;" one invention may be the consequential outcome of many preceding inventions. Mr. Loomis denied that useful inventions were appreciably promoted by the patent laws. Indeed the most valuable inventions spring from some felt necessity, from the spontaneous love and faculty of invention, from the desire and instinct to give effective form to mental conception, rather than from the expected rewards of a monopoly. Whatever may be urged in favor of securing to inventors a reward for their ideas, the fact remains that they seldom reap any considerable compensation, and that some speculating assignee taking advantage of their needs, obtains the patent and the means of exploiting the community by enforcing new, and in many cases vexatious monopolies. It is a misfortune that Mr. Loomis' pregnant suggestions upon these abuses have not attracted the attention of the public. The patent laws, injunctions in favor of patentees, and the enormous power of a single

judge in making decisions as to the validity of patents which become armories from which numberless injunctions are drawn, now constitute an oppressive arm of the federal jurisdiction.

Mr. Loomis' self-reliant character was manifest in his early life. The judgment upon which he acted was his own. An eminent citizen who knew him well, said of him, that he was pre-eminently an original thinker, one whose ideas were his own and thought out for himself. His mind was of a large mould, it was comprehensive, profound, sagacious, penetrating and creative. Largely deprived, almost at the beginning of his professional labors, of the sense which, next to sight, is the most receptive of all the senses, he was isolated from the ordinary commerce of thought, and from hearing public discussions. Thrown upon his own studies and reflections, his native self-reliance became a still stronger element of his character. This isolation also led to assiduous study and reading by which he became familiar with a wide range of topics in general literature, and he acquired an extensive knowledge of useful and scientific subjects and attained a high degree of intellectual culture. He had a mental impulse to go to the bottom of an inquiry and his mind was never satisfied by superficial views. An example of this thoroughness is found in his complete knowledge of water power. When he came to own this kind of property, it was a matter of course with him to make himself familiar with the principles and practical facts connected with the use of hydraulic power, and he could not be content with the reports of others. On this subject, like all others which he specially studied, he became an authority. His inventive and constructive faculties led him, at various periods, to occupy himself with mechanics, which were largely in use on his numerous properties. He had a marked taste for the beautiful in art, and a sympathy with nature, which attracted him to agriculture and to inquiries in that pursuit.

Judge Loomis was a model of public and private integrity. His public duties and trusts engaged his devoted and paramount attention. There was never a suggestion that he ever neglected any public duty. His eminent services in reforming the Constitution and laws, to which so much of his life was given, were performed with as deep a sense of obligation as that which he felt in discharging the duties he owed to clients or the public in other capacities. What Judge Loomis himself says in his "Reminiscences" as to the spirit and motives that animated his labors, had the concurring voice of his contemporaries: "While I was in public life, say from 1827 to 1854, I enjoyed the performance of my duties. I was never happier than at those times, when I felt a consciousness that my labors were devoted to the work of improving the laws or otherwise promoting the public good. I am entirely conscious that my work in the legislature, and as one of the commissioners to prepare the Code of Legal Procedure, and in the constitutional convention of 1846, and in my previous labors to call that convention into existence to reform the organization of our courts and advance by these means

reform in our system of legal procedure, I was actuated not by the pecuniary reward of office, nor by the love of fame, so much as by a sincere desire to administer justice, make good laws, and to effect salutary reforms, practical and useful." The efforts inspired by such motives his own generation pronounced successful, and other generations count his achievements among the most valuable of the legacies transmitted to them by the profound thought and the unselfish labors of their great public benefactors.

Few men have left such a stamp of personality on the history of their time, or so many evidences of well directed public services. For many years Judge Loomis wrote largely for the Mohawk Courier and the local press, for the Washington Union, the New York Evening Post, the New York World, the Albany Argus, and the Albany Atlas, on the subjects to which he had directed his eminently reflective intellect, and they widely impressed the public mind. For many years he took a prominent part in the discussions of the Little Falls Farmers' Club, which effected important results in connection with dairying and farming.

Judge Loomis' early observation of slavery made it repugnant to him, but he foresaw that the Union could not long survive sectional assaults upon slavery in the States. He was strongly attached to the Union. He knew the difficulty of composing the conflicts of sectional interest in forming the Union, and that the slavery compromises were the price of our nationality, and that the fruits of the revolutionary struggle would have fallen futile from the divided and feeble arms of discordant States. These facts were familiar to the statesmen of his time, and they dreaded the effects of renewed and more violent discords. The Union and the compromises upon which it rested were politically sacred—to assail them was to violate the Ark of the Covenant. The Democracy asserted and the great mass of the people accepted with its full vigor the doctrine of the reserved rights of the States, and that the Constitution was the shield of slavery. The southern Oligarchy had not then fully disclosed their intention to make the South perpetually equiponderant in the Senate, and slavery the special ward of the Federal government. It was still hoped that a possible *modus vivendi* might be maintained by the two sections.

If the saving of the Union was the supreme interest, the rejection of petitions asking Congress to act against slavery in the States was logical and expedient. Such petitions were barren of results except to create sectional strife. The right to ask Congress to act on a subject on which it had no right to act, was not vital to the right of petition, but was rather its perversion. When the majority in Congress adopted the Atherton resolutions, they believed that these impractical and irritating appeals imperiled the Union, and Mr. Loomis shared that belief. They were guided by the light of their time, and an ancient proverb says that "men are more like the times they live in, than they are like their fathers." On the other hand, the right of petition must exist

under the most despotic forms of government, and it involves principles so fundamental, and rights so inherent in all men, that no remote danger could justify its suppression; but many patriotic men then thought that the rejection of these petitions was a compromise necessary to avert immediate disaster to the Union. The truth was not yet apparent that such compromises would not stop short of the complete subjugation of the government and of the country to the will of the southern Oligarchy.

But ten years later this ominous fact was palpable. When the issue for the exclusion of slavery from free territory was raised, Judge Loomis took a firm position along with Tilden, Church, Gardner, John Van Buren, Bryant, Dix, Grover, King, Kernan, the Manns, Ward Hunt, Stanton, and others in asserting the competency of Congressional control over the territories in respect to slavery, and these men regarded him as one of the profoundest thinkers and safest advisers among them. He supported Van Buren in 1848 against Cass. When a re-union of the party was attempted at Rome in 1849, and the Hunker convention, presided over by William L. Marcy, and managed by Samuel Beardsley, Daniel S. Dickinson, Chancellor Walworth and Daniel E. Sickles, sought to impose a pro-slavery creed upon the Democratic party, Judge Loomis was among the foremost in resisting that attempt.

While at Washington in 1854, writing to the Washington Union, he asserted the power of Congress over the status or non-status of slavery in the territories, that freedom was the normal condition and that slavery could not exist except by force of some contrary law. Writing to the Albany Atlas in 1855, on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, he said: "This solemn but delusive compact and pledge was abrogated and repudiated by the votes of the same South, aided again by a few northern doughfaces. The Missouri compact so odious to the North in its inception as the price of its humiliation and treacherous defeat in the first great struggle against slavery encroachment, had hitherto been a dead letter, for all practical purposes; and when at last, after thirty-three years of acquiescence in the fruits of that defeat, its time had arrived as a barrier to further encroachments, it is rudely assailed and trodden under foot by the same South, which had given it as a price and a pledge against future aggressions."

Touching upon the Douglass doctrine of "popular sovereignty," he writes: "It is not the principle of the right of self-government that is sought to be enforced, but it is the perversion of the principle to justify a purpose * * * to overthrow under its shadow, the policy of the fathers of the Republic, that of denationalizing the institution of slavery in the name of liberty in the territories."

Against such a measure Judge Loomis protested, and declared that administrative patronage should not thus pervert Democratic principles. His idea of the proper action of Free Soilers in respect to the Democratic party was to remain in it, and he shared at least in part, the purpose expressed by John Van Buren "to make the Democratic party

of New York the anti-slavery party of New York, and to make the Democratic party of the Union the great anti-slavery party of the Union." In writing to Mr. Jefferson Tillingham, September 19th, 1855, he said: "I have not hesitated to condemn the course of the National (Pierce) administration in relation to the Nebraska-Kansas question. * * * * We can (within the party) exercise more influence with our friends -- with our own party, than we can standing outside as antagonists. I sympathize with many warm and sincere friends whose feelings have been outraged by the Fugitive Slave Law and the decisions under it, by the Kansas-Nebraska measures and other recent advances of slavery influence to a degree that they have come to the conclusion to leave all other political questions to their fate, until these things are righted, but I cannot as yet go so far, such, in my judgment is not the most effectual means of redress for that grievance. * * * Let us be bold, frank and firm in stating what we believe and in reflecting the sentiments of those we represent * * * and if the Democratic representatives of other States who think differently from us on slavery, shall for our opinions on this subject, exclude us from a voice in selecting candidates for National suffrage, let them do so, but let them remember the result of such a course in 1848."

It was because Mr. Loomis thought that effectual resistance could be made within the Democratic lines to the demands of the slaveholders that he refused to join the Fusion or Republican movement in this county in 1855. He had always been opposed to Mr. Seward at all points except on the slavery question, and he could not consent to support a movement to sustain what he regarded as a special endorsement of Mr. Seward's general policy. In that year, in view of the exclusion suggested as likely to occur of Free Soilers from the counsels of the party, he wrote what was prophetic of the fate of the Democratic party for many years to come: "If those who are in a position to lead the Democratic party are mad enough * * * to exclude men * * * because they hate slavery and honestly say so, * * * then indeed will it prove true that the political organization heretofore known as the Democratic party * * * has become extinct all but in name, and defeat is inevitable. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*"

Judge Loomis' habit of profound thought supplied a reserve of power which gave great strength to the expression of his deeper convictions. He was thoroughly committed to the suppression of the rebellion, but he as strongly insisted that in its suppression the constitutional securities of individual liberty should be upheld. In the Democratic State Convention of 1862 the celebrated Ninth Resolution of the series adopted in committee, denounced arbitrary arrests made by the order of the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War. Many citizens of the State had been imprisoned in Fort Lafayette, and other prisons by arbitrary order, without any cause assigned, or any opportunity of defense. It was said at that time that the Secretary of State had

declared that by the "tinkling of a bell" he could order the arrest of any citizen. As the State of New York was still under the protection of the Federal and the State constitutions, its courts open and exercising their civil functions, and not under the ban of martial law, Judge Loomis held these violations of personal liberty to be uncalled for and that they should be rebuked by loyal men.

When the Ninth Resolution became known to influential politicians like Dean Richmond and others they feared that this resolution would be branded as disloyal, although the other resolutions of the series emphatically sustained the war, and congratulated the country on the success of its arms. They procured the committee to be hastily reconvened, and by a majority of one this resolution was expunged, against Judge Loomis' protest. He then gave notice that he would appeal to the convention to restore it. When the resolutions were read to where the expunged resolution had stood, Judge Loomis, in the midst of much confusion, gained recognition and moved the insertion of the Ninth Resolution. He was nervous from the critical responsibility he had assumed, but as he proceeded he rose to the height of the occasion. He denounced as unworthy of a Democratic convention the rejection of a resolution asserting the liberties of the people against unlawful invasion. Such a retreat from the already published declaration that citizens must not be arrested without due process of law, would subject the convention to public contempt. He declared that such a declaration was due to the sanctity of personal liberty. In vigorous and eloquent words, enforced by his great weight of character, he appealed to the convention to vindicate the old time attitude of the Democratic party as the champion of popular freedom and to sustain his motion. His bold and impassioned appeal—an inspiring protest against the striking down of personal liberty that was full of the spirit of the parliament that established the Petition of Right—electrified the convention. He was followed by Francis Kernan and by Levi H. Brown of Jefferson, in support of his motion. It was opposed in a fervid expression of war patriotism by Mr. Lanning of Buffalo, but it was adopted by an almost unanimous "aye" and Judge Loomis was at once the center of applauding congratulations. This attitude of the convention, favoring a loyal and vigorous prosecution of the war, but insisting upon the constitutional rights of loyal citizens against arbitrary power, was salutary, and illegal arrests were seldom resorted to from that time. Judge Loomis' severely disciplined mind and taste made him wholly averse to mere oratorical display, but on this occasion his strong appeal for the sanctity of the rights of the citizen has been seldom surpassed in parliamentary debate. In the serene air, in what Bacon calls the "dry light" of pure reason and argument, his clearness of statement, his cogent unfolding of his subject and a natural strength of logic, were always conspicuous. Mr. Henry B. Stanton said of him: "He was not a magnetic orator; he had no glistening qualities. You might as well apply this term to a block of granite, but like granite he was solid all the way through."

The essential political history of Herkimer county, from 1827 to 1854, is traced in the career of Arphaxed Loomis and Michael Hoffman, and their joint labors, more than those of any two men, have moulded the Constitution and laws of the Empire State; so true is it that the chief history of all States is found written in the biography of their great men. Others have given impulse to great material projects, but none have done more to make fundamental laws a security for the general welfare. The school which they founded has been called the St. Lawrence and Herkimer School of Politics. Silas Wright impressed upon the public mind ideas similar to those brought into prominence by these Herkimer statesmen, Samuel Young, Azariah C. Flagg, Churchill C. Cambreling and others ably advocated them, but the measures for carrying them into practical effect were conceived by Herkimer county statesmen and they were the principal advocates that secured their ultimate adoption. Human government, Mr. Loomis insisted, should be the simple incorporation of human rights, and that all its agencies should be under the strict control of the people. Simple forms to give effect to the popular will, strict limitations upon delegated power and economy in administration, void of pomp and display, were his ideals in popular government. These he regarded as the essential methods of government "by the people for the people."

In May, 1882, thirty-six members of the bar, in a letter addressed to Judge Loomis, expressed their high estimation of his abilities, his services on the bench, in the National and State Legislatures, in the constitutional convention and in the cause of law reform, as well as their respect for his personal and professional character, and requested him to sit for his likeness, to be placed in the court house of the county. He complied in appreciative and feeling terms, and the faithful likeness now in the court room was painted by Mr. Henry Harrison, in compliance with this request.

This correspondence appeared in the journals of the county and in the "Herkimer Democrat," of September 13th, 1882, it was prefaced by the following article by the writer of this sketch:

"TRIBUTE TO HON. ARPHAXED LOOMIS.

"A large number of the bar of Herkimer county, mindful of the useful and distinguished career of Hon. Arphaxed Loomis in professional and civil life, in our county, State and Nation, have taken measures to perpetuate on the walls of our court house the venerable figure of the jurist, civilian and citizen, who has given lustre to his profession, renown to his county and a noble example to all the coming generations of the republic.

"In this memorial tribute, earned by personal worth, and great public services rendered without ostentation, a memorial due to a spotless private character, and a constant example for the emulation of his fellow citizens for more than half a century, all our people will join with cordial appreciation and respect. All classes will rejoice that this recognition of the oldest, the most esteemed of the citizens and represen-

tatives of our county has not been too long deferred. The venerated form, the reflected presence of Judge Loomis, will fitly lead the portraits of all the lawyers and jurists that the reverence of our bar may perpetuate by the pencil, for the admiration and regard of coming generations."

Judge Loomis died at Little Falls September 15th, 1885, in the 88th year of his age. At the Herkimer circuit in November, a meeting of the bar was held in respect of that event, at which Hon. Irving G. Vann presided, and Judges Earl, Hardin and several members of the bar spoke appreciatively of the deceased, and Mr. Samuel Earl read an excellent memoir of his life and work, from which much of the data of this sketch is taken. Appropriate resolutions drawn by Judge Hardin were adopted, and thereupon the court, as a mark of respect for the distinguished deceased, adjourned. The resolutions were presented by a committee charged with that duty, consisting of George W. Smith, Clinton A. Moon and George F. Crumby, and they were inserted in the minutes of the court, by its order. A more full history of Judge Loomis' public activities will be found in the chapter entitled, "The Herkimer School, Political and Legal." Space will be taken here for only a tribute paid to him in the columns of the Journal and Courier at the time of his decease.

"His private life among his intimate friends, his home life in the loved family circle, was so pure, gentle, affectionate and kind as to be especially noteworthy, and even during the later years, when infirmities are wont to come with irritability and impatience, his disposition seemed to grow more lovely and his thoughtfulness for others more constant. He delighted in his garden, in fruits and flowers. * * * His private charities were numerous and large, made without ostentation and distributed with a wise and careful discrimination. Much of his entire life was occupied as the friendly adviser of his neighbors, and his associates, of men in trouble, widows, and of young men. * * * Although not a member of the church, he gave evidence of a Christian faith, a Christian life, and a Christian example, in observing the outward forms of religion in his home * * * seeking the approval of his own conscience rather than the applause of the multitude; happy in the gentler duties and enjoyments of life, rather than in the excitement of public life; proud of his participation * * * in the reforms of his profession, rather than in any selfish emoluments; firm and steady and true in behalf of right rather than for any mere personal choice or prejudice; sympathetic and enthusiastic in behalf of great principles rather than in the petty excitements of the hour—Judge Loomis has left the most honorable record that it is the privilege of a man to transmit to posterity."

Such was the character which men who had observed all its features, depicted as so wholly admirable. No enmity detracted from the concurring tribute of his cotemporaries, no criticism dimmed the reflected light, and a succeeding generation confirms the estimate both of his

personal worth and of his eminent public services, the fruits of which they see still enduring in the institutions of our State and legal policy.

Here was a life that may be likened to the strong flow of a steady stream, which in its course refreshes many extended and various fields. "Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull; strong without rage; without o'erflowing, full."

When the old Presbyterian church was dedicated in 1831, Mr. Loomis wrote a "Letter to Posterity," which was deposited in the corner stone. At the building of the new church it was brought to light and deposited with other papers in the corner stone of the new edifice. It is well said in the obituary notice referred to: "When this edifice shall have crumbled and fallen, and this document shall be revived again, the influence of his life and of his life work, will still remain in this community, and the record of his name, his example, his virtues and his good deeds, will have become established, even more firmly than now in the history of his day and generation." (The foregoing references to chapters are to those contained in "Biographies and History of Central New York," by George W. Smith.)

INDIAN SCALPING.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, February 10, 1900.

The North American Indians were the most barbarous and savage people anywhere to be found. They delighted in savage cruelty, and mercy was an unknown virtue generally regarded as evidence of weakness and effeminacy. In their forays and wars they did not ask mercy for themselves nor grant it to others. Prisoners were tortured and the killed were mutilated. In these characteristics, the Iroquois who inhabited this State surpassed all the other Indians: and they dominated all other Indian tribes with whom they came in contact. The whites living near them were frequently the victims of their merciless ferocity; and nowhere did they inflict more suffering than upon the whites in and about the Mohawk valley.

The Iroquois not only tortured and scalped their victims, but frequently cooked and ate them. In 1757, Rev. Claude Godfrey Coguard, a Jesuit priest living among them, writing to his brother, said that in the war with the English "the Indians do not make any prisoners; they kill all they meet, men, women and children. Every day they have some in their kettle, and after having ambushed women and maidens they slaughter or burn them;" and he stated that "we have received letters from the Commandant at Fort Duquesne stating that the Indians in December, 1756, had 500 English scalps."

It was one of the Indian customs to scalp their wounded and dead enemies. In this bloody work they became very expert. They would generally run the scalping knife around the crown of the head, and then tear off the scalp, sometimes by seizing the hair with their teeth, and in the case of women by winding the long hair around a hand. The scalps when numerous were generally strung upon poles and carried in the rear of the marching column of Indians. They were carried in triumph to their homes, and exhibited with great acclaim; and the warrior who secured the largest number received a great ovation and was proclaimed the greatest brave. It was quite usual for the warriors to indicate by notches on the handles of their tomahawks and scalping

knives the number of scalps they had taken. Scalps were sometimes delivered to Indians who had lost relatives in battle to represent or replace such relatives. They were kept as ghastly trophies to decorate Indian lodges. They were stretched on hoops and dried, frequently with the hair on, and sometimes decorated with paint and also by marks for identification.

Scalping was encouraged by both parties in the English and French wars carried on in this country. In those wars the Iroquois adhered to the English cause, under the influence of Sir William Johnson; and nearly all the other Indians joined the French; and the Indians on both sides were stimulated to action by bounties offered for scalps. The Indians who sided with the French generally took their scalps to Montreal and were there rewarded by gifts of money or rum; and the Indians who sided with the English took their scalps to Albany or New York, or to Sir William Johnson, at Fort Johnson, and were similarly rewarded. The French Indians took scalps of whites in various parts of this State, mostly about the Mohawk valley and the waters of the upper Hudson, and sometimes in New Jersey, New England, Pennsylvania, and even as far south as Virginia; and the English Indians made forays into Canada and took the scalps of Frenchmen there; and Indians on both sides scalped Indians.

The records and other documents relating to the Colonies contain many accounts of Indian scalping, to some of which for illustration I will refer:

In 1688 the Governor of Canada offered the Indians in alliance with the French ten beaver skins for every scalp of hostile Indians or Christians. In 1698 and in 1700 the French paid their Indians for scalps fifty crowns each. In 1701 Massachusetts in her war with the Indians offered £15 for the scalp of a male Indian over twelve years old, and £10 for each child or woman captured. These bounties were subsequently increased, and in 1724, a man's scalp was worth as much as £100, and a child or woman captured, £50, to persons in the public service, and the double of each sum to volunteers.

In November, 1745, the New York Colonial Assembly offered the Indians bounties for scalps; and in 1748, Governor Clinton recommended to the Colonial Assembly that they should provide bounties for scalps. In 1746 some of the Iroquois scalped some French Indians near Montreal and brought their scalps to Albany for the reward. In July, 1747, Governor Clinton reported to the Duke of New Castle, Prime Minister of England, that Colonel Johnson had sent several parties of Indians into Canada, and that they several times brought back prisoners and scalps. In the same year, Sir William Johnson reported to Governor Clinton that he had paid £60 for six scalps brought from Crown Point, and he asked for more money for the same purpose. In October, 1746, some of the Iroquois exhibited French scalps in New York City for which they received bounties, and they were handsomely treated by the Council, the gentlemen of the city, and the Colonial As-

sembly. In 1754 the French Indians murdered twenty-one Englishmen and carried their scalps to Cape Breton, where they were rewarded. In 1755 the New York Colonial Governor issued instructions to Sir William Johnson to urge the Six Nations to go against the French and their Indians, and to assure them that they would be rewarded for scalps. About this time at a council held at Oneida by Sir William Johnson and the Indians, to condole over the death of the Chief Sachem of the Oneidas, the ceremonies of condolence were conducted with eleven belts and three strings of wampum, and a scalp of the enemy to replace the deceased sachem, and a glass of rum all around to wash down all sorrow and grief.

At the battle of Lake George, in 1755, in the French and English war, the Indians of the Six Nations, fighting under the English, brought to Albany a number of scalps for the bounties. In August, 1756, at a council of the Six Nations with Sir William Johnson at his home, a Seneca Chief with great solemnity delivered over three scalps—one scalp belt in the room of a Tuscarora killed at Schenectady by the soldiers of the 44th Regiment, another scalp belt for a Tuscarora killed in the engagement at Fort George, and still another in the room of a Seneca, a great friend of Sir William.

Vaudreuil, the French Governor at Montreal, in April, 1757, wrote to his home government that the Indians in New Jersey (the Delawares) "had carried out his instructions to the best of their ability, and burned forty English homes with the crops in their barns, and had returned to Niagara with six scalps of soldiers killed in a New Jersey fort.

In July, 1756, Sir William Johnson held a conference with the Indians at Onondaga and on his return homeward he called at the Tuscarora Castle, and he entered it with two French scalps, which one of the young men there briskly seized and then sung the war song, carrying them in his hands around the Castle. He also stopped at the Oneida Castle and there gave the Chief Warrior of the Oneidas a war belt, insisting on his going to war with the French and bringing to him either prisoners or scalps to give him in the room of some friends he had lost; and the chief accepted the belt and promised as requested. In a war with the Indians in Pennsylvania in 1764, John Penn, successor and grandson of William Penn, the friend of the Indians, who lived in peace with them, offered by proclamation in the city of Philadelphia bounties for the capture of Indians or for their scalps, as follows: For every male above the age of ten years captured, one hundred and fifty dollars; scalped, being killed, \$134; for every female Indian enemy, and every male under ten years captured, \$130; for every female above the age of ten years scalped, \$50. This was a wide departure from the policy pursued by the philanthropic founder of Pennsylvania.

During the French and English war, whenever the Schoharie Indians who were on the side of the French, came home with the scalps of Mohawks or other hostile Indians, a cannon was fired for joy to celebrate the event.

The Governor of Canada offered the Indians a bounty for the scalp of Sir William Johnson, whose masterful tact and sagacity kept the Iroquois on the side of the English.

In preparation for the Revolutionary war, the English had secured as auxiliaries nearly all the Indians, and at the outbreak of hostilities, they incited them to savage forays upon the colonists. This was set forth in the Declaration of Independence as one of the grievances of the colonists. The charge was that the King "had endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions." The colonists endeavored to secure the neutrality of the Indians. In this they were foiled mainly through the influence of the family of Sir William Johnson, he having died previous to the outbreak of the war.

When it was proposed by Lord Suffolk, Secretary of State, in the British Parliament, to employ Indians against the Americans, he made a speech in which he said "that they had a right to use all the means that God and nature had put into their hands to conquer America." Against this scheme Pitt, then the Earl of Chatham, delivered a most impassioned and memorable speech which ranks among the most eloquent in the English language. Among other things he said: "My lords, we are called upon as members of this house, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions, standing near the throne, polluting the ear of majesty. "That God and nature put into our hands!" I know not what idea that lord may entertain of God and nature; but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife, to the Cannibal savage torturing, murdering, roasting, eating, literally, my lords, eating the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine and natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my lords, they shock every sentiment of honor; they shock me as a lover of honorable war and a detester of murderous barbarity." And Edmund Burk, who said he had learned that the natural ferocity of the Indians far exceeded the ferocity of all barbarians mentioned in history, declared in the House of Commons that "they were not fit allies for the King in a war with his subjects."

While General Burgoyne was advancing in his campaign in the Colony of New York, in 1777, the Indians brought in ten scalps. The next day he held a conference with a large number of Iroquois and other Indians; and he made them an address in which he told them "that aged men, women, children and prisoners must be held sacred from the knife and the hatchet, even in the time of actual conflict. You shall receive compensation for prisoners you take, but you shall be called to account for scalps. Your customs have affixed an idea of honor to such badges of victory. You shall be allowed to take the scalps of the dead when killed by your fire in fair opposition. But on no pretense

are they to be taken from the wounded or even dying.

The savages fighting with Burgoyne inflicted their cruelties indiscriminately upon patriot and loyalist; and this soon served to madden the yeomanry and array against the invaders whatever wavering sentiment had hitherto remained in the country. Among the savage cruelties which followed General Burgoyne's address was the killing of Jennie McCrea, whose tragic death and cruel scalping has been so often repeated in prose and poetry. She was killed and scalped by one of the Indians addressed, and her death aroused the indignation and nerved the arms of the yeomanry of Northern New York, Vermont, and Western Massachusetts, which boded disaster for Burgoyne. When the echoes of this address reached England, it was angrily ridiculed by Burk, who took a sounder view of the natural instincts of the red man. "Suppose," said he, "that there was a riot on Tower Hill; what would the keeper of his majesty's lions do? Would he not fling open the doors of the wild beasts, and then address them thus? 'My gentle lions, my humane bears, my tender hearted hyenas, go forth! but I exhort you as you are Christians and members of civilized society to take care not to hurt any man, woman or child!'" The House of Commons was convulsed over this grotesque picture; and Lord North, to whom it sounded irresistibly funny to hear an absent man thus denounced for measures which he himself had originated is said to have sat choking with laughter, while tears rolled down his great fat cheeks.

The effects of the employment of the Indians by General Burgoyne was soon seen. Soon after this address to the Indians, while he was still on the banks of the Hudson, the Indians brought in twenty scalps and as many captives, and he approved their incessant activity. About the same time, to prevent the desertion of his soldiers, he announced in orders to reach the regiment that the savages were enjoined to scalp runaways.

This scalping went on in Wyoming, Andrustown, Springfield, Cherry Valley, Schoharie, on the upper Hudson, in this vicinity, throughout the Mohawk valley and in many other places, stimulated by the rewards paid the Indians by the British in rum, goods and money. I have been unable to find that the British distinctly and directly offered bounties for scalps, although it is so recorded in some histories. If they had done so, it would have aroused such a vigorous and indignant protest by Burk, Chatham and their associates in the Parliament as the ministry of that day would have been quite reluctant to meet. But while they did not directly offer bounties for scalps, they in one way or another paid for them, and thus stimulated the Indians in their cruel work. It is authentically recorded that Colonel John Butler, a British officer and notorious Tory, promised certain Indians to pay them ten dollars each for scalps from an American officer, Captain Greg, and a corporal, at Fort Stanwix, while they were out hunting pigeons. Captain Greg was shot, tomahawked and scalped. He feigned death, was rescued through the fidelity and sagacity of his dog, and survived the war

many years. The scalps taken here and there throughout the exposed settlements were very numerous. So it appears from a letter from Captain Courish of the New England militia, dated Albany, March 7, 1782, found in Campbell's Annals of Tryon County. The Captain mentions an expedition, evidently in pursuit of some Indians in which his party took from the Indians a large amount of peltry and also eight packages containing nearly one thousand scalps of men, women and children taken in the three preceding years from the inhabitants on the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia, which were being carried to the Governor of Canada. With these scalps they found a letter addressed to the Governor, in which the writer said: "At the request of the Seneca chiefs, I send herewith to your excellency * * * eight packs of scalps, cured, dried, hooped and painted with all the Indian triumphal marks;" and then follows a minute description of the scalps contained in each pack, the writer saying: "Father, (meaning the Governor of Canada) we wish you to send these scalps over the water to the Great King that he may regard them and be refreshed, and that he may see our faithfulness in destroying his enemies and be convinced that his presents have not been made to ungrateful people." These scalps tell a pitiful story of men, women and children murdered and mutilated, of shrieking victims, of burning homes, of smouldering ruins, of unmentionable Indian atrocities. These scalps at least did not reach the Great King for his refreshment!

The barbarities of the Indians left a bitter feeling among the inhabitants of the Mohawk valley for many years after the close of the Revolutionary war. Some of the scalped survived, living witnesses of the Indian cruelties. In this town, Mrs. Joseph Smith, the great grandmother of George Smith, a resident here, was tomahawked and scalped by an Indian on the east side of the West Canada Creek, near where her descendants now live. She was left for dead, but revived, was rescued and lived many years after the war.

The Indians who had been hostile during the war occasionally visited the Mohawk Valley after the war. Their appearance aroused memories of Indian atrocities and frequently stirred the surviving patriots to great indignation and furor. Major Nicholas Stoner sometime after the war met an Indian in a tavern at Johnstown who showed a knife with nine notches in the handle indicating the number of scalps he had taken, and pointing to one that was cut deeper than the rest, he said that was "for the scalp of old Stoner." The major stung to fury by what he saw and heard, sprang to the fire place and seizing a hot andiron hurled it at the head of the Indian, striking him a hard, if not deadly blow; and it is not known whether that Indian ever returned to Canada.

Some years after the war, John Adam Hartman, a daring Indian fighter during the war whose family had suffered much from the Indians, some of whose descendants still live here, met an Indian in a tavern near the western limits of this town; and the Indian stimulated

by fire water boasted of his achievements in the war, of the number of rebels he had killed, and of the scalps he had taken. He exhibited a tobacco pouch made of the skin taken from a white child's arm and tanned or dressed with the nails of the fingers and thumb still hanging to it. Hartman maddened by what he heard and saw at once came to the resolution that the Indian should do no more boasting. So he inquired where he was going, and when informed, said he was going in the same direction; and he offered to carry the Indian's rifle as he also had a pack. They went west together, and the Indian was never seen alive after he entered a swamp with Hartman. About a year afterwards, his body and pack were found in the swamp and his rifle in a hollow tree. Hartman was asked where the Indian was and he replied that when he last saw him he was standing on a log a few rods in advance of him and that he fell from the log as if hurt. He was afterward indicted for the murder of the Indian and tried at Johnstown; and, although there was no reasonable doubt of his guilt, such was the prejudice against Indians still lurking in the minds of the people that he was acquitted, as Nat Foster was many years after for killing an Indian on the Fulton Chain.

In this State there was no instance, so far as I have learned, where a white man scalped an Indian, although in General Sullivan's campaign against the Indians in the western part of this State in 1779 a few hostile Indians were scalped, presumably by friendly Indians marching with the American General. I have found but one case in the Revolutionary war where an Indian fighting for the Colonists scalped a white man; and that man was the cruel Tory, Walter Butler, who was shot and scalped by an Oneida Indian who was with Colonel Willet in his pursuit of Ross and Butler with their British, Indian and Tory followers upon their retreat up the West Canada Creek in 1781.

There is one case at least related in New England annals where a white woman paid the Indians in their own coin. In March, 1698, Mrs. Hannah Dustin, her nurse and infant child were taken prisoners by the Indians at Haverhill in Massachusetts. The child was murdered, and she and her nurse were taken to an island in the Merrimac River, now called Dustin's Island, in New Hampshire; and there she was placed in a family of eleven Indians. With the aid of her nurse and a captive white boy, she killed all the Indians in their sleep except a squaw and a little boy who escaped; and she returned to her home with a canoe, a tomahawk and ten Indian scalps as trophies of her courage and prowess.

The custom of scalping wounded and dead enemies, so far as I can learn, was confined to a portion of the North American Indians—mainly to the Iroquois and the tribes with which they came in contact. I have not found that it prevailed anywhere else in the world.

To my great surprise, I find that the Indians fighting for the English in the war of 1812 did some scalping, stimulated thereto by the expectation of reward. It is recorded in Vol. 4 of Scribner's History of the

United States at page 188 that in that war Captain Nathan Heald was in command of Fort Dearborn, where Chicago now stands, and that by order of General Hull he was commanded to abandon the fort; and he with fifty soldiers and several families left the fort, and within what is now the city limits he was attacked by a force of Indians, and the women fought as bravely as the men; but they were defeated. A wagon load of twelve children were all tomahawked by one Indian. The survivors surrendered, and all the wounded were scalped. The British Colonel Proctor, stationed at Malden, in Canada, had offered a premium for American scalps.

We must not judge the men of the eighteenth century by the standards of the closing years of the nineteenth century. Such has been during this century the advance of civilization, with all its refining and elevating influences, and such the growth of noble, generous and humane sentiments even among belligerents that such barbarous practices as I have detailed will never again be tolerated in warfare between civilized nations.

LIFE OF JOSEPH BRANT.

AN ADDRESS BY ALBERT L. HOWELL, OF MOHAWK,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, April, 14, 1900.

There is no section of the United States more rich in historical interest than the valley of the Mohawk. The events of the war of the Revolution were nowhere more marked for cruelty and desolation at the hands of the Indians and Tories. Of all the noted personages that figured so prominently as allies of the British crown, none held a more influential position than the subject of this sketch—Theyendanegea, Joseph Brant.

This famous Indian Chief of the Mohawk, whose remarkable career during the war of the Revolution, history accords him as one of the master spirits, as a leader of men. Possessing rare attainments which qualified him to take such a position, he became a potent factor in the interest of the King against the colonies.

He was born in 1742, on the banks of the Ohio, whither his parents had emigrated from the valley of the Mohawk, and where they sojourned several years; his father having died there when Theyendanegea was an infant. His mother finally returned with him and his sister, Molly, to their home at Canajoharie, the center of the castles of the Mohawk valley.

His father was a full blooded Mohawk of the Wolf tribe, and according to the early history of the tribe, was a direct descendant of one of the Mohawk chiefs who visited England in 1710, during the reign of Queen Ann. His mother was married again soon after their return to Canajoharie, to an Indian of the Mohawk tribe.

Of the boyhood days of Brant there is no record; other than his going to school. At the early age of thirteen years, under the direction of Sir William Johnson, he was at the memorable battle of Lake George, in which the Mohawks were engaged and led into battle by their celebrated chief, the brave old Hendrick, who was slain.

In after years, when relating an account of this his first experience in battle, he said he was seized with such a tremor when the firing commenced that he was obliged to take hold of a small sapling to steady

himself ; but that after the discharge of a few volleys he recovered the use of his limbs, and composure of mind, becoming that of a brave, which was his ambition in the future to become."

It was said of him once in after life, when the conversation was on the subject of music, he made the remark: "I like the harpischord well, and the organ still better, but I like the drum and trumpet best of all, for they make my heart beat quick."

Theyandanegea's early education commenced at the Moor clarity school, established at Lebanon, Connecticut, under the supervision of Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, who later was President of Dartmouth College. It was through the exertions of Sir William Johnson to improve the moral and social condition of his Mohawk neighbors, that young Theyandanegea, together with other young Mohawks, were sent to this school. The precise year he was placed at school no date is given, as the school was opened for the reception of pupils in 1748; and doubtless he entered soon after its opening.

After receiving his education there he was particularly noticed by Sir William Johnson as a youth of great promise, and was subsequently employed by him in public business. Distinguished alike for his fine address and activity, as he grew to manhood possessing in point of stature and symmetry of person, the advantage of most men, even of his own well-formed race; tall, erect and majestic, with the air of one who was "born to command," having been schooled in warfare from his youth, he was a tower of strength among his own warriors. Still more extensive was his influence rendered by the circumstances that he had been much employed in the civil service of the Indian department under Sir William Johnson, by whom he was often sent upon business among the tribes of the confederacy, and those yet more distant upon the lakes and rivers of the Northwest, which gave him accurate knowledge of the whole country and its people, for the prosecution of the border warfare. The officers of the crown could scarcely have engaged a more valuable auxiliary. The lad was in the future to become not only a distinguished war chief, but a statesman and associate of the King's agents in this country, and to be courted by the chivalry and nobility in England.

In the progress of events Thayendanegea had been advanced to the place of principal war chief of the confederacy. How he secured this important place, history does not inform us. Hendrick, the last of the Mohawk chiefs who had borne the title of King, fell at the battle of Lake George, under Sir William Johnson, twenty years before. The sachems of each tribe of the Six Nations were usually chosen in the assembly of the chiefs and warriors whenever a vacancy happened by death or otherwise. Thayendanegea being a descendant from a family of chiefs, his birthright may have contributed to his elevation. His family and official connection with the Johnsons, whose name was so potent with the Indians, no doubt facilitated his advancement as the chosen chief.

Subsequently an agreement was entered into with the officials of the crown that his tribe were to take up the hatchet in the cause of the King. In the autumn of that year, 1775, Brant resolved to make a visit to England. The object of this visit he did not then disclose. It was quite probable, however, that notwithstanding the agreement so hastily formed by his tribe to espouse the cause of the King, the sagacious chief may have judged it prudent to pause before committing himself too far by overt acts of hostility against the colonies.

The Oneidas were evidently inclined to espouse the colonial side, if any; the river Indians had already ranged themselves on the same side; the Delawares had determined upon neutrality, and some of the chiefs of the Caughnawagas were in the camp of Washington.

These circumstances were certainly enough to make the chieftain hesitate as to the course he would take, and dictated by true wisdom he resolved to know for himself. His predilections from the first inclined him to espouse the cause of the King. He maintained that the ancient covenants of his people rendered it obligatory upon him to do so. In addition to which he was bound by the strong ties of blood, association, and gratitude to the family and interests of the Johnsons. Thus situated, the chief may have found his position so embarrassing as to induce him to visit the parent country and appear in the presence of the "Great King," before he should finally determine whether to actually take the field with his tribe or not. By making the voyage he would have the additional advantage of studying the resources and the power of the parent country, and would thereby be the better able to determine for himself whether success was likely to crown his majesty's arms in the end, or whether by a scrupulous observance of an ancient stipulation of alliance, he should not with his people be rushing upon certain destruction. But, after due deliberation, he sailed for England toward the close of 1775, and reached London early in 1776. Only a brief account of this, his first visit to England was ever found.

He was not only well received, but his society was courted by gentlemen of rank and station, statesmen, scholars, and divines. Possessing but little of the savage make-up of his people in his countenance, aside from his color, wherein he differed from other men. In person he was graceful and dignified, his stature being five feet eleven inches; of fine form and proportion, possessing great muscular power, his eyes brilliant and expressive; in short everything in relation to his personality was engaging and prepossessing. On state occasions he appeared in court, clothed in the costume of his native tribe; at all other times he appeared in the dress of the European.

At the request of one of his most intimate friends he sat for his portrait; he was painted in his native garb; and the picture was highly prized by him. The tomahawk worn by him when he was clothed in his full Indian costume, was a very beautiful article, polished to the very highest degree, upon which was engraved the first letter of his christian name, with his Mohawk appellation, "Thayendanega." He

did not remain in England many months, but returned toward the close of March or early in April, 1776, and arrived on the coast near the harbor of New York, after a short passage.

Having determined fully to fulfill his stipulation with General Carleton, and take up the hatchet in the cause of the crown, he had to perform a very hazardous journey to Canada; and was obliged to steal his way through a hostile population until he could reach the forest of the Mohawk. He had taken the precaution in England to provide for the identity of his body in case of disaster, or his fall in any of the battles by procuring a gold finger-ring with his name engraved thereon at length.

What were the particular arguments used by the King on the occasion of Brant's visit, to impress him that the British arms would in the end be victorious in the colonies, is not known. It is certain, however, that whatever doubts he might have entertained were dispelled; and in taking leave it was understood that he pledged himself to embrace the royal cause; and promised to take the field with three thousand warriors of his race. In regard to the principle by which he was governed in his decision, a letter was written by him to the under Secretary of State, when in England, after peace was declared in 1783. "He stated that when he joined the English in the beginning of the war, it was purely on account of my forefathers' engagement with the King. I always looked upon those engagements, or covenants, between the King and the Indian nations as a sacred thing; I assuredly had no other view of it from the beginning."

It was during the early part of the year 1775, while it was yet considered doubtful which side the Mohawks would finally espouse; and it was desirable to ascertain the views of Brant in regard to it; President Wheelock was applied to as a medium of communication with his former pupil. The reverend gentleman, according to tradition, wrote him a long epistle upon the aspect of the times; and urged upon him those considerations which appeared most likely to win him over to neutrality, if not his friendship, to the colonists. Brant replied very ingeniously. He referred to his former residence with him, and recalled the happy hours he had passed under his roof; and the family devotions to which he had listened. He said he could never forget those prayers; and one passage in particular was so often repeated: "that they might be able to live as good subjects, to fear God, and honor the King." If doubt existed among the colonists before as to the direction of the channel in which his inclinations were running, there were surely none left after the perusal of this letter.

General Herkimer still cherished the belief that he might detach the dusky warrior from the course he had espoused; at least he might not be disinclined to relinquish it; their former friendship, as well as being near neighbors, might perhaps have some bearing toward his rescinding the course as planned.

Subsequently the General made an appointment to hold an interview

with Brant at Unadilla; the time and place for the meeting was decided upon. The design of Herkimer, no doubt was, if in case of failure to win him over, to seize his person. But the wily chieftain was on the alert for any such proceedings (if really intended), as was proved soon after they met.

The scene exhibited at this interview was novel, and imposing; the hostile parties were encamped about two miles apart. About midway between, a temporary shed was erected, large enough to seat two hundred persons. By mutual agreement, their arms were to be left in their respective encampments. Brant and his five hundred warriors remained at their camp; in the meantime Brant dispatched a courier to General Herkimer with a message desiring to know the object of his visit. General Herkimer replied that he had only come to see and converse with his brother, Captain Brant. The witty messenger inquired if all those men with him wished to talk to the chief, too! On taking his leave he said to the General that he would carry his talk back to the chief; and soon an arrangement was made for the meeting of Herkimer. Brant appeared in the edge of the distant forest with an escort of about forty warriors, and proceeded to the place of meeting; after a little parleying a circle was formed, into which Brant and Herkimer entered together. After the exchange of a few remarks, the chieftain, keeping an eagle-eye upon his visitor, inquired the reason of his being thus honored! General Herkimer replied that he had come on a friendly visit. And all these had come on a friendly visit, too! replied the chief. All want to see the "poor Indian." It is very kind, he added with a sarcastic smile. General Herkimer expressed a desire to go forward to the village; but the chief replied he was quite near enough, and that he must not proceed further. Whether the wary chieftain entertained any suspicion of perfidy was never known, but certain it was that his precaution and his bearing when he arrived at the place of meeting were such as to warrant him to be able to frustrate any such proceedings, if really intended. In addressing the General he drew himself up with dignity and spoke as follows: "I have five hundred warriors with me, armed and ready for battle; you are in my power; but as we have been friends and neighbors, I will not take advantage of you." and continued by saying that the Indians had concluded to take up the war hatchet in favor of the King, and they would not violate their pledge. Therefore he advised Herkimer to go back to his home, and thanked him for his civility in coming to see him; that perhaps he might some time return the compliment. At a signal a host of his armed warriors darted forth from the forest, painted and ready for the onslaught, with the well known war-whoop resounding through the forest, but with no hostile intention against General Herkimer.

The chief then said that he would go back to the village; in the meantime the General might rest assured that no hostilities should for the present be committed by the Indians. Brant then turned

proudly away through the forest; while Herkimer struck his tents and returned to the valley of the Mohawk. Thus terminated this most singular conference; the last that was held between General Herkimer and the Mohawk chief.

After this, scenes of a stirring character soon took place in Tryon county, and especially in the valley of the Mohawk; in which the leaders of this noted meeting at Unadilla became active participants.

Most historians, in describing the events that occurred, used much of fiction and exaggeration. No doubt the crude verbal accounts that found their way into the reports of military officers, and others without examination or authentic material for history, were instrumental in inflaming the people; in short, they were written at too early a day for an impartial account.

This master spirit of the Indians thus engaged in the British service, during the war of the Revolution, not only were all the border massacres charged directly upon him, but upon his head fell all the acts of atrocity which marked that sanguinary contest; whether committed by Indians or Tories. In many instances great injustice was done Brant. In regard to the affair of Wyoming, which has been regarded as being one of the most cruel events in the history of the Revolution, it is certain in the face of every historical authority, British and American, that so far as Brant's being engaged in this affair as a leader, he was many miles distant at the time of its occurrence. Such was the uniform testimony of the British officers in that expedition; and such was always the word of Thayendanegea himself.

In a correspondence between Wm. L. Stone and Samuel C. Frey, of upper Canada, a son of Philip R. Frey, who was an ensign in a regiment which was engaged in the campaign and battle of Wyoming, and who died at Palatine, Montgomery county, in 1823; it was his testimony that Brant was not at Wyoming; that there was no chief of note with the Indians on that expedition, and that they were led by one Captain Bird, of the Eighth regiment, joining the Indians placed under him with a detachment of his regiment, to Butler's Rangers. They conceived and carried out the descent upon Wyoming. Rarely does it happen that history was more at fault in regard to facts, than in this case at Wyoming, that Brant was the leader.

A correct history assures us that the bloody scenes that were enacted at Cherry Valley, should not be coupled with the name of Brant. That he was not the commander of that expedition; but that it was led by the notorious Walter N. Butler, whose father was grieved at the conduct of his son on that melancholy day; because the expedition was entirely of his son's undertaking. Brant's conduct on that fatal day was not that which some historians made it appear. On the contrary he did all in his power to prevent the shedding of innocent blood. History records the following incidents that took place. On the morning of the attack he left the main body of Indians and endeavored to arrive at the home of a Mr. Wells, for the purpose of affording protec-

tion to the family; he being an intimate friend of his, but he arrived too late: the entire family were killed. On entering a certain house nearby, he found a woman employed in her household work. Brant thus accosted the woman: "Are you thus engaged?" inquired the chief, "while all your neighbors are being murdered?" The woman replied that they were in favor of the King. "That plea will not avail you to-day! They have murdered Mr. Wells' family, who were as dear to me as my own." "But," continued the woman, "there is one Joseph Brant; if he is with the Indians he will save us!" "I am Joseph Brant," was the quick response. "But I have not the command, and I know not that I can save you, but I will do what is in my power." At this moment he observed the Indians approaching. "Get into bed, quick," he commanded her, "and feign sickness." The woman obeyed, and when the Indians retired he rallied a few of his Mohawks by a well known signal, and directed them to paint his mark upon the woman and her children. "You are now probably safe," he remarked, and departed. One other incident in point to substantiate the noble trait in his character. On entering a house where Butler ordered a woman and child to be killed, Brant interfered, saying: "What! kill a woman and child! No; that mother and child are not an enemy to the King; long before the child will be big enough to do any mischief, the dispute will be settled." They were saved.

The whole conduct of Brant on that memorable day demonstrated he was not the cruel monster he was represented to be. History declares that Brant was no less humane than he was brave. He was an Indian and led Indians to fight upon their own principles and usages of war. Bold and daring, sagacious, and wily, he often struck when least expected, watching with sleepless vigilance for opportunities of action. But no instances of wanton cruelty, treachery, or the murder of prisoners, or others, was ever permitted by him in cold blood. It was said of him that notwithstanding all his martial fire, and heroism, he possessed a sensibility of soul that would weep at a tale of woe.

In justification of the practices of Indian warfare, Brant's course of reasoning was "that the object of each party when engaged in war was to destroy his enemy, or to weaken and intimidate him so much as to force him to peace. The Indians, he said, were destitute of means and also of implements of war which the white people possessed. They could not successfully contend with them in the open field, because they had no artillery, so indispensable and destructive in a field fight. That the Indians had no forts to resort to for protection; no depots or prisons to secure their prisoners. The simple and necessary principle, therefore, of Indian warfare, was extermination. To destroy as many of the enemy and their supplies, and save as many of themselves as practicable; and for these results to resort to ambush, stratagem, and every species of deception to effect the object." And a nation is yet to be discovered that will not fight for their homes, the graves of their fathers, and the family altars. Cruel as may seem the mode of

Indian warfare, they were not so considered by those who practiced them, and was held in their estimation as being not more cruel than the wholesale murder laid down in books, with all the engines of destruction which the ingenuity of the white man has conceived, to effect this purpose.

The cruel act of scalping by the Indian was greatly augmented, owing to the bounty given for such scalp by the King's agents.

It was a matter of policy on the part of the crown, as a means to the end, of subjugating the people of the colonies.

Many instances are related by Brant in saving the lives of innocent children, their mothers, the aged and infirm, from cruel death at the hands of his people. He said their impetuosity in the excitement of war was often hard to be kept under control. And his own life was many times imperiled in shielding such as were noncombatants; thus demonstrating the humanitarian spirit that actuated this famous Indian chief, under the circumstances in which he was placed, as a leader of hostilities in favor of the King. In the domestic relations of Brant, his home was the abode of kindness and hospitality. He was thrice married; by his first wife, the daughter of an Oneida chief, he had two children, a son and daughter; by his second wife (who was a sister of his first wife) he had no children; by his third, he had seven. His great solicitude for the well being of his children, is attested by his desire that they might all receive a good education, and become useful and honored citizens. The purity of his private morals were never questioned. In his dealings and business relations he was prompt and honorable. But one cloud ever obscured the brightness of his family circle. It was the wayward son of his first wife, whose untimely death was caused by his intemperate habits.

The natural indolence of the Indian race in all matters excepting the war-path and the chase, was not the characteristic of Brant. On the contrary, the history of man scarcely supplies a parallel instance of such active public service in the council as well as in the field, from the day of his youth at Lake George until his death, more than half a century afterward. The termination of the war brought none of the inactivities of life to him.

His correspondence was voluminous; all his letters and writings, that were preserved as history of the events in which he was an active participant, breathed the spirit of the true gentleman; they were always couched in fine language, becoming a scholar and student of human nature.

In 1784, a few years previous to the death of Brant, he built a fine dwelling on the tract of land in Canada, presented through him to the Mohawks, and the others of the Six Nations, as their possessions for loyalty to the King. The district of country thus granted was alike beautiful and fertile; lying upon the banks of Grand River, being six miles in width on each side of the river, by about one hundred in

length. The situation of his home afforded a fine prospect of Lake Ontario, with a fruitful soil and picturesque country around it.

At this home on the 24th day of November, 1807, died Thayendanegea, Joseph Brant, at the age of 64 years 8 months; whose life was made famous for the space of over half a century. He was a steadfast believer in the distinguished doctrines of Christianity and a member of the Episcopal church at the time of his decease; and was buried near the church which he built at the Mohawk village on Grand River.

It is an interesting fact that this, the first church erected in upper Canada, was built by Brant, the chief of a people who were previously Pagan in belief. The first bell which summoned the people to this house of prayer in the province, on the Christian Sabbath, was carried thither by Brant.

STAMP ACTS.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, May 18, 1900

Stamps for the purpose of taxation and revenue were first brought into use by the Dutch in Holland, in 1624. They were first used in England in 1691 to raise revenue to carry on the war with France; and they have been part of the revenue system of that country ever since. There they covered a great variety of subjects, and, among other features which characterized them, they were avowedly so arranged as to discourage journalism, which it was feared might foster discontent, sedition, and the reforming spirit among the people. The governing classes feared cheap newspapers which would reach the common people, and stimulate their minds, and bring about concerted action for the assertion of their rights and the reform of their grievances. Accordingly, down to the early part of this century, the stamp duty amounted to four pence on every copy of a newspaper issued, besides a heavy duty upon the blank paper; and there was a tax of six pence on every advertisement contained in a newspaper. Thus it was very difficult for anyone except a capitalist of large means to publish any newspaper, and impossible to publish a cheap one. Later the stamp tax was reduced, and in 1836, it was brought down to a penny, represented by the red stamp of the government on every copy. About 1860, under the stimulating leadership of Mr. Gladstone, the paper duty, after much opposition, particularly from the House of Lords, was entirely abolished; and thus cheap newspapers were made possible in England.

It may be noticed here parenthetically that during the Second Empire in France, stamp duties were imposed upon newspapers purposely to discourage the publication of cheap newspapers which might arouse agitation and insubordination among the people, and thus endanger the throne of the Third Bonaparte. A free press which can reach all the people of any country will always in the end undermine autocratic or despotic power.

The project of raising revenue in the colonies of America by stamps

had for some years been agitated among the statesmen of England, and finally what came to be known as the Grenville Stamp Act was passed by the English Parliament on the 22nd of March, 1765, to take effect November 1st of that year. It passed in the House of Commons by a very large majority, and in the House of Lords unanimously. There were some English statesmen, however, like Pitt, Camden, Barre and Conway who denied the right of the Parliament to tax the colonies because they were not represented therein. They contended in a debate conducted with great ability and which left nothing to be said (what the colonists always maintained), that taxation and representation should go together, and that as the colonists were not represented in the parliament, it had no right to appropriate their property by way of taxation; and they predicted the momentous consequences which would flow from an enforcement of the act. The act was very sweeping in its provisions. It imposed stamp duties upon all legal papers and documents of every kind, upon all licenses, shipping bills, bonds, notes, evidences of debt, contracts and even upon pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs and calendars; and the tax was double on all papers and documents not in the English language.

Throughout the world, in all of the struggles of the masses for greater freedom; the lawyers generally have been found on the side of the people against despotic power. So it was in ancient Greece and Rome; and so it was in France at all times of the uprising of the people to achieve greater protection from and a larger share in their government, and, conspicuously, in England in every great crisis in her history. And so, with the exception of the lawyers who held office under the crown or expected royal patronage, the great mass of the lawyers in America were patriots and staunch supporters and leaders of the people in their struggles against English tyranny. Therefore, as Trevelyan in his history of the American Revolution, says: "A secondary, but an evident and even confessed object of a Stamp Act was to impose a prohibitory tax upon the manufacture of legal documents, and thereby to injure and pare down the gains of those unofficial lawyers among whom were to be found the most skillful and stubborn opponents of the crown."

When the news of the passage of the Stamp Act reached this country it aroused everywhere the most intense excitement and indignation. Meetings were held in the principal towns and cities, and the act was denounced as an invasion of the fundamental rights of freemen; and resolutions were adopted to resist its execution. It suddenly converted thousands of staunch royalists into patriots. A congress of the colonies was called to meet in New York in October to effect a union among the colonies for resistance to the attacks of the Parliament upon the liberties which they claimed as their English birthright. When the first day of November arrived on which the act was to take effect, the historian Bancroft describes the situation as follows: "It (the day) broke upon a people unanimously resolved on nullifying it. From New Hampshire to the far South, the day was introduced by the tolling of muffled

bells; minute guns were fired and pennants hoisted half staff; or a eulogy was pronounced on liberty, and her knell sounded; and then again the note changed as if she were restored to life; and while pleasure shone on every countenance, men shouted confusion to her enemies. Children hardly able to speak caught up the general chorus and went along the streets carolling, "Liberty, Property, and No Stamps." Merchants banded together to refuse the importation or sale, while the act was in force, of any goods from England; and citizens resolved not to use any goods so imported. Stamp agents were forced by threats and violence to resign their offices. Stamps were seized and destroyed, and even the buildings in which they were stored or offered for sale were also destroyed. When news of the act first reached New York, hand bills containing a copy of the stamp act with a death's head affixed were hawked about the streets under the title of "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America;" and on the 31st day of October a newspaper made its appearance there in mourning, headed by the following prologue: "A Funeral Lamentation on the Death of Liberty, who finally Expires on this 31st day of October in the Year of our Lord MDCCLXV, and of our Slavery I." It was about this time in a debate in the House of Burgesses of Virginia over the Stamp Act that Patrick Henry made his famous speech in which he said: "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III (Treason! cried the Speaker. Treason! Treason, echoed from every part of the house) may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it."

The agitation against the act was so fierce and determined in this country, and also in England by Pitt and others who thought it not only unwise and inexpedient, but also an invasion of the English Constitution, that it was repealed by the Parliament on the 18th day of March, 1766. During the time it was in force, the stamp duties realized amounted to only four thousand pounds, not enough to pay the expenses of collection. A majority of the members of Parliament who voted for the repeal did so on the ground of expediency. The repeal would have been more satisfactory to the colonists, but for the fact that it was accompanied with the declaration that the English Parliament had the right by its acts to impose taxes upon the colonies and to bind them in all cases.

The repeal was nevertheless hailed here everywhere with great manifestations of joy. Toasts were drunk to the royal family and to Parliament. Bells were rung, cannon fired, banners displayed, and illuminations by night lighted cities and villages; and in Boston, imprisoned debtors were released by subscription. John Adams wrote that "the repeal of the stamp act has composed every wave of popular discontent into a smooth and peaceful ocean." In celebration of the event the first liberty pole in America was erected by the Sons of Liberty in New York, and thereafter such poles became the symbols of liberty among the American people, and the rallying point of patriots.

The Stamp Act set in motion the causes which led to the American

Revolution and the independence of our country. But the colonists had other grievances which would undoubtedly have led to the same results unless England changed her policy toward the colonists. In her legislation and her treatment of them, she disregarded their interests and exploited them for her benefit. Navigation laws prohibited trading and commerce between the colonies and other countries than England. Every branch of consumption here was so far as practicable secured to English manufacturers. Every form of competition by colonial industry was discouraged or forbidden. No colonist of English blood would have patiently endured these invasions of their natural rights, if there had been no Stamp Act and no asserted right to impose taxes upon them by act of Parliament. What the colonists claimed was the regulation of their own internal, domestic affairs, including taxation, through their own legislative assemblies, and they would have been satisfied with nothing less. Their leaders had thoroughly studied the science of government, and the principles upon which that science should be based were never more thoroughly and ably discussed than by the patriots of the Revolution and their friends in the English Parliament.

A generation had scarcely passed, and the memories of the Stamp Act, and the bitterness and animosities which it aroused had not gone from the minds of men before another Stamp Act was enacted by Congress during the administration of John Adams, July 6th, 1797, a similar act having been rejected by Congress during the administration of Washington. It provided for stamps on legal paper, licenses, evidences of debt, and other private documents. The license of an attorney required a stamp of \$10; and a certificate of naturalization, a stamp of \$5. The act was a Federalist measure passed at a time when the Federalists had control of Congress, and it was bitterly opposed and assailed by the Republicans of that day. They accused Adams and his friends, the Federalists, of a leaning toward Great Britain, and some denounced the act because it imitated the British way of raising revenue. Many denounced it on sentimental grounds, associating with it the odium of the British Stamp Act of 1765, and the momentous struggles against that act; and others claimed that the raising of revenue by stamps was not a proper function of the general government, but one to be exercised by the States. The act provided for the sale of stamps by agents to be appointed for that purpose. General Michael Myers, a leading Federalist, was appointed the stamp agent for this locality. He lived where Robert E. Steele now lives, and he placed at his house a sign indicating that he had stamps for sale. That sign aroused the animosity of the Republicans in this neighborhood. They had not forgotten the British Stamp Act of 1765; and as the patriots of that time forcibly resisted that act, they determined so far as they could to resist this, even by violence. So a number of them, all of whom had been Revolutionary soldiers, in the Fall of 1797, assembled at a tavern which stood at the corner of Main and Mary streets, where the Monroe building now stands, and they marched in military array to

the residence of General Myers, and there they tore down the sign and carried it away in triumph. This was not done without some show of resistance by General Myers. One of his negro slaves was armed with an axe, which he flourished in defense of his master. His son, Peter, drew his sword; but the sturdy Republicans who had many times faced greater dangers, were not intimidated and completed their work. For this riotous conduct the participants were indicted in the Federal Court and were subsequently arrested and taken to Albany. There they employed Aaron Burr to defend them. He took the prisoners in charge, had them shaved and brushed up so that they would make a good appearance in Court; and in some way, just how I never learned, he got them off. Benton in his history of Herkimer county, says it was through the intervention of Governor Jay, who was a Federalist. This was a great matter at that time in the Mohawk valley, and the rioters returned home the heroes of the hour. My grandfather (Dr. Petry) who lived where my brother's family now live, within a few rods of General Myers' residence, was among the men who marched from the tavern; and just before the sign was torn down his eldest daughter, a resolute woman, fearing that he, an old man, might be injured, went from her home and took him by the arm and led him away; and so he escaped indictment with his compatriots. Another incident illustrating the intense feeling of the times may here be related. General Myers had some Guinea hens who used to get upon the division fence between his lot and Dr. Petry's, and there utter their natural cackle, which sounded very much like Stamp Act! Stamp Act! Stamp Act! and he ordered one of his sons to kill them, as he would not have those confounded Guinea hens crying Stamp Act at him.

This act was so odious to the Republicans that it was repealed when they came into power during the administration of Thomas Jefferson, in 1802.

In the war of 1812, with Great Britain, stamps were again resorted to for the purpose of revenue under an act of Congress passed in 1813. The act was a Republican measure, devised to raise money to defray the expenses of what was at that time called by the Federalists a Republican war, and it was violently opposed by the Federalists, as were substantially all the war measures passed by the Republican party. It is thus seen that subsequent to the administration of John Adams, the two parties had reversed their position on the question of stamp taxation. This taxation was abrogated soon after the close of the war.

In the war of the Rebellion, the enormous expenditures made a resort to nearly every species of taxation necessary to meet the needs of our Government; and stamps were extensively used as a means of revenue under an act of Congress passed in 1864. The main provisions of that act remained in force until 1883, when nearly all its provisions were repealed, leaving only stamp taxes upon beer, distilled liquor, cigars and cigarettes. And now again to meet the expenses of the late

war with Spain we have a system of stamp taxation which, in consequence of the large increase of our national expenditures, I believe has come to stay.

This kind of taxation has ceased to be a political measure, dividing political parties. It is generally approved by writers on political economy and the science of taxation on the ground that such a tax is less burdensome and more easily collected than most others. Such taxes imposed by the representatives of the people no longer arouse any fears or opposition. A self governing people have very little reason to complain of taxation which they themselves through their representatives impose. Systems of taxation may be and sometimes are imperfect and even mischievous. Time and experience will perfect them, and the vigilance of the people should be mainly directed to the manner in which their servants dispose of money thus taken from them.

THE HERKIMER HYDRAULIC CANAL.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM C. PRESCOTT, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, June 9, 1900.

The Herkimer hydraulic canal has contributed very largely to the growth and prosperity of the village of Herkimer, therefore a statement of some of the facts in reference thereto and a brief sketch of the industries connected therewith may be of interest to many persons and may have some historical value.

Before this canal was built the water power of the West Canada Creek had not been utilized at Herkimer to any great extent. In 1833 there was a carding and fulling mill and a saw mill near where Perry G. Wires now lives, operated by Elisha Bisby. The fulling and carding mill was afterward conducted by Chester W. Palmer, Sr. At about the same time the saw mill was operated by W. A. Caswell. Soon after the hydraulic canal was built a new tail race was constructed by Warren Caswell, Sr., and Nathaniel Ethridge, which passed through lands lately owned by Dr. Peter Pryne and lands now owned by William W. Barse, and discharged into the West Canada Creek near Mr. Barse's cider mill. A saw mill and clover mill were erected near this tail race on the Barse place and Willard A. Gray, father of George H. Gray, and Kellogg Hubbard manufactured brooms and broom handles.

On the other side of the creek nearly opposite Bisby's mills was a saw mill and carding mill, owned by Lawrence L., Frederick L. and Jacob L. Harter. The course of the tail race from these mills is still visible. This property was sold by the Harters to the Hydraulic Company in 1834 and the mills were abandoned.

Near the west bank of the West Canada Creek, a short distance north of the old toll gate on Albany street, were a saw mill, a grist mill and distillery, at one time owned by Windsor Maynard and Simeon Ford and afterward by the Manhattan Company of the city of New York, which company conveyed that and other property along the north side of the Mohawk turnpike (now Albany street) to the Hydraulic Company in 1834. George Smith, son of Nicholas G. Smith, says that when a small boy he went on horseback with grain to be ground at this grist

mill. These mills, after their purchase by the Hydraulic Company, were abandoned.

The tail race discharged into the West Canada Creek near the railroad bridge. It has never been filled up and at the time of the overflow of the West Canada Creek in the winter and spring of 1899 a large amount of water passed down this channel and into the creek.

About the year 1831, some of the leading citizens of the village of Herkimer, with a view of developing manufacturing industries, considered the subject of diverting the waters of the West Canada Creek through an artificial channel which was to pass through or near the village and empty either into the West Canada Creek or the Mohawk River. John B. Jervis, civil engineer, was employed to make surveys and measurements of the quantity of water flowing into the creek when the water was low. He surveyed several different routes, all of them, however, passing through what was then called the "Little Lake." By one proposed route the canal would empty into the West Canada Creek between German street and the power house now owned by the village. By another route into the Mohawk River, but at a point at a considerable distance west of the present place of discharge. By this route the canal would have passed through the northern part of the village near the head of Main street and run through the Bellinger flats. The present route was finally adopted and about April, 1832, a blank form of deed for a right of way was prepared. It was arranged that the title to lands necessary to be acquired should be taken in the names of Charles Gray and Harvey W. Doolittle. Charles Gray was a lawyer, and afterwards became a Justice of the Supreme Court of this State and was for one year a Judge of the Court of Appeals. He was the father of Mrs. Mary Grosvenor, Miss Catherine Gray and Mrs. M. G. Palmer, and lived on Main street where his daughters now reside.

Harvey W. Doolittle was a doctor and was the father of Dr. Andrew F. Doolittle, who lived where C. R. Snell now lives, and of Judge Charles H. Doolittle of Utica.

Quite a number of deeds were prepared in May, 1832. The preamble contained in the printed form of the deed was as follows: "Whereas, the said Harvey and Charles and others, their associates, propose to divert a part of the waters of the West Canada Creek from their natural channel, and to conduct the same into the 'Little Lake,' so called, and from thence across the lands of various persons to the Mohawk River or West Canada Creek, in such manner as shall be considered most proper in order to create water powers to be used in manufacturing and other hydraulic purposes; and whereas, in conducting the said proposed operations it will be necessary to use and occupy such parts of the lands of the said parties of the first part as are hereafter described; and whereas the construction of the aforesaid work will require the expenditure of large sums of money, and, if completed, will be productive of great public benefit, and will also promote the individual interests of the said parties of the first part, Now, therefore,

in consideration of the premises, with a view to encourage and promote the construction of the aforesaid work, and for the consideration of one dollar paid to the said party of the first part," etc.

In order to carry out the projected enterprise a company was incorporated April 17, 1833, by Chapter 465 of the laws of that year. The object of the enterprise is stated in the act. Section one is as follows: "Frederick P. Bellinger, Harvey W. Doolittle, Nicholas Smith, Charles Gray, and such other persons as may be associated with them, are hereby declared to be a body corporate, by the name of 'The Herkimer Manufacturing and Hydraulic Company,' for the purpose of erecting a dam across the West Canada Creek, in the town of Herkimer, in the county of Herkimer, at some convenient point northwardly from the village of Herkimer, and to conduct the waters of the said creek in such canal as they may construct, near to the said village, and to discharge the same into the Mohawk River, or West Canada Creek, or both, at such place or places as they shall deem most convenient, thereby to create water power for driving all kinds of machinery; and to carry on the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods and machinery (at Herkimer and not elsewhere) or either of them separately, and to dispose of such water power as shall not be used by them."

The capital stock was made \$100,000, but the company was authorized to commence operations when \$30,000 had been subscribed. The directors for the first year were Frederick P. Bellinger, John B. Jervis, Harvey W. Doolittle, Nicholas Smith, Frederick Bellinger, Charles Gray and William Small. The election of directors was to take place the first Monday of September annually. The company could not take lands without the consent of the owners, and were made liable to pay the owners of mills and mill privileges actual damages sustained by them; the stockholders were made individually liable to the extent of their stock and the duration of the corporation was to be twenty years. The only change made in the charter was by Chapter 130 of the laws of 1845, which provided that the time for the annual election of directors should be changed to the first Monday of May, and prescribed the manner of giving notice of such election. Frederick P. Bellinger (commonly called "Squire" Bellinger or "Colonel" Bellinger), was chosen president of the company and held the office until December, 1836, when he resigned on account of his purchase of the lower drop. He was the father of the late Henry H. Bellinger and Peter F. Bellinger and of Mrs. Elizabeth Harter, who now lives at the old homestead on German street.

In the summer of 1833, when the success of the enterprise seemed to be assured, ground for the canal was broken and a great celebration was had. The exercises were held near the head of Lake street, the principal speaker was Simon Ford, one of the leading lawyers of the village and county, who stood under a huge hickory tree. The people assembled on the site of the canal and upon the rising ground now owned by Clark A. Miller. At the close of his address Mr. Ford took

a shovel and removed the first earth for the canal, a cannon was fired and a great deal of enthusiasm was manifested. Refreshments were served (both solid and liquid) to the multitude of people who had assembled to take part in the celebration. Colonel James A. Suiter says that he was working for John D. Spinner at the time and drove his span of white horses attached to a two wheeled caisson which contained provisions instead of ammunition. He has reason to remember the occasion because he tipped over in descending the hill on the upper side of the proposed canal. Albert L. Howell, now of Mohawk, although then a boy only eight years of age, says he also has reason to remember the celebration on account of the hard cider served to him.

Among those now living in the village who remember the celebration are Hon. Robert Earl, Isaac Dockstader, Jacob P. Harter, Mrs. William Benchley and Mrs. A. M. Gray.

Most of the work was performed by contract, each contractor taking a different section. Among the contractors were Michael F. Myers (the father of Mrs. A. H. Prescott), Homer Caswell, Adam Rasbach, Major Frederick Bellinger of Mohawk and Abijah Osborne. Most of the work was done by Irishmen and there was sometimes considerable rivalry between the employees of different contractors. In one case it culminated in a fight between two large and powerful Irishmen, one employed by Mr. Caswell and the other by Major Bellinger. A ring was formed near Bisby's mill and the men fought until one of them, who had but one eye, was blinded by blood running into his remaining eye. Jacob Harter says that he witnessed the fight. On another occasion he says that William A. Caswell made a wager that he could load a wagon with dirt quicker than any two Irishmen and won the wager.

Isaac Dockstader says that he drove a team from the beginning to the end of the work, working a considerable part of the time on the embankment at the foot of Mirror Lake.

It became necessary to obtain deeds from all the owners of land through which the canal was to pass and also to obtain consents and releases from persons owning lands along the West Canada Creek below the dam, because the proposed canal would divert the greater part of the waters of the creek and destroy the usefulness of water powers between the dam and the Mohawk River. Commencing at or near the dam across the creek, the following persons executed conveyance, either to Charles Gray and Harvey W. Doolittle in trust, or to the Herkimer Manufacturing and Hydraulic Co.: Geo. L. Harter, Henry G. Harter, Frederick Dockstader, Henry DeCamp, Mary DeWolf, Maria Bell, Geo. I. Hilts, Nicholas Smith, John, Nicholas and George Smith, Peter M. Folts, Jacob P. Weber, Joshua B. Aldridge, Nicholas Smith, Mathew Smith, John, Nicholas and George Smith, George Hilts, John Harter, J. P. Weber, the Executors of the will of Samuel Merry, John Nicholas and George Smith, J. P. Weber, Peter M. Folts, J. P. Weber, Philo M. Hackley, Joshua B. Aldridge, Enoch B. Talcott, Andrew and Harvey W. Doolittle, the Manhattan Company, Jacob Burrill, Jr., Henry

Petry, J. P. Weber, John, Nicholas and George Smith, George Hilts, Henry Petry, F. P. Bellinger, J. P. Weber, Nicholas Smith, John, Nicholas and George Smith.

Some of the persons above named owned lands at different points along the course of the canal, hence the repetition of their names. Besides conveying land for the canal and its embankment John, Nicholas and George Smith conveyed five acres of land on the north side of German Street, just above Mrs. Theodore Hilts', and four acres on the south side of German Street just east of the canal. It was expected that water would be taken from the main canal across these lots for the use of manufacturing establishments to be located thereon. The Manhattan Company, Jacob Burrill, Jr., and Henry Petry also conveyed considerable land to the Company, most of which was laid out in lots called water lots on the map made by J. B. Jervis. Several of the persons above named and Elisha Bisby, Peter G. Harter, Silas Shepard, Frederick Stevens and Peter P. Harter executed releases of their respective rights, claims, interest and property "of, in and to the waters of the said West Canada Creek and the flowing or flowings thereof in their natural channel along the lands now owned and belonging to them"—with leave and authority to take and divert the waters of the creek from their natural channel.

The canal was substantially completed at the end of the year 1835 at a cost of about thirty-five thousand dollars. Judge Earl says that when the water reached the upper drop a cannon was fired to celebrate the event. After the completion of the canal an effort was made to induce manufacturers to buy water power and locate on or near the canal, a map showing the entire route of the canal, all the property of the company and the village of Herkimer was prepared and lithographed and copies were distributed. On this map was a note which described so well the advantages for manufacturing purposes possessed by the village of Herkimer that I quote the whole of it.

"The water power of the Herkimer Manufacturing and Hydraulic Company is situated on the West Canada Creek, at the village of Herkimer, New York. From a measurement of the stream at the lowest stage of the water in 1833, it was calculated by John B. Jervis, Esq., civil engineer, that the hydraulic power of the company, assuming that a ten horse power is adequate to operate one run of stones, was competent to drive one hundred and thirty-eight runs of fifty-four inch mill stones. The power for one run of stones is estimated to be equal that required for one thousand cotton spindles, making this power therefore sufficient for one hundred and thirty-eight thousand spindles. The water is conducted through a canal of capacity sufficient, in a time of extreme low water, to admit the whole water of the stream. The entire fall is 37 feet, divided into two falls, one of 22 feet, the other of 15 feet, the water to be used twice over. The ground at the two sites is peculiarly favorable for the erection of mills of any kind, and a very small expense will be incurred in taking the water from the canal to

the wheel. It is hardly possible to have a location of ground more advantageous for the occupation of water or any other power and for building generally, than occurs in this case. The buildings will be entirely secure and free from exposure to floods. The village of Herkimer is the county seat of the county of Herkimer, and is situated on one of the most beautiful, fertile and extensive plains in the valley of the Mohawk. It is 15 miles below Utica and 80 west of Albany, on the immediate route of the great thoroughfare between the Atlantic and Western States. It is surrounded by a fine and extensive agricultural district, which is penetrated by good roads in various directions. The Utica & Schenectady railroad and the Mohawk turnpike pass directly through it and within three-fourths of a mile and with which through the company's tail-race, it is to be connected by a navigable water communication, is the grand Erie canal, extending from the Hudson at Albany to Lake Erie, at Buffalo, and from which at different points diverge the Champlain, Chenango, Oswego, Cayuga, Black River and Genesee Valley canals, communicating with extensive and important districts of country, all of which conspire to render this a location highly advantageous for a manufacturing town. The Herkimer & Trenton railroad, extending from the Erie canal and intersecting the Utica & Schenectady railroad at the village of Herkimer, will open a direct communication by way of Trenton Falls, a place of extensive fashionable resort, into the Black River country, and render accessible the vast and valuable lumber and iron regions of the north, and thus become another important acquisition to the many other advantages which this place unites. The water of the West Canada Creek is soft and well adapted to the manufacture of woolen. The climate is in a high degree healthy. Fuel, building materials and all kinds of provision are abundant and cheap, and it is believed that nothing more is wanting than an examination, to satisfy manufacturers and the public in general, that the location and advantages at this place, are eminently favorable for conducting manufacturing operations. The company now offer the whole or any part of the power for sale; and persons desirous to embark in manufacturing enterprise, will not, it is believed, find a more favorable location. And whether regard is had to the convenient occupation of sites for building mills and all other buildings, the fertility and natural resources of the surrounding country, healthiness of climate or facility for extensive communication with both Atlantic and Western markets, this situation is truly advantageous and eminently attractive.

"Communications upon this subject addressed to J. A. Rasbach, Esqr., P. M., Secretary of the Company, at the village of Herkimer, will be promptly attended to. Reference in the city of New York, T. B. Wakeman, Esqr., Corresp'g Sect'ry, Amer'n Institute, 187 Broadway."

The J. A. Rasbach referred to in the note at that time lived in Herkimer and was postmaster, as well as secretary of the company. He subsequently moved to Ilion, where he died a few years ago.

On this map it is stated as follows: "Mill-Canal, 25 ft. wide at bottom, 40 ft. wide at top water line, and water 5 ft. deep." The depth of water in Mirror Lake is stated to be 22 feet.

November 21, 1836, the Hydraulic Company authorized John S. Schermerhorn to sell the upper drop for \$30,000, and the lower drop for \$20,000, and he was to have a commission of five per cent, for making a sale, and in case he was the purchaser he was to be allowed to turn in his stock to apply on the purchase price. It is said that Mr. Schermerhorn interested New England capitalists and was about forming a company for the purpose of erecting a cotton mill at the lower drop when the Hydraulic Company sold the lower drop and all the property connected therewith to Colonel Frederick B. Bellinger, for \$25,000. The principal reason given for making the sale to him instead of to the parties represented by Mr. Schermerhorn was that he (Bellinger) would at once erect a grist mill and that a grist mill was more needed at Herkimer than a cotton mill. The deed to Col. Bellinger is dated December 1, 1836. It contains a description of several parcels of real estate, conveyed all the interests of the company, except beneficiary interests, in the banks from German street to the lower drop and the undivided one-half thereof from thence to the Mohawk River, provided that the canal could be used by both parties for the purpose of navigation, that the company should pay two-thirds of the expense of repairs, maintenance of bridges, etc., above German street, and Colonel Bellinger one-third, except that the structure called the "Upper Drop" should be kept up at the expense of the company; that Colonel Bellinger should pay all the expense of repairs, maintenance of bridges, etc., at the lower drop; that he should keep the water in the second level at a height not exceeding five feet above the bottom of the level as originally surveyed; that each party should have the right to construct a railroad on the bank of the canal through its whole extent or any part thereof; that all the covenants in the deed should run with the land and that the owners or occupants of the property should also be liable therefor, and that a strip of land forty feet wide from Washington street to the "King's road" should be left open for use of both parties.

Colonel Bellinger first located this strip over lands now owned by Peter Witherstine, but subsequently changed it to its present location, it being now the westerly end of Eastern avenue. Colonel Bellinger at once erected and equipped the stone grist mill which is now owned by G. M. Helmer. It was furnished with three or four runs of mill stones, and the water used was discharged below the lower drop, on land now owned by the Standard Furniture Company.

The next conveyance of water power made by the Hydraulic Company was to Jared B. Moss, by deed dated July 18, 1842. It conveyed some real estate at the upper drop, several rights of way, enough water to be taken from the basin at the upper drop to propel with an overshot wheel four runs of fifty-four inch mill stones, with the necessary machinery for the manufacture of flour, the quantity, if not agreed upon,

to be fixed by J. B. Jervis, civil engineer. Mr. Moss agreed to erect before January 1, 1843, a building not less than three stories high or less than 60 by 40 feet, and by November 1, 1843, put into operation enough useful machinery other than a custom grist mill or a saw mill to use one-half of the water granted and by November 1, 1846, enough to use the whole of it. Mr. Moss erected a building and intended to run a cotton mill and bought some second-hand machinery for that purpose. He was not able to carry out his plan and the building he erected was used by Burdick & Orr for the manufacture of hat bodies. D. O. Mills, formerly of California, now of New York, was bookkeeper for Burdick & Orr.

Jared B. Moss conveyed the property to Addison H. Laffin, November 6, 1847. In 1853, the Hydraulic Company conveyed more land and water power to Addison H. and Byron Laffin and the quantity of water they were entitled to use was agreed upon as 150 horse power.

In 1859, the Herkimer Manufacturing and Hydraulic Company went into the hands of Volney Owen, receiver, and on the 21st day of July, 1860, said receiver sold all the property then owned by the company to Frederick P. Bellinger.

The Herkimer Paper Company became the owner of all the property owned by the Laffins and on April 20, 1887, the heirs of Frederick P. Billinger conveyed to said company all the property at the upper drop conveyed to F. P. Bellinger by said Receiver, except the four acres on south side of German street, next to the hydraulic canal and also conveyed to the Paper Company all the water power and water rights at the upper drop. This property is now owned by the International Paper Company, except the five acres of land on the north side of German street.

Conveyances of land and water power at the lower drop were made by F. P. Bellinger, as follows:

(1) October 16, 1841, to William A. Caswell, property and water power on west side of the canal now owned by the Standard Furniture Company. The water power conveyed is described in said deed as follows: "So much water and no more as by the most advantageous and present approved application thereof, regard being had to economy and power upon Johnson's reacting water wheel shall be sufficient to saw out or cut four thousand feet of ordinary inch stuff in twenty-four hours."

This water power was afterwards divided and in a deed from Rodman Wood to George P. Folts and Windsor D. Schnyler, in 1868, the water to be used on the premises conveyed was described as follows: "The right and privilege to take from the said hydraulic canal and convey through the said trunk to the said flume one hundred and twenty-six square inches of water to be taken from the said flume and applied to the water wheel upon the lands hereby sold and conveyed substantially the same as where the same is now applied, and the quantity to be ascertained by measuring the water where it is discharged

from the water wheel located substantially as the present water wheel is. It is expressly understood by and between the parties hereto that the parties of the second part are not to be confined to the present water wheel nor to one like it and the present wheel and its location are referred to simply as a means of limiting and describing the quantity of water hereby intended to be conveyed."

This property and water power, which was a part of that conveyed by F. P. Bellinger to William A. Caswell as above stated, is now owned by the Standard Furniture Company.

(2) August 5, 1818, to David Davenport and William D. Rickertson. Property and water power on the east side of the canal. The water power is described as follows: "The privilege of taking from said canal above said bulkhead at all times as much water as will pass through an orifice of the size of a square foot for the use of machinery on said water lot and for all other purposes." This property was divided June 15, 1855, when William A. Caswell, who then owned the entire property, sold what was called the Plaster Mill property to Cornelius Maxfield. The water power conveyed was described as follows: "The water power now used with the said plaster mill, it being sufficient water power or quantity of water to drive or run a water wheel of the style now used in said mill, or to use or drive any other style of wheel which shall not require a larger power or quantity of water to drive or propel it than the present wheel." This part of the property is now owned by John V. Hemstreet. The remaining part by Menning A. Deimel.

(3) January 27, 1860, to George Broomhall, property and water power on the west side of the canal now owned by the Standard Furniture Company. The water power conveyed was described as follows: "Water to be taken from the hydraulic canal on the west side above the bulkhead of the lower drop between the tube of the flouring mill and tube of Swift & Gray's mill, and to be conducted to the lot hereby conveyed through a tube or flume put into the bank of the said hydraulic canal at such depth as to be on a level with the tube which conducts the water to Swift & Gray's saw mills, the water to be conducted in a tight tube or flume, and to be such a quantity as will run through an orifice twelve inches square to be measured at a point twelve and one-half feet below the surface of the hydraulic canal at its ordinary height above the lower drop."

(4) March 13, 1866, to Elisha Washburn. The grist mill property and water power on the west side of the hydraulic canal now owned by George M. Helmer. This deed conveys what is called "the stone flouring mill property, and all the water privileges and rights belonging to said mill." The quantity of water was not specified, but was probably sufficient for the three or four runs of mill stones then in said mill.

(5) July 13, 1870, to Aaron Snell and Norman Folts, all the remaining land, water and water power at the lower drop which was owned by said Bellinger. Aaron Snell conveyed land and water power as fol-

lows: (1) July 15, 1871, to Morris Mark and Michael Elias, the property and water power on the east side of the canal now owned by the Mark Manufacturing Company. The water conveyed is described as follows: "Three square feet of water to be run through a round tube or tubes in such a manner as to prevent any leakage from said tube or said hydraulic, to be measured in a square box or boxes where it flows upon the water wheel or wheels, the same to be taken from said hydraulic canal and run through said round tube or tubes into a flume or penstock and from thence measured in such said square box or boxes as aforesaid, and the orifice of the said square box or boxes shall have the same measurement at each end so that the aperture where the water enters into said square box or boxes shall be of the same size as where it leaves the same." The water used at this mill is discharged through a tail race running under the N. Y. C. & H. R. railroad and empties into the canal between the premises owned by J. V. Hemstreet and M. A. Deimel. In this conveyance Mr. Snell reserves "the prior right to use four square feet of water and water power." The deed provided that said property should never be used for saw mill, planing mill, sash, blind or door manufactury or grist mill purposes without the consent of the parties of the first part.

(2) November 8, 1886, to James A. Clark and Benjamin D. Lyon, property and water power on the east side of the canal now owned by James A. Clark and Leonidas F. Clark. The deed conveyed "eighty square inches of water to be taken from said hydraulic canal." This right of water was stated in the deed to be next prior to the water right and power conveyed to Mark and Elias.

(3) January 1, 1889, to William Horrocks and Michael Foley, property on west side of the canal formerly owned by William A. Caswell. This deed conveys "water and water power to be taken from the hydraulic canal above the lower drop and to be conducted through a tube or tubes or flume or flumes put into the banks of said canal, but not at a depth below the level of the tubes conducting water to the premises now owned by said Horrocks & Foley to those owned by E. C. Munson and to the premises above conveyed, viz: such a quantity of water as will flow through an opening equivalent to 280 square inches to be measured at a point on a level with the water in the tail races below the lower drop at its ordinary level, said opening to be constructed in the most approved and favorable form and manner for the discharge of water." The deed states that this water power is to be next in priority after power granted to Elisha Washburn. By this deed and a deed given to Horrocks & Foley by Volney Eaton and E. C. Munson, dated January 27, 1890, Horrocks & Foley became the owners of all the water power conveyed by F. P. Bellinger to William A. Caswell as above stated.

(4) March 7, 1889, to Cornelius R. Snell and Henry A. Deimel, property and water power on the east side of the canal now owned by the Gem Knitting Company. This deed conveys "one foot and one-half or

two hundred and sixteen square inches of water to be taken from the hydraulic canal above the lower drop and to be conducted through a tube or tubes or flume or flumes put into the bank of said canal, but not at a depth below the level of the tubes conducting water to the premises owned by Horrocks & Foley or E. C. Munson. The quantity of water hereby conveyed is such a quantity as will flow through an opening equivalent to two hundred and sixteen square inches to be measured at a point on a level with the water in the tail races below the lower drop at its ordinary level, said opening to be constructed in the most approved and favorable form for the discharge of water." This water power was declared by said deed to be next subsequent to that granted to Horrocks & Foley by the deed above mentioned.

This deed also conveys "all the surplus water and water power, if any, after all the grantees of water and water power at the lower drop have received and used the full amount and quantity of water and water power they are entitled to receive and use on the 7th day of March, 1889."

In the deeds above mentioned the grantees assumed a certain portion of the liabilities for keeping the dam and canal in repair. The liabilities of the owners of water power are now (June 9, 1900) as follows:

	Upper drop.	Lower drop.
International Paper Company	60-90	none.
Mark Mfg. Company	6-90	12-60
J. A. & L. F. Clark	1½-90	3-60
Gem Knitting Company	2½-90	5-60
G. M. Helmer	10-90	20-60
J. V. Hemstreet	1½-90	3-60
Herkimer Mfg. Co. (M. A. Deimel).....	1½-90	3-60
Standard Furniture Company	7-90	14-60

When F. P. Bellinger bought the property at the lower drop in 1836 he gave back a mortgage for a portion of the purchase price. A dispute arose between him and some of the stockholders as to the amount unpaid on the mortgage. In 1853, when it became necessary to get a new charter for the Company, a number of the stockholders presented a memorial to the State Legislature asking that if another charter should be granted it should provide that Mr. Bellinger and all persons not holding at least six shares of stock should be excluded from being directors or that the company should be dissolved and its property sold. In this memorial the petitioners charged that F. P. Bellinger had combined with one Burdick to purchase a majority of the stock, that Burdick represented that he was the agent of some eastern men who wished to establish cotton and woolen manufactories but that they insisted that they must have a majority of the stock in order to control the operations of the company, that Burdick claimed to have purchased Mr. Bellinger's stock, about sixty shares, at eighty cents on a dollar, that in this way Burdick and Bellinger secured a majority of the stock,

that Burdick turned over forty-two shares purchased by him, to Mr. Bellinger, thus giving him control of the company, that at the annual election in May, 1846, Mr. Bellinger voted on a majority of the stock of the company and elected himself and six others directors, of whom five were not and never had been stockholders of the company, that on April 22, 1848, Mr. Bellinger and his directors liquidated the indebtedness of Bellinger to the company for a less sum than was actually due from him, that Mr. Bellinger had continued to control the board of directors and that only two of the seven directors were then or had been stockholders.

The Legislature did not extend the charter of the Company and on the 16th day of May, 1853, an action in the Supreme Court, in which Charles Gray, John B. Jervis, George Smith, William Smith, Alexander M. Gray and George Smith, Trustees and Testamentary Guardians of George Smith, John M. Smith and Nicholas Smith, infants, were plaintiffs, and Frederick P. Bellinger, Peter F. Bellinger, Charles A. Burton, George W. Pine, John D. Spinner and Jacob J. Christman were defendants, was commenced for the purpose of recovering from F. P. Bellinger the amount claimed to be unpaid by him on the mortgage and for the appointment of a receiver. In this action Volney Owen was appointed receiver. The case was referred to William Tracey of Utica. On May 30, 1859, he made his report. He reported that Mr. Bellinger was not entitled to be credited upon the mortgage with the thirteen shares of stock, formerly owned by J. F. Schermerhorn, which he surrendered to the company in 1837. That he was not a director in the company from 1836 to 1846, when he elected himself and six others, directors, only one of whom held stock in the company, that one hundred and ninety-six shares of stock had been paid for, which were then owned by the following named persons: J. B. Jervis, 10; Frederick P. Bellinger, 61; Charles Gray, 51; Nicholas Smith, 13; George Smith, 10; H. F. Helmer, 1; Jacob J. Christman, 1; Loadwick Burdick, 42; H. W. Doolittle, 7.

John H. Wooster of Newport was then appointed referee to compute the amount due from Mr. Bellinger upon the mortgage upon the principles laid down by Referee Tracy. He made his report in 1862, and found that on March 4, 1862, there was unpaid on the mortgage \$3,440.53. The decree was signed by Judge Bacon, September 26, 1862. Kernan, Quin & Kernan were attorneys for the plaintiffs; Charles A. Burton was attorney for the defendant F. P. Bellinger at the commencement of the action and was succeeded by Ezra Graves.

As previously stated, Volney Owen, the receiver, sold the property of the company at public auction, July 21, 1860, to F. P. Bellinger, the purchase price was \$5,400. The sale was confirmed July 24, 1860, and the deed was executed July 26, 1860.

June 30, 1869, Frederick P. Bellinger commenced an action in the Supreme Court against Erwin A. Munson, Erwin C. Munson, Charles Ingelsoll, Charles Putman and James Putman, who were then the own-

ers of the water power and property which had been sold by Mr. Bellinger to Davenport & Rickertson. Mr. Bellinger claimed that the defendants were using more water than they were entitled to use, and brought the action to determine how much they were entitled to use and to recover damages for the use of the excess.

The action was referred to Hon. Arphaxed Loomis of Little Falls. A number of experts in hydraulic matters were sworn. The referee made his report February 8, 1872, and found that "the proprietors of the plaster mill premises are entitled to an equal one-third part of the entire quantity of water granted and conveyed by the plaintiff to Davenport & Rickertson, and that the other two-thirds part contained in the saw mill premises belonged to the owners thereof."

He also found that the plaintiff was the owner of unsold water flowing into the hydraulic canal and that in granting mill lots adjacent with the right to draw from the canal a limited quantity of water the grantees were limited to the amount expressed in their conveyances and that the owners and occupants of mills adjacent who drew water from said canal in excess of the quantity authorized by their grants became liable to pay damages to the plaintiff for such excess. He found that the plaintiff was entitled to recover \$752, damages against E. A. & E. C. Munson, \$216 against the defendant Charles Ingersoll, and \$73 against the defendants Charles Ingersoll, Charles Putman and James Putman.

Peter B. Myers afterward became the owner of the plaster mill property, at the time of this litigation owned by Charles Ingersoll, James and Chas. Putman, and in order that there might be no question as to the quantity of water he was entitled to use at the plaster mill, he procured a pattern of the wheel in use in said mill at the time it was conveyed by William A. Caswell to Cornelius Maxfield and had a wheel made and placed in the mill.

At about the same time Frederick P. Bellinger also commenced an action against Aaron Snell and others to recover damages for using more water than they were entitled to use.

This action was also referred to Hon. Arphaxed Loomis and after considerable evidence had been taken the action was settled.

F. P. Bellinger sold all the remaining property at the lower drop to Aaron Snell and Norman Folts on the 13th day of July, 1870, for the sum of eleven thousand dollars.

The settlement was a good one for Mr. Snell, for he soon sold a portion of the property for more than he gave for the whole of it, and saved the payment of damages to Mr. Bellinger.

INDUSTRIES ON THE HYDRAULIC CANAL.

UPPER DROP.—PAPER MILL.

As already stated, Jared B. Moss purchased a portion of the property in 1840 and Burdick & Orr manufactured hat bodies for several years. In 1847 Mr. Moss sold to Addison H. Latlin, A. H. and Byron Latlin

purchased more property and water power and for many years manufactured a high grade of writing paper. In July, 1857, they sold the property to Richard Bainbridge and Henry Jeroliman of New York, who at once transferred it to the Kent Mills Paper Company.

Mortgages given by Bainbridge and Jeroliman were foreclosed and July 25, 1859, the property was bid in by the Laffins. The Laffins failed and the property passed into the hands of Dean Burgess, Henry P. Alexander and Thomas Coit, as trustees, May 9, 1865.

June 1st, 1865, they conveyed the property to Charles Hutchinson, Henry Churchill, Sr., Charles H. Roberts and Warner Miller. The property was managed for a time by Warner Miller & Company, then by Warner Miller, and January 1st, 1869, Warner Miller and Henry Churchill formed a co-partnership, which continued until the Herkimer Paper Company was incorporated in 1875.

Warner Miller was president and Henry Churchill secretary and treasurer of the Company. Miller & Churchill and the Herkimer Paper Company manufactured paper for newspapers, making it first from straw and then from rags and wood pulp, and later from chemical wood pulp and ground wood pulp. The mill was burned in 1867 and again in 1879. The capacity of the plant was increased from time to time under the efficient management of Henry Churchill, and the output increased from twelve tons of paper a week to one hundred and eighty tons.

In January, 1898, the property was sold to the International Paper Company, which now manufactures manila paper and fibre paper and newspaper. Max Miller was superintendent of the Herkimer mill and was succeeded by the present superintendent, George M. Dunham. About ninety hands are now employed at this mill by the Company. This Company owns and operates over thirty paper and pulp mills. Most of the carting for the Company is done by Syllaboch Bros.

John E. Freeman had a machine shop in the paper mill from about 1866 until 1877, when he put up a building east of the paper mill. He sold to Austin B. Klock and Jerome F. Sheaf in 1878. Mr. Sheaf sold out to Mr. Klock in 1890, who is now conducting the business.

A foundry was started just east of the paper mill by Charles H. Warburton and Jared Petrie, in 1878. In about a year Mr. Petrie was succeeded by Mr. Warburton, who continued the business until the fall of 1897. The business was continued by his wife until September, 1899, when it was leased to Samuel Jess and William E. Warburton, who are now conducting it. The machine shop and the foundry are both run by water power furnished by the Paper Company.

Ice has been taken from Mirror Lake for the use of the villages of Herkimer and Mohawk for many years. William W. Barse conducted the business for several years and was succeeded by the Mirror Lake Ice Company. The business is now conducted by Philip H. Brown. He employs five or six men in the summer and about thirty-five men when the ice is harvested.

MARK MANUFACTURING COMPANY.—KNITTING MILL.

The property and water power owned by this Company was purchased by Morris Mark and Michael Elias, in 1871. Morris Mark purchased the interest of Mr. Elias, November 27, 1882. In November, 1889, the property was conveyed to the Mark & Marsh Manufacturing Company. Mr. Andrew K. Marsh retired from the Company and on February 12, 1892, the name was changed to the Mark Manufacturing Company. Under the management of Morris Mark the business has been very successful. The principal business engaged in has been the manufacture of woolen underwear and sweaters. About 300 hands are employed. The present officers of the Company are, Morris Mark, president; Hon. Robert Earl, vice-president, and Howard Mark, secretary and treasurer.

J. A. & L. F. CLARK—MACHINE SHOP.

This property was conveyed to James A. Clark and Benjamin D. Lyon in November, 1886. The machine shop was conducted by Mr. Clark. Mr. Lyon manufactured builders' materials and was a contractor. In November, 1892, the property was conveyed to James A. & Leonidas F. Clark, who now own it. Since 1892, it has been used as a machine shop and from seven to eight men are employed.

GEM KNITTING COMPANY.

This Company was formerly a co-partnership. The property was purchased by Henry A. Deimel and Cornelius R. Snell, in March, 1889. April 1st, 1895, it was transferred to James H. Eveans, Henry A. Deimel, Cornelius R. Snell and Menning A. Deimel. Henry A. Deimel retired from the business in November, 1896, and Menning A. Deimel, in September, 1898. The company was incorporated December 26, 1898, and Mr. Snell and Mr. Eveans conveyed their interest in the property to the Company. The Company manufactures cotton ribbed underwear and employs from 150 to 200 persons. The present officers of the Company are, C. R. Snell, president; Max Miller, vice-president, and Guy H. Miller, secretary and treasurer.

GEORGE M. HELMER.—GRIST MILL.

This mill was built by Frederick P. Bellinger, in 1839, and was owned by him until March 13, 1866, when he conveyed it to Elisha Washburn. Mr. Washburn conducted the mill two years before he purchased it. In August, 1892, Mr. Washburn conveyed an undivided one-half interest to George M. Helmer and he purchased the other half of the executors of Mr. Washburn, in March, 1894. Mr. Helmer has been identified with the mill since 1872. It is now operated by five turbine wheels. A Robinson lightning grinder constitutes a part of the equipment. Mr. Helmer will soon have ready for operation an electric motor of thirty horse power, the power being furnished by the electric light plant owned by the village. Besides doing grinding, he carries a stock of flour,

feed, grain, meal, middlings, land plaster, cement, steel roofing, salt, baled hay, straw, shavings, clover and grass seed and seed grains. He employs from six to ten men.

PLASTER MILL PROPERTY.—J. V. HEMSTREET.

This property was sold to Davenport & Rickertson in 1848, who built the plaster mill. William A. Caswell purchased it in 1851 and sold it to Cornelius Maxfield in 1855. It was owned for a short time by Samuel and Stephen Carpenter and by John L. Smith. Elisha Washburn conducted it for a time as assignee of Smith. John H. Myers, Jr., became the owner by mortgage foreclosure in 1866, and sold the property to Charles L. Ingersoll, who sold an undivided half to James N. and Charles Putman. The mortgage given by Mr. Ingersoll was foreclosed and the property was purchased by Peter B. Myers, in October, 1876. In 1888, Mr. Myers sold the property to George E. Bedell, who tore down the old plaster mill and erected the present stone building, where he manufactured spring beds, mattresses, etc., for several years.

Mr. Myers again became the owner of the property by foreclosure of a mortgage, and his executors sold it in October, 1899, to John V. Hemstreet, of the Standard Furniture Company and the building is now used for the manufacture of excelsior.

HERKIMER MFG. COMPANY.—M. A. DEIMEL.

The property now owned by Mr. Deimel was a part of that which was conveyed by F. P. Bellinger and wife to Davenport & Rickertson, in 1848. They contracted with Lewis Jones and Daniel Bell to erect a saw mill on the property immediately below the plaster mill. The contract provided that the mill was to be built "large enough to saw timber from 30 to 35 feet long and to be finished and furnished with one good saw and cant hook and a pair of bars, also to put up a good buzz saw and to be carried by a belt from the said plaster mill." The saw mill was conducted by Jones & Bell, and by Mr. Jones until the mill was burned in 1859.

William A. Caswell became the owner of the property in 1857 and sold it to Volney Eaton in November, 1859. About 1860, Mr. Eaton built a new mill and the business was conducted for a time by Mr. Eaton and E. C. Munson. In 1865, Mr. Eaton sold the property to Erwin A. and Erwin C. Munson. The mill was burned again in February, 1871, at which time the plaster mill was burned also.

S. L. Black conducted a shoddy mill on the property, about 1865. George L. Johnson occupied the upper part of the saw mill from about 1868 until the fire and did planing, and furnished builders' materials.

Mr. Munson conducted a steam saw mill on the east side of the lot for about three years, when he sold the machinery to George Sperl, after which the property remained idle until it was sold to Henry A. Deimel and Cornelius R. Snell, in 1883. George E. Bedell commenced the manufacture of cots and spring beds in the large building north of the freight house. He formed a co-partnership with H. A. & M. A.

Deimel, under the firm name of the Bedell Mfg. Co., in November, 1882. They erected a wooden building on the above mentioned saw mill lot, about 1883, and manufactured spring beds, cots, mattresses, etc. About 1886, Mr. Bedell retired from the firm and the business was conducted under the name of the Herkimer Mfg. Co., composed of C. R. Snell and M. A. Deimel. Two large brick buildings have been added to the plant, in one of which the Gem Knitting Co. did business until the building it now occupies was erected. At one time Giesy & Roberts had a machine shop in the basement of the northerly brick building and Henoeksburgh & Benda manufactured stockings for a time, under the name of the Liberty Knitting Mills.

C. R. Snell retired from the firm in 1896. A large and successful business is now conducted by M. A. Deimel. An excelsior plant with fourteen machines has been added. Woven wire and other mattresses, spring beds, cots, office desks, and other articles are now manufactured at this plant. About fifty-five hands are employed.

STANDARD FURNITURE COMPANY.

This company owns the property and water power which was conveyed by F. P. Bellinger to William A. Caswell in 1841, and that conveyed by F. P. Bellinger to George Broomhall in 1860.

CASWELL PROPERTY.

Mr. Caswell built a saw mill on his property and ran it for about 13 years. He sold the property to Peter Witherstine and William A. Swift in 1855. He became the owner of the property again in 1861, and at once sold it to Francis Popper and Mary Gray, the wife of Willard A. Gray, in 1861. A new building was put up north of the saw mill property on what was afterward called the Munson lot, about 1860. Popper and Gray sold to Rodman Wood, in 1867. Rodman Wood made cheese boxes. Rodman Wood conveyed the saw mill portion of the property to Aaron Snell, January 1st, 1869. Mr. Snell conducted a saw mill and at one time ground feed. He also had a sash and blind factory. The building was burned twice; after it burned the second time nothing but sawing was done. January 1st, 1889, he conveyed the property to William Horrocks and Michael Foley.

Rodman Wood conveyed the other portion of the property (the Munson property) to George P. Folts and Windsor D. Schuyler, in November, 1868. They manufactured cheese boxes and head linings. Folts and Schuyler sold to Munson and Patrick in 1875, but Mr. Patrick had an interest in the property but a short time. Mr. Munson at first manufactured carpenter's supplies. About 1879, he commenced the manufacture of chamber furniture, which he continued until the property was sold to William Horrocks and Michael Foley, in 1890.

BROOMHALL PROPERTY.

There was a wooden building on this property before Mr. Broomhall bought it, in which James and Joel MacComber made lasts. Kingston

Brothers also made lasts, and broom handles were also manufactured here. R. S. Hamilton, father of Mrs. F. E. Easton, of Ilion, manufactured French bedsteads and other articles.

Mr. Broomhall erected a stone building south of the grist mill for a malt house, in 1860. It was originally only a story and a half high. The first planer and matcher used in Herkimer was put in this mill, in 1860, and was run by George T. Woodin, Sr.

In 1865, an interest in the property was conveyed by Broomhall to B. D. Lyon. Mr. Lyon bought sash and blind machinery which had been used by Zenas Green, Joseph Folts and B. Patrick, on a portion of the Caswell property, and engaged in the manufacture of sash and blinds, and also sold lumber. Mr. George T. Woodin at one time owned an interest in the property.

William Horrocks and Michael Foley became the owners, in August, 1886. Horrocks & Foley manufactured the wooden parts of the Remington Typewriter, and made desks. In 1890, the Company was incorporated. William Horrocks retired from the Company and started in business for himself, in 1893.

The present officers of the Company are, Michael Foley, president; John V. Hemstreet, vice-president; F. F. Lathrop, treasurer, and Charles S. Brewer, secretary. They now manufacture a great variety of office desks, cabinets and other work for typewriters. They employ about 450 men at Herkimer and turn out from five to six hundred desks per week. They also employ a large number of men in Kentucky. They have agencies in London, Paris and Berlin, and special agencies in the principal cities of Europe. The business is very large and constantly increasing.

The foregoing are the industries operated wholly or in part by water power from the Hydraulic Canal. Manufacturing at these plants has increased to such an extent that all the water of the West Canada Creek does not now furnish power enough to run them all. Steam is also used by many of the manufacturers, especially when the flow of water is obstructed by anchor ice and in times of drought.

OTHER INDUSTRIES IN HERKIMER.

There are some industries in Herkimer not connected with the Hydraulic Canal, but it has been thought best to refer to them briefly in this article.

H. M. QUACKENBUSH.

Mr. Quackenbush started in business in 1871, in a small building on the back part of his lot on the west side of Prospect street. The business increased rapidly, several buildings have been erected by him on the east side of Prospect street and he now has one of the finest and best equipped plants in the country. He manufactures Safety cartridge rifles, bicycle rifles, air rifles, targets, darts and slugs, stair carpet rods, foot lathes, nickle and silver plated nut picks and cracks, and employs from 75 to 100 hands.

C. R. SNELL.

About 1878, Henry A. Diemel and Cornelius R. Snell engaged in the lumber business at Herkimer, under the firm name of Diemel & Snell. Their large and extensive plant was on the north side of Albany street, next to the mill of the Mark Mfg. Co. Mr. Diemel retired in 1897, and the business is now conducted by Mr. Snell. He deals in lumber and manufactures materials for house building. He employs about 20 men.

JOHN METZLER.

Mr. Metzler's place of business is on the westerly side of Second avenue. He is a contractor and manufactures window sash and doors. He employs about 35 men.

ACME PAPER BOX CO.

This Company is engaged in the manufacture of paper boxes in the building on the west side of Main street, owned by John Stewart, and commenced business about May 1st, 1900. The company consists of Charles Stewart, Robert H. Gleed, Morris Marriott. Frank Shelhorn is superintendent.

HORROCKS DESK COMPANY.

After Wm. Horrocks retired from the Standard Furniture Co., he commenced the manufacture of desks, etc., in a building on the south side of Smith street, which he leased from E. C. Munson. This building was destroyed by fire, July 15, 1893. A corporation was then organized, called the Herkimer Building Co., which erected a brick building on the north side of German street, near the residence of William Horrocks and leased it to him. The business was conducted by Mr. Horrocks until December, 1894, when the Horrocks Desk Co. was incorporated. Wm. Horrocks is president, Henry G. Munger, vice-president, and George W. Searles, secretary and treasurer. They have been compelled by their rapidly increasing business to enlarge the plant, and run day and night. They manufacture roll and flat top desks, typewriter cabinets and tables, office tables, copy press stands, filing cabinets and the wood parts of typewriters, and employ from 160 to 175 hands at Herkimer, besides quite a number at Chillicothe, Ohio.

I have obtained most of the facts contained in this article from records and papers on file in the Herkimer County Clerk's office, and from persons who are now or have been engaged in the industries mentioned. For some of the information I am indebted to old residents of the village and particularly to Col. James A. Suiter, who, although in the eighty-fifth year of his age, has a better memory than younger people and gives events that happened more than seventy years ago and dates with great accuracy.

THE RELATION OF THE MOHAWK VALLEY TO THE MAKING OF THE REPUBLIC.

FIRST PRIZE ESSAY IN THE ROBERT EARL CONTEST, WRITTEN BY LESLIE
KIRKE RICHARDSON OF LITTLE FALLS,

Read before the Herkimer County Historical Society, September 8, 1900.

Too little is known of the influence which the Mohawk valley wielded in the history of our nation. Its historic past should be household knowledge in every American home. For if the valley has been worth in no small measure our existence as Americans and not Frenchmen or Englishmen, as I shall later prove in this essay, surely it should also be worth our most careful and conscientious study.

Its relation to the making of the Republic is a two-fold one: first, up to the year 1783, it helped to preserve this country from French thralldom and English control, and so make possible our Republic's birth; and secondly, from the year 1783 till to-day, it has aided largely in building up and developing what it helped to preserve.

Let us now study in detail, how the Mohawk valley once helped to preserve our country from its enemies.

A glance first, then, at the valley's early inhabitants. For narrow indeed would be our idea of this valley if it failed to include the people in it. Indeed, what has helped so greatly to make the American people the power they are to-day, is the cosmopolitan element in their population; and the Mohawk valley's share in this element, though other nationalities were represented, consisted chiefly in the early Hollanders and Palatines.

The Hollanders came up the valley in 1661, and founded Schenectady. They had been under the Patroon system, but soon hated it, because under it they could not hold land in fee simple, bought from the Indians lands in the "Woesting," as this region was then called, where the fruits of their labors would be entirely their own.

Now this opening up of the valley to the white man, marked an important chapter in the development of American freedom. For fifty years these Hollanders struggled with the aristocracy of Albany, for

the freedom of the fur trade with the Indians, and in 1727, won their cause. Thus, in the throat of the Mohawk valley, centuries ago, this sturdy people adhering to the ideas of liberty that have since made America, finally triumphed over the forces representing the feudalism of Europe.

Soon following these Dutch pioneers were the Palatines of Germany, whose peaceful homes in the Rhine valley had been desolated by cruel religious wars. Obtaining a refuge in America from Queen Anne of England, they dwelt first upon lands now embraced in Columbia and Ulster counties in New York State; but wronged here for years, finally emigrated to the Schoharie valley, where also, they were unjustly treated. So later, they emigrated to the Mohawk valley, having their greatest concentration at Palatine Bridge, Little Falls and Herkimer.

In peace and in war these people made the best sort of colonists. Accustomed to hardship, brave, God fearing and industrious, they could endure everything except tyranny. Against this, they rebelled and were a constant thorn in the sides of the aristocracy and self-centred Royal Governors, and by their opposition to injustice in any form, and by their love for freedom, helped to pave the way for the American Revolution.

Not only did they love freedom but also religion. This land needed then as it needs now a strong religious sentiment. The Palatines had that sentiment.

In the inter-colonial wars, they bore with the Mohawks the brunt of the French invasion; and their descendants in the Revolution, though beset on the one hand by the emissaries sent to persuade them to join the crown, and on the other fully knowing not only their homes might be destroyed, but they themselves, if they remained true to their adopted land, yet fought, suffered and died like heroes for right and liberty.

Of their blood are many distinguished figures in American history who did great service for the colonies; among them is Jacob Leisley, who dared not only seize the reins of government, when the people were waiting for Slougher to come over, but even in the face of the crown and power of the aristocracy, supported the wishes of the people. For this, all of him but his noble example was hanged; but that lived on to inspire the people to greater love and efforts for freedom; also, Peter Zenger, who triumphed in this struggle for freedom of the press, thus marking one more important episode in the history of American freedom; also Nicholas Herkimer, a staunch patriot and brave soldier, who commanded the Tryon county militia in the Oriskany battle. Thus, in the marked influence for right and freedom of these early Hollanders and Palatines, in their brave defense of home against French invasion, and in the lives not only of the great but also ordinary men they produced, who did such valiant service in promoting a love for real freedom to the preserving and hence making of our country.

Next let us view the geographical and physical advantages of the Mohawk valley. By the map, we notice that it extends from the center of New York State to the Hudson valley, joining that highway between Troy and Waterford. But note its chief physical feature. At Little Falls, the valley cuts clear through to the base, a huge mountain barrier that attempts to cross its path, thus forming an almost perfect highway from the Hudson river not only to the heart of New York State, but via short land carries on to the Great Lakes and far west.

Nor does Nature end her work here. The head waters of the Mohawk interlace with streams that join the St. Lawrence river. The headwaters of the Hudson, into which flows the Mohawk, also connect with waters that join the St. Lawrence, and sweeping southward from the Mohawk are streams that by the Susquehanna river finally empty into Chesapeake Bay, and not far from the Mohawk's source are streams that lead to the Ohio and Great Lakes, by which the Mississippi River, Great Gulf and far west are soon reached.

Thus from the highlands that protect the Mohawk and Hudson valleys, the waters by diverging valleys flow not only into the St. Lawrence river, but almost into every part of our Union.

Small wonder, then, that the Iroquois Indians, driven south of Lake Ontario by the fierce Algonquins of Canada, should inhabit this natural fortress. By means of the Mohawk valley and all its approaches that lead to other waters, they could journey into what are now twenty States. All the other Indian tribes were separated from each other by high mountains and vast tracts of land, thus making union difficult, while the Iroquois themselves united, by means of their natural advantages just mentioned, could attack their enemies suddenly and singly. What was the result? The Iroquois soon became lords of the continent and the fiercest of tribes became their vassals.

Thus do we see how this valley took an important step towards the helping to make possible our Republic's birth, in becoming the home of the Iroquois, thereby together with all its approaches becoming also the chief source of their mighty power which not only conquered all the other tribes, but upon the coming of the white man was to decide in favor of the English the most important question of that age, namely: Whether Latin or Teutonic civilization should dominate America.

And we now arrive at that period of history known as the Hundred Year War. Now while the main issue at stake in this war between England and France, in America, was the conquest of North America, yet the underlying one and that which involved the former was the securing the aforementioned power of the Iroquois.

Let us now see why it was so vitally important for the English to secure this power, by stating an event that no doubt would have happened had the Iroquois joined the French: and in connection we will see, too, by being the real key to the situation in New York State, how the Mohawk valley was a protection to the entire land.

Had the Iroquois joined the French, the former would have swept

through this valley with fire and tomahawk, desolating Schenectady and Albany, capturing next the Hudson valley and then most of North America. For wedged in between the New England States and the southern ones, with this State once taken, the Atlantic seaboard would have been sliced in two; mighty French and Iroquois expeditions following out the old diverging pathways of the Iroquois, would then with matchless quickness have attacked one by one the other colonies, which sooner or later must also have succumbed. But with the Mohawk valley in the hands of the Mohawks, standing firm for the English, it was an insurmountable barrier to French invasion in the Empire State and, therefore, a strong shield to the whole country.

Having shown how this valley, along with its approaches, became the chief source of the Iroquois' power, and having shown what a deciding factor in favor of the French, had the latter secured it, that power would have become, and in connection having seen how this valley protected our Nation as long it was defended by the Iroquois, let us now state and answer the question, what was it that influenced these red men to join the English and not the French. Because Champlain fired at and killed some Iroquois in 1609? No; for we are distinctly told that their feeling of enmity toward the French for that deed had nearly died away by 1664. There is but one great and true reason, namely: the Mohawk valley, and how? Why, in the lives of Arendt Van Curler and Sir William Johnson, who lived in it. These men stand high among the preservers of America from French dominion. Let us see why.

Sailing to this country in the year 1630, Van Curler at once became acquainted with the Indians in the "Woesting," and from first to last treated them kindly and justly. Mastering their customs and visiting their council fires, the chain of friendship between the English and the French that was forged in 1617, he made strong and enduring.

And because he did this, a well-known historian has said of him: "The most momentous and far-reaching question ever at issue on this continent, namely, who of the white conquerors should be the ownership of North America, was settled by the peaceful and diplomatic policy of Arendt Van Curler."

In later years, William Johnson continued what Van Curler began. This stalwart young Irishman came over in 1734 to manage his uncle's estate in the Mohawk valley. To do this efficiently, he built a large stone mansion, named Johnson Hall, that is still standing at Akin, Montgomery county. Here he became extensively acquainted with the Mohawks, studying their character, imitating their customs, acquiring their tongue, dressing in their clothes, entering heartily into their games, feasting and counciling them at his home, and even marrying one of the women, Mollie Brant, sister of the renowned war chief. By these ways, but chiefly because he was honest, did he gain unbounded influence over them.

We see what an important figure in American history Johnson was

and the extent of his vast power over the red men, when we note the tremendous odds he had to work against; there were the Royal Governors of New York, who, with the exception of Burnett and Dongon, were self-centered and tyrannical. They considered the Iroquois merely as fit tools to work out their own selfish ends, and treated them more as beast than as "Romans of the far West."

And see how stupid they were. For instance, the Duke of York regarded so little the power of the Iroquois, that he actually invited the French to sprinkle among them their Jesuits, who though often Christ-like, yet more often desired with their cunning lies to gain the Iroquois' promise to serve France than their souls to serve God.

These Governors alone were enough to make the Iroquois aid the French.

Again, the English army officers were inexcusably slow with their campaigns, and as a result badly worsted, thus discouraging the Iroquois who, great warriors themselves, loved quick attacks and decisive victories.

Yet, to oppose these odds, that would have overwhelmed any other man than himself, and to renew afresh their love for his cause, Sir William was always on hand. We see him in 1748, 1763, 1766 and 1768, assembling the Iroquois to especially important councils, giving them rich presents and overcoming French influence over them.

Hence it is only just to say that had it not been for the Mohawk valley, in the lives of Van Curler and Sir William Johnson, the Iroquois would have joined the French and that nation to-day would be controlling a great portion of this country.

Before leaving this important era, we must not omit this valley's vital value in being a highway for the commerce of that time. This commerce, because the European women of that day, like the American of this, had a wild craze for wearing furs, and were willing to pay the most extravagant prices for them, and since the forests east and west of the Alleghanies were teeming with fur-bearing animals, consisted mainly in the fur trade. This trade soon became the very life of a colony and if it once should die, so sooner or later must the colony.

See how rapidly the French were monopolizing that trade. In the years 1640 to 1700, their trading posts lined the banks of the Mississippi, St. Lawrence and Ohio rivers, and the circuits of Lakes Erie and Ontario. They were even extending their posts far up the Great Lakes, and it looked as though the complete monopoly of the trade must soon be theirs, the prosperity and stimulus of which would have threatened the security of the English possessions.

But in 1722, the wise Burnett established a trading post at Oswego, where, giving better bargains than the French, soon diverted much of the trade from Montreal, the headquarters of the French trade, to Albany, the headquarters of the English.

But here is the important fact: the principal links in the chain of

waterways between this important frontier post and Albany, from where must come supplies of all kinds, was this valley, or more specifically the Mohawk River. This was the only route for the little bateaux laden with European bric-a-brac and run bound for Oswego, or with costly furs bound for Albany. Along this same highway must come, too, provisions for the trading post, or else it must soon have perished.

So, the Mohawk valley may be said to have diverted much of the fur trade from the French to the English, in the days when that commerce was a deciding factor in the life or death of a colony.

Let us now pass on to the most critical period of our Nation's life, the Revolutionary war.

It is generally supposed that the Mohawk valley in the opening years of this struggle, was of no more value to our Nation than the North Pole. A greater mistake, however, can not be made. No section of our country was more actively engaged in the plans of the colonists and in moulding a sentiment against the mother country, than the Mohawk valley.

And though Guy and John Johnson, relatives of Sir William, who has since died, at Johnson Hall, and elsewhere along the valley, did their best to make Tories of the valley's inhabitants, and in some cases succeeded, yet the majority felt in their hearts, worked out in their brains, and later shot with their guns, what a committee they appointed wrote to one at Albany: "In a word, gentlemen, it is our fixed resolve to support and carry into execution everything recommended by the Congress and to be free or die."

But the year in which the Mohawk valley reached the zenith of its usefulness towards helping to preserve our nation from its enemies and to make possible our Republic's birth, was 1777.

In that year, Parliament conceived of a gigantic plan to conquer the colonies. To effect this task, three mammoth expeditions were to be employed; one to come from the North, under Burgoyne, over the old Lake Champlain route; another, under Lord Howe, was to march up the Hudson valley from New York city; and the third, under St. Leger, was to start from Oswego, capture Fort Stanwix, sweep through the Mohawk valley and unite with the other two at Albany. And thus, with this State conquered, the New England States would have been separated from the others in such a way as to prevent all effectual union. Then great English expeditions with their vantage ground between Ontario and Champlain would have swept into every colony and the "rebels" must soon have been vanquished.

But those three armies never united and that which hindered them was the Mohawk valley.

The latter did this in two ways; first, by having at its head on a portion of the present site of Rome, and that which must first fall, before the valley could be captured, Fort Stanwix; this fort was garrisoned by Colonel Peter Gansvoort with a few hundred militia, when

Barry St. Leger laid seige to it, August 3d, 1777, with his horde of blood-thirsty Tories and heartless redskins; and secondly, by having upon its soil, hundreds of brave Palatines whose fathers, generations before, had by their intense love for freedom, helped to pave the way for this very Revolution in which they were now to fight and perhaps die. These Palatines formed the majority of the eight hundred Mohawk valley heroes who fought with Herkimer in the ravine near Oriskany. And upon them must fall the eloquent praises of a grateful republic, for their heroic bravery in the battle of Oriskany.

Of all that happened before that memorable conflict, of the fight itself, of the final rout of the enemy and the reason why, and of the long siege and gallant defense of Fort Stanwix that followed, need not be retold here. But let us note what resulted from this campaign that in the gallant defense of the Fort Stanwix militia, and in the invaluable services of Herkimer's Palatines, the importance of this valley in preserving at that time our country, may appear in its fullest light.

Of course the most important result was the closing to the English, the Mohawk valley. Otherwise, St. Leger with hosts of villians would have swept through it and reinforced Burgoyne. What then? Gates would have at least been crippled and perhaps been crushed. The Hudson valley then would have gone English and next the state; and following these the colonies, according to reasons mentioned before in this essay.

Another vital result was this. A way was paved for an American victory at Saratoga, which victory is conceded by all prominent historians, to be one of the fifteen decisive victories of the world.

We see how the campaign did this in five distinct ways; in the first place, the victory at Oriskany enabled all the militia in the valley to hasten back to Saratoga and reinforce Gates; secondly, it rendered useless the British-Iroquois alliance; thirdly, it fired the hearts of the men who hadn't fought before, to fill their powder pouches and rush to the front; fourthly, the Oriskany victory especially, came at a time when victory was most needed. The Americans had met defeat after defeat and the final ridiculous retreat of St. Leger filled and thrilled all the colonies with new joy and hope; and in the fifth place, though indirectly, the Oriskany victory with the long defense of Fort Stanwix which that victory insured by the weakening of St. Leger's forces, prevented a great Tory uprising in the valley and hence was a great moral victory. Johnson had boasted that at his approach the Mohawk valley settlers would flock en masse to his standard, and there is little doubt but that his words would have proven true had it not been for the American successes.

“Yes, there at Oriskany, the wedge first was driven,
By which British invasion was splintered and riven;
Though at Hoosic and ‘Saratog,’ the work was completed,

The end was made clear with St. Leger defeated,
 Nor can boast be disproved on Oriskany's shore
 Was worked the grim problem involved in the war."

During the rest of the war, at different intervals, owing to the ruthless ravages of Brant, Butler and their followers, in and about Herkimer, Little Falls, and the lower valley settlements, this region literally ran with blood, gaining the name of "Dark and bloody ground." But by reason of the stout resistance of the valley folk from within their block houses, England gained nothing beyond satisfying Brant's hunger for scalps and Butler's thirst for blood.

With the peace of 1783 that brought independence to the colonies, began the other relation which the Mohawk valley bears to the making of our Republic, namely: how it has helped to build up and develop what is helped to preserve.

We see in no slight degree how it did this in 1783; in the first place, by being an almost perfect highway, it allowed to swarm into it and beyond, many New Englanders; and secondly, since these people made the valley their homes, we are bound to notice what they achieved.

They were thrifty, honest, shrewd and keenly alive to the newest and best improvement. They made give way before their own, the old ideas and crude customs of the Palatines, who now that tyranny and war were over, had seen their days of ablest service, clinging as they did to antique ways and abhorring new ones. Finally, this new and up-to-date blood contributed to the development of Central New York and awakened not only themselves but thousands, aye millions of others to the fact, that hidden treasures were lying unused in the unexplored west of the Empire State.

Passing on to the year 1792, we see another striking instance to prove this valley's other relation. In that year was incorporated the Inland Lock Navigation Company of New York, whose canals in 1797 were ready for use. This canal removed by means of its locks, river obstructions; and by its canal from the Mohawk to Wood Creek, allowed large craft to go from Schenectady to Oswego without unloading, hence it was a stimulus to greater commerce and larger emigration, and in those days was considered a remarkable achievement.

The next notable event in which the Mohawk valley figured prominently in the process of building up our republic, was the digging of the Erie canal. The valley was virtually connected with this gigantic improvement in three ways; two direct, the third indirect: in the first place, by being such a perfect channel, it allowed the canal to be built almost throughout its entire length; in the second place, though indirectly, had it not been for the Mohawk valley, the Erie canal could not, or to say the least, would not have been built. We should assume this for two reasons; firstly, any other way than directly from the

Hudson to Buffalo, would have entailed enormous outlays of money and time; and next, even with the advantage of having right at hand an almost perfect highway for the canal, there was such firm and bitter opposition to the measure for its construction, that DeWitt Clinton had all he could do to pull it through. What would that opposition have been, if there had been no Mohawk valley? Finally, even though the valley allows the canal to come through, yet the latter could not be operated, were it not for the Mohawk River which the Mohawk valley contains, and why? The Erie canal must be constantly fed; and the water which feeds it must come from the Mohawk River.

Since the Mohawk valley was in three ways so vitally connected with the building of the canal we should note the latter's influence and then clearly shall we see how the former aided in building our Republic; first, cheaper, easier and quicker communication between the Great Lakes and Hudson River. In the days of the small bateaux and navigation company's canals, it took ten dollars and three weeks to haul a barrel of flour from Albany to Buffalo. With the Erie canal completed, that barrel with only thirty cents charges, could be received at Buffalo one week after it had started from Albany.

Also the Eastern markets became at once cheaper for Western agricultural products and the later markets became cheaper for imported goods from the East. Thus, for both sections of the Republic, the Erie canal was a vital means of untold wealth.

As a result of all this, vast armies of immigrants poured into this valley from New England and Europe; armies, that unlike former ones, did not mean war, but the best there was in peace; not the overturning of old states, but the building up of the new ones. On they marched to the West and Northwest, building up as they marched, great agricultural communities whose farm products to-day are floating down to the ocean upon the calm bosom of the Erie canal.

In these days, there is much talk of building a ship canal. Where will the route lie? The Deep Waterways Commission has already decided that it shall extend through the Mohawk valley.

This valley also permits the greatest four-track railroad in the world to run through it, as well as the West Shore railroad. The advantages of these are too well known to be restated here.

I could not bring this essay to a close without a brief but grateful tribute to the noble heroes who in 1812, '61 and '98, went forth out of this valley from homes of plenty and from their dear ones, to fight and if necessary to die like men, in defense of their Republic. I cannot state the exact number of these soldiers; but all must acknowledge that no section of our land in proportion to its population, sent more defenders to the front than the Mohawk valley.

Such, then, is the relation; or rather are the relations of the Mohawk valley to the making of the Republic.

Let the novelist and the poet admire it for its unsurpassed beauty; let the farmer delight in its fertile soil; but let him who loves all the elements that have combined to make secure and to build up the grandest Nation on the face of the globe, revere the Mohawk valley for its historic past.

TRYON COUNTY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

SECOND PRIZE ESSAY IN THE ROBERT EARL CONTEST, WRITTEN BY
JAMES H. GREENE OF HERKIMER,

Read before the Herkimer County Historical Society, October 13, 1900.

In 1772, the Colonial Assembly, through the influence of Sir William Johnson, passed an act partitioning what was then known as Albany county into three parts, called respectively, Charlotte, Albany and Tryon counties. The last named, which is to receive attention in this paper, was named in honor of William Tryon, then governor of the colony of New York.

The eastern boundary of Tryon county extended due north from a point near the present site of Hoffman's Ferry on the Mohawk River, to the St. Lawrence at the confluence of the St. Regis River. From this point the boundary followed the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario to the Oswego River, thence along the Oswego, Oneida Lake and Wood Creek, along the eastern boundary of the Indian possessions to the Delaware, and up the western branch of the Delaware in a north-easterly direction to the starting point. This large tract included what are now known as Montgomery, Fulton, Hamilton, St. Lawrence, Herkimer, Lewis, Jefferson, Oneida, Oswego and Otsego counties, as well as parts of some others.

At the request of Colonel Schuyler, Sir William Johnson divided the county into five districts, as follows: The first, or Mohawk district; the second, or Stone Arabia district, afterward called the Palatine district; the third, or Canajoharie district; the fourth, or Kingsland district; the fifth, or German Flats district. The names of the last two districts were soon after reversed.

We find the people of Tryon county taking their first active part in the struggle against the crown on the 27th of August, 1774, about six weeks after the sudden death of Sir William Johnson, the leading land owner and chief promoter of the interests of the county. Their action was the formation of a committee of safety, whose services to the county will be considered in another part of this paper. Sir John

Johnson had at this time succeeded to his father's estates, and the county was in a very prosperous condition. It owned a fine court house and jail situated at Johnstown, whose construction had been provided for at the time of the organization of the county. Johnson Hall, the home of the Johnson family, was also situated at Johnstown. The Mohawk River afforded a waterway through the county, and the transportation facilities were increased by several roads.

The conditions which confronted the patriots in Tryon county were very unfavorable, more so, perhaps, than in any other section of the colonies. The Tory element was very strong, all the county officers being servants of the crown and dependent upon it for their position and income. Large numbers of Indians had their homes in the county, and through the upright and generous dealing of Sir William Johnson toward them, were friendly to the Tories rather than to the patriots. The sturdy patriot farmers, however, were not the men to be daunted by such odds as these, and showed, when the time came for action, that they had lost none of the steadfast courage that carried their ancestors through the years of persecution which witnessed the destruction of their peaceful farms by the green banks of the Rhine.

The Tryon county committee of safety was composed of delegates from each district of the county. At first the meetings were held separately by the delegates from each district, but they afterward united in a single committee. The first committee meeting of which there is any record, was held by the Palatine district, and although the other districts of the county doubtless held similar meetings, we do not hear of them until they united with the Palatine district to form the county committee.

The members of the Palatine district met at the house of Adam Loucks at Stone Arabia, on August 27, 1774, and a set of resolutions was drawn up, in which the members declared their allegiance to the King, but protested against the unjust taxation of the people, expressing sympathy for the people of Boston, whose harbor had been placed under an embargo, and declaring their intention to aid them by every means in their power. The committee also expressed approval of the formation of a continental congress and the election thereto of five delegates from New York colony, and bound themselves to abide by the resolutions passed by this congress. They appointed a standing committee of four, which was afterwards increased to twelve, to join with the committees of the other districts of Tryon county in conveying the sentiments of the county to New York. In later meetings the Palatine committee communicated with that of Albany, informing them of their intention to form an association, similar to those in other parts of the State, by requesting all sympathizers with the cause of the colonies to sign their names to a document setting forth their sentiments. In their letter to the Albany committee, the Palatine committee told of the high-handed measures of the Tories in the county, and declared

their intention to be free or die. The inhabitants of the county were advised to have nothing to do, in the way of trade or otherwise, with persons refusing to sign the association.

On June 2, 1775, a meeting was held at the home of Warren Tygert of Canajoharie district, at which every district in the county was represented, 43 members being present, among whom were Nicholas Herkimer, Christopher Yates and John Marlott.

The most important business of this meeting was the preparation of a letter to Colonel Guy Johnson, who, on account of his position of Indian superintendent, was looked upon as foremost among the upholders of the Tory cause in the county. In this letter the committee defended their right to hold meetings for considering the dispute between themselves and the mother country, saying that they had only followed the example of others throughout the colonies. They also made a statement of what they considered their rights and protested against the oppressions which they had suffered at the hands of the loyalists, among which they mentioned the disregard of the British ministry for the petition of the continental congress. A committee was appointed to deliver this letter to Johnson.

In answering the letter of the committee, Colonel Johnson said that, however reasonable it might seem to the colonists that their petition should be recognized, it appeared in a different light in a country where no authority not established by constitution was allowed. He stated that the King had said in his speech to Parliament that he was willing to consider the grievances of the colonists whenever they should be laid before him by their constitutional assemblies.

Although this letter appears straightforward enough at first sight, the Colonel's dependence on the favor of the British government for his position, seems in this case to have led him somewhat aside from the plain statement of facts, for no offer to interfere in behalf of the Americans by King George, is to be found in any historical record. In defense of his course in fortifying his premises, Colonel Johnson said that he had been informed that a large body of men intended taking him prisoner.

The committee held meetings at frequent intervals during a period of about six months. They appointed two delegates to serve in the provincial congress at the request of that body. Christopher P. Yates and John Marlott were the ones selected. The further services of the committee consisted in assisting and regulating the attempts of the people of the country to form the county militia, treatment with the Indians with a view of preserving their neutrality, procuring ammunition from Albany and Schenectady and settlement of disputes arising among the people.

Much more remains to be told of the services to Tryon county of this committee, but these services are so intimately connected with all the affairs of the county, that it is impossible to give a complete account

of them here without a rather full treatment of matters which have been reserved for treatment under another head.

It must not be supposed that the Tory inhabitants of Tryon county were less active than their neighbors in upholding their side of the dispute. Actuated by motives equally potent, though less self-forgetful, and doubtless, in some cases, with an equal faith in the righteousness of their cause, they used every means in their power to further the interests of their mother country.

Their action in upholding their own side of the controversy could hardly be condemned, were it not for the fact that their measures were unfair and despotic. Men whose positions at the head of affairs had been given them that they might further the interests of the people, turned their influence against the cause of liberty and used their positions as weapons against those whom they should have protected.

In April, 1775, the Tories of the county drew up a declaration opposing the proceedings of the continental congress, which was at that time about to reassemble, and obtained the signatures of most of the grand jurors and magistrates of the county. This action aroused the indignation of the people, and many public meetings were called, and committees appointed in different parts of the county, to express the loyalty which was felt by the majority of the people for their representatives in Congress.

The first of these meetings was attended by 300 persons, all unarmed, and an attempt was made to raise a liberty pole. Before this was accomplished, Sir John Johnson rode up, accompanied by Colonels Guy Johnson, Claus and Butler. Sir John immediately began a speech to the people in which he dwelt on the hopelessness of the cause of the Whigs, and finally became abusive. His hearers bore with him for a while, but at last Jacob Sammons interrupted the speaker, calling him a villain and a liar. Johnson seized Sammons by the throat and returned the insult. In the scuffle that followed, Sammons was knocked down with a heavy whip. He wished to continue the fight, but was overpowered by numbers and severely beaten. When he was allowed to rise he found that he had been deserted by most of his friends. Sammons was the first patriot to receive a wound in the war in Tryon county.

One of the most energetic loyalists was Colonel Guy Johnson. His position as Indian superintendent gave him a great influence over the savages, and this influence he used to turn them against the patriots. He did not accomplish his purpose by fair means, for the Indians were inclined to be neutral, especially the Mohawks, who inhabited Tryon county, and the colonists took every opportunity of expressing their friendship for them, although they did not attempt to employ them against the British. Colonel Johnson poisoned the minds of his charges with false rumors concerning the intentions of the colonists toward them, saying that a massacre of the Indians had been planned.

Complaining that his councils with the Indians were interfered with, Colonel Johnson removed to Canada and continued to influence the Indians, directing their depredations and distributing large amounts of money among them as rewards for their services. Many Tories, however, still remained in the county and found an active leader in Sir John Johnson, whose home was the principal place of meeting of the tories.

These loyalists tried by every means which their ingenuity could devise to shake the faith of the people in their county committee, pronouncing its actions arbitrary and illegal and ridiculing it at every opportunity.

The office of sheriff was at this time held by Alexander White, who made himself very obnoxious to the provincials by his threats and illegal arrests. He arrested John Fonda on account of a quarrel with one of his servants, and placed him in jail, whence he was rescued by a party of patriots, under the leadership of Sampson Sammons. The county committee finally deposed White, and appointed John Frey in his place. The feeling against White was so strong that he was compelled to leave the county, and was arrested while trying to escape to Canada, and sent to jail in Albany. Bowen and Clement, the companions and guides of White, while on his way to Canada, returned to their homes in Tryon county. They were arrested and arraigned before the county committee, who sentenced them to a term of imprisonment. As it was known that Sir John Johnson claimed that the county jail was his property, the prisoners were sent to Albany, but were refused admittance to the jail at that place and sent back to Tryon county. The committee then sent a messenger to Sir John to ascertain whether he intended to allow the people to use the jail. He replied that persons who were legally convicted might be imprisoned in the jail, but as his father had paid £700 toward the expenses of building it, he would consider it his property until that sum was paid him. The prisoners were then sent to Johnstown, with the provision that if they were refused admittance to the jail, they should be returned to the committee.

After the flight of Colonel Guy Johnson, it was rumored that Sir John Johnson was preparing fortifications at Johnson Hall, to be garrisoned with 300 Indians. This rumor was reported to Congress and General Schuyler was sent up the valley with a force of 700 men to put a stop to any hostile preparations. The Indians were much concerned at seeing so large a force entering the county, but a messenger was sent to them, telling them that the purpose of the expedition was not to make war but to preserve peace, and desiring them to inform the tribes further up the river that no harm would be done them. The Indians, however, were alarmed, and asked that the expedition be postponed, offering to go to Sir John and ask him to be peaceable,

although they were in constant fear that a party was coming from New England to take Sir John prisoner.

General Schuyler did not wait for the return of the messenger but proceeded on his mission. At Schenectady the party was met by a deputation of Indians under a chief called Little Abraham, who addressed the General at great length, saying that the Indians had sent a messenger with the proposal that six men should be sent to investigate the affairs at Johnson Hall, and had refrained from giving the other tribes General Schuyler's message until they should hear whether their request was acceded to. Having received no reply, and finding that the troops were actually on the march, the Indians had decided to meet them and come to an understanding about their intentions. Little Abraham desired General Schuyler to be prudent and take care that no blood was shed. He said the Indians considered themselves mediators between the king's party and the patriots, and were desirous that the path upon which they were traveling, to which he referred as the "path of peace," should be kept open, and undetiled by the blood of either party. Further he declared that Sir John had assured them that in the event of open hostility he would not be the aggressor, but if attacked, would defend himself, and added that although Indians were constantly going to and from Johnson Hall, they had observed no preparations of a warlike character. The chief then asked for an answer, saying that in spite of the advice of the sachems, the young warriors were inclined to resist the approach of the troops, and were awaiting the answer that should be sent them.

General Schuyler answered the Indians, saying that he did not intend to close the path, but to keep it open, but as the men in the county were likely at any time to be called upon to go to the aid of their brothers in the East, it was necessary that no body of men should be left who should be able to destroy the wives and children of the absent soldiers. He then said that instead of going to Johnstown he would ask Sir John to meet him at some point between Johnson Hall and Schenectady, to discuss the situation, thus preventing hostile action by either party. The Indians assented to this proposition and said that they would be present at the meeting.

A letter was accordingly sent to Sir John, stating the object of the expedition, and asking him to meet them. The meeting took place 16 miles above Schenectady. Terms were offered to Sir John and after some objections, agreed to. Sir John gave his parole not to take up arms against the Americans, and to remain in such part of the country as Congress should designate. Sir John and the other Tories were to give up all arms and presents for the Indians in their possession. The Indians withdrew when they saw matters were being settled peaceably and General Schuyler left soon afterward, leaving Colonel Herkimer, who had joined him with the county militia, to make the concluding arrangements. Sir John did not cease his efforts to incite the

Indians to hostility against the colonists, and at length, hearing that restraint was to be put upon his actions, he fled to Canada, accompanied by some of his tenants. They suffered terribly in the wilderness before reaching their destination. During the war Sir John commanded a regiment known as the Royal Greens, composed partly of the Tories from Tryon county. The list of prominent Tories might be continued to a much greater length if space permitted. Among those who will be remembered in this connection are Colonel John Butler and his son, Walter, and Colonel Claus, a brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson.

There is one other, however, without some account of whom any article on Tryon county would be incomplete. I allude to Joseph Brant or Thayendanegea, as he was called by the Indians. His parentage has been much disputed, and though it has been claimed that he was a half-breed, it is probable that he was a full-blooded Indian. In his youth he was sent to school by Sir William Johnson, who afterwards employed him to fight against the hostile tribes in the outlying country. Combining as he did the intuitive cunning of his savage ancestors, with the trained skill of his adopted neighbors, he became a most dangerous and unscrupulous foe. He followed the example of his Tory benefactors in fleeing to Canada and was given the leadership of large numbers of Indians in the following campaign. Although it would seem that a man capable of being a leader in the kind of warfare or rather slaughter which was carried on by the Indians, must needs have been totally lacking in all sentiments of humanity, yet many acts of generosity and kindness have been credited to him. As he himself said: "I do not war against women and children. I am sorry to say that some engaged with me in the service are more savage than the Indians are." After the war Brant resided in Canada, near the head of Lake Ontario, where he spent the remainder of his days in the management of affairs pertaining to the Indian lands.

The Tryon county militia was organized on August 26, 1775, through the action of the county committee. It consisted of four battalions of from seven to nine companies each, every district being represented by a battalion except the Kingsland and German Flats districts, whose soldiers were included in a single battalion of nine companies. The county committee, who chose the officers of the militia, gave to Nicholas Herkimer the position of colonel of the Canajoharie battalion, with the title of "Chief colonel and commander for the county of Tryon." About a year afterward, on the recommendation of the committee, the provincial congress gave Colonel Herkimer a commission as brigadier general.

We have seen what the people of Tryon county accomplished during the early part of the war in preparing for the invasion which they knew was inevitable, and we now approach the period which showed that it was among the wilds and marshes of Tryon county no less

than at the historic bridge, that "The embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard 'round the world."

The battles of Oriskany and Fort Schuyler did for St. Leger's expedition what Saratoga did for Burgoyne's, and it was the Tryon county militia, under that greatest of the Mohawk valley's heroes, General Nicholas Herkimer, that stood in the path of the invader, and made impossible the meeting of forces which was to destroy American liberty forever.

St. Leger began his invasion in the latter part of July, 1777, with 1,000 Indians under Brant, and 700 troops, including Johnson's Royal Greens and Butler's Rangers, as well as some German troops. Crossing Oneida Lake, St. Leger proceeded to the attack of Fort Schuyler. Colonel Gansevoort, the commander of the fort, had obstructed Wood Creek with felled trees, forming an obstacle which delayed the enemy and gave the patriots time to prepare for a siege. St. Leger arrived on August 3, by which time the fort had been fully stored. St. Leger was confident that the garrison of 750 men would surrender without resistance, but received no reply to the insolent demand which he sent to the fort.

Meanwhile the Mohawk valley was thrown into consternation at the approaching invasion. General Herkimer called on the county militia, and all others who were willing to volunteer, to meet at Fort Dayton, in the present town of Herkimer. Several regiments responded and among the volunteers were most of the members of the county committee. On August 5th, the force encamped near Oriskany and sent word to General Gansevoort that they were coming to his relief. In order to divert the enemy's attention from the attack of the relieving force, Colonel Gansevoort planned a sortie on the enemy, to be commanded by Colonel Willet. General Herkimer was informed of this plan. The enemy, meanwhile, had been informed of General Herkimer's approach and sent out a detachment to meet him. General Herkimer was compelled to advance against his own better judgment, by the taunts of his own inferior officers, who accused him of cowardice. His reply, "March on; a few hours will tell which are the brave," was amply justified by later events. The column had proceeded but a few miles, when the front and flank guards (which, by the way, General Herkimer did not neglect to provide) were suddenly shot down, and from the surrounding forests burst the savages, whose yells were the signal for a general attack. The Indians were under the command of Brant. Early in the action General Herkimer's leg was shattered and his horse killed by a bullet. He had his saddle placed against a tree, and leaning against it he continued to direct the battle, smoking his pipe as if there was no danger. The Americans hid behind trees to guard themselves from the Indians, and when a man had discharged his gun, the savages would run up and tomahawk him. The commander then ordered two men to a tree, and stopped that practice,

Soon after, a reinforcement of Johnson's Greens came up, and, furious at the sight of these Tryon county loyalists, the Americans rushed out and engaged them in a hand to hand fight. The battle was interrupted by a storm, and an hour later was renewed. At length the sound of guns was heard from the direction of the fort, and the British, seeing they had been outwitted, fled and left the Americans victors.

Colonel Willett made his sortie from the fort with great success. The enemy took to the woods with heavy loss in killed and prisoners, and Colonel Willett carried his spoils into the fort by wagon loads. When the enemy returned the siege was continued. An attempt was made to intimidate Colonel Gansevoort, but he dismissed the messenger with scorn. Sir John Johnson sent a messenger through Tryon county threatening the inhabitants if they did not compel the surrender of the fort. Colonel Willett and Major Stockwell set out from the fort and, after great hardship, reached Fort Dayton. Thence they went to Albany and met General Arnold, whom General Schuyler had sent with a relief expedition. It was by none of these means, however, that the siege was raised. Arnold having captured a half-witted lad named Han Yost Schuyler, promised him his liberty if he would alarm St. Leger's camp with stories of the great numbers of the American relief force. This he readily assented to, and shooting his clothes full of bullet holes, he made his way to the camp, accompanied by an Oneida Indian friendly to the Americans. When he arrived at the camp, he said he had just escaped from the Americans, and when questioned as to their number, he pointed to the leaves on the trees, as if to say they could not be counted. He was taken before St. Leger, to whom he unfolded a pitiful tale, giving an exaggerated account of the number of the Americans. Meanwhile the Oneida Indian went among Brant's followers, telling of the great force that was coming against them. Between them, Han Yost and the Indian created such a panic that it was decided to abandon the siege, and both Tories and Indians fled precipitately. When the relief force arrived, they found the enemy gone, and Colonel Gansevoort in possession of most of their luggage, which they left behind. St. Leger fled northward and joined his forces with those of Burgoyne, thus abandoning the plan for an organized invasion of the Mohawk valley. Sir John Johnson and Colonel Butler, however, were not willing to pass by their former neighbors without paying them a visit, so they planned an invasion of the valley in company with the Indians whom they won to their side by large presents. The Americans tried to win back the Indians, but failed, not being able to give them such rewards as the British gave.

During the years between 1777 and the close of the war, Brant and the Indians made the county the scene of the most horrible atrocities. Their principal acts were the destruction of the settlement of Cherry Valley by fire and massacre of its inhabitants, and the burning of German Flats, now Herkimer.

The county militia did not cease to resist the invasion of their homes. They went forth without thought of gain or glory, but with faith in the principle of the liberty and equality of mankind, battled, and bled and died, until victory crowned their efforts, and the grasp of despotism was forever loosened from the land they loved.

WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

THIRD PRIZE ESSAY IN THE ROBERT EARL CONTEST, WRITTEN BY
M. LOUISE CHAPPLE, OF LITTLE FALLS,

Read before the Herkimer County Historical Society, November 10, 1900.

We can never fully realize the immeasurable influence of the home, and home sentiment, on the founding and preservation of our Republic.

The home—where the first impressions are received, the first lessons of life are learned—there where "heart co-operates with mind and affections with reasoning power," and where character is moulded, whether good or bad, by which our lives, the lives of others, and that of our country is largely determined.

The home is the best of schools, and the results of its training are unbounded; but over the home, teaching by example, encouraging by ready sympathy, stimulating to good deeds by silent approval, and instilling virtue in the hearts of those about her is the woman; and the home is her kingdom, her monarchy, her own true sphere, where she may reign with undisputed authority; strengthening sons and husbands to fight life's battles. Surely she may claim a share in the glory of their victories.

We cannot comprehend the immensity of woman's influence in the great struggle for liberty. It was the encouragement of the home women, which sent their brave men forth to war, impelling them to great deeds, and that stirred up the less zealous ones to follow their examples. John Adams in a letter to his wife remarks, "Upon examining the biography of illustrious men, you will generally find some female about them in the relation of wife or mother, to whose instigation a great part of their merit is to be ascribed. I believe the two Howes have not very great women for wives; if they had, we should suffer more from their exertions than we do. A smart wife would have put Howe in possession of Philadelphia a long time ago." Thus John Adams acknowledges woman's influence.

It was the women who encouraged those who came out boldly for their struggling country, and who frowned down the indifferent ones.

Even before the war, the women, by their conversation and example, nerved and prepared the hearts of the men to endure the coming trials; and, when the blackness of despair settled over the land, and all seemed lost, it was these faithful women, in camp and at home, who cheered on and inspired with hope, the disheartened soldiers. And when all was peace again, woman's influence, so important a factor during the war, was equally important after its close, in restoring to society all the good of former times; and especially when the land had been through such a crisis. Everything was changed—precedent of rank abolished, and "all men created equal!" With society in this changed state, only woman's tact could place all classes on an amicable standing.

Comparatively little is known, however, of women's lives in this trying time—women whose tireless zeal and noble acts helped to establish American Independence. This is due largely to the lack of female education at that time; an average girl's education consisted chiefly in a thorough knowledge of household duties, with just enough reading and writing to enable her to say she "knew how."

Of course, many women were fond of literary pursuits, and they were considered highly accomplished. So only from the individual instances of female heroism and endurance, can we understand the patriotic spirit of the women in general. The women who worked for our country, who gave their all—sons, husbands, property, and often their lives, for the cause, who endured hardships uncomplainingly and gloried in the name of "rebel"—these we must take as types of the Revolutionary women. They are the representatives of the class.

But in thinking of them, let us not forget the others, the thousands who suffered in silence, and who worked for no reward, unknown and now forgotten. Their sacrifices gladly made, and gentle influence all helped, for they carried out in practice the principles for which the patriots were fighting. They could not fight—a woman's part in troublous times is to passively watch a course of events which can win for her no fame; she can take but the part of a spectator.

Those women living near the scenes of battle and bloodshed found an outlet for their enthusiasm—they were offered chances of becoming heroines. But there were other women, whose less showy heroism was just as effective, whose unseen influence, exerted only over their own families, was not without its effect on the nation's future. Their quiet, unobserved influence sent waves of energy through the land, strong and invigorating. And these quiet women are the mothers—who kept American principles pure in their sons' hearts, and when the storm broke, sent them forth strengthened for the battle.

They received the richest reward for their sacrifices—the sons in whose hearts they had sown the first seeds of patriotism, they lived to see become the strength of the nation!

Such a woman was the mother of George Washington, for the well-

known character of her son is the reflection of her own. All praise be given this mother, who gave to her country such a son!

These mothers "nursed the infancy of Freedom." How many rejoiced in the thought that their sons whom they loved with the unfathomable love of a mother, and whom they had fired with their own patriotic zeal, were willingly giving up their lives for freedom! And in this they gloried!

This was the spirit of Elizabeth Martin, who, hearing the incessant boom of the cannon at Charleston, and knowing her sons were there with the army, could lift her hands to Heaven and cry, "Thank God! they are children of the Republic!"

This same spirit enabled the women of those stirring times to bear griefs and insults that else would seem insupportable.

A British officer one day rode out of his way to tell Mrs. Martin of the death of her son; he had seen him die a soldier's death at Augusta and wished to gratify his hatred by the sight of a woman's grief. Riding up to the house, he inquired of Mrs. Martin if she did not have a son at Augusta. Being answered in the affirmative, a malicious joy spread over his face, and eagerly watching for some sign of her agony, he said: "Then I saw his brains blown out on the battlefield!" Crushing as the shock must have been, and aggravated by his brutal pleasure in telling it, the spirit of patriotism rose undaunted, and not a sign of weakness did she show, as with a firm voice she answered: "He could not have died in a nobler cause." The officer, much chagrined, rode away—wondering!

Mrs. Martin's two daughters-in-law, wives of soldiers, did their part in serving their country. One night, news came to their home that a British courier carrying important messages, was to pass by the house. These brave women determined to waylay the courier and his attendant guard, and at the risk of their lives, obtain the dispatches. So, armed and dressed in their husband's clothes, they left the house and came to the highway; here they hid in the shrubbery and waited breathlessly. Soon they hear the sound of horse's feet—nearer and nearer, until their hearts seem throbbing in their throats; now the horsemen come in sight—the men's voices can distinctly be heard—nearer and nearer, until the unsuspecting guard is right at hand, when up the women spring, present arms and cry "Halt!" What though the gruff voice sounds a little feigned—the guards, too startled to resist, give up the papers, and are allowed to go on parole. The women, elated with the success and free from danger, hurry home with the precious dispatches for which they risked so much. Safe there, they lose no time in sending them to American headquarters, and sit down to talk it over.

The guard, on their return, stopped at the Martin house, where they found the two women, now in their own clothing. The men, not recognizing their captors, told the story of their arrest. Needless to say,

the ladies enjoyed hearing it, and probably rallied the discomfited soldiers for their lack of intrepidity.

The States of North and South Carolina are noticeable for their many Revolutionary heroines. These States were the scenes of much bloodshed—in fact, a sort of guerilla warfare was going on there continually. Sumter, Marion and Pickens—the three whose very names struck terror to British hearts—were the principal leaders, and many were the hair-breadth escapes and thrilling incidents accompanying their raids.

The frequent and unexpected attacks of this partisan warfare gave opportunities for a greater display of woman's heroism than was offered in other States.

It is such wild and stirring times that bring out the strength of character which in times of peace would have lain dormant and unnoted.

We all know the story of Elizabeth Steele, how, on General Greene's long and arduous retreat through the Carolinas, after the battle of Cowpens, the retreat on whose issue the fate of the South was hanging, his over-burdened heart was cheered and comforted by the kindness of this one woman. She had heard him say he was penniless. She had seen his dejected face and rain-soaked clothes, and her kind heart was touched. Going to him while he was at supper, she drew from under her apron two bags of her own hard earned money, and bade him take them, as he would need them more than she did! And even better than this timely aid, she gave him encouraging words and kind sympathy, until his saddened heart was refreshed and comforted. The General remembered to his dying day this good woman and her willing sacrifice.

Needless to tell of Nancy Hart, a Georgia woman—"the honey of a patriot, but the devil of a wife!" as she was described by her Whig neighbors. Poor Nancy! ignorant, cross-eyed and ungainly, she had the heart of a patriot and was a dear lover of liberty and the "liberty boys," as she called the Whigs.

In taking the five British soldiers as her prisoners, Nancy's crossed-eyes were even of service to her! The soldiers, thoroughly frightened at seeing this determined Amazon standing over them, a musket at her shoulder, ready to fire at the least movement, could not tell at which one she was looking—and each imagined himself the object of her terror-striking stare; they all surrendered without delay. Then Nancy called her husband and the neighbors from the cane-break where they had been hiding, and gave her prisoners up to them, offering the suggestive hint that shooting was "too good for such." They were taken out and hung just outside her gate; and safe to say, Nancy gloried in the thought that she had been the means of putting five more British soldiers out of the world.

Jane Thomas was another prominent Carolina woman of this time.

One day while visiting her son and husband in prison, she overheard the conversation of some Tory women who were discussing a proposed attack on Cedar Creek, arranged for the next night. She realized that no time was to be lost, and leaving the prison immediately, she saddled her horse and rode the sixty miles to Cedar Creek, arriving in an exhausted condition, but in time to warn the Whigs. She then rode back, rather more leisurely than she had gone!

The loyalists, confidently advancing on the little camp, fell into the ambush prepared for them, and, though greatly superior in numbers, were completely routed, and suffered a great loss.

The brave spirit Mrs. Thomas showed in defending the powder left in her charge, may well be taken as an example of the spirit of many Revolutionary dames, in defense of store for the suffering army.

A quantity of arms and ammunition had been left at Colonel Thomas' house, for any emergency on the frontier which he was commanding. Word came that a large band of Tories were advancing toward the house. But Mrs. Thomas had resolved to keep the arms at any cost; so, taking her daughters, her son-in-law, and a small lad who had worked on the farm, all with her to the upper story of the house, they prepared for a defense.

The Tories riding up to the door, demanded admittance. Their call was answered by a sharp fire from the upper windows. The British, thinking a large force to be in possession of the house, and not knowing that a few women were loading the guns which but two young men were discharging so rapidly, withdrew as quickly as their wounds would permit. The ammunition saved was afterwards the principal supply at the battles of Hanging Rock, and Rocky Mountain.

Many victories have been due largely to the amount of powder saved by woman's wit and bravery.

How many women, both North and South, did the British tempt to use their influence over their sons and husbands? The cunning Tories realized what an unbounded influence the women possessed over the soldiers, and they tried to use it for their own advantage. Tempting bribes they offered. If the women could only get their husbands to join the Loyal troops, a commission would surely be given them, and relief sent to their suffering families! This may seem but a slight temptation, to us, but then, when the women were every day suffering insult and abuse from British and Hessians, and their little ones were starving, when all seemed lost, the whole land was disheartened, and there was no hope of success, a royal commission and British protection meant peace and plenty!

But these stern dames never weakened. Quickly they gave the discomfited officers to understand that they gloried in the name of "rebel," and that, to them, the rank of private in the good cause was more to be preferred than commander of the oppressors' entire army.

So Dorcas Richardson, a Carolina woman, though she and her children

were sick from want of food, and had been plundered of almost all their clothing, sent word to her husband in the army that the family was well and had an abundance of everything; fearing, if he should be offered protection, provided he joined the King's men, he would do so, to give relief to his suffering family.

A great number of women devoted themselves to brightening the gloom of camp life. Especially in the cold months, when the army was in winter quarters, did these helpful souls establish themselves by their husband's sides, enlivening those about them, encouraging and cheering everyone. They bore all the discomforts and privations of camp life uncomplainingly; the soldiers could not murmur at the sufferings which these women bore without complaint.

Martha Washington was the best known of this class of women. Few of her sex have been placed midst scenes so varied, but in war and in peace, her gentle dignity, good sense and true heart won for her the love and respect of all. She was Washington's "best friend," as he so often called her, his counsellor and helpmeet. In the gloom of misfortune she sustained him, and in better times, made his victories the sweeter by her sympathy.

Leading a domestic life, she has left but little for a biographer; her sacrifices were made and trials borne, not for the world's applause. Each year, as soon as the army was settled in winter quarters, Mrs. Washington's coming was eagerly awaited and her arrival always received a hearty welcome. She was at Valley Forge with the chief, the winter of '77-'78—that "time which tried men's souls!" Many an old grey-haired soldier, long years after, has related some incident of her benevolent kindness, that brought the tears to his dim eyes.

Her example was imitated by many of the officers' wives, bringing hope and good spirits to the patriots, soothing the distress of sufferers, and by their own patient submission to privations, shaming into silence those most apt to complain.

The story of beautiful Jane McCrea, whose sad fate aroused such a storm of indignation against the British, may well be taken to illustrate the great influence of the murder of an innocent woman, a victim to political hatred.

Burke's glowing description of the murder of this young woman, made her name familiar throughout Europe, and popular indignation ran high, that a civilized nation should employ such savage allies!

Thackeray says: "The murder of Jane McCrea did more harm to the loyal cause than the loss of an army or of a battle." Certain it is, that this murder, so uncalled for and outrageous, contributed much to the Whigs' success. Men hastened to the camp and soldiers eagerly waited for some chance to avenge her death.

Her pitiful story has been written again and again, in both poetry and prose. How, on the day which was to have been her wedding day, she was cruelly murdered and scalped by the Indians whom her be-

troop had sent to escort her to Burgoyne's camp, where they were to have been married. The savages probably looked on Miss McCrea as a captive; they could not have understood her relation to their employer. Instead of returning with the lovely bride, they presented her horror-stricken lover with her bloody scalp. His agony cannot be imagined; the thought that she had fallen a victim to her trust in him was added to his sorrow; he did not long survive her, but died, a broken hearted man, pitied by all who knew his sad story.

Some one has said that Jane McCrea seems to have been selected by Providence as a sacrifice to rouse the drooping spirit of Liberty, in the midsummer of '77. The influence of this sacrifice was unbounded, and we can never know how far that influence went toward winning the decisive battle of Saratoga. By such single incidents might the fate of a nation be decided!

In speaking of the women who suffered much in the great struggle for American freedom, let us not omit those who endured the horrors of pioneer life in our own wild Mohawk valley; when the wolf of hunger stood at one door of the rude cabin, and the stealthy savage at the other. Every farmer in these trying times had some place of concealment for his family, where they could go for safety at the first alarm of an Indian attack.

Our great-grandmothers have often told, how, at the cry of "to arms, to arms," fathers caught up the musket and frightened mothers ran with their little ones to the woods, the way often times lit up by burning homes and hay-stacks. While lying there concealed, what agonies they must have suffered! Not knowing at what moment the child might be snatched from her breast by some pitiless Indian; not knowing but that the next gun-shot might mean the death of her husband; hoping against hope that her little home might be spared from the flames!

Sometimes a whole family would be wiped out in an attack, as in the case of the Knouts family, of what is now Freysbush. Brant—the terror of every heart in the valley—with his Indians had been roaming over the Canajoharie district, all through the August of 1780. One party of them came to the Knouts' home. The father was taken captive and soon afterwards killed; Mrs. Knouts, who was in the garden, hearing the screams of her children, entered just in time to see one struck down by an Indian's tomahawk and scalped. Because she pleaded for mercy from this merciless foe, she and the three other children met the same fate. The house was then fired and she with the four children about her were left on the door-step, probably as a warning to the other settlers.

Such was the fate of many throughout the whole valley. Hard and comfortless as life was, at best, on the frontier, it was rendered doubly so by the war.

For every scalp delivered at British headquarters, a price was paid,

and many were the bloody trophies brought in by the Indian warriors. That a civilized nation could employ such means to gain their end, is almost beyond belief; but the unfortunate settlers found it only too true.

The Kentucky frontier also was not without its heroines—some, to whom opportunities were offered, doing noble deeds, and others less actively engaged, helping by their influence. All bore the trials and dangers of such frontier life with fortitude and bravery.

The name of Elizabeth Zane is inseparably connected with the history of the Kentucky frontier. This brave girl's heroism saved a fort from capture. The Indians in large numbers had been storming the little fort all day. Its garrison of settlers had defended it well, but the powder was almost gone, and without it they must soon surrender. There was a supply secreted in the Zane cabin, but men were few, and the loss of one would be felt. During a lull in the hostilities, when the men were discussing what ought to be done, Elizabeth Zane stepped up to the commander, and insisted that she must go for the powder, as the loss would not be felt. After much pleading, she was allowed to go—the gates were opened and she ran out. The Indians did not see her flying figure until she was coming back, the powder in her apron. Providence seemed to ward off every whistling bullet, and the intrepid girl reached the fort in safety, with the precious powder.

With such an act to inspire them, the little band could not fall; they succeeded in keeping off the foe until assistance came, and they were safe.

Such incidents, the records of which are not a few, serve to show the general spirit of the women at that time. From them we may judge of the other women's lives, which, though not as eventful, were lived in a spirit of loyalty to what they knew was right, and if needed, were willingly, if not often gladly, given up to help on the good cause—something of the same spirit which inspired the martyrs of old.

Almost every American woman had her share of trouble in the Revolutionary war, some, of course, more than others. It is useless to even try to give many individual instances of female heroism and endurance; the few must stand as types of the many.

Those women who exerted a great influence over their fellow countrymen by their literary abilities, were helping greatly in their own particular way.

Mercy Warren, well educated and talented, had a great influence through her letters, on many prominent men of her day. Her advice was often sought on matters of state, and, when given, was highly appreciated.

Many women living near the coast visited the prison-ships—those graves of living death—bringing humble comforts and cheering words of hope to the suffering prisoners.

Some women melted and moulded into bullets their cherished pewter

dishes—heirlooms in the family, much of it brought over from the old world, and kept, spotlessly bright, in the most conspicuous corner of the house. It must have been a painful duty to these patriotic women, melting this shining pewter, their greatest pride; but the sacrifice was willingly made—it was all they could do, and they did it.

Many of the farmers' wives, when they had sent their sons and husbands off to the war, found the entire care of the farm fallen on their shoulders. But they never shrank, going oftentimes into the field themselves, and managing so well that, besides having enough to keep their families from starvation, they could send some of their produce to the near-by camps.

The Philadelphia ladies were generally engaged in cutting bandages and scraping lint to send to the wounded soldiers. Washington, appreciating this work, writes to a committee for the relief of the soldiers: “* * * nor can it (the army) fear its interests will be neglected when espoused by advocates as powerful as they are amiable.” Mrs. Reed, the wife of Governor Reed, was the leader in this charitable work.

Some women, living near the scene of military operations, would take cooling drinks and bandages to the battle-field, where many a sufferer's last moments were made easier by these angels of mercy, and their death made sweeter by words of Christian comfort.

Others visited the camps where fever and pestilence raged, nursing the sick and wounded, softening the hardships of sickness in camp, and bringing something of a home atmosphere to the weary sufferers.

In our day, when the trials and privations of such a war are unknown, we cannot realize their sufferings, nor the uncomplaining way in which they bore them; perhaps, were we, their descendants, placed in a similar position, we might show the same strength of character, the same patriotic spirit which sustained them—but excel them—never!

They have rightfully been called the “back-bone” of the Revolution; but for their effectual efforts and encouragement our Independence would never have been won. Their home influence prepared and strengthened the hearts of the men for the great struggle; their ready sympathy and willing aid all through the war encouraged them, and, when tranquil peace once more reigned o'er the land, their great good sense, and their woman's tact, did as much toward starting and keeping society in the right way, as did the lengthy councils and well laid plans of Congress.

Let us give honor, then, where honor is due—not only to the brave men who won for us our freedom, but also to the brave women, those freedom-loving American dames, at whose inspiration the noblest deeds were done!

RAILROADS IN HERKIMER COUNTY.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, November 10, 1900.

The first railroad operated by steam put in practical and regular use for the carriage of passengers anywhere in the world was in England, between Liverpool and Manchester. The opening of that road in 1825 caused a great sensation in England, and its successful operation gave a great impetus to railroad building there and in this country.

Prior to the year 1848, all railroad companies in this State were organized by Special Acts of the Legislature. But in that year a general act for the formation of railroad corporations was passed, and since that time such corporations in this State have been organized under that act and the General Railroad act of 1850, and their amendments.

The first railroad company in this State was chartered by an act of the Legislature in 1826. It was called the Mohawk & Hudson Railroad Company, and was organized to build a road from Schenectady to Albany, a distance of about 17 miles. Twelve miles of that road was constructed by 1830, at which time there were only 36 miles of railroad in the United States, and 200 miles in the whole world, while now there are about 192,000 miles in the United States, and 450,000 miles in the whole world. The road was completed and fully opened for use in 1831, and the first locomotive for it was imported from England and was called the "John Bull," weighing four tons. Now some locomotives are used which weigh about 90 tons.

The first company created to build a railroad touching this county was "The Black River Company," chartered by act of the Legislature, April 17th, 1832, to build a railroad or canal from the Erie Canal at Rome or Herkimer or at any intermediate point, to the St. Lawrence River. There was some surveying done under that charter, but nothing more.

The Utica & Schenectady Railroad Company was chartered by an act of the Legislature in 1833, with a capital of two million dollars to build

a road from Schenectady to Utica. Nathaniel S. Benton of Little Falls was one of the commissioners named in the act to receive and apportion subscriptions to the stock. The company was authorized to use animal or mechanical power, or any combination of them, and to charge not to exceed four cents per mile for the carriage of passengers with their ordinary baggage. For fear of injurious competition with the Erie canal, it was not allowed to carry any freight, and that it might not by the operation of its road inflict great loss upon the Mohawk Turnpike Company, whose road extended from Utica to Schenectady through this county, it was required to purchase the stock of that company. It was provided, as it was in nearly all the early railroad charters, that at the end of ten years and within fifteen years, the State should have the right to take the railroad by re-imbursing the company for its expenditures. The charter required that one of the directors of the company should be selected from each of the counties through which the road passed, and Mr. Benton was the director taken from this county, and he continued a director until 1853. Books for subscriptions to the stock were immediately opened, and subscriptions were made throughout the Mohawk valley. The stock was largely over subscribed, and was apportioned pro rata among the subscribers by the commissioners named for that purpose in the act. The construction of the road was commenced in 1833, and it was completed and opened for use through to Utica by August 1, 1836, when the first passenger train passed over the road on that day from Schenectady to Utica. There were great demonstrations all along the route, people gathering from long distances to see the train. The road with its equipment had cost less than the amount of its capital stock. In 1837, by an act of the Legislature, the road was authorized to carry any articles of property belonging to an owner, who was a passenger on the same train. But so careful was the legislature to guard against any competition with the Erie Canal that it required such property to be carried without any charge. This condition remained until 1844, when an act was passed authorizing the road to carry freight for compensation, during the suspension of navigation upon the Erie canal, but requiring the company to pay to the State the same tolls that were chargeable for the transportation of similar property upon the canal. And so the law remained until 1851, when by an act of the legislature all railroads were allowed to carry freight without the payment of any tolls to the State.

Between 1836 and 1853, railroads had been built by various railroad companies to Buffalo and Niagara Falls, and under an act of the Legislature, passed April 2d, of the latter year, all those companies were authorized to consolidate; and they were consolidated in May of that year, under the name of the New York Central Railroad Company, which was limited by the consolidation act to a fare of not exceeding two cents per mile for the carriage of passengers. Among the com-

panies thus consolidated, was "The Mohawk Valley Railroad Company," organized to build a railroad mainly on the south side of the Mohawk River from Utica to Schenectady. Among its directors were Benjamin Carver of Mohawk and Eliphalet Remington of Hion; and among the prime movers in the organization of the company was General F. E. Spinner of Mohawk. Among the original subscribers to the stock of the company who signed the Articles of Association were E. Remington of Hion, and the following citizens of Mohawk: F. E. Spinner, B. Carver, L. L. Merry, Elias Root, J. F. Brown, Ezekiel Spencer, Cornelius Devendorf, M. Shoemaker, John Bellinger, R. H. Pomroy, and Chauncey Johnson. The road was surveyed and mapped and estimates of its costs were made, but no other work toward its construction was done. James A. Gray of this village, long since deceased, and David D. Spencer, now of Mohawk, were engaged as engineers on the survey of the road. The stockholders of that road had paid upon their stock but ten per cent., and yet they were taken into the consolidation on a footing of equality with the stockholders of the Utica & Schenectady Railroad Company, to-wit: At the rate of \$155 for each share of \$100, they being required, however, to pay the balance of 90 per cent. unpaid for their stock; and thus the enterprising men who organized that company realized large gains. The New York Central was capitalized at \$22,858,000, with some outstanding bonds convertible into stock, which when converted brought the capital stock to \$23,085,000. In 1869, by an act of the Legislature, the New York Central was consolidated with the Hudson River Railroad Company, and the consolidated company has since been known as the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company; and in 1874, the number of tracks on the road were increased to four and it is now the only four track railroad for any considerable distance in this country, and so far as I know in the world. The capital stock of the company is now one hundred million dollars.

For many years after 1830, repeated efforts were made to penetrate the Adirondaek region with canals or railroads and to connect the St. Lawrence River with the Mohawk valley. Those efforts seem to have been made by men who had no adequate knowledge of the difficulties to be surmounted and hence their schemes were generally impracticable and abortive. It is only in recent years, that with better knowledge and more ample means the early schemes which were then little more than dreams, have been carried to practical success.

In 1834, an act was passed, "To Incorporate the Manheim & Salisbury Railroad Company," to build a railroad from the Utica and Schenectady Railroad, between Little Falls and the East Canada Creek, to Nicholasville, since called Deveraux, in the town of Salisbury. Jeremiah Drake, D. B. Winton and Andrew A. Fink and their associates were made a body corporate with a capital stock of \$75,000. Jeremiah Drake, D. B. Winton, Jacob Powell, Gideon Snell, Luther Pardee,

Andrew A. Fink, and E. P. Hurlburt, were named in the act as commissioners to receive and apportion subscriptions to the stock. In 1836, the capital stock of the company was by an act of the Legislature increased to three hundred thousand dollars, and the time for the commencement and completion of the road was extended. By that act, also, the company was authorized to connect its road with the Erie canal, between the points named in the first act, and to extend the road through the town of Stratford, Fulton county, to the westerly branch of the Sacandaga River, and also from Nicholasville, up the East Canada Creek to Morehouse Lake, in the town of Morehouse, Hamilton county. It was also authorized to construct navigable communication by means of canals, locks, dams and other works from the terminus of the road through Pisecco Lake and Lake Pleasant, to the outlet of Lake Pleasant, in the county of Hamilton, and to use the natural channel of any lakes, ponds or streams on the route; and it was authorized to charge tolls and to appoint collectors for that purpose. A good deal of surveying was done upon the line of this projected road, but nothing more toward the completion thereof. In 1837, the name of this road was by an act of the Legislature changed to the Mohawk & St. Lawrence Railroad & Navigation Company, and the capital stock was further increased to one million dollars, with liberty to increase it to one million five hundred thousand dollars. By that act it was authorized to continue its road from Nicholasville to Pisecco Lake and thence to the southern end of the lake connected with Long Lake; also to construct a canal and slack water navigation from the end of the lake connected with Long Lake through and along Long Lake and the waters connecting with the same to the outlet of Long Lake; thence down the Raquette River, including Tupper's Lake, to the High Falls in that river in the county of St. Lawrence; and from thence by railroad or canal and slack water navigation to the River St. Lawrence. Henry Fine, Gouverneur Ogden, Andrew K. Morehouse, Henry Devereaux and Ezra Thompson were associated with the commissioners named in the prior act. The routes named in these acts were clearly impracticable, and nothing was done under either act but some surveying.

In 1836, an act was passed, "to provide for the Construction of a Railroad from Herkimer to Trenton," with a capital stock of \$200,000; and the following persons were named in the act as commissioners to receive subscriptions for stock and to distribute the same among the subscribers: Frederick P. Bellinger, Charles Gray, Francis E. Spinner, Watts Sherman, Gideon M. Davidson, Daniel Jackson, James Freeman, Standish Barry, Henry Waterman, John Graves, Michael Moore, Jr., Luther Giteau and John Billings. In 1837, by a legislative act the time for the commencement of the construction of the road was extended to January 1, 1838; and in 1839, another act provided that the road should be commenced within three years and completed within

six years. Soon after the passage of the first act the persons interested in this projected road took measures looking to its construction. Committees were appointed along the route to estimate and report on the amount of travel and traffic that might be expected for the road, and to raise money to pay for surveying the route. I have before me the report made by a committee at Trenton, which was sent to Charles Gray, of this village. It is dated November 16th, 1836, and is signed by John Billings, Harlow Hawley, Alexander Frasier and M. Moore, Jr., as a committee. They say in their report that they were appointed a committee "To report their opinion of the amount of travel and also the amount of produce, merchandise, etc., etc., which would be conveyed and transported upon the contemplated railroad from the Erie canal, near the village of Herkimer," to Trenton. They reported that the number of visitors to Trenton Falls during the season then past from Utica and Little Falls was 4,490, and they concluded that with the increased facilities of travel furnished by the railroad, the visitors would not fall short of 8,980 annually; that at four cents per mile each way for 22 miles this would bring to the railroad \$15,804.80; and they estimated that other travel would bring this sum up to \$20,732.80. They estimated that there would be 1,280 tons of freight over the road north to Trenton, at \$2 per ton; and that there would be 2,500 tons of freight south from Trenton, at \$1.25 per ton, bringing the sum total for passengers and freight up to \$26,417.80, besides the travel and traffic to and from intermediate stations; and they reported that \$70 would be contributed at that end of the route toward the expenses of surveying. Subsequently, Timothy B. Jervis, a brother of the celebrated engineer, John B. Jervis, was employed as the engineer to survey the route and make estimates of the cost of construction, and he made his report February 1, 1837, by which it appears that the survey commenced at the Erie canal, between this village and Mohawk, and that the line went through Main street in this village, then up the west side of the West Canada Creek to Middleville, where it crossed the creek, and then went on the east side of the creek through Newport and Poland, to the Russia and Trenton bridge, where it crossed the creek to the west side and thence to the village of Trenton. The whole length of the line surveyed was 26.90 miles and the whole ascent from the surface of the Erie canal was 388 feet. The grade was pronounced very satisfactory, as the average ascent per mile was only 14.42 feet and he estimated the entire cost of construction at \$175,151.92. He concluded his report as follows: "Permit me to state that the fertility of the valley of the West Canada Creek and the almost unlimited extent of water power and the facility of using the same which it presents, together with the increased means of access to the beautiful and romantic scenery of the proposed railroad would offer, present inducements for investment in the stock of your road which should not and doubtless will not be overlooked by capitalists." Aside

from the surveying and estimates, no work was done upon the road, and the project for a railroad from Herkimer north was to sleep for many years yet.

In 1837, a company was chartered to build a railroad from Trenton to Sacketts Harbor, and Arphaxed Loomis of Little Falls was one of the commissioners to receive and distribute subscriptions to the stock; and thus by these two roads—from Herkimer to Trenton and from Trenton to Sacketts Harbor—there was expected to be a continuous line from Herkimer to Sacketts Harbor.

In 1846, a company was chartered by an act of the Legislature "To provide for the Construction of a Railroad and Slack Water Navigation from or near Port Kent on Lake Champlain to Boonville," upon the following route: From Port Kent, in Essex county, to some point on the Saranac River; thence by river, canal and lake navigation through Saranac River, Raquette River, Long Lake, Crochet and Raquette Lakes, also the Moose Lakes to some point on the Moose River; from thence by railroad to the Black River Canal at Boonville. A portion of this road, if constructed, would have passed through the extreme northern part of this county. The route was wholly impracticable and nothing was done toward the construction of the road.

The Sacketts Harbor and Saratoga Railroad Company was chartered by an act of the Legislature, in 1848, to build a railroad from Sacketts Harbor to Saratoga Springs, passing through the northern part of this county. By the act of the Legislature, it was authorized to buy from the State at five cents per acre 250,000 acres of land lying along the route of its road in the counties of Hamilton and Herkimer. It surveyed the route, did some grading thereon, but never completed the road. It, nevertheless, obtained the land, which was probably the main object of its organization.

In the latter part of 1852, there was some agitation and discussion in the counties lying between Boonville, Oneida county, and French Creek, now called Clayton, on the St. Lawrence River, on the subject of a railroad from the latter place to connect with the railroad and Erie canal in the Mohawk valley; and the terminus of such road at Herkimer seems to have been very generally favored. The agitation resulted in a call numerously signed for a public meeting at the Bostwick House in Lowville, January 8th, 1853. The call was signed by thirty-eight persons residing in the counties of Jefferson, Lewis, Oneida and Herkimer. The names signed to the call from this county were General Charles Gray and Judge Ezra Graves, of this village; Jeremiah Cory, of Middleville; J. H. Brown and William Benchley, of Newport. The call was printed in the form of large posters and they were circulated in the four counties; and the purpose of the meeting was stated to be, "For the purpose of taking such preparatory measures as shall be deemed expedient to secure the immediate commencement of the work. We hope to have a general representation from

Herkimer to French Creek. Several speakers will address the meeting." On the day named, January 8th, General Gray and I went to Lowville to attend this meeting. We went by rail to Rome and then on a very cold day we drove in a cutter from that point to Lowville. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Bostwick. Several speeches were made and the meeting was quite enthusiastic. There were no persons present from Rome or Utica at that meeting, and no one from Herkimer county but General Gray and myself. The result of the meeting was a call of another meeting at Boonville, on the 26th of January, at the Hurlburt House; and a call for that meeting was advertised by posters numerously signed. The names of the following persons from this county were attached to the call: General Gray, Judge Graves, Peter Countryman, Frederick P. Bellinger, and Robert Earl of the town of Herkimer; and William S. Benchley, Varnum S. Kenyon, David Ford, Jacob Howe, Robert Helmer, Richard Herrendeen, J. H. Wooster, Jeremiah Cory and Orrin Brown, citizens of the county living north of Herkimer. Preparatory to the Boonville meeting and for the purpose of arousing interest in the proposed railroad along the route thereof in this county, posters were printed and circulated calling a meeting at the Benchley Hotel in Newport on the 22nd day of January. There were over 100 names signed to the call. Those from this village were as follows: James Hoffman, General Gray, Judge Graves, F. P. Bellinger, S. W. Stimson, W. Caswell, J. D. Spinner, H. H. Morgan, H. Huyek, C. C. Bellinger, E. Taylor, J. G. Burrill, S. Barry, J. H. Rasbach, H. Doolittle, William Smith, C. A. Burton, J. Spooner, H. Caswell, W. A. Caswell, C. Spinner, E. A. Munson, P. S. Bellinger, A. Snell, C. C. Witherstine, Wm. Howell, Jr., E. C. Cleland, I. Quackenbush, Byron Laffin, D. Elwood and Alexander Hall. I believe all the numerous persons from this and other places who signed that call are now dead except David H. Rasbach, who now lives at Canastota; J. G. Burrill and myself, and possibly Byron Laffin, of whom I have not heard in many years. That meeting was held and the result of it was favorable to the construction of the road, and as many persons as could go were urged to attend the Boonville meeting. Before the Boonville meeting, on January 22nd, a meeting was also held at Rome, attended by the leading citizens of that place, to promote the construction of the road to that place. That meeting was presided over by Edward Huntington and was addressed by Hon. Henry A. Foster and others. Articles of association for a railroad from French Creek to Rome were there drawn up, and committees were appointed to attend the Boonville meeting, of which such well known citizens as Foster, Beach, Armstrong, Boardman, and Spriggs were members. The citizens of Utica also woke up to the enterprise and made arrangements to be represented at the Boonville meeting by some of their leading citizens. The day of the Boonville meeting, January 26th, was very stormy and cold. General Gray, Harvey Doolittle, Samuel Earl,

Robert Earl and others from Herkimer, General Spinner and R. H. Pomeroy of Mohawk, and some from Little Falls, drove in sleighs to Boonville and so did many others from the northern towns of this county. The meeting was numerously attended by people from this county, from Boonville and its vicinity; from Lewis and Jefferson counties, and from Rome and Utica. It was organized in a church, which was densely crowded. E. N. Merriam, of Boonville, called the meeting to order and on his nomination, Henry Graves of that place was chosen chairman; and among the vice-presidents were Jeremiah Corey and Henry Waterman of this county, and Harvey Doolittle of this village was one of the secretaries. On motion of Robert Earl, the call for the meeting was read, and then he moved that a committee of five from each of the counties along the route of the proposed road be appointed to organize a company to construct "a road from French Creek to Herkimer, and to nominate directors." This resolution became the storm center and at once encountered the vigorous opposition of the friends of the Rome and Utica routes, and from that time forward the proceedings of the meeting were of the most lively and tumultuous character. Judge Foster made a vigorous speech in favor of the Rome terminus. John Butterfield and Spencer Kellogg, of Utica, spoke for the Utica terminus. Those speakers were answered by John H. Wooster, of Newport, and by Judge George W. Smith, our honored townsman, then of Boonville, in favor of the Herkimer route. The speeches of Mr. Wooster and Judge Smith were very able and eloquent and aroused much enthusiasm. The following is a description of Judge Smith's speech and its effect as I find it in the Rome Sentinel of January 28th: "George W. Smith, of Boonville, having obtained a standing on the top of a pew, made a speech full of zeal and rhetoric in behalf of the Herkimer terminus, quoting classic Greek against the Romans, and denouncing them as hypocritical in their friendship for the road, and expressing a very poor opinion of the 'barren moor' between Boonville and Rome as a route for a railroad. The meeting here degenerated into a row and it was a long time before the president even could make himself heard, the friends of the Herkimer route surrounding him and insisting that he should put the question at once." After several amendments were voted down the Sentinel continues: "With the noise like the roar of many waters and the audience standing on the tops of the pews of the church, the chair put the question on Mr. Earl's resolution, which was carried with a yell, and then the president, without any motion or vote to that effect, declared the meeting adjourned to 7 o'clock." At the evening session the president announced the committee under the resolution, and the five members of the committee from this county were, Robert Earl, Herkimer; Francis E. Spinner, Mohawk; Stewart Perry, Newport; Jefferson Tillinghast, Norway; F. W. Stanton, Russia, and then the meeting adjourned until the next day at 9 a. m. In the meantime the committee held a meet-

ing and Robert Earl prepared and submitted to them a draft of articles of association for the road to Herkimer, and to the Erie canal at Mohawk, which were adopted. The length of the route was stated to be one hundred and twenty miles and the capital stock was fixed at \$1,200,000; and thirteen directors were named, among whom were Benjamin Carver of Mohawk, and Harvey Doolittle, of Herkimer. A motion was made to adopt the report and then these proceedings took place according to the Rome Sentinel: "Messrs. Spencer and Butterfield arose to address the meeting, but were put down by cries of 'question.' Mr. Cooper of Utica moved to amend the report by inserting the names of Spencer Kellogg and John Butterfield of Utica as additional directors. But he was greeted with noise and confusion. H. D. Falkner of Boonville, reminded the meeting of the promise to hear gentlemen from Utica, after the report was read. But he was also met with cries of 'question.' Mr. Easton of Lowville moved to adjourn until two o'clock, but the chairman ruled out of order all motions and amendments after the motion to adopt the report of the committee; and the question being pressed on the report of the committee, it was adopted." The picture of the Sentinel is probably somewhat overdrawn and it may be said, in palliation at least of the vigorous conduct of the friends of the Herkimer terminus, that they regarded the meeting as called to organize a company to build a railroad from French Creek to Herkimer, and that they looked upon the men from Rome and Utica as interlopers. After the adoption of the report, the meeting adjourned and the people from Mohawk and Herkimer and the valley of the West Canada Creek returned to their homes in a state of great satisfaction with their work. Companies were at once organized to build roads to Rome and Utica; and it soon became evident that it would be difficult if not impossible for Herkimer to compete with those points. The people north of Boonville very soon came generally to favor one or the other of those places for the terminus of the road. The people all along the route engaged in earnest and sometimes heated discussions over the route of the road; and the Rome Sentinel, the Observer and Herald of Utica, and the Herkimer Democrat, then edited by Robert Earl, took active parts in the discussion. Soon a committee of 46 persons living between Boonville and the terminus of the road at French Creek was appointed to act for the people living along that portion of the route, to determine which terminus they should favor; and they made a thorough investigation. They asked the people favoring Rome, Utica and Herkimer respectively to submit pledges of the amounts they would raise for the construction of the road. Finally, in March, the Romans pledged good private subscriptions for \$300,000 and the subscription by the village for \$150,000. Utica pledged, including a city subscription of \$250,000, \$650,000; and then the committee came to Herkimer and here they met a number of people interested in the terminus here. In their report they stated that "through the polite at-

tention of Messrs. Wooster, Carver, Earl, Perry, Root, Spinner and others, the information sought by your committee at this point was readily procured." At a previous meeting of citizens of Herkimer, Mohawk, Fairfield, Newport and Norway, on the 16th of March, a formal pledge was made of subscriptions for \$500,000 of the stock of a road with its terminus here by persons living south of Boonville. After receiving these pledges and investigating the advantages of the several termini, the committee of 46 attempted to settle the matter of a terminus. The highest number of votes Herkimer received was 11, and the balance were about equally divided between Rome and Utica. On the final ballot taken by the committee, Rome got 23 votes, Utica 22 and Herkimer 1; and as there was not a majority of the committee for either terminus, the committee adjourned without making a selection.

Meetings were held along the route in this county and between \$200,000 and \$300,000, of the stock was subscribed. But Utica and Rome, with their superior resources and some natural advantages pushed forward their several projects and soon turned most of the people along the route in the northern counties against Herkimer as a terminus; and the friends of this route in this county, foreseeing disaster if they entered upon the construction of the road, discontinued their efforts and abandoned their organization, and thus saved their money. The Romans entered upon the construction of the road to that point and after spending about \$500,000, failed and abandoned the enterprise and lost all the money they thus expended. Utica with its superior resources pushed the Black River road to completion. But the stockholders lost all their stock, as a mortgage on the road for the benefit of bondholders was foreclosed and the road sold. But Utica got the road, which is now operated to its great advantage by the New York Central under a lease.

The Utica, Chenango & Susquehanna Valley Railroad Company was organized in January, 1866, to build a railroad from Utica to Binghamton, and a branch from Cassville in Oneida county, passing through the towns of Winfield and Columbia, in this county, to Richfield Springs. Richfield issued bonds in aid of the road for \$100,000; Columbia for \$40,000, and Winfield for \$75,000. Work was commenced on the Richfield branch near Cassville, in 1869, and it was opened for use in May or June, 1870. The whole road was leased to the Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company in April, 1870, and it has since been operated by that road.

In 1870, the New York, Utica & Ogdensburg Railroad Company was organized to build a railroad which with connecting roads would extend from New York to the St. Lawrence River. The road in this county was finally expected to be built south of the Mohawk River to the village of Mohawk, and thence through the village of Herkimer, up the West Canada Creek valley and by means of connecting routes, to the St. Lawrence River at Ogdensburg. The claims and advantages

of this road were ably presented to the citizens of this county by Mr. Cummings, at public meetings held in various towns; and hence the road came to be known as the "Cummings road." Several of the towns in this county along the route of the proposed road were induced to take proceedings to issue town bonds in aid of the construction of the road, as follows: Stark, \$50,000; Little Falls, \$200,000; German Flats, \$160,000; Herkimer, \$60,000; Fairfield, \$50,000; Newport, \$96,000; Norway, \$20,000; Russia, \$30,000. The town of German Flats issued and delivered to the railroad company \$32,000 of its bonds, dated January 1st, 1871, which are still outstanding, drawing 7 per cent. interest. The company did some grading upon the route of its road in the town of German Flats up the Fulmer Creek valley and also a small amount, involving an expenditure of about \$50, at Middleville; and so far as I can learn it did no other work upon its route and the enterprise was abandoned. The other towns which agreed to issue bonds in aid of the road did so upon conditions not complied with, and hence they withheld their bonds and thus escaped being swindled by what appears to have been a chimerical if not in large measure a swindling scheme; And so again the project of a railroad up the West Canada Creek valley failed.

In 1873 or 1874, the Boston & Ontario Railroad Company was organized by Boston capitalists to build a railroad from Boston to Oswego via the Hoosac Tunnel, crossing the Hudson River at Johnsonville, passing through Ballston, Johnstown, entering this county at Emmonsburg, passing through Salisbury Center, north of Salisbury Corners, up Spruce Creek to within three or four miles of Gray, crossing Black Creek, running down Black Creek through Grant, and leaving this county at Bottsford Bridge, thence through Prospect to Boonville and on to Oswego. The route was surveyed and map thereof made, but nothing more was done. Watts T. Loomis of Little Falls was engaged upon the survey.

In 1877, the Boston, Housatonic Tunnel & Western Railroad Company was organized to build a railroad having its western terminus at Sodas Bay, on Lake Ontario. Its route was through this county in the Mohawk valley, and it was known here as the "Burt road." That was also an enterprise of Boston capitalists. Some work was done on the road at and west of Canastota, in Madison county; and subsequently its construction, at least through this county and west of this county, was abandoned.

In 1879, Thomas W. Spencer, an engineer of Utica, commenced to agitate the building of a narrow gauge railroad from the village of Herkimer to Poland, and made endeavors to interest the people along the route in the project; and as a result of his efforts, largely aided by Major E. M. Burns of Middleville, June 29, 1880, the Herkimer, Newport & Poland Narrow Gauge Railroad Company was organized, with a capital stock of \$88,000, which was subsequently increased to \$120,-

000, and again to \$250,000. The following persons constituted the first board of directors: Thomas W. Spencer, of Utica; William Smith, John W. Vrooman, and Warner Miller, of Herkimer; S. R. Millington, W. A. Brayton and John Hemstreet, of Poland; H. D. Burlingame, H. W. Dexter and Newell Morey, of Newport; George H. Thomas, W. W. Mosher and Edward M. Burns, of Middleville. The first officers were: President, Thomas W. Spencer; vice-president, S. R. Millington; secretary and treasurer, George H. Thomas; assistant engineer and afterwards chief engineer and superintendent, Albert Wilbur, now of Herkimer. Major Burns succeeded Mr. Spencer as president of the road, and was at all times its most active and efficient friend and promoter. The company issued its mortgage bonds to the amount of \$66,000. The length of the road was 16.73 miles. It was completed to Middleville in the fall of 1881, to Newport by January 1st, 1882, and to Poland early in the summer of the same year, at a total cost with its equipment of \$206,178.12. About 1891, Dr. W. Seward Webb, by the purchase of its stock at 50 cents on the dollar, became the owner of the road, and he subsequently converted it into a standard gauge road; and by his energy and abundant resources, he extended it to Malone in Franklin county, where it has connection with a road to Montreal. By consolidation with other organizations, January 22, 1892, it finally came to have the name of the Mohawk & Malone Railway Company, under which name it was leased to the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company, on the 1st day of May, 1893, which guaranteed the payment, principal and interest, of \$2,500,000 of four per cent. mortgage bonds; and also assumed the payment upon certain terms and conditions of the interest up to 5 per cent. upon \$3,000,000 of what are denominated income bonds. The road is very prosperous and is a great benefit to the portions of our county which has access to it.

The New York, West Shore & Buffalo Railroad Company was organized in January, 1881, to build a railroad from New York to Buffalo, on the west side of the Hudson River and the south side of the Mohawk River, a distance of four hundred and ninety-five miles. In the same month it was consolidated under the same name with the "New York & North River Railroad Company," a corporation organized under the laws of both New York and New Jersey. The road was built mainly by the proceeds of bonds, and its construction was carried through with great vigor. It was opened for use through this county about October 1st, 1883; and through its entire length early in 1884. The company soon defaulted upon the interest of its bonds, and in actions by the trustees for the bondholders, January 9, 1884, Horace Russell and Theodore Houston were appointed receivers of its property. They managed the road until December, 1885, when they sold it to J. Pierpont Morgan, Chamcey M. Depew and Ashbel Green. They organized the West Shore Railroad Company and conveyed the road to it; and on the 5th day of December, 1885, it leased the road to the New York Central &

Hudson River Railroad Company, subject to a bonded indebtedness of \$50,000,000, which the lessee company assumed and guaranteed.

The Little Falls, Dolgeville & Pisco Lake Railroad Company was organized February 3rd, 1883, to build a railroad from Little Falls to Pisco Lake, in Hamilton county, with a capital of \$120,000. Judge Hardin, of Little Falls, was president of the company. Ten per cent. of the capital was paid in by the subscribers to the stock, and \$3,165.65 was expended for engineering work upon the route, and nothing more was done. In voluntary proceedings for that purpose, R. S. Whitman was appointed receiver of the property of the company; and he wound up its affairs and paid back to the stockholders 74 per cent. of the moneys they had paid upon their subscriptions.

In 1888 and 1889, a road called the Fulton Chain Railroad was built by G. H. P. Gould, Colonel S. F. Garmon, and Dr. A. H. Crosby, from the Moose River tannery, on the Moose River, to Minnehaha, on the south branch of the Moose River, where it connected with steamboat navigation upon the Fulton Chain of Lakes, conducted by W. S. DeCamp. The road was eight miles long and cost about \$20,000. A peculiarity of the road was that the rails were wooden; but it was operated by a steam locomotive weighing eighteen tons. It transported passengers and freight, but was not operated in the winter. It was used until the fall of 1892, until the opening of the Mohawk & Malone railroad, when its operations was discontinued as no longer useful or road, when its operation was discontinued as no longer useful or profitable.

The Little Falls, Van Hornesville & Otsego Lake Narrow Gauge Railroad Company was organized in 1889, with a capital stock of \$160,000, to build a railroad from Little Falls through Van Hornesville to Otsego Lake, a distance of 21 miles. In 1888, subscriptions to the amount of \$23,000 were made to the stock of the company, \$10,000 of which came from Little Falls. The time for the construction of the road was extended. The line of the road has been surveyed and nothing else toward its construction has been done. The friends of the road at Van Hornesville have not yet given up hope that the road will be converted into a standard gauge road and constructed; but the Little Falls people are understood to have lost all interest in the enterprise. The present plan seems to be to change the southern terminus and make a connection with the Cherry Valley, Sharon & Albany railroad near Cherry Valley, and thus obtain a through route to Albany. The present directors are J. A. Fikes, J. S. Young, Moses Shaut, A. Tilyou, W. R. Thomson, L. Springer, D. S. Tilyou, B. W. Van Aucken and Gersham Smith, all of Van Hornesville; Victor Adams and E. V. Decker of Little Falls; Cola Roof of Starkville, and D. F. Ecker, of Deek. D. S. Tilyou is president of the company.

The Little Falls & Dolgeville Railroad Company was organized in 1891, with a capital of \$250,000, to build a railroad from Little Falls

to Dolgeville, a distance of about 12 miles. Among its first directors, thirteen in number, were Alfred Dolge, Edward A. Brown, Titus Sheard, J. S. Barnet and J. J. Gilbert, of this county. The construction of the road was commenced in May, 1891, and it was completed and open for use in October, 1892. Two mortgages were placed upon the road to secure bondholders—a first mortgage of \$250,000, and a second mortgage of \$100,000, upon which only \$75,000 of bonds were issued. The Metropolitan Trust Company of New York is the trustee for the bondholders under both mortgages; and for default in the payment of interest on the bonds under the second mortgage, it commenced an action for the foreclosure of that mortgage in May, 1899, and Charles Sullivan was appointed the temporary receiver of the road. The foreclosure action is still pending and the road has not been sold therein.

The Kingston & Utica Railroad Company was organized May 14th, 1892, to build a railroad from Kingston to Utica, passing through this county; but I cannot learn what, if anything, was done under its charter.

The Fort Plain & Richfield Springs Railroad Company was organized in 1894, with a capital stock of \$600,000, to build a railroad from Fort Plain to Richfield Springs, passing through Van Hornesville, a distance of thirty miles. This route would bring Richfield Springs by rail about fifty miles nearer to New York than it now is. The right of way for the road has been all obtained and substantially all the grading for the road has been done. But nothing was done upon the road for several years and the enterprise for the lack of financial aid seemed to be in a state of collapse until within a few days, when work upon the road has been resumed.

The Fulton Chain railroad, about two miles long, was constructed in 1896, to connect the Mohawk & Malone railroad with the Fulton Chain of Lakes. Its chief promoter was Victor Adams of Little Falls.

The Raquette Lake Railway Company was incorporated in February, 1899, with a capital of \$250,000, to build a railroad from Clearwater Station, on the Mohawk & Malone railroad, to Raquette Lake, a distance of 19 miles in Herkimer and Hamilton counties. Its first directors were William Seward Webb, Chauncey M. Depew, William C. Whitney, J. Pierpont Morgan, Collis P. Huntington, H. P. Whitney, Samuel Callaway, W. West Durant, Robert Bacon, I. B. Gates, Charles E. Snyder, Edward M. Burns and John A. Dix. It commenced work on the construction of its road in May, 1899, and completed the road in June, 1900. It began to run its trains regularly June 25th, 1900. It was organized as a street railway and is authorized by law to operate its locomotives by steam generated by the use of coal oil as fuel. The chief organizer and promoter of this road was Charles E. Snyder, of this village. It is somewhat distinguished for a small road by the great wealth of its directors.

There were several other steam railroads projected touching or pass-

ing through this county upon which no work except in some cases engineering was done. Among them were the following: Genesee & Hudson Railroad Company, organized about 1852, and map filed in the clerk's office, January 20th, 1855; New York, Richfield Springs & Cooperstown Railroad Company, organized in December, 1882, with a capital stock of \$600,000; Mohawk & Susquehanna Railroad Company, organized about 1887, to build a railroad from Fort Plain to Richfield Springs and Cooperstown, and map filed in the clerk's office, October 8th, 1887; Utica, Adirondack & Saratoga Railroad Company, organized in May, 1888, to build a railroad into and through the Adirondaeks, of which Hon. H. J. Cookingham, of Utica, was president; Atlantic & Ontario Railroad Company, organized in 1871, to build a railroad from Hoosac or Pittstown through Ballston Spa and Johnstown to some point in Salisbury, about 70 miles, with a capital of \$3,500,000; The Boston, Rome & Oswego Railroad Company, organized in September, 1871, with a capital of \$3,000,000, to build a railroad from Hoosac or Pittstown, through Rome, to Vienna, 120 miles; The Boston, Saratoga & Western Railroad Company, organized in 1870, with a capital of \$5,000,000, to build a railroad from a point at or near Saratoga, or a junction on the Adirondack railroad at or near Johnsburg, to Sacketts Harbor or Oswego, with a right to construct a branch to Utica, a distance of about 150 miles; the Forestport Railway Company, organized with a capital of \$100,000, May 1st, 1868, to build a road with wooden or other rails, not over 25 miles in length in Oneida, Lewis and Herkimer counties, a section of which in Forestport was built with wooden rails.

There may have been other railroads projected into or through this county which have escaped my attention. Several of the roads I have referred to were projected by Boston people in their efforts to get railroad communication controlled by them, between Boston and Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River.

There were three street railways in this county for many years operated by horse power—Herkimer & Mohawk, Mohawk & Hion, and Hion and Frankfort. The Mohawk & Hion Street Railway Company was organized April 12, 1870, with a capital stock of \$15,000, of which the village of Mohawk took \$10,000, and issued its bonds therefor; the Herkimer & Mohawk Street Railroad Company was organized March 25th, 1871. The village of Herkimer took \$12,000 of the stock and issued its bonds for that sum. The Frankfort & Hion Street Railway Company was organized May 9th, 1871, with a capital of \$20,000, of which the village of Frankfort took \$2,000, and issued its bonds for that sum. These roads all passed under the control of the present trolley company in 1895. The three villages ultimately sold their stock and retired their bonds at a very handsome profit.

A few more facts not immediately connected with my subject, I trust, will be of some interest. As the facts I have already given show, there were from an early day various projects to penetrate from the

Mohawk valley the Adirondack forests and to reach the River St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. It was at first intended to build what has since become the Black River canal from this village; and the survey by State officials for that purpose was made in 1825, under the direction of Mr. Geddes, who was one of the chief engineers in the construction of the Erie canal. The route surveyed was from the Mohawk River south of this village, up the valley of the West Canada Creek, through Middleville, Newport and Russla, crossing the West Canada Creek north of Trenton Falls, into Oneida county, and extending to the St. Lawrence River at Ogdensburgh, a distance of 160 miles. The excavation for the canal was to be seventy miles in length, and the balance of the route, ninety miles, was upon the Black River, Indian River, Black Lake and other waters to the St. Lawrence River. The summit level was found to be at Remsen at 840 feet, and the descent from that point to the St. Lawrence River at Ogdensburgh was found to be 990 feet; and thus we learn that the St. Lawrence River at Ogdensburgh is 150 feet lower than the Mohawk River south of this village. The Black River canal on its present route was constructed under an act of the Legislature, passed in 1836.

In the early stage of railroad building, the State gave its aid to the building of several railroads by the loan of money. I give the names of the railroads thus aided, with the dates of the acts authorizing the loans and the amount of the loans:

New York & Erie railroad, April 23, 1836.....	\$ 3,000,000
Auburn & Syracuse Railroad, April 18, 1838.....	200,000
Canajoharie & Catskill Railroad, April 18, 1838....	200,000
Ithaca & Owego railroad, April 18th, 1838.....	250,000
Auburn & Rochester railroad, April 29, 1840.....	200,000
Long Island railroad, April 29, 1840.....	100,000
Hudson & Berkshire, April 29, 1840.....	150,000
Tonawanda railroad, May 1, 1840.....	100,000
Schenectady & Troy railroad, May 14, 1840.....	100,000
Tioga Iron Mining & Mfg. Co., May 14, 1840.....	70,000

The money thus loaned was raised by the sale of bonds by the State and the companies aided were bound to repay the money as the bonds fell due. All the money thus loaned was repaid to the State except the Erie loan of \$3,000,000, which was cancelled and released by the State, and except the loan of the Canajoharie & Catskill Railroad Company, which was lost, the road never having been completed. The people of the State have grown wiser and now it has become the settled policy of the State that the building of railroads and other private enterprises shall be left to individual efforts.

1823. GLEANINGS FROM A HERKIMER NEWSPAPER.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, January 12, 1901

It is well, now and then, to take our stand at some point of time, and note the changed conditions that have occurred since. In 1823, there were no railroads for the carriage of passengers anywhere in the world. The Erie canal was under construction, but had not yet been completed; and the most important event in my life, my birth, had not occurred. James Monroe was President of the United States, Joseph C. Yates was governor, and Erastus Root, Lieutenant-governor. Stephen Hallet, whose daughter married the late Xerxes Willard, the distinguished agricultural writer, was sheriff of the county, and Patrick Mahon, son of John Mahon, of this village, who was afterwards Clerk of Oneida county, was Under Sheriff; Henry Brown was first Judge of the county, and Sanders Lansing, the grandfather of the late Mrs. Samuel Earl, Rufus Crane, grandfather of Hon. D. Jones Crane of Warren, and Edmund Varney, grandfather of Mrs. Hazlehurst, of this village, and John Mahon, who was step-father of Mrs. Benchley of this village, and who lived on the corner where Mr. Trenbeth's grocery now is, were the associate judges of the county. Nathaniel S. Benton, of Little Falls, was Surrogate, and Jabez Fox, grandfather of Charles Fox, of this village, was County Clerk. Nathan Williams, the grandfather of Mrs. T. R. Proctor, of Utica, was Circuit Judge.

I am led to this topic by having in my possession two copies of the Herkimer American—a newspaper published in this village—one dated May 15th, 1823, and the other dated October 30th, 1823. I will here give some facts gleaned from the earlier paper: I find in the New York prices current the following: Beans, for seven bushels, \$8.00; hogs' bristles, per pound, from 30 to 50 cents; butter, first quality, per pound, from 12 to 15 cents; butter for exportation, per pound, 10 cents; cheese for shipping, per pound, 12 cents; New York superior flour, per barrel, \$7.25; American feathers, per pound, 45 cents; North River

hams, per pound, 8 to 9 cents; hog's lard, per pound, 8 cents; American honey, per pound, 9 cents; hops, first and second sort, per pound, 12 cents; Indian corn, per bushel, 61 to 70 cents; oats, per bushel, 37 cents; North River wheat, per bushel, \$1.37 to \$1.40; whiskey, per gallon, from 29 to 33 cents.

We see from these figures that some articles of farm produce were then worth more and some worth less than now. The cost of transportation then was so great that there was great difference between the New York prices and the prices paid to the producers in the country. Wheat was then grown throughout the Mohawk valley and the towns adjacent thereto; and what was quoted as North River wheat was doubtless the wheat which reached New York over that river. The best flour then and for many years thereafter was made from wheat grown in this State. The produce from this region was transported in boats upon the Mohawk River or carried in wagons and sleighs to Albany, and from that place it was taken to New York in sloops upon the river. The cheese sold in the New York market was probably from this county, as at that time very little cheese reached that city from any place but from this county; and it must be noticed that cheese was exported then as now. The manufacture of cheese was first introduced into the northern part of our county, and it had grown to considerable proportions in the year named. The editor of the papers says: "One of the farmers of that part of the county informed me a few days ago that he should be able to dispose of about twelve tons of cheese this year, the product of his own farms."

Practically the only currency at that time (except silver used for small payments) was the bills of State banks; and the bills of country banks were nearly all at a discount in New York, at from one-half to three-quarters of a cent on a dollar.

At that date the house now occupied by the Stimsons in this village was a tavern, called the "H. S. Whiting Stage House," at which the stages passing over the turnpike from Utica to Schenectady, stopped for the exchange of horses and the refreshment of passengers.

In the month of May was held the first session of the County Court of this county, under the Constitution of 1821, then called the "New Constitution." At that time the judges of the County Court were empowered to appoint the District Attorney; and at that term, the judges appointed Michael Hoffman, afterward eminent in the politics of this State, District Attorney of this county, in the place of Simeon Ford, who was then the leader of the bar in this county. Mr. Ford remained in this county for a number of years after that event, and then moved to Cleveland, Ohio, where he practiced his profession until his death.

Jacob Burrill, Jr., was then and for many years afterward a general merchant here. He was the father of J. G. Burrill, now residing here. His first wife was a daughter of Gaylord Griswold, who was the first lawyer in this county, and who led a distinguished career until his

early death in 1809. Mr. Burrill's second wife was a daughter of Rev. John P. Spinner. E. & S. Farwell were also merchants here, having a store on the corner where Dr. Suitor's residence now is. They subsequently moved to Utica, and a son of one of them became a great merchant in Chicago, and prominent in business and politics there. Bloomfield Usher carried on the business of manufacturing and selling hats and caps. Messrs. Hackley & Barnum and James Byers were also merchants here, the latter being the grandfather of Mr. Frank P. Addy.

At that time passengers were carried in boats upon the Mohawk River; and on the 13th day of May it is recorded that Henry Lockwood, who was on his way from Schenectady to Russia, in this county, a passenger on a boat, was drowned in the Mohawk River by falling from the boat.

From the paper dated October 30th, I glean the following facts: William Small advertised as a merchant, and apparently succeeded the Farwells. He subsequently united with John, Nicholas and George Smith in building what is now the Masonic Block; and he took for his share the southerly store, now occupied by Spicer & Weber, and there for many years carried on a general mercantile business; and then he engaged in business as a merchant in New York until his death. He owned and lived in the house now occupied by Dr. Kay.

Dr. P. Van Buren advertised that "All calls made in the line of his profession, embracing physic, surgery and the dentist's art shall receive punctual attention." His office was just north of the Stinson home. It is doubtful whether his dentistry extended beyond the extraction of teeth. The first regular dentist residing in this village was the late Dr. Chatfield.

It was mentioned editorially that the yarn for a piece of cloth exhibited at the agricultural fair for that year was spun by two ladies, one of whom was 72 and the other 73 years old. I am inclined to think that at that time men and women were older at those ages than they are now, as in these days men and women of such years are not considered very old.

As I have stated above, there must have been then a large quantity of cheese manufactured in this county, as it was stated in a communication to the paper that "The dairies of the north part of our county have long been celebrated for the excellence of their cheese."

There were then as now many advertisements of patent medicines; and also of the drawing of lotteries, which were absolutely prohibited in this State ten years later. At that time the population of our village could not have been much, if any, over 500; and yet it was the largest as well as the oldest village in the county; and among its citizens were the men of dominant influence in the affairs of the county.

I have made these brief gleanings in hope that they may contain a few kernels of grain, and I trust they will be found of some little interest to the students of our local history.

INDUSTRIES OF FRANKFORT.

AN ADDRESS BY FRANK B. PARKHURST, OF FRANKFORT.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, February 9, 1901.

Benton, the local historian, intimates that in 1757, French and Indians destroyed a grist mill and a saw mill, which stood on the banks of "a creek next east of the village of Frankfort." The statement is not explicit, but suggests that the nameless stream was the Moyer creek, for long after that year it ran "next east" of the village. But so far as our research extends, and we have been quite diligent, the sites remain in obscurity. If the mills stood on the Moyer Creek and were rebuilt before the Indians and Tories made their great raid on the German Flats, the structures must have been again destroyed by the torch twenty-one years after 1757, for when in the autumn of 1778, Brant and Butler with their murderous horde, came down into the valley of the Mohawk to massacre, pillage and burn, the lynx-eyed savages must have discovered every patriot's building nestling in the wildwood; and even if it were not so, the Tories, familiar with the vicinage, would have directed the ruthless band in their havoc and spoliation. The property of the Whigs for miles went up in fire and smoke. Such was the fate of the log house that stood on the lands of Jacob Folts, less than a mile, as the crow flies, from the Moyer Creek. Whatever the supposition regarding the sites of the above mills, and a second conflagration, we have indubitable evidence that a saw mill was built by John Hollister on the Moyer Creek in 1794, nearly a mile from where that stream has its junction with the Mohawk River. This is the first industry that definitely appears in the region where now stands the village of Frankfort. And let us not ignore the old rude American saw mill, for it has been the precursor of all other industries; it has opened a way for the husbandman and for commerce; it has preceded the plow, the forge and the loom, and, indeed, most of the appliances to subdue and control nature have played a second part to this simple harbinger of progress. The old Yankee contrivance had a gigantic work to perform in clearing the wilderness, and like most plain inven-

tions, it did its work well. There were several mills of like description at an early period in the western and southern parts of the town, which, it should be remembered, was not organized until February, 1796. Its limits extended to Genesee street, Utica, and possibly beyond. It was named after Lawrence Frank, an early settler, who lived on the farm now owned by John Reese, and its first supervisor was James Kipp, who resided where Bagg's hotel now stands. The village was incorporated May 4, 1863.

At the time John Hollister erected his saw mill near the Moyer Creek, peace and prosperity had dawned upon the robust people who had bravely and successfully withstood the wrongs of that terrible epoch which closed with the peace of 1783. The echoes of civilization reaching the solitudes, warned the hostile savage and wild beast to retire into the forest. The dim Indian trail south of the river which had been traced through the thicket, where now stands the village of Frankfort, was being transformed into a bridle-path by the procession of adventurers who were then pushing westward from New England. And finally the pathway widened to a turnpike, along which were scattered a few buildings among the timber, and the clearings on the woody slopes and swampy lowlands began to broaden. We may readily imagine that at this time the trusty flint-lock hung dust-covered over the rude chimney piece, that the cheery shout of the pioneer could be heard guiding his ox team, that the hum of the spinning wheel came peacefully through the doorway. And this was but one of the many exhibitions of the thrift and contentment of a people, who, throughout the colonies at the end of the 18th century began that wonderful development, a people whose sagacity, integrity and hardihood not only stimulated them to win the battles for civil freedom, but prepared them to organize the township, the county, the state, the republic. They were the forerunners of a mighty race, in whose hands rest the destiny of the representative system, in whom repose the highest expectations of the civilized world.

We learn that the population of Frankfort was not above one hundred and twenty-five souls in 1824, and while there is some conjecture regarding the industrial pursuits in the village and vicinity before that year, nevertheless, we have been able to glean several interesting facts relative to the manufacturing interest of the early inhabitants.

Joseph Ingham established the old carding mill, situated on the south side of West Main street, in 1807; this was twenty-one years before Eliphalet Remington began his manufactory at the place now called Ilion; it is said to have been the first woolen factory erected in Herkimer county. This mill did a large business in carding and making cloth for many years. Many of the sturdy agriculturists of the vicinity maintained sheep; after the wool was carded into rolls it was often spun and made into cloth by the busy housewives and their daughters. Joseph Collis followed Mr. Ingham in the management of the factory;

his sons, Curren and William, were proprietors after their father, and William conducted the plant alone after Curren withdrew and went into the same vocation in Jefferson county. In 1865, after the decease of William Collis, Robert Kerr purchased the property of his widow. The old landmark was consumed by fire in the summer of 1899.

In 1809, on the bank of the Mohawk River, north, and not far from Ingham's mill, was built by James H. Rathbone the grist mill now known as the Hoard mill. Tradition informs us that the hewn frame of beech, which was part of the structure, was cut in the immediate vicinity of that building. We learn, also beyond doubt, that prior to 1824 most of the ground now included in the village, south of the Erie canal, was woodland, and if we are to be guided by the probable story of the old beech frame, we may easily surmise that at that period much of the soil upon which now lives a thriving population was then shaded by the primeval forest. In rank of proprietorship of the Hoard grist mill were James H. Rathbone; Timothy I. Campbell, Leonard E. Downie; Daniel Mason, Joel Pruyne and Augustus King, James and Robert Pearson, H. W. Bridenbecker & Co., Samuel and Lafayette Hoard and Lafayette Hoard alone. The mill was ruined by fire in April, 1896. The saw mill is still intact.

The enterprise of the inhabitants at the beginning of the century is evinced by their cutting a raceway from the Moyer Creek, intersecting the natural stream near the lands now owned by Charles E. Starling, running across what is now the linen mill grounds to the Mohawk, for the accommodation of manufactories. At the enlargement of the Erie canal in 1846-7, the Moyer Creek was changed from its natural bed—it previously ran across East Main street about where Balda's market stands—and directly to the west of and nearly parallel with Litchfield street, crossing the lands of Caleb Budlong and William Baker to the river, just west of the Hoard mill. But the old raceway was not changed so as to effect those below; it was simply shortened and conducted around the head of the locks, through a diving culvert, and thence to the riparian owners. This raceway was originally made on, or before 1807; it remains in part, a mark of the enterprise of those who have gone before. There was a drydock in 1830 on the south side of the Erie canal, and near where the Moyer Creek ran, on the ground now occupied by Russell's lumber yard. This locality was then outside of the village.

While the village contained but one rude tavern in 1824—managed by one Weaver and situated near where now stands the Register printing office—the town could boast in addition to the industries already mentioned, Bliss & Mathews' turning and chair factory, located on the ground afterwards occupied by the Gates match establishment; a flourishing tannery, situated on the south side of West Main street, built by John B. Dygert. He was followed by Wm. Steele and Chauncey Devendorf, who were apprentices of Dygert; after doing a paying

business for about five years, Devendorf withdrew from the co-partnership and began manufacturing extensively boots and shoes in a building which stood on the corner of Mill and Main streets, and also on the second floor of his store, in the building now owned by J. H. Hoard; it is presumed that the boots and shoes were made from leather prepared at the tannery. At this time George Henry—afterwards famous as the "Blind Preacher," manufactured sleigh bells, dinner bells and cow bells; he did not seem to aspire to the making of church bells; his place of business was in the rear of the brick residence and wagon shop of William Wickens, adjacent to the ground whereon Joseph M. Lyon and William B. Holmes printed the Frankfort Democrat in 1842-44. Henry also employed several young women making leather pocket-books.

About four miles to the south of the village in the town of Frankfort flourished in 1821 and several years before, the famous Frankfort furnace. It was on the banks of the Moyer Creek; it employed about thirty men; the smelting was done by charcoal; ore was brought over the hills from Clinton, Oneida county, by ox and horse teams, a great waste of energy in view of modern facilities for transportation.

Adam I. Campbell erected the "yellow" grist mill in the southern part of the village in 1808. It was afterward owned by Jeremiah Bridenbecker, who did a profitable business there. It burned under his ownership in 1853. Daniel Mason and W. R. Stevens purchased the site and erected a building for manufacturing wrapping paper. Mason bought the interest of Stevens and in company with Henry Johnson, operated a grist mill and distillery there. The business was closed in the panic of 1857, and subsequently came under the control of William Gates, who managed it as a grist mill, also making patent work tables and ornamental wood fixtures. Stephen Birch purchased the property of William Gates' sons, and is now conducting it with his son as a grist mill.

Matthew and Michael Myers built in the early part of the century, an ashery on the bank of the Mohawk river, near where stand the ruins of the grist mill. They made for many years large quantities of potash from field ashes brought to them by farmers who were clearing their lands. Near the same spot and about the same time, Alvin Maxom conducted a distillery.

Edwin Adams, one Hannas and others formed a company between 1830 and 1835, for the purpose of making stoves, plow points, etc. Their foundry stood but a few rods south of the canal on the west side of Litchfield street. They did considerable business at one time, but in 1838 the building was abandoned.

Charles Clow owned and supervised a factory for making hand rakes, fanning mills and cradles, the latter for harvesting grain, not for rocking those who were to become citizens of the republic. Clow employed a number of men and possessed a steam engine, a rare ad-

junet in those days. His steam factory stood on the spot now occupied by J. S. Putman's store, opposite the Central Hotel. Next door westward was the wagon shop of Frederick & Jeremiah Myers. About midnight, May 31st, 1842, the people of the village were startled by the cry of fire, when it was found that the basement of Clow's factory was in flames. There was considerable wind and nothing but an old inferior hand engine to check the consuming element. It was then that William Steele, captain of the fire company, performed prodigies that rank high in the history of the hamlet. But ere the flames could be subdued every edifice between the Masonic building and Wickens' house lay in blackened ruins. That was long known as Frankfort's greatest disaster. William Steele was born in 1812, in the town or German Flats. He came to reside at Frankfort when twelve years of age, and is said to be the oldest resident. He remembers seeing bateaux navigating the Mohawk River. He informs us that the old structure owned by A. W. McGowan in East Frankfort, was about 1822, a hotel, and a popular place for river boatmen to rest for the night.

In 1837, Amasa Mann, brother of Abijah Mann, M. C., made wagons, circular hay rakes and wheelbarrows in a building located on the old raceway north of Main street, and not far from the woolen mill. Mr. Mann lived to an advanced age; we recall him as an intelligent and agreeable old gentleman. We also recall that Abijah Mann told the writer that he assisted in laying out a corduroy road through a dense swamp, from the village to the railroad depot. The station was at first at the East Schuyler crossing, but after a short time it was located opposite the village.

Silas D. Clark had a saddlers and harness shop on the second floor of a building standing where the postoffice now stands. His saddles and harnesses were known far and wide, for strength and finish; hand-made saddles and harnesses like hand-made shoes, were then in vogue. J. S. Putman, an apprentice of Mr. Clark, followed in the same pursuit.

Warren Clark, a tailor and brother of the above, catered to the fastidious gentry of Frankfort and vicinity, by following the latest styles in cut and pattern, while John Dodge, in rooms next to the Masonic hall, figured as a rival. In those halcyon days the fashions and customs of the eastern and southern sections of the State began to appear in a marked degree among the staid denizens of the upper Mohawk valley; every public house then must needs have its ballroom. Indeed, the grand climax of social enjoyment at that period seems to have been the public ball. From authentic reports, it is a question whether we moderns could eclipse in dress and manners those who tripped "the light fantastic," on the waxed floor to the sweet strains of Littlewood's orchestra; those social gatherings are said to have been par excellence.

If the taste and character of a people can be measured by their conduct in the midst of their relaxations, we must grant, at least an equal place, in the social scale to those who acted on the stage in this vicinity in 1835-45. Their diversions seem to have been as decorous and healthful as the amusements of this age.

THE GATES MATCH FACTORY.

During the year 1813, there came to the village of Frankfort a plain, unassuming stranger, a man whom vicissitudes had not embittered nor discouraged, but rather developed the goodness and energy within him. Of a mechanical turn of mind he soon learned the miller's trade. This vocation not satisfying him, he engaged in mercantile business; failing in this, he left Saratoga county, N. Y., and sought his fortune in the West. After being schooled in adversity there, he returned to the State of his birth and temporarily located in Frankfort, but he soon moved his family here and began repairing clocks and watches. During the winter of 1843-4 he traveled as a salesman for a firm in Westfield, Massachusetts. Somewhere in New England he received a hint, which in his practical brain culminated in wonderful inventions. He returned home and began experimenting in making friction matches, which were rare then. His first essay was rude, but by persistent labor he manufactured a few by hand, which he attempted to sell in the city of Utica. Strange as it may seem, people were skeptical and he had difficulty in disposing of his meager stock. But he toiled on, erecting a small building near the Cottage Hotel. He now employed a man or two and pushed his enterprise with vigor. In 1844, he purchased lands on the Moyer Creek, on the west side of Litehfield street, about fifty rods from the Erie canal. There began the profitable match factory of William Gates, who is now known as one of the few who stood in the forefront in the match business in America. The business increased rapidly; his matches were in great demand, being used throughout the Northern States from Maine to Iowa, and in the Mississippi valley down to New Orleans. His foresight and genius prompted the invention of machinery, the work of which was marvelous; these labor-saving appliances were patented in the United States and in England and the British Provinces. Frankfort was now made famous by this ingenious citizen and his wondrous industry. In seeking perfection in his line, his experiments did not cease until near the end of his career. Space forbids following in detail this interesting subject. We may add, however, the following significant facts: The establishment was eight times enlarged, beginning with a twelve-foot-square building, and ending with nineteen buildings, with 34,718 square feet of floor room. The machinery was driven by the water of Moyer Creek, assisted by a 40-horse power engine. The annual consumption of lumber in 1879 was 1,776,800 feet. Of this, 1,126,800 was for matches alone. Of sulphur, 360,000 pounds, or 180 tons, were annually used. For

small boxes, 48,000 pounds of paper per year were used, and 130 tons of strawboard was manufactured into large boxes. At one time, three hundred hands were employed, but later, because of additional machinery, but one hundred people were required. The annual product in 1879 was 375,000 gross of matches, reckoning 100 as a unit. A revenue of one cent on every box of one hundred matches, paid to the national government, aggregated between 1864 and 1877, nearly \$3,000,000.

Mr. Gates died July 28th, 1877, aged 69 years, lamented by all. The business was transmitted to his three sons, William B., George W., and Frederick, active and worthy men. The firm was organized on August 1st, 1877, as William Gates' Sons. They joined their interests with the Diamond Match Company in 1881. Soon after, George W. was called to superintend the company's extensive branch at Oshkosh, Wisconsin; Frederick followed as manager at Frankfort, Emory Eaton succeeding him, and Frederick Eaton was the last superintendent there. The factory was closed and the machinery moved to Oswego, nearer the lumber region of the North, in 1893.

While William Gates was fortunate in having sons in whom he could trust, the brothers were also fortunate in having an exemplary, indefatigable and ingenious father. Mr. Gates was a man of sterling qualities, somewhat reserved, but outspoken to a friend or when his convictions were assailed. He was decided, reliable and just. A man who stood high in the estimation of considerate people, he retained the confidence of the public to the last. Self-reliant and attentive to his own interest, he yet had sympathy for the unfortunate, as many can attest. He was too deeply engrossed in his own affairs to know much about other people's business. Like all men of his class, he required those connected with him to be prompt and exact. It is said that he never let a payday pass in his long career but that he paid his employes, and that confusion was never found in his shops or office. Such a character is of inestimable value to a community, not only in a material sense, but because of his example. His factory aided greatly in the growth of Frankfort, and its removal was seriously felt in the village.

Powder mills were established by Samuel Phillips and James Pearson in the gulch on the Moyer Creek south of the village, sometime after 1845. The business was afterward controlled by Peter J. Hotaling and Lambert Hensler. They made blasting powder. About 1854, the buildings were ruined by an explosion. The vibrations, although the occurrence was two miles away, aroused the sleeping people of the town, many thinking it was an earthquake. We distinctly remember, as a lad, that in our bewilderment, it was a question whether the world had not come to an end.

John Thomas followed Amasa Mann in the wagon trade in 1842. He sold to Daniel Tisdale and David Morris. Next came E. M. Tisdale and Chester Abbott. They did an extensive business in making carriages, sleighs and farm wagons.

Englehart Diefenbacher and John Litze, at the instigation of William Gates, came from Germany about 1852, Diefenbacher to manufacture retorts, while Litze was to superintend the making of phosphorus for Mr. Gates. But the experiment proved impracticable, and Diefenbacher opened, in 1854, a pottery on the west side of Litchfield street, north of the Abram Grants place.

Litze, after returning from the war of the Rebellion, purchased chemical apparatus and made ammonia and other distillations for a time on Canal street, near the Litchfield street bridge. There was also a pottery built by I. W. Sheldon on the north side of Orchard street, in 1869. William Uhrlow, a professional German potter, purchased the premises and fixtures in 1873, enlarged the plant and built up a good trade.

About 1850, Elias Palmer was manufacturing grain cradles in the rear of his residence, corner of Main and Frankfort streets. Palmer was a genius in mechanical arts. It was at this time that Alpheus King, brother of Augustus King, made furniture moulding in a building located near the Hoard sawmill upon the bank of the raceway, and Henry Loomis operated a factory on the east bank of the Moyer Creek, a mile and a half from the river, wherein he made bedsteads, clock cases, etc. And it was also about this time that Andrew F. Clark manufactured boots and shoes near the bridge on the west side of Litchfield street. Delos M. Kenyon followed not many years after. Both Clark and Kenyon did a lucrative business. It will be remembered that there was no machine-made footwear then in the country.

It is not strictly within our province to notice collateral institutions and occupations, but we may here briefly chronicle that the old Frankfort bank began business the 15th of May, 1854, with a capital of \$100,000, on the second floor of the brick building which formerly stood on the corner of Main and Litchfield streets. A banking house was erected nearly opposite on Main street the same season. The board of directors did not decide to continue under the National banking system and the bank was closed soon after 1870. The present banking organization purchased the building and began business November 8th, 1886, with a capital of \$50,000. It has paid an annual dividend of six per cent. to the stockholders since it began, and now has a surplus of \$20,000.

In 1868, James Horton, associated with his son, Wallace N., manufactured cigars quite extensively in a building which formerly stood where Steele's drug store now is. Wallace N. went to Little Falls, thence to Albany, and is now one of the leading manufacturers in his line in the State.

Henry Marsh bought in 1879 the property once owned by Henry Loomis, on the Moyer Creek, and manufactured step-ladders, wheelbarrows, extension ironing boards, etc. William Steele joined him as a partner in 1880. The establishment burned September, 1891.

WEST SHORE SHOPS

Soon after the completion of the New York, West Shore & Buffalo railway, it was whispered that the corporation might be induced to locate their car shops in the village of Frankfort, the ground being ample and admirably situated—the location midway from the terminals of the system. Meetings were called in Frankfort and Ilion to consider the project. The proposition incited the people to immediate action; great enthusiasm was manifested. A committee was appointed to interview the officials, who encouraged them to tender the necessary territory to the company. This was a mile in length, of sufficient width and consisted of about 214 acres of land. The report stimulated every man and woman to enlist in the work of subscriptions. Never did a community respond with greater liberality; everybody contributed, and many more than they could afford. The sister towns, mindful of the advantages of such an enterprise located in the immediate vicinity, nobly aided in the stupendous work. Frederick Gates, Albert N. Russell and David Lewis were appointed trustees of funds, and Addison Brill designated treasurer, and they all performed their onerous task, by aid of many others, in a creditable manner. A sum approximating \$77,000 was pledged, arrangements made with the landowners, and the committee reported to the company—tendering the land. An agreement was signed by the parties, March 31st, 1883, whereby the entire shops of the road were to be permanently located in Frankfort. Bands discoursed enlivening music, flags were thrown to the breeze, whistles sounded, and cannon proclaimed the success that had crowned the efforts of the people. And well might they rejoice, with the surety of such a plant locating within their midst. They had reason to think that, if such a vast industry would bring burdens, the addition of a busy population, together with the hundreds of thousands of dollars of invested capital, would more than recompense in increased valuation. They were told that within two years from fifteen hundred to two thousand artisans would be employed in the works.

An exhaustive paper on the industries of Frankfort would include a detailed description of the dimensions and capacity of each of the car shops, but that is impossible here. The immense shops, built from the most improved plans, were erected during the summer and autumn of 1883. There are eleven buildings in all. The cost of the entire number we have not at hand. The contract prices for the first erected were as follows: Round house, \$52,000; blacksmith shop, \$23,500; planing mill, \$35,000; offices, \$22,500; store house, \$12,000; boiler shop, foundry and erecting room, \$177,000. It is said that there were about seven million bricks used in the buildings above mentioned, and seven thousand cubic yards of stone. We may judge something of the capacity of the plant by referring more specifically to the main erecting shop; our figures are taken from a report of the bids and specifications

at the time of erection. The above named shop is 323 by 115 feet on the ground. The main part is 44 feet high and the sides, which are in the shape of wings, 26 feet high. It is of brick, with an iron roof, and lighted by windows a story in height; they, as well as the windows of most of the other buildings, are in groups of three, with a brick arch spanning each group. The groups are 12 feet wide and 15 feet high. They are placed quite near together, and thus make this and the other buildings among the best lighted workshops in the country. A main track ran through the center of the building; each side of this were side tracks which ran parallel to the main track and stopped just inside the walls. On the top of massive wrought iron columns were laid iron girders, carrying a continuous track on which ran a traveling crane with a lifting capacity of 35 tons. This very easily lifted an engine from the main tracks. Between these tracks were two pits, eight feet deep. They were covered by a sectional floor and entered by stairways at the ends. When a disabled engine was brought into the shop it was first lifted over on one of the side tracks, then it could be taken apart and such portions as needed repairs sent to their respective departments. There was also another track on the north side of the building provided with a walking crane. On the south side there was a narrow gauge track for moving tools and machinery. It is said that this building could accommodate four hundred workmen. All the other shops were equally well arranged and equipped to do their work. Many of the fixtures were removed to accommodate recent industries.

Scarcely had work commenced within the shops when there were vague rumors in the air, but they were considered idle vaporings, and all moved onward absorbed in their toil and building homes. In 1885, it was learned that the effects of the company had gone into the hands of a receiver, and the people were still more amazed when they learned that the competitor of the road—the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company—had leased for a long term the entire West Shore system. A committee was immediately dispatched to New York; they reported on their return that the shops would continue running as under the former regime; this appeased for a time, but a doubt was created that was never entirely dissipated. There were many who considered the condition ominous; after operating thirteen years, not many over seven hundred workmen were employed, instead of fifteen hundred or two thousand, promised within the first two years. But all were thankful for what they had under the circumstances, for they had now assumed public burdens, such as bonded indebtedness of \$16,000 for a new schoolhouse and about \$60,000 for a water system, to say nothing of individual obligations for homes and ventures in trade. During the latter part of the winter of 1897, a large number of men were discharged, and when

upon investigation it was learned that all the shops were to close, excepting the foundry, and the machinery transferred to Depew, the people stood aghast; a vast shadow settled upon the devoted citizens of Frankfort when they knew that the car shops, their mainstay, were to be taken from them, that the monthly payment of over \$30,000, the support of the town, was to be cut off; then it was, figuratively speaking, that the door was not only closed in our faces, but our hands were caught in the jamb. But even this reverse did not force the people into permanent dejection; they arose as one determined man in the advocacy of justice, and never was self-control more highly evinced under like circumstances, and, in justice to the company, we must add they took a more equitable course than many predicted. A compromise was effected whereby the indebtedness for the school house, and about one-third of that of the water works was assumed, while a lease of the shops and grounds was given for 99 years, with the right of obtaining manufacturing plants, subject to the approval of the company. To be sure, this was not what the good people of Frankfort and their friends bargained for with the original company in 1883, but it was seemingly the best course. An appeal to a court of equity would have involved delay, doubt and expense. When we revert to that time with its disappointments and humiliations, we feel that the incidents, like all serious things of this world, left valuable impressions. We have gathered wisdom from that peculiar experience, our failures have broadened our understanding and increased our hopes, the stern lessons have brought this recompense; we have learned that variety is strength, that to rely upon a single plant for support is hazardous. The clouds are lifting, once more the bright sky appears in the zenith; we are no longer in "the mysterious presence of a brooding past."

A. M. Lints, H. H. Ingham, J. J. Dudleston, G. I. Seaman, S. S. Richards, G. H. Watson and G. N. Lehr were constituted trustees to close with the railroad company; after considerable negotiations the shops have been occupied by manufacturers. It is expected that the ground, so well adapted for new buildings, will ere long contain other plants requiring skilled labor that will greatly increase the material strength of the town and all concerned. Never was there a better situation for manufacturing plants, broad, healthful, plenty of pure water, good drainage and convenient to a great trunk railway. Frankfort has been blessed in this regard and by wise action may confidently bide her time.

The industries now occupying the car shops are as follows: Main erecting shop, Continental Tool Company; blacksmith shop, Pratt's Chuck Company; store house, Utica Steam Gauge Company; boiler house, Michigan Condensed Milk Company; planing mill, Acme Road Machinery Company; foundry, N. Y. C. & H. R. R. Co. There has been some negotiation with reference to releasing the large main office

building to the railroad company, which they would use in connection with the foundry. There are at this writing about 330 individuals employed in the buildings.

Another illustration of the energy and liberality of the people of Frankfort in the recent past, was their action in attempting to secure a valuable plant which they were told was to be removed from the city of Utica. Conferences were held, the requisite amount—\$28,000—was pledged in a very short time, as well as the additional cost of a plat of ground, for the above. But the plant was not removed from Utica. And so the people, according to the old adage, "had their labor for their pains."

Charles E. Myres, the aeronaut, purchased, in 1889, the so-called "Gates Mansion," and fitted the same for manufacturing balloons and other aerial apparatus. The establishment contains a chemical laboratory, a machine shop, carpenter shop, and other necessary adjuncts. He was for a time connected with the government in rain-fall experiments; seventy-four hydrogen balloons of various sizes for meteorological observations and for explosions were supplied during the season of 1891-2, a single order of ten having in an emergency been completed within five days. The professor is an enthusiast in his business. He has devoted much time to experimenting with air ships and flying machines, and has invented a vessel called a "skycycle." He has been a voluminous writer for the press along these lines.

During the winter of 1893-4, one W. A. Ingram, a linen manufacturer, had several interviews with the citizens relative to establishing a linen plant at Frankfort. After deliberation it was decided to form a joint stock company of \$50,000 capital. About \$47,000 stock was taken; the company organized and purchased the valuable site owned by the Diamond Match Company, the main building put in proper shape, and first-class machinery (costing over \$20,000) placed in the same. This was made in Glasgow, Scotland, the firm sending over an agent to superintend setting it up. The plant was put in operation in the autumn of 1894. The industry employed about one hundred people, mostly women. Crashes were produced which, when placed in the market, gave satisfaction, but it found there was a strong competition from foreign-made fabrics. The mill is capable of turning out 1,000,000 yards of crash toweling per year. Henry Churchill purchased a controlling interest in December, 1898. The business never paid a dividend, and thus the stockholders "reckoned without their host." The mill was closed last autumn, and Mr. Churchill was appointed receiver in December last. It is hoped the embarrassment is but temporary.

In gazing backward to Hollister's rude industry on the banks of the forest stream, we observe objects along the avenue of time, simple though many of them are, that are worthy of thought. It is by deliberating upon local characteristics that we gain historical interest and knowledge. In short, to ignore these is to debar ourselves from appre-

ciating grand results. The advancement for one hundred and six years, in the section to which we refer, is but a single example of the progress achieved by struggling humanity in every borough upon this broad land. Bancroft in his broad and philosophical treatment was ever mindful of local traits and conditions, and it was acquaintance with these individual examples that enabled Van Holst, McMaster, and Fiske, to delineate so vividly our national growth, a growth which is replete with lessons of honor, patriotism and industry.

We are rapidly approaching not only intellectual but material and industrial supremacy. It is true the inventive spirit of this phenomenal age has brought forth economic problems which will require patient deliberations and wise statesmanship to solve. But, cognizant of the necessity of wholesome strains and immunities, rational and patriotic citizens, of whatever class or calling, will seek adjustment in right reason and just laws—each and all will, in this enlightened time, duly respect the true nature of our republican institutions; individual expansion of mind and heart in consonance with the needs of the hour, will continue to uplift American citizenship.

OUR COMMON FREE SCHOOLS.

FIRST PRIZE ESSAY IN THE ALBERT N. RUSSELL CONTEST, WRITTEN BY
ESTELLE ADELAIDE LEACH, OF ILION.

Read before the Herkimer County Historical Society, March 9, 1901.

Chapter 1.—The evolution of the idea of free schools for all children traced from the earliest colonial times.

Chapter 2.—State supervision and support.

Chapter 3.—Means of professional training of teachers.

Chapter 4.—The elements leading educators have contributed to the system.

Chapter 5.—The influence of a properly developed school system upon the larger life of the state and nation.

CHAPTER I.

In reviewing the history of Sparta, one is impressed with the fact that she based her safety and prosperity on the education of every child in the community, and in Athens there were public schools for her free citizens. But not until more recent times and not until the birth of the American free States do we see the principle carried out to its fullest extent—the principle involving the free education of all children of all classes in the common schools.

In setting up a new government in a new country, amid new environments, our fathers set aflame that sense of freedom which had lain dormant so long during the contest with European oppression and which has been woven into the very fabric of the public schools of our older States. We see the fundamental ideas which had become common in the Old World transplanted to New England and the common run of English thought on educational matters combined with the prejudices of our Puritan fathers against all who were not of their religious faith made the starting of elementary schools common to all a little slow.

If, as has been said, two heads are better than one in determining a wise course of action, so two nationalities working together are better

than one in deciding the trend of educational life. The educational career of New York State shows not only the influence of the Dutch, but also of the English. The Dutch exerted a stronger and more democratic influence, possessed a deeper love of religious freedom, quicker appreciation of the rights of the individual and, therefore, a readier grasp upon the doctrine of universal popular education. This gave rise to the first elementary school in America supported at common expense, managed by common authority, and free to all.

A sturdy independence, frankness, love of liberty, and earnestness characterized the Dutch colonists of New York, who brought from Holland ideas, customs, and institutions, among which the church and the school were of paramount importance. With them intellectual food ranked equally with material food, while education and liberty were synonymous.

The first official act relating to public schools in this State was in the charter of 1629, in which we read that the patrons and colonists should "in the speediest manner endeavor to find out ways and means" whereby they might supply a minister and a schoolmaster. Constant concern was manifested among the Hollanders of the fatherland as to the proper education of their alienated children.

One of the articles drawn up in respect to the West India Company states that each householder must be taxed for the proper maintenance of the school and master and, although in 1640 the company was instructed to furnish suitable schoolmasters, they paid little heed to it. In 1652, the directors established a school in the city tavern in New Amsterdam.

The West India Company was present in the colony for purely commercial objects, caring little or nothing for education. This, of course, was in direct opposition to the ideas of the Dutch, who first planted the seeds of our present system.

Under the Dutch rule, the idea of State support was prominent, the schools being maintained out of a common treasury, and up to the time of the English occupation the fundamental idea was free school. There were, at the time of the surrender to the English, schools in most every town and city in the colony, a fact due to the persistency of the colonists.

There were obvious reasons why a decay in popular education began after the English took possession of the colony. It was at the time of the Stuart reign in England, and under this regime, as we know, the ignorance of the masses was encouraged. Besides this, the settlements were all Dutch, with the prevailing religion that of the Church of Holland and, as liberty of worship was granted the colonists, the school continued to hold the same relation to the church as formerly. Notwithstanding this, the very next year after the capitulation Governor Nicolls licensed John Shute to open an English school in Albany. Warfare and sectarian feeling served to hasten the decay of the com-

mon schools at this time as well as the aristocratic element so prominent among the English.

Of all the English governors, Lord Cornbury was the most zealous and aggressive in behalf of the English church and school; he assumed much authority and boldly exercised it, while on the other hand, Andros and Fletcher endeavored to accomplish through persuasion. Under Cornbury, the first legislative act (1702) relating to public schools was put in force. This act encouraged a grammar free school in New York city. It instituted the school for only seven years, but it did not last even as long as that on account of the hostility of the wealthy class. For the few succeeding years no legal provision for schools seems to have been made.

In 1704, the society for the propagation of the gospel established a school at Rye and in 1710, one called Trinity School of New York. The number of schools established by this society show what beneficial work it accomplished, having founded at the close of the colonial period twenty-one schools in seven counties.

An act of 1732 encouraged the free public school in New York City for instruction in Latin, Greek and Mathematics, which proved to be the nucleus of Columbia College of later years. The institution of this seems to be the one bright spot in the English rule. From this date to the close of the Revolutionary war, little was done in regard to public education. However, in 1773, one more public school appears, but only for a short time, passing out of existence as the one of 1702.

Before continuing the story of the common schools after the Revolution, let us consider for a time a simple portrayal of the schools of which we have just been studying.

Banish from your minds any modern conception of our present ideas on education and picture to yourself a little unattractive log structure, covered with bark and situated in the most undesirable spot in either the country or the city, a low, swampy place, if you choose, or the dullest, dirtiest and most dreadful part of the city. Bare walls, seats which made even the thought of standing a delight, upon which were seated children of all descriptions facing the walls, for the desks were planks projecting therefrom. The pupils are engaged in studying, that is, one eye is on their spelling, reading or number book, while the other eye is fastened upon the rod held in readiness by the master, who, in connection with the fireplace, endeavors to keep the children sufficiently warm. Compare these conditions with those of the present day and can we help increasing our admiration for the brilliant men whose boyhood received its first instruction in such a place?

As might be expected, after the Revolution there was a long lapse of time in which little was done toward educational matters. Confusion, poverty, discouragement and apathy ruled the people and much praise is due our early governors for fanning the little spark of popular education into a mighty blaze.

Governor Clinton, the first governor of New York, saw the necessity of immediate action on the part of the legislature toward the education of the children, and through his persistent efforts the foundation of our present system was laid.

In 1784, one long step was taken in establishing the regents of the university of the State of New York, and in 1789, when the legislature set aside in each township public lands for gospel and school purposes. The regents were established for higher education, but they soon saw that that was impossible without elementary education, and accordingly set about agitating the question of common schools.

The result of all of Governor Clinton's repeated entreaties was reached when in 1795 the Legislature offered the annual appropriation of \$50,000 for five years. Commissioners and trustees were chosen and provision was made for the establishment of schools throughout the State. When the term of five years was completed the Legislature seemed indifferent toward its renewal, but under the governorship of Morgan Lewis, the Legislature appropriated the net proceeds from the sale of 500,000 acres of State lands for school support. This formed the corner-stone of the present common school fund, which will be mentioned in the succeeding chapter.

There came into existence in 1805, a society which accomplished much in the way of stimulating public opinion in the matter of popular education, the society for the establishment of a free school in New York city.

In 1811, under the leadership of Governor Tompkins, a decided advance was made by a report describing a plan of a good common school system. It recommended State supervision and contained the essential points of our present system. In the same year the legislature passed an act providing a permanent fund for the support of common schools, and has been enlarged by subsequent appropriations. In 1811, measures were taken to provide for the distribution of the interest from this fund and in the following year, 1812, the present system was established under the direction of a superintendent of common schools. But it was during the administration of Nathaniel Benton, of Herkimer, about 1847, that the idea of free schools was established on a firm foundation, when this principle was adopted: "Universal education in public schools, free to all."

There are two systems of education, the higher and common school, the connecting link of which is the union free school. The matter was made possible under the law of 1853, which authorized school districts to combine into union free school districts and to establish a graded school, with an elective board of trustees.

CHAPTER II.

In colonial days the schools were usually supervised by the church authority, who often had the assistance of some civic officers. It was

not until statehood that New York inaugurated a regular system of supervision.

The earliest record of supervision is found in the law of 1795, which stated that each town should elect three or more commissioners having general charge of the school. The inhabitants of the district were authorized to elect trustees, employ teachers and provide for the school. By an act of 1812, three commissioners of common schools were to be elected by each town. Besides these officers, it further authorized the town to elect from one to six inspectors, who, together with the commissioners, had charge of the school and examination of teachers. The office of state superintendent of common schools was created by this law, which office only lasted until 1821, when the secretary of state, ex-officio, was made superintendent of common schools.

The year 1841 gave birth to the office of deputy superintendent and county superintendent, with limited powers. In 1843, the office of town superintendent was substituted for those of town commissioners and inspectors. In 1847, the office of county superintendent was abolished and the state superintendent from that time on must hear all appeals.

The culmination was reached in 1854, when the department of public instruction was established, at the head of which the Senate and Assembly elect a superintendent of public instruction. In 1856, the system of supervision was fully perfected, when school commissioner's office was created instead of town superintendent.

Although these officers have a certain amount of control, the system is so arranged that the state superintendent of public instruction has almost autocratic power, both in his executive and judicial duties. It is a perfect system, comprising the superintendent, supervisor of the town, school commissioners and school trustees, all endowed with certain powers, but all looking to the superintendent for final decisions.

The history of the origin of our present system of school support is a most interesting one and worthy of some attention.

The first effort on the part of the State to establish a common school fund was in 1799, the result of the efforts of Jedediah Peck, of Otsego, and Adam Comstock, of Saratoga. In 1799 and 1800, the \$100,000 appropriation was never distributed. Further means for school support was provided at this later date by lotteries, and the law of 1812 appropriated \$50,000 annually to be distributed among the counties of the State, provided the towns should raise a sum equal to their portion.

The amended act of 1814 authorized the trustees to make good any deficiency in the payment of teachers' wages by the use of the rate bill system, which levied a tax on the parents of the children attending school. This naturally encouraged absence and truancy.

There are at present three sources of State school moneys, the United States deposit fund, the common school fund and the free school fund. The first originated from the surplus money in the United States treasury which Congress in 1836 voted to be placed in the State treasuries,

New York's share amounted to \$4,000,000, and one year later this was apportioned among the counties of the State, to be loaned on good security. The income was to be used for school purposes and now amounts to \$75,000.

The second was created by a law of 1805, directing that the income, when it reached \$50,000 yearly from the sale of 500,000 acres of State lands, should be applied for school purposes. From the revenue of this fund, \$170,000 is annually appropriated.

The third sum, the free school fund, is annually raised by taxation; this sum about the year 1870 became fixed each year.

The amount paid out for school purposes during the time from 1805 to 1845 was less than the amount now paid out each year. This question of common school support is the most momentous one which our legislature has to encounter and one with ever increasing demands.

CHAPTER III.

In colonial times, under both the Dutch and English rule, the teachers had no preparatory training for their work, their education in many cases having been obtained in the school where they began to teach. It was not until after the Revolution that the question of the teacher's preparation was agitated.

Before this time, Prussia had adopted and enforced special training of teachers, and from Prussia the idea spread over Europe and finally to America.

The increase of schools in the early eighties in New York naturally led to a demand for teachers, and through sheer necessity, thoughts turned toward training teachers for this especial work. The first result was the Lancastrian school, thus economizing by using the pupils as teachers.

In 1834, the Legislature provided training classes in eight academies, one in each senatorial district of the State. These continued with slight changes until 1844, when their support was withdrawn and a normal school established at Albany. The renewal of training classes took place five years later and have continued ever since, forming our principal nurseries of district school teachers. The requirements have increased as well as support and is now a well organized system.

The stormy times which followed the first few years of the normal school show how inherent was the doctrine of some of our fathers, that teaching depends wholly on an instinct which will appear at the proper time. It was not until the Oswego normal school (established in 1861) had been organized some time that the American public became convinced that this sort of school had a place in our educational system which was both justifiable and useful.

At the present time we have in New York eleven normal schools and one normal college, Albany normal having been changed to a normal college in 1890. These schools, in their chronological order of estab-

lishment, are situated at Albany, Oswego, Brockport, Fredonia, Cortland and Potsdam, Geneseo and Buffalo, New Paltz, Oneonta, Plattsburg and Jamaica.

The normal schools are controlled by trustees appointed for life by the state superintendent of public instruction. These have local supervision, subject to the superintendent.

These schools are maintained by appropriations from the State, the ordinary expenses in running the schools varying from \$22,000 to \$35,000 annually per school.

As yet the normals cannot supply all the teachers required, but it exerts an influence in increasing the demand for better teachers and introducing the knowledge of better methods of instruction.

The teachers' institute, established in 1843, furnishes a valuable center of instruction for teachers as well as do the state uniform examinations in raising the qualifications of teachers. Thus we find four agencies affecting the training of the teacher—the uniform examinations, teachers' institute, the training class in the academy, and the normal school.

CHAPTER IV.

When we come to reviewing the subject of leading educators, we encounter one both large and formidable, for not only is praise due to men who have contributed large plans, but, studying carefully the influence of lesser personages, we see how often the little they advanced resulted in balancing the scales on the side of our perfected system of common schools.

To no one are we more greatly indebted for our present system than the men who were at the head of affairs at the beginning of our statehood, and we can get no clearer idea of their influence than by mentioning some of the elements of our system inaugurated by them.

It has been said that it is a blessing to the child that the first superintendent of schools in New York, Gideon Hawley, was a graduate of Union College under Dr. Nott. His administration from 1813 to 1821 was probably more difficult than that of any succeeding superintendent but his perseverance resulted in the foundation of our present system. The most notable feature of his term was the introduction of the Lancasterian School, then so successful. Under him schools sprang up all over the State and a new impetus was given to educational life.

Superintendent Yates endeavored to inaugurate a system of school celebrations, but to Governor Clinton we owe the grammar and high school program of to-day.

Azariah Flagg, in 1826, made the first approach toward the system of visitorial inspection of schools. Yet more important was his strong opposition to confining the work in school to the one text book method.

To Superintendent Dix (1833-1839) we owe the district library and the

establishment of the eight training classes, and to Wetmore the establishment of a separate department of public instruction.

Through Governor Marcy's efforts a portion of the United States deposit fund was applied to the support of common schools and district libraries. In 1839, Governor Seward recommended a thorough normal system.

The death of Page, of the Albany normal, was a severe blow to all education, for which he had contributed so much, not only by his "Theory and Practice of Teaching," but by his interest and earnest endeavors.

Under Christopher Morgan (1848-1851) the free school system was adopted and also the free school fund.

But we must not omit the name of Dr. Eliphalet Nott, who in directly benefiting Union College, indirectly helped on the struggle for common free schools.

CHAPTER V.

The fact that along with the development of the State, Nation and idea of democracy, the common free school has kept pace, shows that the school, the nursery of citizenship, is essential to a progressing nation, especially to a democratic one.

In the earlier days of some nations under an aristocratic government, only the education of the ruling classes was considered an obvious necessity. In later days, when Prussia was an absolute monarchy, she considered the education of the standing army a guarantee of national strength, and after she had been so gloriously successful in warfare the other nations of Europe began to wonder and inquire wherein her strength lay. In consequence of these inquiries many countries which had no efficient educational system straightway established such. It has been said that under the best of military management, the illiterate soldier is not so efficient as the educated soldier. If universal and compulsory education is necessary in monarchies, where the duty of the masses is simply passive obedience, how much more is it necessary in a democracy, where the masses have not only to obey but also have legislative duties, and in a democracy where leaders appear at any time!

Thomas Jefferson, the father of democracy, set forth again and again the idea that the democracy must educate its leaders and that a government will be wise and liberal as those who administer it are educated in a broad and liberal humanistic sentiment.

The views of the two great Grecian philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, apply to our government to-day as to the Greek nation of their day. Some of their ideas are worth noting. To live together with one's fellowmen involves fitness so to live, and this fitness is the result of discipline and education. The highest type of the individual life is the com-

munity of life, therefore the education of the individual insures the education of the State.

At the height of Greece's power the educated man was taught that participation in political affairs was his duty and that the honor of his State lay with himself to a certain extent. In the United States to-day the educated man, as a rule, holds himself aloof from politics as something beneath him, in a country where politics should attract him rather than repel. The remedy for this lies with the common school, for the difficulties of a democracy are the opportunities of the school. If our schools should place due stress upon the individual's responsibility: in the development of the nation: in the social and political progress: if they would nourish a patriotism deeper than shells and cannons, then would a pure democracy be the outgrowth of our common school system.

The future welfare of our nation lies in the hands of the coming generation and if that generation comes into its inheritance with ignorance and vice as its characteristics, how soon the corruption and dissolution of our government will take place would be easy to imagine.

President Garfield has said: "The only remedy for illiteracy in voters is by universal education." And in answer to Macaulay's assertion that a government like ours must lead to anarchy, he replies that there is no answer to this prophecy unless the schoolmaster can give it—who has the future of the American republic in his hands.

In this republic, where the people are the government themselves, God speed the day when the public school shall have done its work and the people shall have come into their own inheritance.

COMMON SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK.

THIRD PRIZE ESSAY IN THE ALBERT N. RUSSELL CONTEST, WRITTEN BY
MISS KATE MORAN, OF ILION.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, April 13, 1901.

"Flow fair beside the Palisades, flow, Hudson, fair and free,
By proud Manbatan's shore of ships and green Hoboken's tree.
So fair you haven clasped its isles, in such a sunset gleam,
When Hendrick and his sea-worn tars first sounded up the stream,
And climbed this rocky palisade, and resting on its brow,
Passed 'round the can and gazed awhile on wave and shore below;
And Hendrick drank with hearty cheer, and loudly then cried he:
' 'Tis a good land to fall in with, men, and a pleasant land to see! "

This prophecy of Hendrick has indeed come to pass, for there is no fairer land than that of our Empire State. Her sons and daughters have learned that "knowledge is power," and no matter how humble the hamlet, the Stars and Stripes are found floating over a school-house.

Go back with me and take a brief survey of New York under the old Dutch rulers. We find quaintly built farm-houses, where the great rafters overhead looked down upon tiled fire-places and rows of wooden and pewter dishes, the delight of the thrifty housewife. Where the floors were scoured and sanded, and big fraus and even little frauleins carded and spun the linen for which they were so justly famous. "Honest days in which every woman stayed at home, read her Bible, and wore capacious pockets." Washington Irving says, that in these good old days, "The very words of learning, education, taste and talents were unheard of—a bright genius was an animal unknown, and a blue-stocking lady would have been regarded as a horned frog or a fiery dragon." In time, all this changed, for these good Dutch people ceased to be forgetful of their schools. In 1621, the colony was enjoined "to find speedy means to maintain a clergyman and a schoolmaster." Each householder and inhabitant was enjoined "to bear such tax and public charge as should be considered proper for their maintenance."

Four years later we find the expense of the schoolmaster to be 360 florins. In 1633, a professional schoolmaster was brought over from the Dutch mother country and taught the little Hans and Katrina to read and write. A few years later, "New Amsterdam," with a population of 800, engaged two teachers for the children. "The excise moneys seem to have been set apart to pay teachers, and they were in part, at least, paid out of the public treasury. On one occasion the governor of the colony parleyed with the Indian chiefs and urged them to send their sons down to New Amsterdam to school. After taking a week to consider, they diplomatically answered that they were powerless to accept the invitation, for the boys were altogether under the control of their mothers." These schools were often maintained and supervised by the churches. Indeed, the teacher was sometimes sexton, precentor, psalmeter, and a comforter of the sick. It is claimed that the first school in the State was founded by the Dutch Reform Church at New Amsterdam, in 1633.

Under the English rule the people did not show the same interest in education that the Dutch did. Those of means sometimes had their children educated at home, and frequently sent them to the little colleges that have since become Columbia and Princeton, colleges inferior to the grammar schools then in existence in England. Occasionally the wealthy and ambitious sent their boys to Oxford or Cambridge, but these boys generally returned far less fitted, despite their learning, to play a man's part in the real work of American life, than the home-staying brother.

In our country, the 18th century was marked by Indian raids, by the French and Indian war, and finally by the Revolution. Under such circumstances it is hardly to be expected that education would make any rapid advance. Aside from New England and some parts of New York, education depended entirely upon private schools. The teachers were men of little knowledge and narrow views, often recruited from the failures in other vocations. They opened schools for lack of other employment, or as a stepping-stone to something more agreeable. The instruction imparted was meagre, consisting of the three R's, yet it must be admitted that the youths of that day made effective use of what they had. Reading matter was scarce, as well in the homes as in the schools, so the little that was at hand was perused until mastered. The specimens of penmanship which exist in the old copy-books still preserved by old families, show that beautiful writing was not uncommon. In the latter part of this same century great progress was made throughout the State. The population was nearly doubled, many new counties were formed, and villages began to spring up along the rivers and lakes, especially in the Mohawk and Genesee valleys. This naturally had its effect upon education, for we find at the first meeting of the general assembly held after the adoption of the Constitution of New York, Governor Clinton said, "Neglect of education of youth is

one of the great evils consequent upon war. Perhaps there is scarcely anything more worthy your attention than the revival and encouragement of seminaries of learning, and nothing by which we can more satisfactorily express our gratitude to the Supreme Being for His past favors, since piety and virtue are generally the offspring of an enlightened understanding." As a result of his efforts, we have the act in 1784, establishing the body known as the "Regents of the University of the State of New York."

One author says of New York at this period:

"I see on all the strands,
Old Europe's exiled households crowd, and toils unnumbered hands,
From Hessenland and Frankenland, from Danube, Drave, and Rhine,
From Netherland, my sea-born land, and the Norseman's hills of pine,
From Thames, and Shannon and their isles, and never, sure, before,
Invading host such greetings found upon a stranger's shore."

Of course with people of so many nationalities there must have been great religious and political differences, so it is not to be wondered at that they could not agree upon any definite system of education. At first the Board of Regents met with much opposition and they were content to say their object was to "improve and unify the loose system of private and denominational academies and schools." (At the present time the Regents occupy a high position in educational matters. They grant charters to colleges of the State, receive annual reports from them, admit secondary schools under their supervision and inspection and also have many duties pertaining to higher education. The regents examinations date from 1828, and since 1870 all papers have been sent to Albany to be reviewed. In June, 1878, examinations were first held in the higher branches. Now, a student must hold in this State, regents certificates of different grades to enter upon any professional course offered in the State.)

King's college collapsed during the early years of the Revolution, and later became Columbia college, and was in fact the only college in existence at the close of the war. Union college was founded in 1795 and gained much prominence while Nott was president. We of to-day have no conception of the illiteracy existing at that time, the few schools were in a deplorable condition, and the legislature had no definite plan of action. Gov. Clinton advocated the instruction of the children in the lower branches. He would have them obtain a knowledge of their native language, and enough writing and arithmetic to fit them for practical life. His aim was to establish schools that would benefit the poorer classes. He said "while it is evident that the general establishment and endowment of academies are to be commended yet it cannot be denied that a large portion of the community is excluded from their immediate advantages. The establishment of public schools throughout the State is calculated to remedy this in-

convenience." The legislature of 1795 (given 1792 by some authorities) recognized the right of all men to an education by providing that a sum of \$50,000 be appropriated for five years for the express purpose of encouraging and maintaining schools in several cities and towns of the State. In these schools instruction was to be given in such subjects as would make a good English education. These schools were to be distributed according to the taxable population of the towns. The supervisor of each town was to raise by tax a sum equal to one-half of what was received from the State. This act was repealed in 1800. It was not until 1799 that the first practical effort was made to establish a school fund, and from that date until 1810 may justly be called a transition period. The people absolutely refused to be taxed for universal education. 'Tis said "all things come to him who waits" for in 1811 or 1812 Gov. Tompkins was authorized to appoint five commissioners to work on the organization of a system of public schools, and as a result the State assumed a larger responsibility in the care of her schools. The report of these commissioners dealt with many phases of the school question. Perhaps the most vital one was the intimate relation existing between education and a state where the people are self-governing. The stability of the government depends largely upon the intelligence of the masses. There was also a need for better teachers, and improved text-books. Their report closed with these forceful words: "God will smile on the efforts of the people in a cause peculiarly His own."

It was a great blessing to the children that the first superintendent of schools of New York was Gideon Hawley. He came of good old New England stock, and displayed the soundness of judgment and skill in affairs found in many of New England's sons. A lawyer in Albany and always interested in the common school question he seemed the man for the place. He was elected in 1813 and served eight years. This office was abolished in 1821, and the Secretary of State assumed the duties of Superintendent of Schools. It was now quite evident that the common school had come to stay. From 1820 to 1840 many important changes took place, the most important being the growing support of the schools by the mass of people.

In 1839, when Seward became Governor of the State the school property was valued at \$2,000,000 and there was an annual expenditure of \$1,000,000 for the instruction of 500,000 children. John C. Spencer was Secretary of State and as such assumed the responsibility of the Superintendent of Schools, these two men with Eliphalet Nott, president of Union college, formed a strong triumvirate. Seward in one of his reports says, "For this evil of our school system there is a remedy, simple, economical, and effectual, the establishment of a department of education to be constituted by a superintendent appointed by legislature and a board to be composed of delegates from subordinates of boards of education to be established in several counties." These

officials were to serve without pay. Previous to this time the State had no reliable source from which she could gain information regarding her schools. The only official upon whom there was any responsibility resting were the local supervisors, and they were generally men upon whom the duties of the office sat lightly. About the first thing that was done by Spencer was the appointment of a board of visitors whose duties were to visit the schools and make a report of the work to the State. Thus for the first time the people were to know something about the workings of the schools. These visitors made many discoveries, they found many schools over which there had been no supervision, many incompetent teachers, because the examinations had been so slight and superficial. They advised the appointment of a suitable deputy in each county, the establishment of a normal school in each county, more uniformity in text-books, the introduction of vocal music, the formation of teachers' associations, and graded schools under a normal school at Albany, under the immediate supervision of the Legislature. In May, 1843, a convention was held in Utica at which forty-two out of the fifty-nine counties were represented. This remained in session three days and was attended by the leading educators of the day and many vital questions were discussed. It is said that never before or since has so much been done in so short a period for the advancement and improvement of our common schools as was done during the time of Seward.

Each day the incompetency of the ones who had the training of their children was brought more forcibly before the people. Something had to be done to remedy this defect. The administration of John Dix brought about a partial solution of the difficulty. It was voted to distribute a sum of \$12,000 among the academies that were willing to take up the work of training teachers. Several schools were selected, each one receiving \$400. Their work was simply a failure; they could not adapt their course of study to the professional training of teachers. Many totally neglected the work, and others performed it in a perfunctory manner. The State continued subsidizing these academies for this purpose until Superintendent Young lost faith in the efficacy of the plan. He suggested that four of the best be allowed to continue the work, and one central normal school be provided. Much interest was manifested in the establishment of the normal school at Albany, after a visit by some of the educators to one in Massachusetts. New York was beginning to feel the crying need of proper training for her teachers. Spencer says: "What is to be expected when one of the most intricate of problems is undertaken by those who have given scarcely a thought to the principles on which its solution depends? For shoe-making, or housebuilding, for the management of a ship, or a locomotive-engine, a long apprenticeship is needed. Is it, then, that the unfolding of a human being in body and mind is so comparatively simple a process that any one may superintend and regulate it with no pre-

paration at all? If not—if the process is with one exception more complex than any in nature, and the task of administering it one of surpassing difficulty, is it not madness to make no provision for such a task?"

Finally a bill was passed in 1814, establishing the Albany normal school. Ten thousand dollars a year was pledged by the State, and Albany agreed to provide shelter for four years. It was to be under the control of the Board of Regents. The rules and regulations were to be made by that body, and a staff of five professors, with the State superintendent, were to control it. David B. Page was appointed its principal. Of this man it is said he had "the happy talent of always saying the right thing at the right time. He was more than ordinarily prepossessing—of good height and fine form, erect, and dignified in manner, scrupulously neat in person, and easy in address." Twenty-nine teachers immediately appeared for instruction, and soon one hundred were within its walls.

In 1815, it was put to a vote that "the Legislature shall provide for the free education and instruction of the State in the common schools now established or which shall be established therein." At this time the school moneys received from the State were supplemented in the school districts by rate bills, in which the deficiencies were apportioned among the patrons of the schools in proportion to the number of days of attendance of their children. It is estimated that there were 50,000 illiterate children at this time because their parents were not willing to be rated as paupers. In 1849, "an act establishing free schools throughout the State" was voted for by the people. The opposition to the bill was strong, the Legislature was swamped with protests and as a result the law was again submitted to the people, and was sustained by a small majority. The rural districts were bitterly opposed to its passage, and the bill was saved by the votes of New York city. Such pressure was brought to bear upon the Legislature that they either mistook or deliberately misinterpreted public opinion by declining to pass the bill. It was not until 1867 that the public schools have been supported wholly by funds received from the State and from local taxation, making instruction in them free to all children living in their districts.

In 1854, the office of superintendent of education was restored and Victor M. Rice was made the occupant of the office. Between that time and 1868, Poughkeepsie, Schenectady, Troy, Rochester, Albany, Auburn, Oswego, and Syracuse established schools with a high school attached.

The work begun by the Albany normal has gone steadily on until to-day we have ten normals in the State, equipping our schools with one thousand graduates annually. These institutions have done much to elevate educational standards, and to advance the interests of the teachers themselves. This State realizes "as the well equipped citizen

is the central figure of our system of government, so the trained teacher is and ever will be the unit of force in education." In 1886, of the twenty-two thousand two hundred and forty teachers employed for the legal term, only nine per cent. held any form of professional certificate. Gradually the number increased and in 1898, forty-two per cent. held some form of professional certificate. Of course, the school system of the State feels the influence of this work, for it is said, "The school system is like an electric wire—touch it at any point and every other point feels that touch."

The teachers' training classes have become a source of much good. Within the past few years more than four thousand of their certificates have been issued to young men and women. The rural schools cannot help but be bettered by the work of these earnest teachers, who have received a year's careful training. They have put into practice the trite saying, "Gladly would he learn, and gladly teach." The compulsory attendance law passed in 1895 has had a most salutary effect upon education in the State. Each year we find fewer people who care nothing for the education of their children and who resist the efforts of the State in that direction. It is not possible for us in small towns to fully appreciate the benefits to the children of the large cities by the passage of this bill. Children of tender years were often forced to earn their daily bread among surroundings most corrupt. That period of life which should be the happiest was filled with gloom, and it is not to be wondered that many of them became discouraged and trod the downward path. "Education begins at the bottom and grows as the tree grows, gaining strength from the earth, the air, and the sunlight. Take care of the children and men and women will take better care of themselves."

For the support of her schools the State has several funds. In 1784, the board of commissioners of the land office of the State was empowered to reserve a lot of 300 acres for the use of a minister and one of 390 acres for a school or schools. The first was marked "Gospel and Schools," and has become the nucleus of various school funds; the second was marked, "For Promoting Literature," and has become the nucleus of the literature fund. The common school fund had its origin in 1805, when the net proceeds of 500,000 acres of unappropriated land of the State were given toward the support of the common schools. The fund at the present amounts to about four million dollars, the income from which is about one hundred and seventy thousand dollars. The United States deposit fund came from the national treasury, by an act of Congress during Jackson's administration. The surplus in the treasury, with the exception of \$1,000,000, was divided among the States; New York received over four millions. This she applied to her common schools. The Free School fund is the term applied to the money raised by the State tax.

It is not to be denied that there are weak points in our system, the

most important being that more stress is laid upon instruction than upon the development of character. From this defect spring many evils, public and private, of which we hear constant complaints. It is very true that, "Education in books is only one-third of an education; education in the ways of the world and a knowledge of human nature is another third, and education or training of the will is the other third." When the schools of New York appreciate that "The one sole design of education when properly understood is not to make a gentleman, or a lawyer, or a mechanic, or a farmer, but to draw out to their utmost limits all the susceptibilities of our three-fold nature; and the product of this true discipline is not a scholar, nor a philosopher, nor an artist, but a fully developed man," she may truthfully say her common schools are doing their best.

PATRIOTIC DELUSIONS.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, April 13, 1901.

Among all peoples, there has always been a disposition to place the Golden Age in the past. The era of greatest patriotism and virtue has always been placed at some remote time in a nation's history; and national heroes have not infrequently been depicted as demigods. In these respects, the people of our country, like those of many other countries, ancient and modern, have fallen into the same delusion. We have been taught to believe that our forefathers were more patriotic than their descendants, and more unselfish in their devotion to their country. But I am fully convinced that this is an error, and I will give some facts, among many others I could adduce, for the foundation of my belief.

At this time, it is unthinkable that a general of our army should prove a traitor to his country; and yet in the Revolutionary war, Generals Arnold and Charles Lee, at critical periods in the war, became traitors and came near to bringing disaster to the American cause; and the generals and other officers engaged, with utter selfishness in what is called in history the "Conway Cabal," not only showed a lack of patriotism, but came dangerously near to absolute treachery to the cause of their country.

There were frequent cases where inferior officers and the common soldiers refused to obey the commands of their superior officers, where they mutinied, and sometimes deserted to the enemy. In November, 1777, General Putnam wrote to General Washington "that upwards of one hundred of his men had deserted to the enemy."

There were frequent wrangles over pay, over the expiration of enlistments, and over precedence in rank among the officers. In November, 1777, General Putnam in another letter to General Washington, written from Fishkill, in this State, said: "I am sorry to inform you that for want of pay, General Poor's brigade of Continental troops refused to cross the North River. The troops mutinied, the officers

endeavoring to suppress them, and they were so determined to go home that a captain in the execution of his duty ran a soldier through the body, who soon expired, but not before he shot the captain through, who is since dead. I have got several of them in provost guard and a general court martial setting for their trial. About 20 of them have made their escape home. I have sent off some Light Horse and officers of the brigade to bring them back."

A letter written by Major Talmadge, in November, 1780, says: "Since the new establishment of the army has come out in General Orders, the field officers of the different lines have been very busy in fixing on those who command the new regiments for the war. The provision for the retiring officers is so ample that I am sorry to say there seems to be an emulation among our Eastern Officers who shall go home rather than continue in the service."

In July, 1777, General Schuyler wrote to Mr. Van Cortlandt: "I am exceedingly chagrined at the pusillanimous spirit which prevails in the county of Tryon." In a letter from William Livingston, written from Beverwick (near Albany) in May, 1781, to Captain Webb, he said: "There has been a mutiny in the Pennsylvania line in York, previous to their marching. Wayne, like a good officer, quelled it soon as twelve of the fellows stepped out and persuaded the line to refuse to march in consequence of the promises made to them not being complied with. Wayne told them of the disgrace they brought on the American arms when in Jersey, in general, and on themselves in particular; that the feelings of the officers on that occasion were so wounded that they had determined never to experience the like, and he begged they would now fire either on him and them, or on those villains in front. He then called to such a platoon. They presented at the word, fired, and killed six of the villains. One of the others, badly wounded, he ordered to be bayoneted. The soldier on whom he called to do it recovered his piece and said he could not for he was his comrade. Wayne then drew his pistol and told him he would kill him. The fellow then advanced and bayoneted him. Wayne then marched the line by divisions round the dead and the rest of the fellows are ordered to be hanged. The line marched the next day Southward Mute as Fish."

Washington wrote Robert Morris in May, 1782, that "the privates of the Connecticut Line were the other day upon the eve of a general Mutiny. The vigilance of the officers discovered it a few hours before they were to parade and the ringleaders have been tried and executed." In a letter from General Stark to General Gates, dated at Albany, May 31st, 1778, I find the following quaint passage, showing the state of the popular mind of the period: "I have applied to General Ten Broeck for his militia and he has promised to assist me as soon as Church is over; he cannot do any Business before for fear of Frightening the Town into fits." General Ten Broeck in a letter to Governor

Clinton, written from Albany, in July, 1778, in which he speaks of having received news of the destruction of Springfield and Andrustown by the Indians and Tories, and of his efforts to rally the militia, says: "To my great surprise the Detachment at Johnstown, consisting of about 50 men where Colonel Livingston commanded whom I sent Orders to march to Cherry Valley, the Colonel writes me the men Positively Refused to march, alleging their month was up; all the exertions of the Officers had no Effect and last Saturday they have most Shamefully deserted that Post."

Washington more than once complained that under the organization of the army by Congress, every Commission was monopolized by the four New England Governments, and when a change in this respect was effected, there was much dissatisfaction in those colonies. It was jealousy of General Philip Schuyler on the part of the New England people that caused him to be superseded by Gates, a less capable General.

General Spencer, a Connecticut officer serving with General Washington, was so dissatisfied that General Putnam was appointed Major General by the Continental Congress, giving him precedence over him, that he immediately went to his home without leave of General Washington, refusing to serve under Putnam. He afterwards changed his mind, however, and returned and expressed his willingness to serve under him.

In a letter from Ebenezer Huntington, a meritorious officer among the Connecticut soldiers, dated December 1st, 1775, he says: "The Connecticut men have this day taken the liberty to leave the Camp without leave (I mean some of them). Maj. Trumbull and Captain Chester are sent after them to bring them back. They have not yet returned tho eight o'clock. A party went from Cambridge in the same manner. Among them was a Sergeant whom the General has determined to send to Connecticut in Irons with a Label on his back telling his crime—to be dealt with as the Authorities of the Colony shall think proper. The men universally seem desirous of mutiny because the men had not a bounty—the General is about ordering in Minute men to supply the places of those persons who shall so Poltroon like, desert the lines."

In a letter written from the headquarters of the army in Pennsylvania, Col. Webb wrote: "I hope sure I am the Lads of that Country (New England) will not behave in the damed cowardly, rascally manner the People of this country (Pennsylvania) have."

Col. Humphrey wrote to General George Clinton in August, 1777, as follows: "Agreeably to order, I met Col. Graham on the 5th inst., and agreed to raise 74 men. On 8th I had the battalions together and drafted the number, and ordered them to appear at Poughkeepsie on the 12th inst, and appointed one Captain and one Lieutenant. Accordingly the officers met at Poughkeepsie, and finding a small number of men

appear, the Captain was dissatisfied and has resigned his commission. I then appointed another Captain and sent to the several Captains of the battalions to muster their drafted men; they sent me word that the chief part of their men were gone away or concealed. I then wrote warrants to each Captain to send out guards and search for them and appointed them and the Captain and Lieutenant to meet and march with as many as we could find; and all that would refuse to go send them to the county jail, there to remain until they were willing to march or hire a man in their place. We raised a bounty of nine pounds per man and have paid 27 the bounty and several farmers have given 30 pounds to men to go in their place. On the 26th inst., I met them when 40 men appeared with the officers at the house of Captain Reynolds. The men seemed willing to march, when the Captain told me he would not march unless he had fifty men. I went out in order to tell the men I would get another Captain and ordered them to be ready to march on the shortest notice. But when they found the officers decline they dispersed and I could not get them together again any more."

At the battle of Bunker Hill, where our soldiers on the whole behaved with conspicuous gallantry, there were some notable exceptions. In the correspondence of Samuel B. Webb, compiled and published by his grandson, Dr. W. Seward Webb, I find in reference to the conduct of some soldiers and officers in that battle, a letter written by Captain Chester, in whose company Webb was a lieutenant, from which I extract the following: "Our Retreat on Saturday was shameful and Scandalous and owing to the Cowardice, Misconduct and want of Regularity of the Province Troops. Though to Do them justice there was a Number of these Officers and men that were in the fort and a very few others that did honor to themselves by a most noble, manly and spirited Effort in the heat of the engagement, and tis said Many of them the flower of the Province have sacrificed their lives in the Cause. Some say they have lost more Officers than men. Good Dr. Warren, God rest his Soul, I hope is Safe in Heaven! Had many of their Officers the Spirit and Courage in their Whole Constitution that he had in his little finger, we had never retreated. Many considerable Companies of their men I saw that said that there was not so much as a Corporal with them; one in Particular fell in the rear of my Company and marched with us. The Capt. had mustered and ordered them to March and told them he would overtake them directly, but they never saw him till next day. A vast number were Retreating as we Marched up and within a quarter of a mile of the scene of Action. If a man was wounded, twenty men were glad of an Opportunity to carry him away when not more than three could take hold of him to advantage. One cluster would be sneaking down on their Bellies behind a Rock and others behind Hay cocks and apple trees. At last I got pretty near the action and I met a considerable Company with their officers

at their Head retreating. I spoke to Lieutenant Webb and told him it would not do to see so many going Back and that we must stop them. By all means says he. I then inquired of the officer why he went back. He made no answer. I told him to proceed if he Dare. He still went on. I ordered my men to make Ready very Loud and told him if he went another step he should have the fire of my whole Company. My men declare they would fire if I ordered them, but the Poor Dogs were forced to Come Back like Dogs that had been stealing sheep. But after the retreat when we came to rally and attempt to form again we found it impossible for they all most all said they had no Officer to head them. In short most of the Companies of this Province are commanded by a most Despicable set of Officers."

In another letter written to Silas Dean, three days later, July 22nd, Captain Chester, writing of the Battle of Bunker Hill, after stating that he was ordered to march to Bunker Hill, said: "We soon marched with our frocks and trowsers on over our other clothes (for our Company is in Uniform wholly blue turned up with red), for we were loth to expose ourselves by our dress, and down we marched. I imagined we arrived at the hill near the close of the battle. When we arrived, there was not a Company with us in any kind of order, although when we first set out, perhaps three Regiments were by our side and near us; but there they were scattered, some behind rocks and haycocks and thirty men, perhaps, behind an apple tree, and frequently twenty men around a wounded man retreating when not more than three or four could touch him to advantage. Others were retreating seemingly without any excuse, and some said they had left the fort with leave of the officers because they had been all night and day on fatigue without sleep, vitals or drink; and some said they had no officers to head them which indeed seemed to be the case. At last I met with a considerable Company who were going off rank and file. I called to the officer that led them and asked why he retreated? he made no answer. I halted my men and told him if he went on it should be at his peril. He still seemed regardless of me. I then ordered my men to make ready. They immediately cocked, and declared if I ordered them they would fire. Upon that they stopped short, tried to excuse themselves, but I could not tarry to hear him but ordered him forward and he complied."

After the battle of Bunker Hill, Washington was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Continental Army; and on the 20th of August, 1775, he wrote from Cambridge to Lund Washington, who had charge of his Virginia estate, among other things, as follows: "The people of this government have obtained a character which they by no means deserved—their officers generally speaking are the most indifferent kind of people I ever saw. I have already broke one Colonel and five captains for cowardice or for drawing more pay and Provisions than they had men in their Companies—there is two more Colonels now under arrest and to be tried for the same offense—in short they are by

no means such Troops in any respect as you are led to believe from the accounts which are published, but I need not make myself enemies among them by this declaration although it is consistent with truth. I dare say the men would fight very well (if properly officered) although they are exceedingly dirty and nasty people. Had they been properly conducted at Bunker Hill (on the 17th day of June) or those that were there properly supported, the Regulars (the British) would have met with a shameful defeat and a much more considerable loss than they did which is now known to be exactly 1,057 killed and wounded. It was for their behavior on that occasion that the above-officers were broke, for I never spared one that was accused of cowardice but brought 'em to immediate Tryal."

At the battle of Oriskany, where the bulk of the Tryon County Militia, with their heroic commander at their head, fought with great courage and tenacity in the terrible ambuscade in which they were caught, the rear guard, consisting of about one-third of the forces, turned and fled on the first fire of the enemy, and thus abandoned their struggling comrades.

In March, 1776, Captain J. R. De Witt, in a letter to General George Clinton, declared "That unless he could have his proper rank (among the Captains) according to the date of his Commission he would never appear in the field with his Company."

In the same month, Captain John Crage wrote to General Clinton that he had laid down his commission and that he would never serve in the militia as an officer unless he could have his place, for he would "not be twice superseded and still serve." Other records of the period show that there were frequent mutinies of the soldiers and inferior officers upon various pretexts, that it was nearly always difficult to fill up the ranks of the army by enlistments, and that the militia sometimes refused on the call of the proper officers to march against the enemy, and that they resorted to all kinds of artifices to avoid service; and all this in times of great peril to the country. And frauds in the commissary and quartermasters' departments were not uncommon.

Unpatriotic conduct was not confined exclusively to the army, but men not in the army could not be kept from treacherous communications with the enemy, and from selling to them supplies greatly needed by the patriot army. Silas Dean, the first diplomatic agent sent from this country to Europe, betrayed his trust and opened treasonable correspondence on the other side of the ocean with the English.

These cases of unpatriotic conduct cannot be paralleled in the histories of all the wars in which our country has been engaged since the Revolution. I have not found that history records a single instance in all such wars of treachery on the part of any officer or even of any private of our army. I know of no case in such wars of desertion from our army to the enemy. In the Civil war, while more than 2,500,000 soldiers were enrolled on the Union side, there is no instance known

to me where a single soldier or officer betrayed his flag. And in all these wars there was but little trouble to fill up the ranks of our army. It is safe to say that there are no people in the world among whom there is so much patriotism as there now is among the people of the United States. This grows largely out of the fact that our people have the best government in the world in which they govern themselves, and enjoy greater felicity and prosperity than any other people. Under such circumstances, patriotism is a natural, inevitable growth like family ties, love of home and parents and children.

It is a common delusion that the battlefield is the sole, or at least the main theatre for the display of patriotism; and nearly all the commemorative monuments erected in the public places of our country are in honor of soldiers. We too frequently forget that those who in civil life devote their time and means to purify and elevate private and public life, to improve the conditions of the poor and the suffering, to spread learning, intelligence and religion among the people, to develop the resources of our country, and to carry our civilization to higher and higher planes are as true patriots, as worthy of honor, and at least as useful as those who face danger upon the field of battle.

Within the past few years, a law has been passed in our State requiring our national flag to be displayed at every school house, and encouraging patriotic exercises in connection therewith for the professed purpose of inculcating patriotism. This, in my judgment, is another delusion. Patriotism is not inculcated in that way. The flag can be made too common. It is an adage more than 2,000 years old, founded upon a true philosophy of the human mind, that "familiarity breeds contempt." These performances with the flag may and doubtless will stimulate the war spirit, but it never will in any appreciable degree imbed in youthful minds true patriotism. The war spirit is now too rampant in our land. Great masses of men are always too ready on the least supposed provocation to fight England or any other nation, or even the whole world combined. Our youths should be taught that

"Peace hath her victories
No less renowned than war."

When I read the warlike speeches uttered on the platform, and in legislative halls by shouting jingoës, to catch the popular breeze, I am reminded of the saying of Dr. Samuel Johnson, uttered in reference to such men, that "Patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel."

It has not been my purpose in what I have written to call in question the patriotism of the most of the people of the Revolutionary period, but to show that it is a delusion to believe that they were more patriotic than the people of this day, and that their descendants, while advancing in nearly all other respects, have deteriorated in their patriotism. My facts, I think, incontestably show that there were many more cases of unpatriotic conduct during the Revolutionary period than dur-

ing all the wars in our national history since. And yet that period was filled with illustrious examples of devoted patriotism which will never be forgotten; and it gave to the world George Washington, one of the greatest and most unselfish patriots the world has ever known, whose character and achievements cannot be studied too closely by the youths of our country.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND ARBITRARY POWER DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, May 11, 1901.

Were those who criticised and condemned the arbitrary acts of President Lincoln during the Civil war chargeable with disloyalty?

To properly answer this question, a few antecedent facts of history must be referred to so as to show the political training and the environment of the men of that time.

The writ of habeas corpus is one of the great political heirlooms of our race. It is nearly as old as the common law, and has always been regarded as one of the bulwarks of civil liberty. Its purpose is relief from illegal restraint and imprisonment, and defense against arbitrary power. Without it, the provision in Magna Charta, and in the constitutions of our country, that no person shall be deprived of his liberty without due process of law, would be shorn of much of its value. During the whole of English history, no sovereign has assumed the power formally to suspend the writ; and for more than three centuries no Sovereign of England could have suspended it without arousing a contest with the people which would have endangered the crown. Charles the First defied the writ and refused to permit its operation in certain cases, claiming that he was above the law; and his arbitrary acts in this respect were among the causes which led to his destruction. There it has always been recognized that the power to authorize the suspension of the writ is a legislative power vested exclusively in Parliament; and in all the times of turmoil and rebellion there, that body never authorized its suspension but three times—once in 1744, when a French invasion was feared—once at a time of great peril in 1817, and again in the 29th year of Victoria on account of the disorders in Ireland. This writ and the trial by jury have always been regarded as the two great palladiums of English liberty; and they do not exist elsewhere outside of the English speaking peoples.

In this country, the founders of our Republic, ever alert and watchful to guard against arbitrary power, and to protect the liberties they

had won by their patriotic sacrifices and valor, inserted in the Federal Constitution the provision that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." Before the Civil war, our country had passed through the Revolutionary war, the War of 1812 with Great Britain, and the Mexican war, and the writ had never been suspended. Laws, both Federal and State, had been passed under which any person imprisoned could easily and readily obtain the writ from some Court or Judge, and have the cause of his imprisonment investigated and procure his release if illegally detained.

It was one of the fundamental principles for which our liberty-loving ancestors always contended that the military should be subordinate to the civil power; and our nation began its life in 1776 by a protest in the Declaration of Independence against military usurpations. During the Revolutionary war, in which the patriots staked "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor," on the result of the struggle, they always asserted and enforced the subordination of the military to the civil power; and in most of the states such subordination was framed into their constitutions. Though General Washington was clothed with almost dictatorial power, even in the darkest days of the Revolutionary struggle, he never presumed to override the civil law, or to disregard the orders of the Courts except in extreme emergencies by express authority of Congress or of the States. During all the prior wars in which our country had been engaged, martial law had not anywhere been proclaimed or enforced except by General Jackson in 1815 at New Orleans; and his arbitrary acts there, although appearing at the time to be necessary, were never afterward justified as legal even by himself.

By the people of our country of all shades of political opinion, a large standing army was considered dangerous to liberty. We had all been educated in that way. In the history of nations, large armies had always been the tools of usurpers and tyrants used to oppress the people; and hence our regular army had always been kept small. At the commencement of the Civil war, it was less than 15,000. But January 1, 1862, it was over 575,000. March 31, 1862, it was over 637,000. January 1, 1863, it was over 918,000; and when it was mustered out at the close of the war it was more than 1,000,000; and in addition to all these soldiers was the force belonging to the navy. Of these enormous forces, Abraham Lincoln was the Commander-in-chief. They were subject to his orders and obedient to his will. What did our people then know about him? Before the war, he had never been much tried in public life. He was simply known as a prominent Republican politician, who had become distinguished as an eloquent and zealous opponent of the extension and dominance of slavery. How dangerous he might become to the liberties of our country, whether he would become a Washington, or a Cromwell, or a Bonaparte, whether he would be-

come intoxicated with the power he possessed, whether he would use his power solely for the welfare of his country, or for the aggrandizement of himself or of his party, comparatively few men could then tell. He was not then generally known, as we know him now after the rays of history have beat upon his character showing him to have been a humane, patriotic ruler, whose sole purpose was to discharge his duty and save the Union. Then again, he was the chief of a political party bestowing his vast patronage upon his partisans, many of whom were filled with fanatical hatred of those who did not share in their political faith.

With these antecedents; and under these circumstances, the people of the North found themselves in 1861 and afterward involved in the Civil war, with soldiers everywhere mustering for battle, and the strains of martial music, in all the States, saluting the rising and the setting sun. It was not, during the war, questioned by anyone that the President, or any commander by his authority could proclaim martial law, and thus suspend the writ of habeas corpus in any of the rebel States, and in any other part of the country where the Union armies were actually operating against the enemy. The power to do these things is founded somewhat upon the maxim *inter arma silent leges*; and it belongs to all military commanders operating against enemies in a country which is the theatre of war. President Lincoln was criticized, and by many condemned for arbitrary acts in loyal States far from the theatre of war, and it is with these acts that I am now concerned.

April 25th, 1861, the President issued an order authorizing General Scott to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in Maryland; and two days later, an order authorizing him personally or through a subordinate commander to suspend it "at any point on or in the vicinity of any military line which is now or which shall be used between the City of Philadelphia and the City of Washington." July 2nd, 1861, he issued a similar order for the suspension of the writ "on or in the vicinity of any military line" between the cities of New York and Washington; and an order October 14, thereafter suspending the writ in any place between Bangor in Maine and Washington. On the 2nd day of December, 1861, he issued an order authorizing General Halleck, commanding the Department of Missouri, to suspend the writ within the limits of his military department, and to exercise martial law as he found it necessary in his discretion "to secure the public safety and the authority of the United States." It must be remembered that Missouri never seceded from the Union, and that many of its citizens were in the Union armies during the entire war fighting for the Union.

Prior to February 14th, 1862, many citizens of loyal States had been arbitrarily arrested and confined, and denied the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus; and partially to silence the clamor made on account of such arrests, on that day, the President issued an order directing

that "all political prisoners now held in military custody be released on their subscribing to a parole engaging them to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States. The Secretary of War will, however, in his discretion, except from the effect of this order any persons detained as spies in the service of the insurrection, and others whose release at the present moment may be deemed incompatible with the public safety;" and on the 27th of the same month he issued an order appointing a special commission consisting of General Dix and Edwards Pierrepont of New York, "to examine the cases of the State prisoners remaining in the military custody of the United States, and to determine whether in view of the public safety and the existing rebellion they should be discharged or remain in military custody, or be remitted to the civil tribunals for trial;" and they were to hear the cases *ex parte* and in a summary manner.

At that time many of the persons who had been arbitrarily arrested in loyal States without warrant, and without the exhibition of any charges against them, were confined in Fort Lafayette, near New York, and Fort Warren, near Boston, and in other prisons; and one of the circumstances that made their condition hard was that they were frequently not permitted the benefit of counsel, and that access to the civil courts was practically denied to them. They were in fact given to understand that the employment of counsel would prejudice their cases. In December, 1861, Seth C. Hawley, who was then Chief Clerk of the Metropolitan Police Commissioners of New York, acting, as he stated, under order of William H. Seward, Secretary of State, read to the prisoners confined in Fort Lafayette the following paper: "I am instructed by the Secretary of State to inform you that the Department of State of the United States will not recognize any one as an attorney for political prisoners, and will look with distrust upon all applications for relief through such channels; and that such applications will be regarded as additional reasons for declining to release the prisoners; and further, that if such prisoners wish to make any communication to the government they are at liberty and are requested to make it directly to the State Department." That was the first time, at least in our country, when the employment of counsel by a prisoner was held to prejudice his case. It is not strange that such a paper should have emanated from that source, as about that time Mr. Seward, in a conversation with Lord Lyon, then ambassador to this country from Great Britain, said: "My Lord, I can touch a bell on my right hand, and order the arrest of a citizen of Ohio; I can touch a bell again, and order the imprisonment of a citizen of New York; and no power on earth except that of the President, can release them. Can the Queen of England do as much?" The noble Lord could have humiliated the great Secretary revelling in his newly assumed power by quoting the language of the Earl of Chatham, uttered in the English Parliament:

"The poorest man in his cottage may bid defiance to all the power of the crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storm may enter; the rain may enter; but the King of England cannot enter. All his power dares not cross the threshold of that ruined tenement."

The order of the President to Secretary Stanton of February 14th, was a delusion, because it authorized him to retain in prison all persons, whether guilty of any crime or not, whose release he, in the exercise of his sole arbitrary discretion, "deemed incompatible with the public safety." In the same order, however, to prevent Mr. Seward from touching his bell too often, he provided that "extraordinary arrests will hereafter be made under the direction of the military authorities alone."

On the 15th day of April, 1862, the President issued an order to General Dix, commanding at Baltimore, in a State which had not seceded, authorizing him to "arrest and imprison disloyal persons, declare martial law and suspend the writ of habeas corpus in the city of Baltimore or any part of his command, and to exercise and perform all military powers, functions and authority that he may deem proper for the safety of his command or to secure obedience and respect to the authority and government of the United States." This order gave the commanding general absolute power over several hundred thousand people, depriving them of all redress under the civil laws for any of his acts. He was the sole judge of what was disloyal, (which in the nomenclature of that day was a very comprehensive term), and of what acts were dangerous; and all this in a community where a majority of the people were loyal, where there was an ample military force to preserve order and support the civil power; and where all the courts were open for the discharge of their regular duties.

On the 26th day of July, 1862, Mr. Secretary Stanton issued to H. H. Hoxie, United States Marshal of the District of Iowa, the following order: "You are hereby authorized and instructed to arrest and imprison any disloyal person or persons in your district who shall do any act or make any declaration or publication to discourage or prevent the enlistment of volunteers to suppress the rebellion, or to afford aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States. * * * Any person or persons arrested under this authority you will transport in safe custody to the Military Governor of the District of Columbia." This cruel order which authorized the marshal in the exercise of his discretion to arrest any person and take him more than a thousand miles from his home for confinement must have been intended to intimidate those persons in Iowa, a State nearly a thousand miles from the theatre of actual war, who were opposed to the party of the President. A copy of this order was apparently sent to S. J. Kirkwood, Governor of the State of Iowa, and he sent it to his friend Lowery with these endorse-

ments upon it: "Read the within carefully, and if any one in your region comes within its terms, write to Hoxie." "P. S.—There are persons, if I mistake not, in Wapello county that need attending to."

Two more extraordinary orders were issued by Secretary Stanton by direction of the President, both on the 8th day of August, 1862, one authorizing all marshals, deputy marshals and military officers of the United States to arrest all persons liable to be drafted who are about to depart from the United States, and "to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in respect to all persons so arrested and detained, and in respect to all persons arrested for disloyal practices;" another order, "First, that all United State marshals and superintendents and chiefs of police of any town, city or district be and they are hereby authorized and directed to arrest any person or persons who may be engaged by act, speech or writing in discouraging volunteer enlistments, or in any way giving aid and comfort to the enemy, or for any other disloyal practice against the United States. Second, that immediate report be made to Major L. C. Turner, Judge Advocate, in order that such persons may be tried by a military commission."

These orders were to operate throughout the United States. No community, however loyal and however distant from the field of warlike operations, was outside of their scope. Every marshal, every deputy marshal and every military officer, however low his grade, and the police officers named could arrest any person who he supposed to be liable to any draft or whom he suspected of disloyal practices, giving their own definition to disloyalty; and all such persons when arrested were deprived, by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, of any redress in the courts although throughout the North they were at all times open and in the full discharge of their regular duties. More arbitrary orders were never issued by any ruler in any civilized country during the last three centuries. A distinguished jurist of this State who had aided in founding the party of Abraham Lincoln, told me that he stood by his party, and supported the acts of the President until the issuing of these orders, when he felt obliged to leave his party, and join the opposition to the President, believing that the liberties of our country were in danger, and fearing that he might be arrested by some minion of power for some judicial act conscientiously performed. About this time, Lyman Trumbel, United States Senator from Illinois, an early and staunch friend of the President, and one of the ablest statesmen and jurists of the nation and with him many other members of the President's party, began to criticise these arbitrary acts, and to deny the power of the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus or declare martial law in loyal States. Among these critics was Benjamin R. Curtis, of Boston, who in the United States Supreme Court delivered the famous dissenting opinion in the Dred Scot case. He was one of the ablest jurists this country has ever produced. Among other things he said: "It has been attempted by some patriotic jour-

nals to raise the cry of disloyalty against any one who should question these executive acts. But the people of the United States know that loyalty is not subserviency to a man, or to a party, or to the opinions of newspapers; but that it is an honest and wise devotion to the safety and welfare of our country, and to the great principles which our constitution of government embodies, by which alone that safety and welfare can be secured; and when these principles are put in jeopardy every truly loyal man must interpose according to his ability, or be an unfaithful citizen. This is not a government of men, it is a government of law, and the laws are required by the people to be in conformity with their will declared by the Constitution. Our loyalty is due to that will, our obedience is due to those laws; and he who would induce submission to other laws springing from sources of power not originating in the people, but in casual events, and in the mere will of the occupants of places of power does not exhort us to loyalty, but to a desertion of our trust." But these criticisms were unavailing; and on the 24th day of September, 1862, the President issued a most extraordinary proclamation that, "First, during the existing insurrection, and as a necessary war measure for suppressing the same all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors, within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting military drafts or guilty of any disloyal practices, affording aid and comfort to rebels against the authority of the United States shall be subject to martial law, and liable to trial and punishment by a Court Martial or Military Commission. Second, that the writ of habeas corpus is suspended in respect to all such persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion, shall be imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prison, or other place of confinement by any military authority, or by the sentence of any Court Martial or Military Commission." This proclamation still more sweeping in its language than the prior orders aroused much clamor in the loyal States. It placed the liberty of every citizen in the absolute power of the President and the officers of every grade acting under him or by his authority, and closed all the Courts against the victims of arbitrary power. It aroused much adverse criticism throughout the North and was much denounced in Congress by the Democrats and some Republicans. The right of the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus was denied, and it was claimed that, under the federal constitution, the writ could be suspended only by authority of an act of Congress, and it was strenuously contended that neither the President nor any military commander could declare or enforce martial law anywhere except where actual war existed with hostile forces in the field. These criticisms were so forcible and the clamor against arbitrary arrests, martial law and the suspension of the writ so loud and general that on the third day of March, 1863, Congress passed an act authorizing the President, during the rebellion, to suspend the writ of habeas corpus throughout the United

States; and on the 15th day of September thereafter, the President issued a proclamation under that act suspending the writ in all cases where by his authority military, naval and civil officers of the United States "held persons in their custody, either as prisoners of war, spies or aiders or abettors of the enemy," and other persons described.

There is no dispute now that before the passage of this act the President had no power under the Constitution to suspend the writ of habeas corpus. All commentators on the Constitution and all the judicial authorities are to that effect. And it is equally well settled that neither he nor any army officer had the right to declare and enforce martial law or set up a military commission for the trial of any person in any State or district where there was no war, which was in no sense the theatre of war, and where the civil courts were open and in full discharge of their duties. It was disputed whether, even under this act, the President could suspend the writ in peaceful and orderly communities far from the seat of war. But arrests by United States civil and military officers went on. It was easy to bring nearly all the persons who differed from the President, or criticised his acts, or questioned the civil or military policy he pursued, or denounced unwarranted arbitrary arrests and martial law, within the broad and convenient phrases, "aiders and abettors of the rebellion," "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." Many who were not arrested, were alarmed, intimidated and exasperated; and it is easy to see now, that these arbitrary measures worked more harm than good to the Union cause.

Subordinate military commanders were not slow to follow these examples of arbitrary power set by the Commander-in-chief. On the 13th of April, 1863, General Burnside, then in command of the Department of Ohio, with zeal fired and judgment warped by his recent disgraceful defeat at Fredericksburg, issued an order, No. 38, announcing that "all persons found within our lines who commit acts for the benefit of the enemies of our country will be tried as spies or traitors, and if convicted, will suffer death;" and he announced among the acts coming within the scope of his order, "the habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy;" and he declared that "Treason, express or implied, will not be tolerated in this Department." What was meant by "declaring sympathy for the enemy," "by acts for the benefit of the enemy" and by "implied treason?" These phrases contain the sting of this extraordinary order and made it so comprehensive that a large portion of the people of Ohio could, if desired, be brought within its scope. This order aroused great apprehension and bitter criticism, not only in Ohio, but throughout the Northern States; and Mr. Valandigham, who had been a prominent Democratic member of Congress, denounced it in strong terms at a Democratic meeting which he and others addressed. For this he was arrested by a company of armed soldiers at his home in Dayton, who forced their way into his house for that purpose. He was carried to Cincinnati and put in prison and

kept in close confinement until he was brought before a Military Commission organized by General Burnside for his trial. He protested against the whole proceeding. But he was found guilty of the charges against him and sentenced to imprisonment in some military fortress during the war. This proceeding was approved by the President except that he, with grim humor, modified the sentence to deportation into the Confederate lines. All this took place in a loyal State, where the civil courts were open and where a military commission was absolutely without authority to try any citizen not in the army, as it was afterward held by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *ex parte Milligan* 4 Wallace 6.

These proceedings created a profound sensation throughout the country. They were assailed in public meetings, in speeches, editorials and pamphlets; and some of the most loyal supporters of the administration joined in the attacks. One of General Burnside's own staff officers, Colonel Cutts, wrote to the President that "Order No. 38 has kindled the fires of hatred and contention." To a public meeting called at Albany to take action in reference to the arrest of Valandigham, Governor Seymour wrote, saying among other things: "It is an act which has brought dishonor upon our country; it is full of danger to our persons and to our homes. * * * It is not merely a step toward revolution, it is revolution; it will not only lead to military despotism, it establishes military despotism." The resolutions adopted at this meeting were sent to the President, and he replied in a lengthy letter, justifying the action of General Burnside; and he never revoked or modified Order No. 38.

But there was still a greater stretch of power by the President which no historian or jurist has yet attempted to justify. On the 17th day of May, 1864, some person desiring to influence the stock markets forged what purported to be a proclamation of the President calling in terms of exaggerated depression for four hundred thousand troops; and he took it to the newspapers in New York for publication claiming to have obtained it in Washington. It had the appearance of being genuine, and the New York World and the New York Journal of Commerce were deceived and in good faith published it. Then the President, without any inquiry, issued an order to General Dix, who had charge of the military forces in and about New York, commanding him "to arrest and imprison in any fort or military prison in your command the editors, proprietors and publishers of the aforesaid newspapers; and all such persons as, after public notice has been given of the falsehood of such publication, shall print and publish the same with intent to give aid and comfort to the enemy; and you will hold the persons so arrested in close custody until they can be brought to trial before a military commission for their offences. You will also take possession by military force of the printing establishments of the New York World and Journal of Commerce and hold

the same until further orders and prohibit any further publications therefrom." This order was obeyed by General Dix, and the publication of the two papers was suspended for two days, when the United States authorities becoming satisfied that the publication of the proclamation was due to mistake released the persons arrested and the newspaper establishments, and the publication of the papers was resumed. These extraordinary acts created great excitement in this State, and Horatio Seymour, then governor, called public attention to them and denounced them as arbitrary invasions of the fundamental rights of liberty and property.

The brevity required for this occasion forbids that I should specify many of the hundreds of cases of arbitrary arrests made without warrant in loyal States far from the theatre of war. The victims were generally carried far from their homes, and confined in vile prisons, and finally discharged without trial or even the exhibition of any charges against them. I will refer to but a few cases which from their peculiar circumstances attracted most attention in this State.

October 22nd, 1861, Hon. Francis D. Flanders and Judge Joseph Flanders, of Malone, in this State, were arrested by four deputy marshals under a special order from William H. Seward, directing the United States marshal to arrest them and convey them to Fort Lafayette. They were taken to that fort, and after confinement there, they were conveyed to Fort Warren in the Boston harbor, and there they were confined until February 22nd, when they were discharged without any trial, or even a hearing upon any charges.

Rev. Judson D. Benedict, a Campellite minister, born and reared in the State of Vermont, who had not voted for fifteen years, in August, 1862, preached a farewell sermon to his congregation at East Aurora, in this State, taking his text from Christ's sermon on the mount. Like the Quakers, he was conscientiously opposed to wars of any kind, and so told his people. For preaching this sermon he was arrested by a deputy marshal. His counsel obtained from United States Judge Hall a writ of habeas corpus; and upon the hearing on the return to that writ, the Judge, giving a very able and elaborate opinion, discharged him. Before he could leave the court room, the marshal again by a special order from the Secretary of War directing him to disobey any writ of habeas corpus, rearrested him, and hurrying him off, conveyed him to Washington, where he was confined for several weeks in the old Capitol prison, when he was taken before the Judge Advocate and without any trial or the exhibition of any charges against him, he was discharged. In answer to his inquiry why he was arrested and imprisoned, the Judge Advocate replied: "Oh, it was only to show the people that the military power is now above the civil power."

The crowning outrage, so far as this State was concerned, is yet to be stated. It relates to the arrest of several prominent citizens of this State who were concerned with the votes of soldiers from this State

in the field near Washington. In 1863, a law was passed by the Legislature of this State authorizing the Governor to appoint suitable agents to provide additional relief for the sick and wounded soldiers from this State, and to perform such other duties for the relief of the soldiers as he might direct. And in April, 1864, an act was passed enabling our soldiers in the field to vote. Under these acts, Colonel Samuel North of Otsego county, one of the most respectable citizens of our State, Major Levi Cohn of Albany and Lieutenant Marvin M. Jones of Utica, were appointed by Horatio Seymour, then Governor, to go to Washington to discharge their duties under these acts. They went to Washington to discharge their duties, and there they opened an office; and while engaged in giving relief to the soldiers and aiding them under the law of this State in preparing their votes, they were arbitrarily arrested the latter part of October, 1864, by the order of Mr. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, which contained the statement that it was issued by order of the President, and which directed the seizure of all the papers of the agency and all their private papers at their lodgings. Under this order they were taken and confined in the old Capitol prison and their papers, official and private, were seized. When news of this outrage reached this State there was much excitement and indignation. Governor Seymour at once appointed Judges William F. Allen and Amasa J. Parker and Hon. William Kelley, three of the most eminent citizens of our State, to go to Washington to investigate the matter and to employ counsel to defend the prisoners. They immediately went to Washington and found the prisoners in a loathsome prison; they could not obtain free access to the prisoners, nor could counsel employed on their behalf. The accused were finally arraigned for trial November 3rd, before a military commission, charged "with conduct prejudicial to the military service of the United States, and in fraud of the election rights and duties of the soldiers and officers of said service." The accused were defended by William A. Beach, of Troy, and other counsel employed by the State. Their objections to the jurisdiction of the Commission were forcibly presented, and in his reply to their arguments, the Judge Advocate, among other things, made the extraordinary assertion that "in times of war a great many provisions of the Constitution which were intended for times of peace are pro tanto suspended. The constitution, or rather the mass of its details is intended for time of peace: but in time of war the general powers therein delegated to Congress and to the President take the place of the general provisions in time of peace." These objections which no one will now dispute were well taken, were overruled and the trial proceeded; and early in February, after about three months of cruel confinement, the accused were found not guilty and discharged.

There were many other cases of arbitrary arrests within this State. But I have no time to deal with them now. As we look back from this time, it must be a matter of surprise that under the exercise of

such arbitrary powers the people were as patient and docile as they nearly always were. There were millions of sober-minded, patriotic men who could not subscribe to the doctrine that any part of the Constitution was silent in the time of war in the loyal States, and so the Courts finally held.

I have thus called attention to these acts of arbitrary power, but not for the purpose of detracting from the great merits of Abraham Lincoln, who will always have a place among the greatest characters of his time. Mankind are too prone to idealize their heroes and to endow them with qualities little less than divine. A perfect picture upon any canvass must have both shadow and light; and the characters of great men will be more instructive if delineated with their human limitations. History teaches by examples, some of which are to be imitated, and others shunned; and if the lessons are to be worth anything, they must be founded upon the truth. There was doubtless palliation for many of Mr. Lincoln's arbitrary acts. Some of them were doubtless due to the solicitations and urgent advice of others who were less patient and humane than he was. He was engaged in a gigantic and desperate struggle to save the Union, and his responsibilities and distractions were such as have rarely come to any man. In the din, excitement and perils of a great war, he did not see as clearly as we now can, the significance of current events, and the character and quality of his own acts, and the acts of other men. I have referred to them for the purpose of answering the question with which I started. Those men, Republicans and Democrats, who criticised these acts were not disloyal for so doing. By protesting and by insisting upon the great landmarks of liberty for which our race had struggled for centuries, they rendered a great service to their country and to posterity. We can see to-day that these arbitrary acts did not in fact aid the Union cause, but that their tendency was to injure it by alienating from the support of the public authorities much active sympathy and assistance which they would otherwise have received. Impartial history will do justice to all the actors in the great drama, and will assign such men as Horatio Seymour and Samuel J. Tilden as well as President Lincoln and William H. Seward each to his proper place for what he did in his sphere of action for the salvation of the Union, and also for the preservation of liberty regulated by law.

OUR COMMON SCHOOLS.

SECOND PRIZE ESSAY IN THE ALBERT N. RUSSELL CONTEST, WRITTEN BY
MISS LORETTA O. DOUGLAS, OF ILION.

Read before the Herkimer County Historical Society, June 8, 1901.

The founders of our republic were men wise in their own generation, far-seeing in their provisions and enactments for the welfare and prosperity of the State. To become wealthy was not their aim, but to build up a government whose strength should be in the liberty given to the people. But if the people were to govern themselves, they must have intellectual enlightenment and moral training. What, then, could be wiser than to give to each man a liberal education?

The echoes of the Reformation were still reverberating through Europe when some sturdy Dutchmen embarked to establish a home in the New World, where their most cherished ideals might be realized. The educational system of New York State is indebted to Holland for its underlying principles, "self-help and perfect freedom, but according to law," for these early settlers brought with them thoroughly engrafted in their hearts the deep underlying principles of that great era in history when men for the first time dared to shake off servitude, to stand for free untrammelled manhood, to learn the great lessons of self-mastery and co-operation.

Hardly were the Dutch settled in New Netherlands when education for the people was demanded. One of the first duties of the patroons was to find speedy means for maintaining a clergyman and a schoolmaster. With Van Twiller, in 1633, came Adam Rodlandsen, the pioneer schoolmaster of the Empire State. His pedagogical duties were supplemented by his occupations as grave digger, sexton and consolator of the sick. A little later Peter Stuyvesant's petition for a Latin school was granted. Dr. Carolus was its first principal. His salary was \$187.50, use of house and garden and in addition he had the privilege of practicing medicine. That the schools flourished under the Dutch regime is attested by the fact that before the middle of the seventeenth century New Amsterdam, with a population of 800, had fifteen teachers.

It was unfortunate for the cause of education that the change of governors occurred when the tyrannical Stuarts occupied the English throne. The royal governors discouraged any attempts on the part of the people to better their intellectual condition lest they should become dissatisfied with the existing order of things. Education suffered a serious decline because in all its plans for wealth and prosperity the New York colony never entertained the idea of free schools for the people. However, to this period the cause of higher education is indebted for the foundation of King's College, now Columbia.

Colonial schools afforded a strong contrast to those of to-day, in that no women were found among the teachers. If the mental culture of the boys received little attention, that of the girls received still less. To-day fully five-sixths of the teachers employed in the schools of New York State are women who have proved their fitness to fill the important position, the training of future citizens. They likewise differed in another respect, that these public schools were not in any sense free schools.

But if the condition of schools was dubious previous to the Revolution, no conspicuous improvement was made during the years immediately following. It took the country a long time to recover from the effects of war and naturally the schools were last to receive the attention of the State. Washington Irving's picture of Ichabod Crane and his temple of learning is a fair rendering of the pedagogue and the schoolhouse of the time. He presents quite a contrast to the many cultured gentlemen who govern our schools of to-day and his log schoolhouse looks very small and paltry compared with the ornate and elegant educational institutions of the present century. "These years filled by the rich with money making and by the poor with a struggle for a mere existence, were dark ones for education." Years of wise planning, intelligent foresight, wonderful organization and sublime courage were needed before our system was brought to its present state of perfection.

Early in the administration of Governor George Clinton, he laid the foundation of our present school system. In his message to the legislature he said: "While it is evident that academies are to be commended, yet their advantages are confined to the children of the opulent. The establishment of common schools throughout the State is happily calculated to remedy this inconvenience and will, therefore, engage your early and decided attention." Again and again he appealed to the lawmakers in the interest of common free schools, but only indifference or a positive refusal met him. Still undismayed, he persisted in his purpose, the uplifting of the masses through education. The body of regents, of which later mention will be made, united with the governor in an appeal to the Legislature in 1793 for common schools, but these wise men, while they agreed that education for the masses was a good thing, did not in any way bestir themselves until 1795, when an act for the "encouragement of schools for the instruction of branches nec-

essary to complete a good English education," became a law. This act made an annual appropriation of \$50,000 for five years, apportioned to the various counties according to the number of assemblymen and the taxable population. Taking into consideration the population and condition of the State, this was quite a sum. The county supervisors were required to raise by tax upon each town a sum equal to one-half that raised by the State. All beyond was to be supplied by personal tax. In 1800, the appropriation expired, but now the practical, clear-headed Jedediah Peck, of Otsego county, took up the work. He never relaxed his efforts until he compelled the legislature to do something. The first step toward establishing a common school fund was a lottery by means of which \$100,000 was raised. This was a favorite method of raising school money until the abolishment of lotteries in 1821.

Again Governor Clinton declared that the diffusion of knowledge was so essential to the increase of virtue and the promotion of liberty that arguments were unnecessary to excite the Legislature to perseverance in this laudable pursuit. He further observed that education by correcting the morals and improving the manners tended to prevent those evils which are beyond the sphere of education. But his eloquent words fell on unheeding ears. He did not live to see the realization of his hopes, the common school system of our time.

Once more we meet that sturdy champion, Jedediah Peck, who persisted in his labors until, under Governor Tompkins' administration, the legislators considered his statement of the needs of the schools and the most practical method of supplying them. State care and supervision were suggested. In short, the vital points of the present system were mapped out. As a result of his labors, the first state superintendent, Gideon Hawley, was appointed. It was extremely fortunate for the cause of popular education that such a capable, far-seeing man, such a remarkable organizer, should have been the appointee. When he assumed the duties of his office, education was in a chaotic state, but he succeeded in laying broad and strong the foundation of our admirable system.

A notable feature of Mr. Hawley's administration was the Lancasterian system of education. The school was divided into classes. Each class into pairs of pupils, each pupil acting alternately as the instructor of the other. This system had its strong supporters, but it has long since given way to better methods. The compensation Gideon Hawley received for his splendid services is worthy of note, \$300 annually and his removal from office.

This impolitic move created so much controversy that the office of superintendent was abolished and the schools placed in charge of the Secretary of State until 1853, when the department of public instruction was reorganized, with Victor Rice at its head. In 1867, the obnoxious rate bill against which there had been a long and memorable struggle for "universal education in our public schools, free to all," was

abolished and the schools made absolutely free. Indeed, it was during the administration of Judge Benton, of our own county, that the keynote was struck.

The rate bill, so long a prominent feature of the educational system, provided that all money needed over and above that appropriated by the State should be raised by taxing parents in proportion to the number of days their children attended. This gave rise to all sorts of subterfuges and practically placed learning beyond the reach of the poor. Upon its abolishment, a common school education was made free to all and the system reached its highest development.

The growth of the department of public instruction has been simply marvelous, attesting the worth and executive ability of the men who have been its several heads. The management of our public school system after all these years has resolved itself into this.

For the purpose of primary education, the State is divided into 112 commissioner districts, which are subdivided into 11,750 school districts, the smallest territorial divisions of the State. At district meetings the voters elect from one to three trustees. A collector, librarian and clerk are also elected, who serve one year.

Under the law of 1853, school districts were authorized to combine into union free school districts and to establish graded schools, to be maintained by general tax. The schools are under the management of boards of education, whose powers and duties are similar to those of district trustees. These union free schools are important because in them the two systems of education in this State meet.

Triennially, at the general election, a commissioner is chosen. His duties are: to lay out and regulate boundaries between school districts, to apportion public money, to exercise supervision over school districts, to examine and license teachers and candidates for normal schools, to make an annual report to the State superintendent.

But the chief executive of this great system is the State superintendent, which office has been held by a series of able men from Gideon Hawley to the present incumbent, Charles R. Skinner. He is chosen triennially by the joint ballot of the Assembly and Senate. In the discharge of his manifold duties he exercises an almost autocratic power. He appoints the working force of his own bureau, makes appointments of State pupils to the institutions for the instruction of the deaf, dumb and blind. He also has charge of the Indian schools. He allots the \$4,000,000 of public money, compiles reports of the school commissioners and the city superintendents. He also has supervision of all agencies for the training of teachers, uniform examinations, institutes, training classes and normal schools. He also determines the grade and issues certificates to teachers. Besides these duties, he is the final arbiter in all misunderstandings and disputes that may arise over any point in the school law. He is ex-officio a trustee of the University of the State of New York, and of Syracuse and Cornell Universities.

The evolution of the idea of free schools in New York State was somewhat delayed because of uneducated sentiment, but now the people are in fullest sympathy with the theory that a State has the right to insist that every child shall be educated for citizenship. To put in practice this theory a compulsory education law has been enacted which is successful. It does not follow that every child of school age in New York State attends school 160 days of the school year, but a great gain is being made and through a wise and just enforcement of this statute the State has reason to expect that the acceptance of her educational privileges will be more ready and spontaneous.

The Empire State's system of education is unique from the fact that within its boundaries is a dual system. In 1787, the Regents of the University of the State of New York were incorporated and they kept alive through its most discouraging years the cause of education. "The history of higher education has the interest of age and of historic incident, and is closely connected with the history of the State." To give an extended historical account of this admirable organization, which is a decided innovation in educational progress, is quite impossible. Briefly, the university comprises all the institutions of a higher character which are or may be incorporated together with the State library and museum. It consists of several hundred institutions, more than half of which are academies and high schools. It is the latter which are the bone of contention between the two systems. The government is invested in nineteen elective regents chosen by the Legislature, and in the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, Secretary of State and state superintendent of public instruction. The regents elect their own officers: a chancellor, who serves without pay, and a secretary and treasurer. The institutions composing the University have no representation on the governing board. The regents have power to confer degrees, establish examinations, grant diplomas, maintain lectures and give and take away charters. The object of the University is to encourage and promote higher education and to inspect all institutions under its care.

The affairs of the University have always been in able hands. George Clinton was its first chancellor, Alexander Hamilton and Ezra L'Hommedieu its originators. The roll of its regents is bright with illustrious names.

It rendered invaluable service in the development of the common free schools when it declared that secondary education was impossible without a firm and well-laid foundation, which could be obtained only by universal education. Training classes for teachers flourished under its fostering care. Its system of examination keeps pace with all modern ideas and are an inspiration to teacher and pupil.

We come now to another division of our subject, the support of the common schools. They derive their support from three sources. First, the free school fund. This is the amount raised annually by tax for

schools, the rate, one mill on a dollar, being fixed by the Legislature. The annual appropriation is now three and one-half millions.

The common school fund is the outcome of the sale of State lands. In 1805, 500,000 acres of State land, at the suggestion of Governor Lewis, were sold and the proceeds set aside as a permanent fund for the support of the common schools. When the annual revenues reached \$50,000, the first distribution was made. The original capital has now increased to nearly five million dollars.

The United States deposit fund originated in the distribution to the several States of the surplus revenues in the United States treasury. The portion received by New York amounted to four million dollars, the proceeds of which were apportioned among the counties according to population.

The superintendent makes the following appropriations: Cities and incorporated villages of not less than 5,000 inhabitants, employing a local superintendent, receive \$800. The remainder of the school money is apportioned according to population. These sums appear very large, but only one-fifth of the actual school expenses are paid by the State. The remainder of the \$33,000,000 annually expended for the common free schools is raised by local tax.

One of the greatest difficulties the champions of free education encountered was the incompetency of the teachers. De Witt Clinton first suggested that the academies organize classes for the training of teachers. Naturally these first agencies for the instruction of teachers were under the control of the regents, who brought them to a high development. The act which authorized the consolidation of several school districts into union free school districts also authorized the establishment in these union schools of academic departments. These departments were recognized as of equal grade with the academies and hence were placed under the supervision of the regents and thus they, too, could have training classes. In 1889, the supervision of these classes passed from their hands into those of the State superintendent, with this object in view "to bring all the instrumentalities for the training of common school teachers under one head." Several thousand young men and women are now enjoying the advantages of these classes.

The school receives \$1.00 a week for each pupil and in return gives instruction in the elementary branches, methods, history of education, United States history, physiology, school law and psychology. The members of the class also practice and observe in the grades of the school. By this means qualified teachers are obtained for the lower grades and for the rural schools.

One of the first means employed for the betterment of the teacher's mental equipment was the institutes, the first one of which was held in Ithaca, in 1843. Their growth has been remarkable and the improvement in methods and manner of instruction hardly less so. One insti-

tute is held in each commissioner district yearly. Attendance of teachers is compulsory, but no deduction is made from their salary if the school is closed "because of institute." These meetings are of real value to instructors for their ideas are broadened and fresh courage and inspiration come from contact with other teachers. Summer institutes are also held at the Thousand Island Park and Chautauqua, where teachers may combine rest and instruction. Still another agency for the training of teachers is found in the normal schools. Governor Clinton was the first one to suggest some means of professional training for teachers, but it was not until 1849 that his idea took shape in the form of the Albany Normal School, now a State Normal College. For nearly 20 years it was the only institution of the kind, but its success finally influenced the legislature to establish a similar school at Oswego. There are now in the State twelve of these really valuable schools where men and women who plan to teach may receive instruction at the expense of the State. These schools have given instruction in subject matter but the idea is growing that they should be professional schools for those who have completed a satisfactory course of study. Model schools are a feature where the pupils under the supervision of competent instructors put in practice their professional instruction, and their ability to impart knowledge is made a condition of graduation. The influence of these schools is widespread and powerful. The standard is being raised and the State is assured that the grade of teachers is higher and better every year. Nearly every common school now insists that its teachers be at least Normal graduates.

The system of uniform examinations is another instrument to create better and more competent teachers. The idea is constantly growing that with the means provided, teachers not only should be better equipped mentally, that they should not only possess administrative ability, but that they should represent and embody the best types of American womanhood and manhood; that they should possess the power to inspire to high and noble living.

But who have reared this great educational structure, a system of common free schools far surpassing the world-famed public schools of England, which are not free schools? New York State numbers among her statesmen and warriors the brightest names in the country's history, nor is this less true of her educators. Governor George Clinton laid broad and strong the foundations of a school system so splendid and wise, spreading its influence that it reaches to the Pacific Ocean and even to Europe. John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, Ezra L'Homme-dieu, Philip Livingstone and a long series of wise statesmen and able administrators make bright her educational history. De Witt Clinton's services in the establishment of free schools are sufficient to forever perpetuate his name and fame. To no individual in the State is common school education in its infancy more deeply indebted than to Gideon Hawley. At a time when everything depended upon organization

and minute supervision, he proved the man for the period, educating sentiment, and bringing order out of chaos.

Wm. H. Seward, one of our most brilliant governors, believed that education was a training of the mind and character and not a mere superficial acquirement of knowledge. He also believed that education is the chief of the State's responsibilities, exerting a wider and deeper influence than any change in policy or physical improvement. He proposed that the department of public instruction be in charge of a superintendent appointed by the Legislature. His advanced ideas were the inspiration of much that is good in our public schools.

To trace the influence of each man and woman who has contributed of his best life to the betterment of his fellowmen, however pleasant a task, is impossible, to even recapitulate the names and services of those mentioned in this article would take too long. No cause has ever been taken up so unselfishly, none has ever had to combat greater opposition nor taken so many years to bring about the accomplishment of its ends. All honor to those noble sons of the Empire State who sowed what they could never reap, who undertook a great cause unselfishly and worked it out because of love for their fellowmen.

The century that has just closed has been a great advancement in education; free schools have been established, compulsory education enacted, professional training schools opened, free libraries instituted, in short a steady growth in all lines pertaining to intellectual enlightenment which cannot be without its influence upon the State and Nation.

The seers of the various periods in our State history realized the vast importance of education for these master spirits appreciated the fact that intelligent, God-fearing citizens are the life and strength of a state, the source of its progress and influence. The relation between education and civic prosperity is close and vital. The latter depending almost entirely upon the former, but of transcendent importance is the higher life which comes through the training of the mental faculties, the development of the moral and spiritual qualities. A State may have material prosperity without education, but ignorance is the mother of crime and such a prosperity can be neither lasting or influential. Any State to become a permanent factor in the world's progress must have thoughtful, law-abiding and intelligent citizens. Where are the citizens to receive such training if not in the public schools?

Our government is of the people and by the people. How necessary then that the masses who are the dominating power be uplifted and receive proper training for citizenship and statesmanship. Intelligent understanding of the principles of our government and of its place among nations, an educated conception of freedom is essential to the permanence of our institutions.

Then, too, education quickens a man's mental activity and arouses in him a sense of the world's progress. A desire to become a factor in that progress is engendered in his being and from such decisions come

the men of the times who think and observe wisely and judiciously. Then, too, educated men are the ones who solve the great problems of the age and demonstrate the ascendancy of mind over matter.

The training of our schools makes better working men and enhances the dignity of honest labor, not because they are taught trades but because of the mental training received and the habits inculcated. "The most precious gift of education is not the mastery of the sciences, for which special schools are provided, but noble living, generous character, the spiritual delight which springs from familiarity with the loftiest ideas of the human mind."

In our schools patriotism is taught, not a sickly sentimentality for the Stars and Stripes, but an educated patriotism that understands the underlying principles which the starry flag represents. The pupils become patriotic from a knowledge of the principles of government and their proper application. Their trained intelligence makes them better citizens because patriotism is not an abstract conception but a living love for their country.

Individuals compose the State, and upon their intellectual, moral and spiritual condition depends its welfare. In our schools is a course of training which can but develop the higher qualities so essential to citizenship. These ideas of future usefulness are created and habits of mind developed which contribute to the making of American men and women in whose hands rests the welfare of our Empire State.

SOME PHASES OF THE EARLY AGRICULTURE OF OUR STATE.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society September 21, 1901.

The early agriculture pursued in this State was that which was introduced in Holland; and the earliest fruit trees, garden vegetables and flowers were brought from that country by the Dutch settlers. Agriculture was a vocation of prime importance, as the great bulk of the settlers became farmers. Down to 1800, about 11-12 of the people of this State lived upon farms, and the scientific men, statesmen and leading members of all the professions generally took an interest in farming.

The first State society for the promotion of Arts and Agriculture was organized in the City of New York in 1764, by some of the most prominent citizens of that portion of the Province. A committee was appointed by the society to correspond with gentlemen in other parts of the province to interest them in its objects. That committee issued a circular in which among other things they urged the formation of local societies throughout the province to gather and furnish to the parent society such information as might be useful for the purpose of promoting and fostering agriculture and the useful arts. One of these circulars was addressed to Sir William Johnson, who was then and for several years afterwards the foremost man in the Mohawk valley. He took a great interest in agriculture and did more for its promotion in and about the Mohawk valley than any one else. He replied to the circular in a letter dated at Johnson Hall, February 27th, 1765, in which he stated among other things that the state of agriculture was very low, that wheat was the principal crop, and that it must soon become a drug; that before he set the example, no farmer raised so much as a single ton of hay, but that then some raised above 100 tons; that the farmers were entire strangers to sheep until he introduced them. He thought "the high wages of laborers and the great number of tipping houses," needed regulation; and that bad roads were a great obstruction to good husbandry.

That first society seems to have become extinct during the Revolutionary war, and a new society for the promotion of agriculture was organized February 26th, 1791, at the Senate Chamber in the City of New York, which was then the capitol of the State. At that date a committee consisting of Chancellor Livingston, Simeon DeWitt, and Samuel L. Mitchell, which had previously been appointed at a meeting of citizens presided over by Hon. Ezra L'Hommedieu, to prepare and report rules and regulations for the government of the society, made their report, which, after some amendments, was adopted and became the constitution of the society. It provided, among other things, that the society should meet annually at the place where the Legislature met, on the Tuesday next after the convening of both houses; and that its meetings should continue by adjournment during the session of the Legislature; that no person should be admitted as a member unless he had been nominated at least seven days previous to his election and elected by a majority of the members convened; that every member on his admission should pay to the treasurer \$2.00 and thereafter annually a half dollar; that the objects of investigation of the society should be Agriculture, Manufactures and Arts, with such subjects of inquiry as might tend to explain or elucidate their principles; that the society should parcel the State into districts and elect a secretary for each district, whose duty it should be to convene the members of his district, to inquire into the state of Agriculture and Manufactures within the same, to receive communications relative to the objects of the institution, and to correct, arrange and transmit them to the president, to be laid before the society; that the society should once in every year elect a committee to be called the Committee of Publication, whose business it should be to select such of the transactions of the society as might merit publication, prepare them for the press, and from time to time publish the same; that honorary members might be admitted from among persons not residing within the State whose talents and characters might add to the respectability and usefulness of the society; that in order to prevent imposition, the secretary should reject all doubtful and suspicious facts, and to each article of intelligence transmitted to the society annex the name of the person offering it.

Down to 1793, the society was unincorporated. But on the 12th day of March in that year, it was incorporated by a special act of the Legislature. The preamble to the act sets forth the objects of the incorporators, among whom were the following eminent citizens of the State: Robert R. Livingston, John Sloss Hobart, Samuel L. Mitchell, Samuel Jones, Melancton Smith, David R. Floyd Jones, George Clinton, Ezra L'Hommedieu, Egbert Benson, John P. DeLancey, John Watts, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Cornelius J. Bogart, Richard Varick, John Jay, Gilbert Colden Willett, Jonathan N. Havens, Edward Livingston, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, James Duane, Simeon DeWitt, David Ogden, John Delafield, Horatio Gates, Samuel Jones, Jr. In the Act, Chancellor

Livingston was appointed president, John Sloss Hobart, vice-president, Samuel Jones treasurer, and Samuel L. Mitchell and Samuel Jones, Jr. secretaries. It was further provided that the members of the Legislature, who should not be stated members of the corporation, should nevertheless, by virtue of their stations, be honorary members with the right to sit, but not to vote for officers or have any voice in the distribution of the corporate funds.

The persons engaged in organizing and in incorporating the society were among the most eminent men of the State, whose biographies would constitute the history of the State for at least the first 50 years of its existence as a State. Several of them served the State as Governors, as Chancellors, as Judges, as Attorney Generals, as members of both branches of the State Legislature, as members of Congress and in other high public stations.

In pursuance of the constitution of the society, the State was divided into districts, and John Meyer was elected the secretary of the Herkimer district. He resided in this village and was one of the most prominent men in this county. He was one of the county judges in 1800, and in 1802 he was one of the State Senators.

Immediately after the first organization of the society, it entered upon its active labors by issuing a circular setting forth its purposes, which among other things were stated to be "to supply the wants and relieve the necessities of mankind and thereby to render human life more comfortable; to multiply the productions of the land, to shorten or facilitate the toils of the laborer, and to excite a spirit of honest industry whereby riches may become more abundant, and, by inculcating the importance of ordinary and common things and of practical everyday truths, to store their understandings with solid knowledge so that happiness, wealth, and wisdom may keep pace with each other and go hand in hand." For the purpose of gathering information, there were inserted in the circular certain queries upon a variety of matters to which I will briefly allude: 1. Manures, as to the value of marls, plaster of Paris and lime as fertilizers, and the mode of their use. 2. Soils, as to sandy, clayey and loamy soils, and the mode of their treatment, and the crops to which they were respectively best adapted. 3. Tillage, as to depth of plowing, and how weeds can best be destroyed, and the soil be made mellow for the reception of seed. 4. Stock, as to the comparative advantages of horses, mules and oxen; "would the breeding of mules be beneficial in this country? Do horses draw best by collars or hames? Are oxen capable of doing most work when drawing by the horns or by the withers? How are sheep best managed? What management is best adapted to make the wool fine and plentiful? How can the breed be improved? How the mutton made sweet and savory? Can anything be gained by shearing lambs the first year? Might also sheep be sheared oftener than once a year? Which is the cheapest method of raising calves? In what manner and at what age

is the best veal produced? Which are the most approved methods of making and preserving butter and cheese? How are cattle best relieved when choked by apples or potatoes, etc.? Would it be advantageous to introduce goats into this State? Cannot wild ducks and teal and heath-hens and wild turkeys be tamed and domesticated?" 5. Grain. "Which variety of wheat is the most productive—the red, white, yellow, bearded or bald? In what proportion does winter wheat excel summer wheat? Is barley well adapted to our soil and climate? Is any part of our country adapted to the raising of rice? Can millet and spelts be cultivated with success and advantage?" 6. Grasses. "What grasses do you find to afford the best pasture? Which makes the best hay?" 7. Fruit Trees. "What kinds of apples afford the best cider?" etc. 8. Forest Trees. "Do you know any facts concerning the propagation of the locust tree?" 9. Vermin. "How are moles to be guarded against? How can the bugs be destroyed which eat up your cucumbers, melons and pumpkin vines? Is there any way of preventing the ravages of the wheat insect?" 10. "Have you any improvements in the management of bees? Can the silk worm be profitably introduced in your neighborhood?" 11. Manufactures. "What is the best method of making sole leather? Are there any other barks than oak, hemlock and birch for tanning? Have any improvements been made in the manufacture of steel? Do you know of any new method for the making of paper? Can you suggest anything capable of raising the reputation of our flour in foreign markets? Are there any coal mines? What can be done towards the manufacture of cotton?"

These are a few of the queries contained in the circular; and they are very significant of the state of agriculture and manufactures at that date—more than one hundred years ago. The learned and patriotic men engaged in the work of this society were endeavoring to develop the resources and increase the wealth of our country and add to the happiness and comfort of our people.

Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell was appointed to deliver the first annual address before the society. He was one of the most learned scientists in this country, and a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The address was delivered in New York, before the members of the society, including the members of the Legislature. It is interesting reading now for the many thoughts it suggests. Among other things, he stated that farming could not economically or profitably be carried on in this State with slave labor. He said: "Upon taking a survey of the slaveholders with whom I am acquainted, I find those who have the greatest numbers to be men of considerable hereditary estates in land, or of a handsome capital acquired by marriage or bequest. But I cannot name an instance of a man of small property ever getting rich upon the profits of slave labor. Therefore the kitchen establishments of those who keep fifteen or twenty negroes are not to be considered as matters of revenue, but of expense, just after the manner of a stud of super-

numerary horses kept either to indulge the pride or to gratify the prejudice of their owner. It is a conviction of the impolicy and expensiveness of this kind of service rather than to any moral or religious considerations on the subject that the decline of slavery is principally to be attributed." He recommended the planting of locust trees. He said it "is one of the most valuable trees now cultivated. They grow best in warm sandy land and become fit for timber in about 25 or 30 years;" that "their greatest use is for ship trunnels, fence posts, mill eggs and fire wood. A well grown tree is worth to the owner as it stands \$1.00; that for fence posts they are superior in point of durability to almost any known wood." Under the stimulus of this society, locust trees were introduced into this county and flourished here until some destructive worm or insect practically destroyed them.

An effort was also made by this society to introduce silk culture into this State, and the mulberry tree was cultivated and silk worms propagated. But our climate was not adapted to the experiment and it failed. The cultivation of the poppy plant for opium and medicinal purposes was also attempted but failed for the same reason.

At that early day much attention was also given to the raising of barley. In this same address, Dr. Mitchell said: "It is undoubtedly a subject of serious regret that while our farmers exhaust the strength of their fields by impoverishing crops of oats, they neglect the more profitable culture of barley, and thereby necessitate the brewers to import their grain from the neighboring States or from foreign parts, or drive our citizens to the less wholesome and more expensive use of distilled spirits. The practice of raising barley is to be considered more lucrative to the farmer as being a better employment of his labor and capital and likewise more advantageous to the State by preserving the morals and industry of its people from the injurious effects of rum and other ardent liquors." At that time there were a large number of large breweries in New York, and none in the New England States where most of the barley crops were raised. He also dwelt upon the improvement of the breed of sheep. He said: "In point of salubrity, I am bold to say that wool far exceeds linen or cotton, and in our variable climate is so peculiarly calculated to guard the body against the vicissitudes of the weather that every valetudinarian should wear flannel to regain his health, each well person to preserve it. A flannel shirt may be called the palladium of health."

Prior to 1800, and for many years thereafter, wheat was the first staple of the trade and wealth of the middle States; and the first seed drill in this country was invented and used by a farmer in New Jersey more than one hundred years ago.

The society took great interest in introducing into the country new trees, plants, and animals from abroad; and hence its president, Chancellor Livingston, December 5, 1793, addressed a letter to the Chamber of Commerce of the City of New York in which he said: "There can

be little doubt that the profitable commerce of this country must be founded upon its agriculture, and that its agriculture derives new vigor from the extension of its commerce;" and he requested that the Chamber of Commerce would instruct all captains of vessels sailing to Asia, Africa, the north of Europe, or the southern or western parts of North America to procure specimens of the grain and animals raised in those countries for introduction here.

Agriculture was held in much higher estimation by the statesmen and scholars of our country one hundred years ago than it is now. There was not so much then as now to attract the intelligent, ambitious, enterprising young men from farming. In the annual address delivered before the society by Chancellor Livingston in 1794, he said: "As agriculture is the basis of arts by furnishing the materials upon which they work, so it is the parent of science by uniting men in civil society who without its aid would have continued to be wandering savages but little advanced in improvement beyond the beasts of the forest that afforded them a miserable and scanty subsistence. It is for this reason that the mythology of most nations have made their golden age consist in the enjoyment of rural happiness, and placed the inventors of agricultural improvements among the number of their gods. * * * The idea of a rural retreat in the evening of his days accompanies the mechanic to his shop, the merchant to the exchange, the lawyer to the bar, the physician to the sick bed, and the divine to the pulpit who sees even there his earthly paradise upon the confines of heaven, and hardly wishes to enter the celestial mansions by any other path. * * * The intriguing politicians and the wordy orators of the present day will be buried with their principles and their parties in eternal oblivion, when the man who has introduced a new plant or eradicated a destructive weed, who has taught us to improve our domestic animals, or to guard against the ravages of noxious insects, who has invented a new implement of husbandry or simply determined the angle the mould-board should make with the plowshare will be remembered with gratitude as the benefactor of society. * * * As Cicero sums up all human knowledge in the character of a perfect orator, so we might with much more propriety claim every virtue and embrace every science when we draw that of an accomplished farmer." Comparing the agriculture of this country with that of England, he said that while here the average price for hired farm laborers with board and lodging was \$60 per year, in England it was only \$40; and he closed his address, one of the most elegant and eloquent ever delivered in this State, in these words: "When the hero, the patriot, the statesman, Washington, does not disdain to guide, who can refuse to venerate the plow?"

November 8th, 1796, the distinguished jurist, Chancellor Kent, delivered the annual address before the society in the Assembly Chamber in the City of New York. He spoke of farming "as the absolute means of our subsistence, as the source of nutriment to the arts, of freedom,

energy, commerce and civilization to mankind; and, in short, as the firmest basis of national prosperity." He said, "That the image of tranquillity and happiness which under governments of only a tolerable administration everywhere appear among the cultivators of the earth must always present itself to the eye of benevolence with attractive charms; that although the remark be perhaps too strong that cities are the graves of the human species, yet it is obviously true that the farmer's life, from the use of the wholesome air, abundant exercise, moderate pleasures, and simple diet, is by far the most favorable to health, longevity and population." He spoke of the Mohawk as the second river in size in the State, and among the first for the richness of the soil through which it flows, and as navigable from Schenectady to Fort Stanwix for bateaux, a distance of nearly 100 miles.

On February 7, 1798, Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell again addressed the society and both houses of the Legislature at their annual meeting in Albany, which had then become the capital of the State. He spoke of the unsuccessful efforts to find coal in this State, and said: "Fortunately for our peace and happiness, no sources of gold and silver appear to have been detected. It is to be hoped our country contains none but those of productive labor and active industry." The men of his generation did not foresee the enormous production of gold and silver in our country which has added so largely during the last fifty years to our national wealth and prosperity.

In March, 1795, Ezra L'Houmedieu read a paper before the society entitled, "Observations on Manures," in which, treating of fish as a manure, he said: "New methods are now used as well for taking the fish as for preparing the land by this manure. Very long seines are made use of, and it is not uncommon to see twenty ox-cart loads of the Menhaden or Mossbankers taken at one draught. When the ends of the seine are drawn to the shore, and the fish crowded close together, an ox-cart is driven into the water among the fish and two or three hands with scoop nets soon load the cart, which is drove off and another is drove in and filled in like manner, and so one after another until the whole is carried away. And then the carts are driven onto the land and the fish thrown out, and the whole land covered with fish about eighteen inches asunder."

In April, 1797, Noah Webster, the great lexocographer, wrote a letter to Dr. Mitchell, secretary of the society, in which he spoke of agriculture as "the first and best occupation of man," and made some useful observations on the growing of potatoes, and gave some of his experiments. He recommended that the seed potatoes should be those of full growth, and said that it had been fully demonstrated that cuttings produce more than whole potatoes.

Prior to 1797, but little was known about the Onondaga salt springs. They had almost escaped the notice of naturalists and philosophers, and nothing of consequence had been published concerning them. About

that time Dr. Benjamin DeWitt, fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and one of the secretaries of the society, contributed a memorial on those springs, in which he described them and the nature and quality of their salt in a very interesting manner.

February 20, 1799, Simeon DeWitt, who was then Surveyor General of the State, delivered the annual address before the society and the members of the Legislature, in the Assembly Chamber at Albany, in which among other things he recommended the culture of fruit, and mentioned this interesting fact: "The Spitzenbergh apple, which may challenge the world to match it, was first discovered as an accidental production in the neighborhood of this city (Albany). Fortunately it fell into the hands of a man of taste, who made its superlative excellencies known to others, and gave perpetuity to its kind. But for this accident, it must again have retreated into eternal oblivion." This apple has gratified the taste of all the succeeding generations of men, but in late years has begun to suffer from the decrepitude of age. This address is full of beautiful passages, some of which I must quote: "Even the pre-eminent political purity of that great man under whose auspices we rose as a nation will not retain an unsullied whiteness under every historian's pen. The best of statesmen and warriors have the blessings of their memories mixed with curses. Their deeds may astonish the world for a while, and their fame dazzle like the blaze of a meteor with a momentary glare; but the fathers, friends and guardians of useful arts have their untainted memories embalmed, and urn their ashes in the hearts of posterity. As long as time continues its current their works and their names together float along with it, and are gratefully recognized by ages following ages without end." It must be remembered that this was written while Washington was living. At the time Mr. DeWitt spoke, the State Agricultural Society had attained a standing and influence which have not since been maintained. He said: "The society of which I now stand the representative, is without question the most consequential in the State. Which beside it receives any notice from abroad, or is calculated to excite it? Barren as our printed transactions may appear to the unprejudiced eye of those who have not condescended to compare them with others, I will venture to affirm that they have as good a complexion and are fully as interesting as those of a similar kind by which Europeans are climbing up to greatness and ascending the ladder of philosophic fame;" and he closed his address with this enthusiastic panegyric upon agricultural pursuits: "The Elysium of Pagans, the Paradise of Mahomet, and perhaps also the heaven of Christians would to the view of mortals lose much of their attractions, were not the descriptions of them decorated with agricultural sceneries. Indeed, they almost necessarily mingle with our ideas of consummate bliss. While passions like demons tear the heart of the politician, gnaw like vultures on his vitals, spread a gloom over his prospective, and embitter his days, the heart of the

philanthropist expands with a seraphic joy, bounds with God-like palpitations, and feels emotions of ecstasy ineffably exquisite, as his eye roves over fields where the golden harvest luxuriantly waves to the wind, where every shrub and plant is loaded with dainties, where every tree bends under its fruit, and all things seem to invite us to partake of these bounties and be happy. If, then, these things are pure, uncontaminated fountains whence human happiness flows, surely we cannot contemplate them with stoical indifference, but as citizens, as Christians, as legislators, must join our endeavors to cherish and support them."

During the first 200 years of our national history, the statesmen of our country and other leaders of thought with great unanimity believed that agricultural pursuits were the best for the welfare of our people and the safety and greatness of our Republic. Franklin said that agriculture was the only honest way to acquire national wealth. As late as 1814, Daniel Webster, in a speech in the House of Representatives, when tariff legislation for the fostering and protection of manufactures was under discussion, said: "I am not, generally speaking, their enemy; I am their friend. But I am not for rearing them or any other interests in hot beds. I would not legislate precipitately even in favor of them. I feel no desire to push capital into extensive manufactures faster than the general progress of our wealth and population propels it. I am not in haste to see Sheffields and Birminghams in America. Until the population of the country shall be greater in proportion to its extent, such establishments would be impracticable if attempted, and if practicable, they would be unwise. I am not anxious to accelerate the approach of the period when the great mass of American labor shall not find its employment in the field; when the young men of the country shall be obliged to shut their eyes upon external nature, upon the heavens and the earth, and immerse themselves in close and unwholesome workshops; when they shall be obliged to shut their ears to the bleatings of their own flocks upon their own hills, and to the voice of the lark that cheers them at their plows, that they may open them in dust and smoke and steam to the perpetual whirl of spools and spindles, and the grating of rasps and saws."

Chancellor Livingston, ever alert to discover something in the animal or vegetable kingdom for the advancement of agriculture and the improvement of rural life, during the closing years of the eighteenth century made experiments to domesticate the elk, which then abounded in our forests. He said in a paper read before the society that the elk was larger than the reindeer, and when taken young was as domestic as the ox, as he found they would run with his cattle and appeared to be as much attached to them as to their own species. He attempted to break two of them to the harness and bitted them, and found them as docile as colts would be at the same age. These two were thirteen hands high two years old, and he said that in their native woods they

would grow to fifteen hands high, and that their thighs were as muscular as those of a horse, and that he believed that in a state of domestication they would grow much larger, and that they would not only furnish flesh to eat, but milk for the dairy. He also believed the moose could be domesticated; and he said that he was well satisfied that with the exception of the horse, no animal was so well fitted for every purpose of labor as the moose; that he had seen one not more than eighteen months old that was 15½ hands high, and that he thought they would grow to more than 20 hands high. To make such experiments a success, it would be necessary to continue them during successive generations of the animals; and I have not been able to learn how long the Chancellor continued his experiments nor what their results were.

The eminent men then interested in agriculture were alert to discover improvements. They experimented in raising sheep and other live stock, with manures, fruit trees, grasses, grain, potatoes, silk worms. It would be well if some of their enthusiasm for agriculture and rural life could be infused into the people of this day, and if the farm would have greater attractions for the young men who now swarm to cities and villages to engage in less wholesome vocations and to lead less useful and happy lives. It will be a fortunate time for our Republic when there shall be a reflux wave of population from the cities and villages to the country. The time will certainly come when our people will learn that with the same amount of probity, industry and talent, farming will prove to be on the average as profitable as other vocations and much more wholesome and satisfactory.

NOTE.—Many of the facts for this paper, I have found in the first volume of the Transactions of the State Agricultural Society, a revised edition published at Albany in 1801. It is a very rare book and the only volume I know of belongs to the Herkimer County Historical Society. It is of real value and is full of interest.

THE TOWN OF WARREN.

AN ADDRESS BY DUNHAM JONES CRAIN, OF CULLEN,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society October 12, 1901.

The physical features of the town of Warren are somewhat related to its early history. I shall, therefore, refer to them briefly.

The tract comprising the township contains upwards of 23,000 acres and with the exception of a narrow belt along the northern border, is drained by two creeks. One of these begins its course within a mile of the northern boundary, and flows southwesterly a distance of about six miles in Warren, and then crossing into Richfield, finds its way into Lake Canadaraga. This creek is the Ocquionis. The name signifies in the Indian tongue, "He is the bear," and was probably that of an Indian chief who at some period dwelt upon its banks. This is the opinion of William Wallace Tooker, well known as the author of the "Algonquian Series," and a recognized authority on Indian languages. The other creek referred to as draining the territory of Warren rises in the easterly part of the town, about midway between its northern and southern boundaries, and flows southwesterly into Weaver's Lake, thence a short distance into Young's Lake, and from the last named flows southerly about two and one-half miles across the boundary of Warren into the town of Springfield, and then on into Lake Otsego.

Thus it will be seen that the streams which drain Warren are tributaries of the Susquehannah—one the Osquionis, by Lake Canadaraga and Oaks Creek—the other by Lake Otsego, the outlet of which is accounted by geographers and historians as the beginning of the Susquehannah. The creek which I have mentioned as emptying into Otsego has been called by the white inhabitants different names, one of which is "Gilchrist," from a family of that name; but the Indian name has been for the time being lost. I am hoping by further research to bring it to light. The Indian name for the two lakes mentioned by me as Young's and Weaver's Lakes, is "Waiontha," which in the Indian tongue means, "The Twins," a very appropriate name, as the two lakes are nearly of the same size and not more than 100 rods apart. The village of Little Lakes lies between them.

The surface of Warren is for the most part at an elevation above the sea varying from 1,300 to 1,800 feet, and at Mount Waiontha, near Youngs' and Weaver's Lakes, reaches an altitude probably of 2,500 feet. This surface is made beautiful by the graceful outlines of its hills, generally extending easterly and westerly, and its rich forests. On different roads at varying elevations the most pleasing scenery comes into view. Looking North, we have the beautiful valley of the Mohawk, with its industrial villages, and turning to the South we look upon the picturesque basins of the Otsego and Caniaderago.

Warren is embraced by the water system of the great Susquehannah, a river whose length measured by its bed from its extreme source, Lake Otsego, to its mouth, is estimated at 416 miles. It is a part of the territory which became the subject of negotiations in 1683 between Governor Penn and Governor Dongan, and which in their correspondence was designated "the Upper Susquehannah Region." The streams which from this northern region were feeding the Susquehannah abounded in beaver and other wild animals whose furs were in great demand in the markets of London, Amsterdam and Paris. Governor Penn's fur traders had made a strenuous effort to draw this trade down the Susquehannah River. They were having some success. The fur traders of New Orange (Albany) were making an equally persistent effort to draw the trade to that trading post. The efforts of Penn to effect this purchase created consternation at New Orange, where the authorities drew up a remonstrance addressed to Governor Dongan, in which they stated that this sale to Penn, if consummated, "would tend to the utter ruin of the beaver trade, as the Indians themselves do acknowledge, and consequently to the great prejudice of his Royal Highness' revenues and his whole territory in general," and they further stated, "We presume that there hath not anything ever been moved or agitated from the first settling of these parts more prejudicial to his Royal Highness' interest and the inhabitants of this government than this business of the Susquehannah River. The French, it is true, have endeavored to take away our trade piece-meal, but this will cut it off all at once."

The attempts by Governor Penn to buy the upper Susquehannah region failed, but one cannot help contemplating the change in the political and social associations of the region in which is situated Warren, had it been successful.

The correspondence to be found in the Documentary History of that State also discloses that this upper Susquehannah region had white inhabitants at a very early period. The French authorities in Canada had been requested by the Oneida tribe as early as 1666 to send Jesuit priests, French families, and trading merchants into this region. In 1686, Governor Van Cortlandt, at a council held with the Indians at Albany, requested the Indians "not to permit any French or English to go and live at the Susquehannah River without the Governor's pass;

but in case they do so, the Indians are to bring them to Albany and deliver them to the Town House for punishment." The Governor made one exception, however, to this rule, to-wit: "The Indians were not to bring the priests and they were not to interfere with one man with each or either of said priests, even though one of them should be married to an Indian squaw." In other correspondence of this period there is evidence that Jesuit fathers, and French families accompanying them, were scattered over the upper Susquehannah region, and that the heads of these French families became trappers and traders in peltry. Dr. Henry A. Ward, in his "Annals of Richfield," in mentioning these French traders and trappers, says: "A little settlement of these was located at the site of the Lake House (referring to a hotel on the east shore of Lake Canadaraga, about half a mile from Richfield Springs), on both sides of the brook which seeks the lake at that point, and was doubtless the home of the first white settlers in this vicinity. One of these Frenchmen and his Indian wife remained as late as 1805 or 1806; but the others left subsequently to the time of the survey of the three land patents embracing the shores of Canadaraga Lake." Fennimore Cooper, in his "Chronicles of Cooperstown," refers to these French traders and trappers as having been upon Lake Otsego. It is hardly supposable these early French traders and trappers and priests were in ignorance of the beautiful lakes and streams of Warren, so near Otsego and Canadaraga, and forming part of the same water system, especially as the numerous beaver dams on those streams prove that they abounded in valuable furs. There is still a chance that in the archives of the Jesuit College at Quebec documents exist which will yet afford interesting information upon the residence of French priests and traders in this part of the upper Susquehannah region.

The first step tending to the establishment of an organized community of whites within the present boundaries of Warren was unquestionably the granting of the great patents to Petrie, Henderson and Theobald Young, which instruments embrace all the land within the town. These patents enabled men of moderate means to obtain titles to farms who would have stood no chance of obtaining grants from the colonial government, where then as now, "influence" was necessary.

Letters patent dated August 24th, 1739, were granted in the name of King George the Second to James Henderson, John Kelley, and James Henderson the Younger, and on October 24th, 1739, to Philip Livingston, John Joost Petrie and John DePeyster of tracts which taken together under the name of "Petrie's purchase and Henderson's patent," cover the whole north part of Warren and extend over its western boundary into Columbia to the extent probably of 1,000 acres, and over the eastern boundary into Stark to a less extent. The patent to Theobald Young and others, dated August 25th, 1752, which covers all the south part of the town, is bounded on the north by the

before mentioned Henderson patents. The starting point in the bounding of the patent is the hole in the ground a little east of Caswell Corners, in the present town of Springfield, called by the German settlers, "Kyle," which means hole, and by the Indians, "Theogsowone," the signification of which I have yet to learn. The southerly and westerly boundaries of this patent as far as they extend, are the boundaries separating Herkimer county from Otsego. I am informed that the patentees named Henderson were never upon the grants bearing their name, and that they were first visited by their descendants about the year 1825. Since that date, Mrs. Harriet Douglas Cruger, a descendant of James Henderson, and Mrs. Douglas Robinson, her niece, have maintained upon this tract the beautiful summer residence known as the Henderson Home. Both the Henderson and Young patents were grants as expressed therein, "in free and common soc age as of our Manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent within our Kingdom of Great Britain," and reserved a yearly rent of two shillings and six pence for each 100 acres payable "at our Custom House in our City of New York unto our collector or Receiver General, being on the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, commonly called 'Lady Day.'" It was provided in these grants that they should be void in case the grantees should destroy or suffer to be destroyed trees fit for masts, planks, knees, etc., for "our Royal Navy."

A rental of two shillings, six pence per 100 acres seems but nominal, and even this was extinguished by the result of the Revolutionary war, so that these grants must be regarded rather in the light of gifts from the Crown. It would seem that certain shrewd and far sighted men of the Mohawk valley, such as John Joost Petrie of the German Flats, and the Youngs of Canajoharie, had in conjunction with capitalists in Albany and New York, to whom they pointed out the desirability of obtaining these grants.

In the case of the Henderson patent, about seven men, heads of families, settled near its northern limit and formed the little colony called Henderson. It is almost certain they settled there after the date of the patent, for they would not have built houses or cultivated land without some title to the soil. We know they were there before May 22nd, 1758, for the New York Mercury of that date describes the flight of four of these families from Henderson's purchase to the German Flats, and the slaughter of some of the party by the French and Indians near Fort Herchamer. The names of these families were Hayes, Starving, Crim, Osterhout, Bull and Leopard, and they continued their residence in Henderson, suffering as is well known in the Revolutionary war at the hands of the Indians under Brant. The situation of these Henderson settlers was not one of complete isolation prior to the Revolutionary war. To the east at a distance of two miles was the Otsquago settlement, where lived the Bronners, Shauls, Fikes and Featherlys, to the southeast about three miles the Eckler settlement on the

Kyle, directly south five miles, Youngs' settlement, composed of about six families, including Theobald Young, the patentee; to the west not more than three miles, the Coonrods-town settlement, comprising the families of Conrad Orendorf, Conrad Frank, Conrad Fulmer, Frederick Christman, Timothy Frank, Nicholas Lightfall, Joseph Mayer and Henry Frink. More distant, but reasonably accessible, were the old settlements of Springfield and Cherry Valley. Beyond any doubt there was a not infrequent interchange of social and business visits between these ancient settlements, and the people of Henderson and Young's patents do not require our commiseration in that respect.

Up to March 12, 1772, the territory in Warren was included in the county of Albany and of course deeds of land in our town were recorded at Albany, and the inhabitants of Henderson and of Young's settlement were within the jurisdiction of Albany county. On March 12th, 1772, Tryon county was erected, and those inhabitants came under the jurisdiction of Tryon county, with Johnstown as the county seat.

In March, 1773, the Provincial Legislature enacted that there be held and kept two fairs every year at Johnstown, one to be held three consecutive days in June and the other three consecutive days in November, and to be managed by a Governor and Rulers. As the business ordinarily transacted at the county seat must have drawn our Henderson and Young settlers frequently to Johnstown, it is not to be doubted they competed for prizes offered at these fairs, and not infrequently had the satisfaction of driving their stock homeward up the hills decorated with red and blue ribbons.

At this early period the county of Tryon was divided into districts instead of townships. These were called respectively the Mohawk, Canajoharie, German Flats and Kingsland districts.

Warren's territory was at first included in the Kingsland district and this was described in the act of March 24th, 1772, as follows:

"All that part of said county of Tryon which is comprehended within the following boundaries: On the east by Canajoharie district, on the north by the Mohawk River, and southerly and westerly by the limits of this colony."

The same act required the freeholders of each district to elect and appoint one freeholder to be a supervisor, two freeholders to be assessors, one freeholder to be collector, two freeholders to be overseers of the poor, two fence viewers and one clerk. Subsequently on March 8, 1773, the Provincial Legislature changed the names of the Kingsland and German Flats districts, giving to each the other's name, so that the district in which is the Warren territory became the German Flats district.

I will not detail further in this paper the changes affecting the territory of Warren by the erection of counties and towns, nor dwell upon the massacre perpetrated by Brant at Henderson, the destruction by

Americans of the disloyal settlement at Youngs, nor the alleged hauling of artillery over the road leading from Fort Herkimer to Young's settlement for the use of General Clinton's army, then embarking upon Lake Otsego and the Susquehannah to join General Sullivan, but will speak of events in the early history of the established town of Warren.

The great migration from the Eastern States which began in a moderate way about 1784, reached its full volume by 1794, and by the year 1800, had given Warren and the purely agricultural towns, east, south and west of it, a population numerically equal if not superior to that which they now possess. At this time, before the introduction of railways and canals, the turnpike was considered the most potent instrumentality for advancing the wealth and comfort of the public.

The most notable enterprise in the early history of the town, and one productive of great benefits was the building of the "Third Great Western Turnpike," from Cherry Valley to the foot of Skeneatlas Lake. The charter for this road was obtained in March, 1803. It prescribed that the road should pass westerly between Youngs and Weavers Lakes in the town of Warren, thence through the towns of Richfield, Plainfield, Bridgewater, Sangerfield and Hamilton to the village of Cazenovia, thence to intersect the Seneca turnpike near Cob's tavern in the town of Manlius, or through the towns of Pompey and Marcellus to intersect said turnpike at or near the outlet of Skeneatlas Lake. The members of the corporation named in the act were John Lincklaen, John Moore, Asahel Jackson, Samuel Clemons, Eburean Hale, Oliver Norton, Joseph Farwell, Daniel Rindge, John Pray, Rufus Leonard, Lernal Fitch, Nathaniel Farnham, Samuel Craft, Abner Cook, Luther Rich, Elleaxer Ibbotson, Calvin Cheeseman and Charles R. Webster.

The charter required this road to be six rods wide and not less than thirty-three feet between ditches, whereof twenty-eight feet were to be bedded with stone, wood or gravel and faced with pounded stone rising toward the middle by a gradual arch. It directed mile stones to be erected, one for each mile, with the distance from Albany inscribed on each stone, and guideposts to be put up at every intersecting public road, with name of town to which the intersecting road led, and a hand pointing to such town.

The tolls were as follows: Every score of sheep or hogs, 5 cents; every score of cattle, horses or mules, 12½ cents; every horse and rider, 4 cents; every sulkey chair or chaise, with one horse, 12½ cents; cart with one horse, 4 cents; every chariot, coach, coachee or phaeton, 25 cents; every stage, wagon or other four-wheeled carriage drawn by two horses, mules or oxen, 12½ cents, and 3 cents for every additional horse, ox or mule; cart with two horses, mules or oxen, 6¼ cents; additional horse, mule or ox, 2 cents; every sleigh with two oxen, horses or mules, 6 cents; every additional horse, ox or mule in like proportion.

It was enacted that no toll should be collected from a person going to or returning from public worship, his farm, a funeral, a blacksmith shop or a physician.

Only one-third of the foregoing toll was to be collected in case the wagon or other carriage had felloes or track of wheel nine inches wide; and where the felloes or track of wheel was twelve inches wide, no toll whatever was to be collected.

The completion of this road made a continuous line of turnpike from Albany to the western confines of the State, connecting with other roads through Ohio and Michigan. The effect was immediate and surprising. Drove of oxen, sheep and swine at once began to move from Michigan, Ohio and Western New York over this route to supply New York and other cities of the East. An old and intelligent resident on the line of this turnpike states it was estimated that as many as ten thousand head of cattle had passed a given point on the line in one day. These droves required rest and pasturage and food and shelter. Inns were frequent for the drovers and their helpers. It is said there was at one time a tavern for every mile of the road between Skene-atlas and Albany. The business of keeping these droves was a profitable one for the farmers on the line in the town of Warren. In addition to the animals before named there were droves of horses and not infrequently large flocks of turkeys and geese en route to the eastern markets. Usually it required from three to five men to a drove. In the case of cattle and swine a man in a single wagon preceded the drove by one day to arrange for their pasturage, yarding and food.

The mail coaches of Messrs. Sprague & Thorpe of Rochester traversed the road twice in each direction every twenty-four hours, and the horn of the drivers calling for relays at different stations echoed merrily among the hills of Warren and Richfield in the days of our ancestors.

The impetus to business along this road is illustrated by the fact that in Cherry Valley after the turnpike had gotten under full headway, there were eight blacksmith shops giving employment to about fifty men, and at one time 108 stage horses were kept there. Stages were usually drawn by six horses, though eight and even ten were used at times. Regular freight transportation lines were also run between Albany and Buffalo. Huge wagons carrying from three to four tons and drawn by seven horses were used on these lines. These wagons had tires so wide that they passed without toll as allowed by the charter, and they were considered a benefit to the road by filling in the ruts made by ordinary wagons. This great traffic caused such a demand for horses that the price of those animals advanced from twenty-five and thirty dollars in 1800 to seventy-five and one hundred and fifty dollars in 1820. There were in Cherry Valley at one time fifteen taverns and between Albany and Cherry Valley, a distance of fifty-two miles, sixty-two taverns. (History of Cherry Valley, by John Sawyer, Esq.)

The business of this great thoroughfare was largely diverted by the building of the Erie canal, and was finally virtually destroyed by the railways. The period of greatest prosperity for the town of Warren was unquestionably when the traffic of the "Third Great Western" was at its maximum of volume.

So signal had been the success of the "Third Great Western" that the inhabitants of the northern part of Warren and along its parallel east and west naturally took up the project of building a turnpike which should benefit them. So in 1812, a charter was procured from the Legislature for the "Utica and Minden Turnpike Company." This road, starting at Utica, passed through Litchfield, Columbia, Warren and Stark, in Herkimer county, and thence into Minden, in Montgomery county. I have not examined the charter, but have read a large number of documents relating to the Utica and Minden Turnpike Company, found among the papers of Rufus Crain, who was president of the company, from which I judge the enterprise created great expectations among land owners and others along the line. Those expectations were doomed to disappointment, for this turnpike diverted no traffic from the "Third Great Western," and created very little for itself.

The spirit of war created by the Revolution was kept alive by continued outrages and provocations on the part of Britain. Those of this generation can but imperfectly realize the intensity of feeling with which the military organizations of the State were raised and maintained. Warren partook of this enthusiasm and sent a considerable number of her sons to the northern frontier in the war of 1812.

I wish to refer to two troops of horse belonging to a squadron of which Rufus Crain was major, in the Sixth Regiment of cavalry, of which Matthew Myers was colonel. One of these troops was commanded by Captain Charles Fox, the other by Captain John Mix. They contained a large proportion of the able-bodied men in Warren. Many of them were men of marked intelligence, decided individuality and that forceful, rugged manner which distinguished the New Englanders of the day. I have taken great interest in tracing in a voluminous correspondence the movements of this regiment as illustrating the time and money and labor devoted to the military in that day. Orders from James Lynch, Brigadier General, dated at Syracuse, required this regiment to appear not infrequently at distant places like New Hartford, Utica and Deerfield for review and inspection, following a parade of the day previous and necessitating an absence of the men from home for at least three days at a time. The uniform of this regiment was a helmet of lustrous leather, surmounted by fur, with fore-piece, coat of scarlet, with black velvet facing, crossed with gilt bands, and trowsers of dark blue.

Knowing as I do the convivial nature of these cavalrymen, many of whom I well remember, and picturing to myself these gallant reu-

coats gathering from the highways and byways of Warren for a descent in force upon some village in the valley, I am prepared to think they painted the luckless place very red during their outing of three days.

Court martials were frequent, inexorable in the infliction of fines upon delinquents, and apparently perfectly successful in collecting them. It should be noted that our troopers from Warren, as part of the Third squadron of the Sixth Regiment of cavalry, were present at Utica on the occasion of the reception of General the Marquis de Lafayette, June 10th, 1825.

The social customs in that early period were in strong contrast to those of the present time. Balls were then given at one and two o'clock in the day instead of at night.

You will deem it remarkable in view of the slow methods of travel in those early times that men should travel great distances for pleasure, especially from rural districts like Warren; yet between 1812 and 1820, three of our townsmen visited distant countries.

John Bolton spent the summer of 1815 in the City of Mexico and towns between it and Vera Cruz.

John Williams visited Venezuela in 1816, and devoted considerable time to Caracas and other points of interest. Both these men were observing, had great desire to see foreign countries and were extremely entertaining when relating their experiences abroad.

Sturges Brewster, identified with Warren all his life, was perhaps the first person from Herkimer county to visit Europe strictly as a tourist of pleasure and observation. He embarked from New York August 15th, 1815, for Bordeaux, in the sailing packet, *Blooming Rose*, Stephen Trowbridge being the captain. He paid \$150 for his passage and had for fellow passengers two Swiss gentlemen, Mr. Cowing of South Carolina, and Mr. Jackson, of Georgia. In a hull on the Banks of Newfoundland they fished for two hours and caught eleven fine cod, which were served at different dinners and greatly relished. Speaking another packet, they first learned that the Allies had entered Paris. Barely escaping shipwreck in Biscay, they reached Bordeaux on the 19th of September, the 25th day of the voyage. Ten days after landing, Brewster saw a remarkable sight. I will quote him: "Understanding that two of the generals of Bonaparte were to be executed near the City to-day, we determined if possible to be present. At half-past 10 o'clock we went to the prison where they were confined, a stone building called the Bastile of Bordeaux. The two victims were twin brothers 56 years of age, and resembling each other so nearly that one could hardly be distinguished from the other. Their name was Foyche, and both were generals of equal rank in the army of the Revolution. Latterly one had been a member of the National Assembly, the other the mayor of the town near Bordeaux. We found assembled at the prison about 5,000 of the military and gens d' armes. At about 11:30

they (the Fonches) were brought out, passing through the military and an immense concourse of citizen spectators.

"They were conducted to the center of a large square, bounded on one side by a high stone wall. The guards formed on the other three sides. The Fonche brothers stood in the center, dressed in white flannel and without hats, firm and undismayed. They looked upon the people and their murderers with apparent indifference, and seemed to smile in the faces of the blood-thirsty crowd that surrounded them. Twelve *gens d'armes* advanced from the line with an officer and took their stand ten paces from the Generals, who refused either to kneel or to be blindfolded. The muskets were presented, the fated word given, and they both at the same instant fell dead."

Brewster at this time was about 20 years old, and carried letters of introduction which enabled him to see the home and public life of persons of distinction in both France and England, and embarked July 14th, 1816, in the ship *Mynerva Smyth*, from Liverpool for New York, reaching the latter place August 26th, 1816, after an absence of one year and eleven days. Among the passengers on this homeward voyage was the distinguished Dr. Francis, of New York.

Thus far I have not touched upon anything political, because that subject, like several others, could not be brought within the limits of this paper. But I will mention one affair so that I may introduce an extract from a letter written by one of Herkimer's distinguished citizens.

The Presidential contest between Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams in 1828 was characterized by an intensity of partisanship unequalled before or since in this country. The Republicans (now known as Democrats) had nominated Rufus Crain, of Warren, as Presidential Elector, the electors at that time being chosen by congressional districts.

The supporters of Adams with intent to introduce confusion in the Republican ranks, nominated his brother-in-law, Jacob Marshall, living in the same house, for the same office.

The contest between Marshall and Crain resulted in the election of the latter. At this stage, Michael Hoffman wrote Crain a letter, dated November 14th, 1828, to which I have already alluded, and from which I will read an extract, illustrative of his piquant style:

"Every man knows the uncertainty of life but does not always act accordingly. In this case our dangers are of a different kind, viz., bad roads, broken bridges, broken limbs, sickness. The only preventive is to start from home in due time to recover from all these evils and yet reach your destination. I advise you by all means to be in Albany at least one week before the end of this month. Go so early that a bad road may be repaired, a broken carriage mended, a bridge rebuilt (or a substitute found), a broken limb set, and a sick man borne upon a litter.

"You will appreciate this precaution when you view the desperation of our opponents. They leave nothing undone. They will be in Albany early to a man, organize at the hour, and if they are a majority will immediately fill up all vacancies with their friends." This letter closes thus:

"I may add that the Democracy of the State has triumphed, and if the anti-Masonics had not divided us, we should have routed and beaten the aristocracy horse, foot and dragoons."

SOME DUTCH CHARACTERISTICS.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. JOHN W. VROOMAN, OF HERKIMER.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society October 12, 1901.

"God prospers the good man's resolve." A Dutch proverb, of which my friend, Secretary Smith, is a living illustration.

He resolved, for some reason unknown to me and for reasons I fear sorrowful to yourselves, to secure my presence to read a paper before this society, and here I am, a plain business man, possessing no special qualifications as a student in historic research, such as Judge Earl and others of your society possess in full measure, and yet I do possess one qualification characteristic of the Dutch blood which flows in my veins, a heart full of loyalty to the county of my birth and full of love for my friends.

I pause a moment to congratulate Herkimer county upon having a society to perpetuate its history, to honor its heroes and to educate the young to appreciate the sacrifices of those who lived and labored in other days to establish our political, educational and religious institutions. Inquiry is sometimes made concerning the practical purpose of this and kindred societies and the permanent good accomplished by them. A mistaken idea frequently prevails that they are too general in purpose and too limited in usefulness to warrant continued interest of the member and permanent value of the organization. I am a firm believer, however, in the abiding good to individual and community of any society that gratefully remembers the labors and sacrifices of our ancestors: that reviews with pride the struggles and successes of a community; that keeps in tender recollection father, mother and homeland; that cultivates affectionate feeling for friend and fireside: that draws inspiration for the present from contemplation of what has made a glorious past.

The Herkimer County Historical Society was born to further such purposes and lives, to cultivate such principles. Believing in them myself, I offer this contribution to the broad and unselfish work in which you are engaged.

"Oranje boven"—Up with Orange—liberally translated means that it is characteristic of the Dutch to be on top. The Orange colors stand for courage and friendship. Wearing them has even been proof of loyalty and integrity, of unity and power.

In 1623, a Dutch ship brought 30 Dutch families to Manhattan Island, where they found a new home and founded New Amsterdam, now New York. At the same time 18 Dutch families from the same ship found a new home and founded Fort Orange, now Albany. Following this, other Dutch settlements along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers were begun in the old Holland way. There were common lands where the cattle were put out daily to pasture and a common point of assembling for defense, as illustrated by our old Fort Herkimer and other forts throughout the valley. This is brought to our notice from the fact that almost every farm in the Mohawk valley had a narrow frontage on the river, extending some distance back on the hillside, thereby affording the early settlers opportunity for locating their houses near each other on the flats for mutual protection. Referring to common lands, we mention that in Albany in olden time the Dutch settler owned his home and took pride in the garden and the little green surrounding his house. The family also owned a cow, which was fed in a common pasture at the far end of the town. In the evening the cows returned by a path known to each one and it is stated that these cowpaths afterward formed the streets in the city of Albany, famous for the regular irregularity in which they are laid out.

The Dutch names of New Amsterdam and Fort Orange should never have been changed to English New York and Albany. It is not my purpose to praise the Dutch at the expense of the English, but I am bound to state as matter of history that it was an English and not a Dutch Governor of the Colony of New York who became so unruly at its capitol that the Assembly granted him a salary for only a limited space of time, without promise of renewal, that they might be able to hold a club over him for political purposes. It was one of these English Governors who said, regarding the Colony and the people: "This is the finest air to live upon in the universe, and if our trees and birds could speak and our Assemblymen be silent, the finest conversation also." He further said: "According to the reports of the country, the sachems are the poorest of the people."

My friends, let us never forget that while the early Dutch settlers of this country brought the Orange colors in one hand, they brought the Bible in the other, representing their characteristics of pluck and prayer and thank God these characteristics are reflected in the Mohawk Valley Dutch of to-day. Some of these settlers requested authority from England to plant a colony in Virginia, but the King refused, as they asked him to couple with the charter a clause guaranteeing religious liberty. Knowing that in a Dutch colony their rights would be protected in that regard, they concluded negotiations with Holland with the result that

they settled in New Amsterdam, in Fort Orange and in the Mohawk valley, as well as other places. Let it be noted in passing, that the Dutch did not obtain their lands here by conquest, but by purchase from the Indians. It was an Albany Dutchman whose influence commanded the respect and confidence of the Five, afterwards the Six Nations, to such a marked degree that for more than a hundred years Albany was protected by a treaty with the Mohawks that was never broken and when attempt was made to win the Indians from the Dutchman, it failed because he always "dealt fairly with them." Someone has well said that there is no more glorious page in the history of this country, no grander exhibition of the quality of our Dutch ancestors, than was manifested by the influence of the sturdy Dutch people in the valleys of the Hudson and Mohawk. They preferred free soil and they protected people's rights. When they came to this colony they honorably secured land from the Indians and in this way Van Curler pushed out from Albany and founded Schenectady. With other plucky Dutchmen they maintained their rights throughout the Mohawk valley by treating the Indians justly, and in appreciation of this just treatment the Indians for a long time called the Governors of New York by the general name of "Corlear," and many of their descendants living in Canada still call the reigning sovereign of England by the name of Corlear.

One of the most interesting facts in Dutch history is found in the influence for good that for centuries Holland sent forth throughout the world. If you study the history of the majority of the foremost men who came to this country in its earliest days, you will find that somehow, some way, somewhere, they received a Dutch training. For example, the name of William Penn will go down through the ages as one of our best and broadest of men because his Dutch mother made this possible.

In the town halls in Dutch cities liberty bells were hung, and from the "Liberty Bell" placed in Philadelphia by Pennsylvania Dutchmen, on July 4th, 1776, freedom was proclaimed "throughout all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof."

In those early days many Palatines went to Rotterdam and other places in Holland to find refuge and a home and from thence a large number came to this country, bringing Holland influences. These Palatine Dutchmen gave us some of our bravest men in the war of the American Revolution, notably Nicholas Herkimer. In this connection, I record with pride the statement that in 1710, Johan Jost, Madalana and Catharina Herkimer came from Holland and finally settled in the Mohawk valley in 1721. The first land they occupied is now a part of this town. General Herkimer was the eldest son of Johan Jost and some of us present this afternoon are numbered among the descendants of Madalana and Catharina. It may also be of interest to note that one of the first of the Livingston family went from England to Rotter-

dam, where he obtained his education. He later came to this country, settled in Albany and married a sister of Peter Schuyler. She was the widow of Dominic Van Rensselaer, a Dutchman of high repute. The first Mayor of New York, Van Cortlandt, a Dutchman, also married a Schuyler.

If I had the time and you the patience, mention could be readily made of a number of our old Mohawk Valley Dutch families, whose good influences have helped to make this part of our country distinguished for many of its grand characteristics.

The brief half hour at my disposal this afternoon will permit only a hasty sketch of a few Dutch characteristics, which largely contributed to give us the Constitution of the United States, to instill a love of liberty in our citizens, to preserve their homes, to upbuild their schools and establish their religion.

A few illustrations may serve to present some Dutch characteristics inherited from our ancestors. One, love of liberty. Our forefathers who came from Holland brought with them two things of supreme importance, their freedom and their religion, and these beneficent influences have done much to make every citizen of this republic a sovereign. As an evidence of their love of liberty, recall the long and bloody war with the Spaniards and the challenge that went forth from the brave Hollanders in the midst of their suffering. They were then as now true to themselves and to their country. Listen to their words of defiance to the Spaniards—they will go down through the ages: "As long as there is a living man left in the country we will contend for our liberty and our religion." When they formed the heroic resolution to break down the dykes to destroy the enemy, which would destroy their homes also, and a protest was made, the reply quickly came: "Better a drowned land than a lost land."

The descendants of such liberty-loving, God-fearing men settled on the banks of the Hudson and the Mohawk. They possessed the Dutch characteristics of pluck, not luck; of action, not accident; they labored to create rather than to criticize. Do you wonder that such a devotion and bravery gave birth on the hills and in the valleys of New York to homes, school-houses and churches? May we of the present preserve these institutions bequeathed us by our loyal ancestors because they stand for liberty, the bulwark of our national life; for love of humanity, which educates us to better fellowship and closer friendship; for the old-fashioned religion of our fathers represented by the old-fashioned family Bible.

Referring to the Spaniard, what a parallel in the defeat of Spain in her war with Holland which ended in 1648 and her war with the United States, which ended in 1898. In the Spanish-Dutch war, Spain buried 350,000 of her soldiers in Holland and spent millions upon millions, nearly ruining herself financially in order to destroy liberty. In her then defeat she sank to the level of a fourth-rate country. That was

the result of her war against liberty centuries ago. The result of her recent war with the United States in again attempting to destroy liberty need not be retold.

My friends, let us gratefully remember that Dutch love of liberty was so great that the British government declared war against Holland because she saluted the American flag, which was the first foreign salute, and because she helped our American privateers. Holland helped us because of sympathy, not selfishness.

Another illustration of the Dutch standing for liberty may be noted in the fact that the loyalty and courage of gallant Dutchmen largely contributed to check the British plan of campaign in the war of the Revolution, which resulted in the enemy's defeat and our imperishable victory. We honor the sturdy, liberty-loving sons of Holland who fought at Oriskany and elsewhere in the valley of the Mohawk and of the Hudson!

We proudly speak of the heroism of a Dewey at Manila and a Sampson and Schley at Santiago, but this heroism was fully matched by the courage of Dutch Admiral Peter Heyn, who two hundred and seventy-five years ago in a great naval battle with the Spaniards, destroyed twenty-six of their warships and in a later engagement captured the balance of the Spanish fleet of nineteen vessels, with millions of dollars of treasure.

Another illustration, love of home. My friends, some people live in houses. The Dutch live in homes.

"A house is built of bricks and stones,
Of sills and posts and piers;
But a home is built of loving deeds,
That stand a thousand years."

Thank God, not only the Dutch people of other days, but the American people of to-day believe in preservation of the home in all its happiness and purity. To perpetuate such a home we must chiefly depend upon woman's tact, woman's sacrifice, woman's love. A good home is the world's hope and to preserve and beautify and dignify a Christian home is life's greatest mission and a pure and noble woman can most faithfully and successfully fulfil that mission. God bless her!

Coupled with a Dutchman's love of home is his characteristic welcome and hospitality, and so it was that the Dutch introduced into this country holiday customs and especially New Year's calls and celebrations. May we never depart from that old-fashioned Dutch hospitality which always brought good cheer and filled one's life with sunshine. I think a Dutchman must have inspired this sentiment:

"The under side of every cloud
Is bright and shining,
And so I turn my clouds about,
And always wear them inside out,
To show the lining."

It was Dutch cheer and sunshine that induced William Brewster, a bright and brave young Englishman, to spend a dozen years in Holland. He was so pleased with the Dutch homes and their hospitality that he influenced many of the Pilgrim Fathers to seek a home in Holland and these homes made possible a Plymouth Rock, made certain a Declaration of Independence.

Not only did the Dutch believe in a home, but they believed in owning that home, and when in early days they were cramped by the limitations of the little country captured from the sea, they pushed out as pioneers to secure homes in new lands, until Holland of to-day, with an area of about 13,000 square miles and a population of about five millions, controls colonies with an area of more than three-quarters of a million of square miles and a population of more than thirty millions. In establishing new homes, it was their ambition not to forget the old ones and hence it is characteristic of the Dutch people to be the very best colonizers for a new country. And why? Because they take from the old home to the new the school-house and the church.

Did you ever stop to think that no foreign missionaries were ever called to convert a Dutch colony. Do you ask the reason? The Dutch schoolmaster always accompanies the Dutch farmer, and the Dutch minister always accompanies the Dutch merchant in their onward march of civilization. They are all missionaries.

Again, let it not be forgotten that in Holland it was an exception to find a person who could not read and write. It is an historic fact that the first English translation of the Bible was published in Antwerp in 1535, and in those early days nowhere in the world was the Bible so generally read as by the Hollanders and the English people who settled there. Thank God, love of the Bible is a Dutch characteristic of to-day as well as former days.

The Dutch who settled in this country, while never forgetting their forefathers nor the land of their birth, became loyal Americans and faithful in the last degree to our beloved land. While we rejoice that many of our citizens of various nationalities have renounced allegiance to foreign governments, let us never sympathize with that mistaken sentiment occasionally found in this day whereby some adopted citizens for public notoriety not only renounce but denounce a foreign government, and frequently swear fealty to our republic in boisterous words, rarely followed by honorable deeds. May we as lovers of this land of liberty, descendants of every nationality, ever remember that vociferously crying the word "American" does not always make an American; that the denouncement of other governments is not evidence of loyalty to our own government; that the best evidence of true citizenship is found not in empty words but in worthy deeds.

To be a good American is to be a good citizen, and to be a good citizen is to be a good person in the home. True manhood of any nationality, without distinction of class, without aristocracy save that of

merit, is the measure of Americanism, while good behavior is the development of such manhood.

Class distinction was once tried by the Dutch in New Amsterdam, 250 years ago. It has never been tried since. They then attempted to divide into two societies, called Great Burghers and Small Burghers. This plan to create an aristocracy was abolished after a trial of about ten years, the Dutch women doing their full share in bringing about the change and from that time on to the present the only Dutch class distinction is one of merit, founded upon good behavior. That the Dutch people did not depend upon class distinction is further witnessed by the fact that shortly after the classes of the Great and the Small Burgher were disposed of, a Governor of New York, in writing to a friend in his home-land, complimented the Dutch residing here upon their refinement, and among other things he said: "I find some of these people have the breeding of courts, and I cannot conceive how such is acquired." Ah! my friends, this Governor did not appreciate the fact that the foundation of Dutch character in the mother-land was good behavior, and upon such a foundation only can refinement be builded.

May we always extend to true manhood the same inviting welcome to this country that was extended by the Dutch Court of Leyden, centuries ago. It was then as now the best invitation any country has ever given to the oppressed or the ambitious. History tells us that more than two centuries ago a proclamation was issued by the burgomasters and the Court of Leyden, "Refusing no honest person free ingress to come for residence in that city, provided that such persons behave themselves." All hail to dear old Holland, where the only price of citizenship was good behavior! Do you wonder that our Pilgrim Fathers received their best teachings of love and liberty, of education and religion, from Holland? Do you wonder that with such broad proclamation and brotherly sentiment the first street of old Plymouth town, Massachusetts, was named Leyden street? Do you wonder that the immortal principles of freedom, equality and liberality were placed in the Declaration of Independence as a result of Dutch influence? In contributing to the elevation of manhood and the encouragement of enterprise, in battling for civil and religious liberty, in triumphing over despotism and difficulty, and in upbuilding practical religion of love to man and love to God, the little country of Holland has ever stood front and foremost among the nations of the earth.

I have referred among the characteristics of the Dutch to love of liberty because it makes imperial manhood; to love of home because it elevates that manhood and to good citizenship because it educates that manhood.

Thrift and honesty are also Dutch characteristics. I want to ask a question and invite your Society to make inquiry preparatory to an answer. How many Dutch people can be counted as inmates of the poorhouses here or elsewhere owing to lack of thrift? How many can

be counted as inmates of prisons here or elsewhere on account of lack of honesty?

There are still other characteristics. Patience and perseverance. For centuries the Dutch patiently fought the ocean to secure their country; then for eighty years they persistently fought the Spaniards for their liberty, and as some one has said both patiently and persistently they always fought the devil for their religion.

That the early Dutch settlers in New Amsterdam possessed human as well as spiritual characteristics may be noted by the fact that one of the first buildings erected in New Amsterdam was, to quote the language of the Dutch official who made the first subscription, "a respectable church," which he said was needed. A few days after the starting of this subscription, a daughter of Dominic Bogardus was married and at the wedding repast after the wine had been freely passed around, the Church subscription paper was circulated with such generous results that the building was shortly after erected. Dominics then as now occasionally preached practical sermons. It is said that Bogardus had a bit of trouble with the Dutch Governor and after some angry words had passed between them the Dominic stated that he would preach the Governor such a sermon the next Sunday that it would make him "shake in his shoes." No harm however resulted from the sermon as the anger of both men subsided. Those were fraternal days between the churches; the Church of England and the Dutch Reformed Church worked together in brotherly love, holding services in the same meeting house, one in the morning, the other in the evening.

The Dutch possess in a large degree ambition and enterprise. I make bold the statement that their characteristics are and always have been largely misunderstood in this regard even by those who ought to be familiar with them. Stubborn facts as proved by history, teach us that man for man no country of the same size and population ever produced better leaders of thought, braver pioneers of commerce, more conservative statesmen, more noble patriots, more shrewd financiers, more enterprising persons in all that goes to make up the best all around men. When the Dutch first came to America, they were undoubtedly the foremost commercial people in the world and introduced many successful elements in our business life as well as in our educational affairs that have always been of supreme importance.

Pausing a moment to speak of educational matters, we note that today more than fifteen millions of pupils and teachers are at work in our common schools. The common school system is a product of Holland. The first free school in this country was opened by Dutchmen on Manhattan Island, and of all the early settlers here the Dutch alone believed in the free public school, offering education not as a charity but as a right. They had it at home; they established it here.

Listen to a statement made by John of Nassau, brother of that typical Dutchman, William of Orange: "Soldiers and patriots educated in

free schools are better than all armies, arsenals, munitions, alliances, and treaties that can be had or imagined in the world."

Let us not forget that throughout the centuries all classes in Holland, rich and poor, boys and girls, attend the public schools together, and thus the public school system in Holland prepares men and women to bravely cope with the world. Thank God our own beloved State has profited by the wisdom of our Dutch Fathers and our public school system of to-day is as broad and practical as that of Holland.

In the industrial world, in fine arts, in high scholarship, in invention, in various other great undertakings, no nation has ever produced better results, or has ever been more ambitious or more enterprising. More ambitious? Where will you find a nobler specimen than in the person of the great Admiral Van Tromp. Read the inscription on his monument: "He ceased to triumph only when he ceased to live." More enterprising? Where will you find a better local illustration than in the person of Patroon Van Rensselaer, as may be witnessed by the fact that he erected upon an island in the upper Hudson a fortified custom house and proceeded to compel every incoming or outgoing vessel to pay a duty for passing by, or then and there unload its cargo and sell to the customers of the place, which usually resulted to his pleasure and profit. Talk about Dutch enterprise; it looked then as it looks now, that Dutchmen, ancient or modern, want their full share of what is passing by, either of ships in the night time or men in the daytime.

An enterprising person is a cheerful person and it is a Dutch characteristic to be cheerful and we must thank our early Dutch ancestors for setting apart a considerable number of holidays to dispense good cheer and good fellowship. They were perhaps the leaders in a desire to give evidence of joy and celebration by the holiday system which they adopted and which we have in later days largely followed.

Another illustration of Dutch character, toleration in all things. The Dutch believe in the doctrine of "live and let live," and they apply this in matters of business, government and religion. In other words, a Dutchman does not demand the whole thing; he is willing to give a portion to the other fellow. In business a Dutchman does not hold to the one talent of doing nothing, nor to the five talents of doing only the big things, but he belongs to the large class of ostentatious, substantial people who possess the two talents. He is the average man who makes up the real bone and sinew of the land.

While simplicity is a Dutch characteristic, nevertheless I am bound to state that our early ancestors desired to dress well and the women were no exceptions to the rule. It is recorded that they wore much finery and expended much money for expensive articles in the home. We should remember that our ancestors loved to dress well and to live well as well as to act well.

In government, little Holland successfully controls her great colonies.

I have already referred to the fact that although her country is about one-third the size of New York, containing about two-thirds as much population, yet she satisfactorily directs the government of her colonies which contain an area fifty times greater than her own and a population six times larger. Her queen, the only sceptered one in the world, is not afraid of assassination or revolution, neither of which is a Dutch characteristic. On her wedding day, a little more than a year ago, in an open carriage, without protection, without fear, she proudly passed through the lines of many thousands of her subjects, who received her with hearty cheers and honest expressions of affection.

It would be out of place for me to make comparison with the wedding of another royal personage which occurred about the same time but under entirely different circumstances; in the one country the people have always been governed by toleration in all things, in the other by fear. Confirming this I may state that Holland was the first Protestant country that allowed the private exercise of Roman Catholic religion and the one first permitting the open celebration of its ritual. For a long time it was the only country where the Jews were allowed full liberty of religion.

It may also be of interest to note that the Dutch not only founded the first day school, but also the first Protestant church in the United States.

Desiring to give my old-time political friends who honor me with their presence this afternoon a bit of ancient Dutch advice, good, however, for the present day, I want to say that we have a Dutch precedent for the promotion of trusts or corporations, for the existence of the political boss, for an excise law, a tariff law, and a good dinner at public expense.

One of the first great corporations or trusts was founded by a Dutchman, and its shares were dealt in like our modern stock exchange. We are told that the Dutch East India Company was the first great joint stock company whose shares were bought and sold from hand to hand. Afterward, another great company, the Dutch West India Company, was organized. This differed from some modern trusts in that the original subscription books were open to everybody, Dutchman and foreigner alike, who desired to become a stockholder.

Speaking of the political boss, our old Dutch Governor Peter Stuyvesant instituted a boss system 250 years ago that would put to blush even the Boss of New York or Pennsylvania. When the people of that day desired to elect a council of nine men to aid in providing for the general good of the community, Stuyvesant consented, but he so directed affairs that the council would be permitted to assist in the government only when he (Stuyvesant) "called upon them." It is needless to say that Stuyvesant's calls were as few and far between as the calls of any modern boss. We might add by way of a foot-note that bribery was not entirely unknown in that day. A Dutch Governor once at-

tempted to obtain the influence of the English Governor of a neighboring colony, by sending him two Holland cheese and a box of sugar as an inducement for him to stop trading with the Indians.

Our high tariff friends can quote a precedent from our Dutch ancestors, who levied the first tariff in this country by what was then known as "staple right," which required all vessels to pay a duty for passing the port of New Amsterdam. An English ship once attempted to evade this tariff law, escaped the customs officers and proceeded to Fort Orange, where a large cargo of beaver skins was obtained. The New Amsterdam Dutchmen sent a couple of ships up to Fort Orange to escort the English ship to Sandy Hook and thence on her way home. She proceeded, however, without any cargo because the Dutchmen confiscated the whole thing. The most expert customs officials of to-day could not do more or better.

It is probable that the first excise law was promulgated in New Amsterdam by putting a tax on wine and beer and penalties were especially placed upon excessive drinking. A tavern keeper who sold liquor to a drunkard or permitted quarrels upon his premises was liable not only to a fine but to the loss of his property as well. We are also told that a large number of drinking houses were located on Manhattan Island and for the purpose of reducing the drink habit to a minimum, when a drunken man was found, if the authorities failed to discover the particular house where the liquor was sold, in order to be sure of finding the real seller, they would impose a specific fine upon every drinking house located on the entire street.

I mentioned a dinner at public expense. In this respect our modern, like our ancient friends in New York and elsewhere possess about the same midriff's, including the same tastes. So far as I am able to learn, both the Dutch and English of two centuries ago and their descendants of to-day expend about the same proportion of money to secure the same proportionate good thing. In proof of this statement, I quote from an official account of the expenditure for a banquet given by New Amsterdam officials to an English Lord more than 200 years ago. Here are the principal items:

	£	s.	d.
Beef and Cabbage		7	6
Pork and Turnips		7	3
Mince Pies	1	4	
Fruit, Cheese and Bread		7	6
31 Bottles of Wine	3	2	
Beer and Cider		12	

As proof that the New Amsterdam case is not an exceptional one, I cite another from New Jersey. Here is an authentic copy of a bill over a century and a quarter old, the original of which may be found in the library of Princeton University, formerly known as the New Jersey College:

"The Trustees of New Jersey College, Dr.,
To Wm. Hick,
1771, Sept. 27.

	£	s.	d.
To 37 dinners	1	12	6
To 23 Bottles of Wine at 5s.	5	15	
To 8 Bottles Porter		16	
To 6 Bottles of Beer		9	
To 3 double bowls Punch		9	
To 3 double bowls Toddy		6	
To Tea for 13 Gentlemen		13	
	13	6	6"

To prove the authenticity as well as the correctness of the bill, the Reverend President of the College, John Witherspoon, appends to the bill over his own signature, the following statement:

"The above amount I believe to be just." Whether the "just" part of it refers to "dinners for 37" or "tea for 13," or whether it refers to the other liquid refreshments is not stated.

I will not weary you with other important characteristics that have conspired to place little Holland in the front rank of the procession of progressive nations. Benjamin Franklin once said: "Holland has been our great example in love of liberty and bravery in defending it."

What a world of thought is contained in one of Holland's mottoes: "By concord, little things become great."

We have borrowed from this our own motto: "In union there is strength," and Union College, which is a product of a Dutch church, follows this thought with its motto: "In things necessary, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all things, charity."

In conclusion, may we not from these and other characteristics learn a lesson of value for present duty and future possibility?

In the hasty preparation of this paper I have endeavored to prove from the record of the past that although Holland is small in territory and population, yet, measured by manhood, no race ever developed grander characters; measured by bravery, no nation ever produced more courageous protectors; measured by discovery, no land ever gave birth to men more progressive or more desirous of civilizing every habitable part of the earth; measured by success in commerce and finance, no business center of the globe ever achieved better reputation or accomplished better results; measured by love of country and love of God, no people since the days of Holy Writ have ever been better, broader, truer, nobler!

Fellow members and friends, in this electric age we hear much about the new times, new methods and new countries. We hear little about the old times, old methods, old countries. These are well-nigh forgotten. But, thank God, this society and kindred societies still keep sacred and will forever keep sacred the old times out of which were born the new. Even an electric age will honor any society living to

perpetuate the memory that lingers around the old countries whose liberty-loving sons obtained for us this new and glorious heritage; around the old home, the old father, the old mother whose prayers have ever given inspiration to new manhood and new devotion to duty and whose old-fashioned religion is represented by the old-time family Bible. Are we preserving it on the table or in the heart?

Appreciating our duty and responsibility born of love of country and home, of loyalty to ancestor and society, let us here and now pledge to both the old and the new, never forgetting the one in the favoring of the other. May we forever unite them in fraternity between the aristocracy of blood and the aristocracy of merit; in fellowship, where we may meet as equals but always with the equality that elevates; and in friendship, binding heart to heart with love to man and love to God.

1828-1832. GLEANINGS FROM TWO HERKIMER NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER MATTERS.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL, OF HERKIMER,

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society, December 14, 1901.

The Herkimer American was established in this village in 1810, as a Federal paper, by John H. & H. Prentice, and was published by successive publishers until 1832. It opposed the election of Andrew Jackson for President and supported John Quincy Adams, and afterward Henry Clay, for that office. H. Prentice was the father of Miss Lucretia Prentice, for many years a well-known resident of this village. The Herkimer Herald was established as a Jackson paper in 1828, the first number being published on the 1st day of October in that year; and its publication was continued until sometime in 1830. Its founder and publisher was John Carpenter, who married a sister of the late Mrs. James C. Lawton of this village. There is now in the custody of this society numbers of the Herald for the years 1828 and 1829, and the American for the years 1831 and 1832.

In looking through these papers, I have found many facts that cannot fail to interest the members of this society. They give a vivid view of the business and social conditions of Herkimer in those days and of the politics of the county, State and Nation. They bring before us the names of many men, prominent here and in other parts of the county seventy years ago, who have long since passed away. They show a thriving, bustling little village of not more than five hundred inhabitants, located at the center of the State. The business men generally advertised their business, and I find advertisements of merchants as follows: Small & Strong (afterward succeeded by Isaac Small, late of Little Falls), Jacob Burrill, Jr., father of J. G. Burrill of this village; Philo M. Hakley & Son, J. A. Rasback & Co., Thomas G. Barnum, James Van Antwerp, Brown & Crist. The merchants generally kept general assortments of goods such as groceries, dry goods, hardware, liquors, and patent medicines. There were several tailors and blacksmiths who advertised their business, and several taverns were adver-

tised, one of which was called the Coffee House, and another was called the Eagle Tavern, all quite famous hostleries in their day.

In those days regularly indented apprentices to all kinds of trades and farming were quite common; and they not infrequently ran away from their masters who, to protect themselves against liability for their support and misconduct, advertised them; and thence I find several notices (now no more seen) of "one cent reward" for runaway apprentice.

Lotteries were advertised, as they continued to be allowed by law in this State until 1833; and also, as now, many patent medicines.

There were from year to year several private schools in the village, recommended in advertisements by the leading citizens. Among them, there was a select school for infants in which the charges were \$1.50 per quarter, and 12½ cents per week; also a school for boys and young men where mathematics, Latin, Greek and French were taught; and a Ladies' Academy where all kinds of instruction usual in such schools were given.

Cast iron plowshares "of forty different varieties" were advertised by Moses Wadleigh of Frankfort, in September, 1831; and Col. F. P. Bellinger of this village advertised for sale "Warren's newly invented Threshing Machines," which could be seen in operation on his farm here. These must have been the first threshing machines introduced into this county. Prior to that time and for some years thereafter, grain in this county was threshed by flails in the hands of men and women, and by horses driven around on the straw upon the barn floor, thus stamping out the grain. Instead of horses, some farmers took a round log, put pegs or sticks into it, and then fixed it into sidepieces so that it could revolve, and then horses would draw it revolving about the barn floor over the straw, and thus the grain would be threshed out.

Wives seem in those days to have been much more unruly and more disposed to abandon their husbands than now; and so all these papers contain notices by husbands to the public, forbidding credit to runaway wives. There was at least one occasion when the wife got even with her husband, as these notices which appear in juxtaposition in the Herald show:

"NOTICE.

"Whereas my wife Nancy has left my bed and board without just cause or provocation, I do hereby forbid all persons harboring or trusting her on my account, as I shall pay no debts of her contracting after this date.

Aaron Frazee.

"Columbia, Sept. 8, 1829."

"NOTICE EXTRA.

"I have been compelled through the cruelty and inattention of my husband to leave his house and find a home at my father's, and there

fore forbid all persons from harboring or trusting him (Aaron Frazier) on my account, as I shall pay no debts of his contracting after this date.

Nancy Frazier.

"Columbia, Sept. 14, 1829."

In every paper there was a long list of banks in this and other States showing the value of their circulating notes, some of them being worth par and others at a discount often of between three and four per cent. Every paper also contained the wholesale New York prices for produce, and I find in the American the following prices for May, 1831: Butter, first quality, 13 to 16 cents, and for exportation, 7 to 11 cents, showing that the poorest quality was exported; shipping cheese, 7 cents per pound; flour, \$5.75 per barrel; hops, 8 to 12 cents per pound; corn, 50 to 60 cents, and oats, 31 cents per bushel; gin, per gallon, 34 cents; whiskey, per gallon, 21 to 22 cents.

Now, mortgage foreclosures and sheriffs' sales of real estate under judgments are quite uncommon. Then they were very numerous; and I find many mortgages foreclosed by lawyers as assignees, leading me to suppose that they purchased them to make the statutory costs of foreclosure. And there were frequent legal notices for the discharge of debtors from their debts, as at that time debtors could be imprisoned for their debts. Judging from these notices, I conclude that there were more insolvent debtors then than now. Lists of uncalled for letters were constantly advertised, and William Small, quite a famous character here, was postmaster for several years. Postage was high then and letters few. As late as 1840, I remember that a few pigeon holes in the corner of a store were sufficient to accommodate all the mail that came here.

In those days, and earlier, and also later, Independence Day was more commonly celebrated than now. Now there are other national holidays which have weakened its hold upon the popular mind. One of the features of all Fourth of July celebrations, so long as Revolutionary soldiers lived, was their presence. They were always drawn in carriages and given places of honor upon platforms and at banquet tables. I find an account in the American of a Fourth of July celebration here in 1831. There was a procession escorted to the Dutch church by Colonel Francis E. Spinner's regiment of artillery, Revolutionary soldiers in carriages. At the church there was prayer by Rev. Mr. Snyder, minister of the Dutch church, and then an anthem was sung. Aaron Hackley read the Declaration of Independence, and L. M. Morton delivered the oration. The procession then returned to John Couch's hotel, where dinner was served. After the cloth was removed, the company drank the following among other toasts:

"The day we celebrate—May it ever be held in grateful and joyful remembrance by the American people.

"Nine cheers—'Hail Columbia.'

"The surviving officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army—May they obtain benefits more substantial than the thanks of their country.

"Nine cheers—'Auld Lang Syne.'

"The memory of the immortal Washington.

"Standing—'Solemn Dirge.'

"The memory of the soldiers and statesmen of 1776—May the heroes of Poland emulate their glorious example.

"Standing—'Freedom March.'

"Charles Carroll of Carrollton—the last of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

" 'Life let us cherish.'

"Our Country—The refuge of the patriotic and oppressed of the world.

"Nine cheers—Swiss Guard's March.

"Liberal principles in Europe—Destined like the religion of Mahomet to be inculcated at the point of the sword.

"Three cheers—'Rural Felicity.'

"The Polish nation—Let their independence be this day recognized by the American people and our government will sanction the act, Humanity, patriotism and religion, all demand it of us.

"Three cheers—'Scott's wha ha.'

"Education—The keystone of all our institutions.

"Nine cheers—'Clinton's March.'

"The militia of the State of New York—Preserve them from the hands of vandal reformers.

"Three cheers—'Tompkins' March.'

"The Girls—True patriots in every age and country, they love not only their country, but those who love it.

"Thirteen cheers—'The girl I left behind me.'

"By the Vice-president (Caleb Budlong), Louisiana—Saved by a hero from falling into the hands of our enemies.

"By J. B. Hunt, Esq.—Martin Van Buren: The proudest son of the State of New York.

"By F. E. Skinner—The American Fair: May they never embrace a coward, or bear a slave.

By F. Clark (a Revolutionary)—The committee of arrangements: They have the thanks of the soldiers of '76.

By L. M. Morton—The French nation: May their next revolution be as glorious in its results as their last was auspicious in its commencement.

"By T. Barlow—The American Fair: Mingling their sympathies with, and sending their aid to the oppressed and struggling Greeks, they have won an unfading laurel to crown their virtues.

"By J. Burrill—The State of New York: The proudest daughter in the family."

The day was closed by firing of cannon. In the evening there was a brilliant display of fireworks.

President James Monroe died July 4th, 1831, just five years after Adams and Jefferson died, and the American for July 13th, was in mourning.

At some early day, a debating society was organized in this village, and during the years covered by these papers its meetings together with the questions to be debated were regularly advertised. There were also debating societies in Frankfort and Columbia, and in March, 1829, these three societies held a joint meeting at a tavern in German Flats, and discussed these questions: "Have moral causes more influence in forming national character than natural and physical?" "Has the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte been beneficial to the world?" These societies must have been very beneficial to the young men of that period. We may well imagine that the debates conducted by such men as Hoffman, Hunt, Bartow, Spinner and others were very interesting. In the Herald, which advertised these debates, I find the following story which may have been published as a pointed illustration of the style of some inexperienced, poorly equipped debater. It was said to be a literal copy of a speech delivered at a debating society in one of the western towns of Pennsylvania: "Well—the subject to be excussed is whether ardent spirits does any good or not. I confer it don't. Jist think of one's ancestors in future days—they lived to a most numerous age—so that I think that whiskey nor ardent spirits don't do any good. (Long pause.) Well—the question to be excussed is whether ardent spirits does any good or not—so that I conclude it don't. (Long pause.) I can't get hold of the d—d thing."

Debating societies were continued in this village with some intervals until after 1840. Now there is not one, so far as I know, in this county. In August, 1831, a Lyceum (whatever that may have meant then) was organized here as appears from the following publication in the Herkimer American:

"HERKIMER LYCEUM.

"At a meeting of the young men of the village of Herkimer, for the purpose of establishing a lyceum, Francis E. Spinner was called to the chair, and John Bartow appointed secretary. It was

"Unanimously resolved, that a Lyceum be established in this village, and that a committee be appointed to prepare a constitution to be submitted to the consideration of the society at its next meeting; and that this meeting adjourn until Tuesday evening next, at 7 p. m., at the school house, at which time and place all who feel an interest in the subject are respectfully invited to attend. F. E. Spinner, Ch'n.

"John Bartow, Sec'ry.

"August 16th."

But the literary aspirations of this village were not confined to its

schools and debating societies. As early as 1809, a Library Association here was organized under the name of "The Herkimer Library." We have no record of its work. Again in 1829, an effort was made to start a library here. As we have no record of it subsequent to that date, it is probable that the effort did not prove successful. Good select schools for both boys and girls were kept here until 1838, when the Herkimer Academy was incorporated and inaugurated with Mr. Garfield as its first principal, and he was succeeded in 1840 by Rev. David Classell, D. D., one of the most successful teachers in this State. This Academy was located on the southeast corner of Court and Washington streets, upon a lot which extended west on the south side of Court street to the county lot upon which the clerk's office now stands. It was conducted under successive principals, (among them myself for two years, in 1845, 1846 and 1847), until about 1848, when it was abandoned. There I and other young men were prepared for college. During most of its existence there was a female department connected with it, with a lady principal.

In 1831, steps were taken for the organization of a bank. On the 10th day of September of that year, a notice was published in the American of an application to the Legislature for an act incorporating a bank to be located here and to be called "The Herkimer County Bank," with a capital of \$100,000. This notice was signed by John Mahon, Alfred Putnam, Henry Ellison, Jonas Cleland, James B. Hunt, W. C. Crain, Abijah Beckwith, N. Cleland, Stanton Dennison, William Small, Nicholas Smith, Jacob Burrill, Jr., P. M. Hackley, Charles Gray, John A. Rasbach, C. C. Bellinger, John Farmer, and H. W. Doolittle. That project for some reason not now known failed. The first bank in the county was organized in Little Falls in 1833, with a capital of \$200,000, and that was called "The Herkimer County Bank;" and under the National bank act that was converted into the existing National Herkimer County Bank of Little Falls.

Subsequently, in 1839, the Agricultural Bank was organized here, with a capital of \$100,000, and it was conducted until 1857, when it failed and was wound up.

It appears from the advertisements in these papers that there was a large variety of business for a small village carried on here. Besides the ordinary trades of blacksmithing, tailoring, shoemaking, cabinet making, carpentering, saddlery and harness making, (in which latter trade Francis E. Spinner was then engaged), there were several distilleries, tanneries, a grist mill, saw mill, fulling and wool carding mill, a manufactory of cow bells, of hats, of baskets, and of barrels. There had for many years been a distillery, grist mill and saw mill owned by the Manhattan Company on the West Canada Creek just west of the bridge across the creek east of this village; and in September, 1831, Michael Hoffman, as agent of that company, advertised that property for sale, together with the water power and 31 acres of land and two

and a half village lots, extending from the village on the north side of what was then the turnpike, now Albany street, to and across the creek.

At that time there was some agitation for building a railroad affecting this locality. In September, 1831, there was published in the American a notice of an application to the Legislature for an act incorporating a railroad company, with a capital of \$7,000,000, to build a road from the Hudson River at Albany to Buffalo. Nothing came of the application. On August 1st, 1831, the railroad from Albany to Schenectady was opened, and that was the first railroad operated in this State. About the same time there were other railroad projects affecting this locality, as I find this notice in the American:

"RAILROAD NOTICE."

"The citizens of the town of Herkimer are requested to meet at Willard's Hotel, in the village of Herkimer, on Friday next, at 5 o'clock p. m., for the purpose of adopting such measures as will induce the Legislature to construct a railroad from Schenectady to Utica, and from the village of Herkimer up the West Canada Creek to the stone quarries.

"August 3rd, 1831."

The result of this movement here and at other places was the incorporation of the Utica & Schenectady Railroad Company, by an act of the Legislature passed April 17th, 1832, and the incorporation, on the same day, of the Black River Company to build a railroad or canal from the Erie canal at Rome or Herkimer or at any other intermediate point to the St. Lawrence River. Under this latter charter there was some surveying done, but nothing else.

In the summer of 1832, cholera prevailed in Albany with fatal results in many cases; and it is said in the American that there were 21 cases in two days in July. On account of the prevalence of cholera in Albany the Senate as a Court of Errors adjourned to the city of New York; and there in that summer William H. Maynard of Utica, a man of great talent and promise, elected senator in 1828 from the district including this county, died of cholera while engaged there as a member of the Court of Errors.

The Herald contains the proceedings of the Republican (which would be better understood now if called Democratic) State convention, held in this village September 24th, 1828. The convention convened in the Court House, and Edward P. Livingston, of Columbia county, presided, and Silas Wright was one of the secretaries. Among the delegates in attendance from other counties who were then or subsequently became prominent in State politics were Azariah C. Flagg, Alva Hunt, Edward P. Livingston, Erastus Root, Josiah Sutherland, Heman J. Redfield, Mitchel Sanford, Gulian C. Ver Plank, Churchill C. Cambrelling, Mordcai M. Noah, Samuel Beardsley, Henry Wager, Schuyler Crippen,

Jonas Earl, Jr., Thomas W. Taylor, Silas Wright, Jr., Bishop Perkins, A. B. Dickinson, James McCall. The delegates from this county were Michael Hoffman, Julius C. Nelson and Atwater Cook. Michael Hoffman was a member of the committee to select candidates to be presented to the convention, and the following nominations were made by the convention: For Governor, Martin Van Buren, of Albany, and for Lieutenant-governor, Enos T. Throop, of Cayuga. A few days afterward, in October, a State convention of Democratic young men was held here. It convened at the Dutch church. There were representative young Republicans here from all parts of the State, and Augustus G. Beardsley of this county, the father of Guy R. Beardsley, of East Creek, was chosen to preside. The convention adopted resolutions, and an address to the people of the State and ratified the nominations previously made. A few days later there was a Jackson Democratic meeting of young men held in the town of Columbia, consisting of about 100, among whom were John W. Beckwith, Philip Haer, Alanson Reynolds, John Clapsaddle, Jr., Jeremiah Miller and others who subsequently became somewhat prominent in the affairs of that town.

That year, 1828, Andrew Jackson was the Democratic candidate for President, and John C. Calhoun for Vice-president. John Quincy Adams was the opposing candidate for President and Richard Rush for Vice-president; and the political contest was very lively and bitter. Newspaper vituperation of public men far surpassed anything to be found in what are called the yellow journals of this day; and newspaper editors treated each other with scant courtesy. The American for October 26th, 1831, contains the following in reference to the editor of the People's Friend, published in Little Falls: "Six cents will be given to any person who will inform us whether Editor Griffing was in earnest when he charged us with having prostituted our columns to promulgate the vilest, grossest and most unprovoked slanders of a female."

Herkimer was then so central and accessible, and the influence of Michael Hoffman and other Democrats in this county so potential that in 1830 the Democratic State convention was again held here, and Enos T. Throop was nominated for Governor. And here, also, William L. Marcy was nominated in Democratic State conventions for Governor in 1832, 1834, 1836 and 1838. Here also in 1832, when General Jackson was again the Democratic candidate for President, there was a State convention of young Democrats, presided over by the late Judge Amasa J. Parker of Albany, then of Delaware county.

The Democratic Senatorial convention for the fifth Senatorial district which included this county, was held in 1828 in the village of Utica, and there Daniel Wardwell was nominated for Senator. His opponent on the Adams ticket was William H. Maynard of Utica before mentioned. At that time there were no cities in this State west of Schenectady.

The Democratic candidate for presidential elector in 1828 was Dr. Rufus Crane, of Warren, and the Adams candidate for the same office was his brother-in-law, Jacob Marshall, of the same town, both living in the same house. The Democratic county committee that year was composed of C. H. Bellinger, Alfred Putnam, Dudley Burwell, Nicholas Smith, Charles Gray and James B. Hunt, all residing in the town of Herkimer.

In the fall of 1828, Michael Hoffman was nominated for Congress, John Graves for Sheriff, Abijah Beckwith for County Clerk, and Abijah Mann, Jr., of Fairfield, Cornelius Sloughier of Stark, and John B. Dygert of Frankfort, for Members of Assembly. Stark was then a new town, having been created in March of that year from a portion of the town of Danube, and Little Falls was then a part of Herkimer, and became a separate town in that same year.

The Democrats carried this county that year (1828) by 683 majority, and elected 20 of the 36 electors in the State, they being chosen by districts for the last time. Van Buren carried the State for Governor by 30,370; and in all the States, Jackson had 148 electors and Adams 83. Michael Hoffman was elected to Congress in 1824, 1826, 1828, and 1830, and during those years Herkimer alone constituted a Congressional district.

At that time (1828) it is noticed in the Herald that John Jay was the only surviving member of the first American Congress of 1774, Charles Carroll the only survivor of the Congress of 1776 which adopted the Declaration of Independence, and James Madison the only survivor of the convention of 1787 which adopted the Federal Constitution.

In 1828, Webster's Dictionary was first published in two volumes, and it was represented to contain 70,000 words—12,000 more than any other dictionary. Now, showing the growth of our language, the latest dictionaries have about double that number.

I find that the present village of Poland was first called Danielsville; and in 1829, it took its present name, and it was then the postoffice address of the Sheriff, John Graves.

In the Herald dated June 30, 1829, I find this notice: "Married yesterday in Utica, by the Rev. Mr. Spinner, Mr. Isaac Small of the firm of Small & Strong, of this village, to Miss Susan, daughter of Philip Knapp of Utica." These were the parents of Mr. Frederick I. Small of Little Falls.

Ezra Graves, for many years Judge of this county, was the son of the Sheriff, John Graves, and came here before he studied law, as the jailor under his father. Religious meetings were then held in the Court House, and either because they were crowded or boisterous, some damage was done to the building; and hence I find in the Herald the following notice: "The subscriber would give notice that in consequence of the damages sustained by the holding of religious meetings

in the court room, in the future they will be discontinued except on funeral occasions.

Ezra Graves, Jailor.

"June 30th, 1829."

This notice seems to have continued in force until September thereafter, when the following notice appeared:

"NOTICE.

"The subscriber would give notice that for the future the court room will be open to the meetings of any denomination of Christians, provided some responsible person will become liable for all damage done the room in consequence of such meeting.

E. Graves, Jailor.

"Sept. 1, 1829."

During 1829 and onward, Francis E. Spinner was one of the deputies under Sheriff Graves. In 1829, the Anti-Masonic party was very rampant and was engaged in a bitter fight against the Masonic order and its friends and supporters. In March of that year, Martin Van Buren resigned the office of Governor to accept the office of Secretary of State in President Jackson's cabinet.

Homes Caswell was married in this village, September 2nd, 1828, to Miss Margaret Rebecca Usher, daughter of Bloomfield Usher, by Rev. Mr. Ercanbrack. They were prominent citizens of our village for many years thereafter.

In 1829, Thurlow Weed, at an early day a resident of this village, was publishing the Rochester Inquirer. He subsequently became famous as the editor and publisher of the Albany Evening Journal, and as the leader of the Whig, and afterward of the Republican party in this State.

In June, 1828, William H. Maynard, before mentioned, the candidate of the Adams party for Senator in the fifth senatorial district, composed of Herkimer, Oneida, Jefferson and other counties, published in the Utica Sentinel and Gazette a libel against Judge Samuel Beardsley, of Utica, charging him with misconduct as United States District Attorney, for which Mr. Beardsley sued him and recovered \$446.

In my early days, it was not uncommon to see dogs in church. They evidently disturbed the devotions or sensibilities of some people, as under date of October 13th, 1831, I find in the American this notice: "If the gentlemen of our village have not decency enough to keep their dogs from meeting, my family shall not attend."

B. A.

There is in the Herkimer Free Library a history of the State of New York, by James MacCauley, who in 1832 and for many years thereafter was a lawyer residing in the town of Frankfort, in this county. The book is very rare, is now little known, and very rarely read, and yet it is a pains-taking and valuable history. In February of that year he published the prospectus of his book, to be sold by subscription at \$2 and \$2.25.

During all the years from the beginning of 1828 to the close of 1832.

party contests were conducted with much virulence and vituperation; and bitter partisanship occasionally invaded the pulpit. Extreme utterances became common. Soon after the commencement of the Legislative session of 1832, Rev. James R. Wilson was chosen one of the chaplains of the Legislature. Soon thereafter he published two sermons in pamphlet form, in which he spoke of George Washington as follows:

"Washington did pray, it is said, in secret, on his knees, during the battle of Brandywine. That may be true, and yet, like Thomas Paine, who is known to have prayed, he may have been an unbeliever. Is it probable that he would have attended balls, theatres and the card table, had he been a disciple of Christ? Rousseau, an avowed infidel, has said more in honor of Christ, than is known to have been uttered by Washington. He was a slave holder, which was doing 'evil in the sight of the Lord.' His Sabbaths were not spent as the 'fearers of the Lord' employ that holy day. His death, as recorded by Dr. Ramsey, is much more like a Heathen philosopher's than like that of a Saint of God."

And of Jefferson as follows:

"Mr. Jefferson, the successor of Mr. Adams, was an avowed infidel and notoriously addicted to immorality. To the common decency of Washington's or Adams' moral deportment he had no pretensions. His notes on Virginia contain very satisfactory evidence that the author when he composed that work was an enemy to revealed religion, and a virulent foe to the church of God. Had the people of the United States known the immorality of his private life, and the scorn with which treated the religion of Jesus, it is surely impossible that he could have been elected to the first office in their gift."

And of Madison as follows:

"Madison, to the grief of his parents, abandoned the study of theology, and entered the office of the infidel and libertine Jefferson, as a student of law. Though Mr. Madison has pledged himself neither in public or private, to the belief of Christianity, yet he is not known to have employed his influence, like Jefferson, in attempts to abolish the Christian faith. The value of a religious education is strikingly illustrated in the private character of James Madison. Jefferson probably made him a deist, and yet his moral deportment, as it regards the second table of the law, has been respectable. All the influence of the infidel creed, and the profligacy of morals about court, have not been of sufficient force to demolish utterly the fabric of a religious education. For the honor of the country, we may hope that he will not contrive to die on the 4th of July."

This shocking language used in reference to three of our greatest public men aroused much indignation and Mr. Wilson was removed from his office as chaplain.

In the fall of 1832, Andrew Jackson was the Democratic candidate for President and Henry Clay was the opposing candidate. A Jackson

meeting was called here and the American spoke in this manner in reference to that meeting:

"The paper calling a Jackson meeting for this town has at length made its appearance, after being circulated for about the matter of five weeks, (Sundays not excepted), with about three hundred and fifty names, enumerating those whose names are on twice, those who belong in other towns, those who are not voters, and about seventy-five, who, if they vote at all, will record their votes against the administration."

"The bull-dogs of the party here, have hesitated not to trample upon all laws human and divine; they have hesitated not to enter the precincts of the sanctuary to attain their unhallowed purposes, viz., procuring signatures for the call for a Jackson meeting."

"Deception and falsehood of the basest description has been carried on by the bull-dogs, in collecting and accumulating the 'long string' of names to the Jackson paper in this town. That they might the more effectually deceive the honest Germans, they have employed their own native tongue, and under this cover, themselves and their falsehoods have been screened from exposure."

"The miserable hirelings of power were busy on Sunday last, in this town circulating their paper for signatures amongst the Germans who were here attending church. They took advantage of this opportunity to carry into effect their wicked purposes. It is worthy of the cause in which they are engaged."

I have made these quotations at some length to show how much more decently political contests are conducted now than they were seventy years ago.

The following notice shows the beginning of an enterprise which has proved of great value to our village:

"NOTICE.

"Is hereby given that an application will be made to the next session of the Legislature of the State of New York to incorporate the Herkimer Manufacturing and Hydraulic Company, with a capital of \$100,000, and with liberty to extend the same to \$300,000.

"May 15, 1832."

The act applied for was passed by the legislative session of 1833, and the construction of the hydraulic canal was inaugurated July 4th, of that year, and the canal was completed in 1834.

In those early days, 1828-1832, there were temperance societies in this county, town societies and a county society, to promote the cause of temperance, of which I find repeated notices in these papers; and public temperance addresses then and for many years afterwards were delivered in various towns in the county. These societies no longer exist and temperance lectures as such are rarely heard. The press and the pulpit have taken the places of these instrumentalities for reform, and the mass of people with growing intelligence and civilization have become much more temperate than they were during the first half of

the last century. There is more general intelligence among the people than there was seventy years ago, and more refinement. In those days there were political leaders but no political bosses in the modern sense. The latter are the growth of quite modern times.

Concluding my paper, I will simply say that the only interest in it, as my hearers must have observed, is in the facts stated, and I hope they will be found interesting and of some historical value. It is always interesting to learn the political feelings, the business employment, the educational and social conditions, and the absorbing interests of past generations; and nowhere can these be so well learned as in the newspapers of the period.

HERKIMER COUNTY PEOPLE AT THE NATIONAL CAPITOL.

AN ADDRESS BY DR. P. H. EATON, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society January 11, 1902.

In undertaking to write something about the Herkimer county people who, from time to time, have lived in Washington, it seems an absolute necessity to touch upon the history of the United States Treasurer's office.

From the foundation of the Government to the breaking out of the slave-holding Rebellion in 1861, the force of the office had grown from four to twenty employes only.

Up to 1861, there is no record of a Herkimer county man having at any time held position in that office or any other, excepting that of Representative in Congress.

The Congressional district, of which Herkimer county formed a part, had sent Hon. Alexander H. Buel to Congress in 1850. Mr. Buel was born in Fairfield, received a limited education, was a prominent and successful merchant at the time he was elected and served to the date of his death, which occurred at the National Capital June 30th, 1853.

The county was next represented at Washington by Hon. Francis E. Spinner, of Mohawk, Herkimer county. General Spinner was born in the town of German Flats, January 21st, 1802. He was mostly educated at home under the eye of his father, a highly educated German clergyman.

For twenty years General Spinner was the executive officer of the Mohawk Valley Bank. He held all the commissions from the Governors of New York from Lieutenant to Major General of State artillery; was Sheriff of his county, and Commissioner for building the State Lunatic Asylum. From 1845 to 1849, he was Auditor of the naval office at the port of New York.

In 1851, he was elected to Congress, and re-elected to the 35th Congress, serving as a member of the committee on accounts. He was re-elected to the 36th Congress, and made Chairman of the committee on

accounts. In this, as well as in the preceding Congresses, he made a reputation as a quiet but fireless worker, never taking anything for granted, but always looking carefully into everything which he had to do, before giving it his approval.

In 1861, he was appointed Treasurer of the United States by President Lincoln, his previous experience as banker, auditor and congressman having peculiarly fitted him for the position.

For fourteen of the most eventful years in the history of our country he held the office. Men of all classes, who had the welfare of the Union at heart, looked upon Francis E. Spinner, as a rock of integrity against which the waves of corruption, rascality, treason and dishonesty beat in vain.

When he took charge of the Treasurer's office, the departments were honey-combed with treason and the offices filled with traitors. The credit of the government had been destroyed and the limited receipts stolen to advance the cause of treason. United States securities went begging at 12½ per cent. discount, but when the old watch-dog of the Treasury retired from office, the credit had been restored, and the interest-bearing securities were eagerly taken at 3 per cent.

Not a little of the net result was due to the unbounded faith of the people in the man who held the keys to the treasure vaults of the Government.

Assuming charge of the office under the adverse conditions detailed above, how natural for the General to turn to his own home county for help, for men upon whom he could rely in aiding to carry out the vast financial plans about to be inaugurated.

It was in pursuance of this policy that Colonel Standish Barry, Judge H. G. Root, Allen W. Eaton, LeRoy Tuttle, Edward O. Graves, and many others of old Herkimer county, were early called into service.

Colonel Standish Barry was a resident of Newport for many years. He was elected Clerk of the county in 1816, and again in 1819. March 3d, 1863, Congress passed a law creating the office of Assistant Treasurer of the United States at Washington, and Colonel Barry was nominated by President Lincoln and confirmed by the Senate of the United States, as its first incumbent.

A man of fine presence, courtly manners and a kindly heart, the Colonel was loved and respected by all who knew him. He held the office to the date of his death.

His widow, Mrs. Lydia Barry, still survives him at more than ninety years of age. She is a lady whom to know is to love. Her noble, kindly face comes before me as I write.

Colonel Barry was succeeded as Assistant Treasurer by another Herkimer county man—LeRoy Tuttle. Mr. Tuttle came to Mohawk from Otsego county, about 1850, and was employed in the Mohawk Valley Bank under the supervision of General Spinner, probably as a book-

keeper, as he was a fine penman, and an accomplished accountant. Mr. Tuttle held the office for a number of years, and finally retired, and devoted his entire time to a growing real estate business. He had purchased a large tract of land on Kalorama Heights, immediately overlooking Northwest Washington, where the ground rapidly enhanced from a few cents to a dollar a square foot, thus making Mr. Tuttle a rich man. He continued in business until his death, a few years ago.

The recent suspension of the Omaha Trust Company, at the head of which was a former United States Treasurer, A. U. Wyman, recalls an incident in the life of Mr. Tuttle and another Herkimer county man, who held a clerkship in General Spinner's office—Abram Zoller.

Mr. Zoller had a few hundred dollars in an old State bank in which Mr. Tuttle was interested. The bank failed; Zoller gave Tuttle no rest importuning for a settlement. Finally Tuttle told him that if he would shut his mouth he would transfer to him a piece of land in the neighborhood of Omaha in settlement. The offer was accepted. Zoller held on to the ground. Omaha grew to and around it, tempting offers began to come in. The land-boom struck Omaha. Finally an offer equivalent to \$400,000 was made by a banking and real estate institution, but Zoller would not sell. The bottom of the boom fell out, and left Mr. Zoller high and dry on a lee shore, so to speak. The same adverse tide took the foundation from under the Omaha Trust Company. (Moral: Sell when a good price is offered, even if you do let the other fellow have a chance to make a few dollars).

Edward O. Graves, son of Hon. Solomon Graves, formerly of the town of Russia, was the next Herkimer county man to hold the office of Assistant Treasurer. Mr. Graves entered the Treasurer's office in the closing years of the war. He rose rapidly through all the grades to the position of Chief Clerk of the office, at \$2,500 per year. In 1874, when the National Bank Redemption Agency was provided for, he was made its first superintendent, at \$3,500 per year, and subsequently appointed Assistant Treasurer of the United States. Graves was Chief Examiner of the Civil Service under President Grant, and when Cleveland was elected President, he made him Chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, one of the most important offices under the Treasury Department. In this great establishment, employing several thousand people, are prepared and engraved all the plates, etc., from which are printed all United States currency and bonds, postage and revenue stamps, as well as the hundreds of millions of notes issued by the National Banks of the country. When Mr. Cleveland was succeeded by President Harrison, Mr. Graves retired, went to Seattle, Washington State, started a bank, and began to make money. He held many positions of honor, and some of profit. He recently retired from business, and is still living.

Allen W. Eaton, of Little Falls, owner and editor of the old "Mohawk Courier," of ante bellum days, was early called to General Spinner's

assistance. He was a fine penman, a man of considerable education, of rugged honesty, and one of General Spinner's most trusted employes. He, a confidential adviser of the Treasurer, was not what might be called a favorite, because his blunt, straight-forward way of stating the truth was not always acceptable.

Mr. Eaton worked his way rapidly up through all the grades to the position of principal bookkeeper of the office, and from thence was promoted to the position of Chief of the Division of National Banks, thus becoming the custodian of hundreds of millions of dollars in government bonds deposited by the banks as security for their circulating notes.

Mr. Eaton held this position with credit to himself and advantage to the service until John C. New, of Indiana, succeeded Treasurer Spinner, when he retired, and was appointed receiver of public moneys at Oxford, Idaho, through the influence of Hon. Warner Miller, which position he held for many years. When at leisure, he frequented the trout streams of mountainous sections of the State, landing many a speckled beauty. He died out there last year—1900—at the ripe age of 83.

Hon. H. G. Root, one of Mohawk's most respected citizens, was one of the first of Herkimer county men to enter the Treasurer's office. He was the first chief of the issue division—an extremely important branch of the office. In this division was handled and counted the untold millions of greenbacks and fractional currency issued and put in circulation to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion. This division has now grown to more than five times the size of the Treasurer's office, when General Spinner first took charge of it. In it is now finished all the paper money issued by the United States; that is to say, the seal is here added, and the notes are separated, trimmed and put up ready for issue. More than half a million notes are thus daily treated, requiring the services of at least 125 people in the process. The assistant chief of this division at the present time is an ex-New York soldier—a Herkimer county man, and the writer of this article. He was born in Little Falls, emigrated to the West when an infant, returned to Herkimer when quite a small boy, lived there until the outbreak of the Rebellion, entered the 44th New York volunteers, recruited a company for the 18th New York cavalry, passed examination and accepted a commission in a black regiment, saw service in Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Texas, and at the close of the war entered the office of the Treasurer of the United States, upon the recommendation of Hon. Roscoe Conkling and Hon. Addison H. Latlin.

Judge Root continued at the head of the issue division until General Spinner ceased to be Treasurer, when he retired, and returned to Mohawk, where he spent the remainder of his days. He needs no eulogy at the writer's hands, for those who knew him best respected him most.

Hon. Addison H. Latlin, next after General Spinner, represented

Herkimer county in the National Legislature. He was born October 34th, 1823, in Lee, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, graduated from Williams College in 1843, and moved to Herkimer where he engaged extensively in the manufacture of paper. In 1857, he was elected to the State Senate. In 1864, he was elected to the 39th Congress, and was made a member of the committee on printing. He was re-elected to the 40th Congress, and selected as chairman of the committee on printing. His experience as a paper manufacturer was of much advantage to the Government. He took an active part in debate, and came in for high praise in the leading New York papers. Upon Mr. Laffin's retirement from Congress, General Grant appointed him naval officer at New York. His death occurred a few years later. Mr. Laffin was pleasant and affable in his treatment of men, and he made friends. He served in Congress at a time when such statesmen as Conkling, Blaine, Logan, Garfield, Thad. Stevens, Colfax, Butler, Carlisle, Randall and many other brilliant men impressed their ideas upon the legislation of the times. All of them members of the House—in their element, where they gave and took blows in the effort to correctly represent their various constituencies.

Major Alfred R. Quaiffe taught music, and gave lessons on the piano in all the leading towns of the county, previous to the war of the Rebellion. When the 152nd regiment was organized, he entered the ranks, and with his regiment went to the seat of war in Virginia. By a close attention to and an intelligent comprehension of duty, he rose through the various grades until when he left the service he was made Major by brevet, for meritorious conduct. He entered the office of the United States Treasurer at the close of the war, and by the same zealous and intelligent attention to duty, rose rapidly through the various classes to the position of assistant teller, at \$2,500 per annum. When Mr. Cleveland was elected President, he induced Congress to pass a law creating the position of vault clerk, at a salary of \$2,500 per annum, to which Major Quaiffe was appointed and which position he still holds, having immediate charge of all the cash vaults in the United States Treasury. Two of these vaults contain nearly \$160,000,000 in coin, mostly silver dollars, held in trust as security for a like amount in silver certificates in active circulation. The Major is something of a scholar, the official poet of the office, and withal a faithful government officer.

George Schermerhorn, of Mohawk, was one of the earlier appointees of the Treasurer's office. He was not a brilliant scholar, but in computing interest, in correctly figuring out the exact value of a given number of coupons, he was the lightning calculator of the office. No one could approach him in that respect. This was at the time, a valuable qualification and undoubtedly had much to do with his appointment.

George will be recalled by the older residents of Herkimer as a news-

paper vender, who just previous to the war was engaged in a contest to see who could place the New York daily papers in Richfield Springs first. This created great local excitement at the time, relays of horses extended all the way to Richfield Springs—Schermerhorn, I believe, was the victor. He was a very small man physically, but what he lacked in size he made up in self-esteem.

It is told of George that once upon a time, while on leave of absence up where the Mohawk gently glides, he wrote a very patriotic letter to General Spinner, and in the course of his denunciation of the effort to destroy the Union, he broke out as follows, viz: "General! the South has attempted to sever the jugular vein of our liberties, as with a carving knife—will she live, or will she die? I think she will."

Schermerhorn was a born patriot, and after many years of faithful service, he died, full of honors and in harness.

Some hesitation is felt in approaching the next subject, and yet a historian should write the truth or not at all.

Oliver Cromwell was once sitting for his portrait. He was not a handsome man, and to make matters worse, his face was disfigured by a number of ugly looking warts. The portrait painter thinking to improve the looks of his patron was leaving off the warts. When Cromwell noticed what he was doing, he broke forth in great indignation as follows: "Damn you, sir; paint me as I am—warts and all—or not at all."

Seth Johnson came from Mohawk; he was a man of considerable ability—a good penman, an excellent accountant, and as a result, soon worked his way up to a position of responsibility. As interest teller, he paid out and handled daily many thousands of dollars. He was trusted and fell, less from dishonesty than the baleful influence of the times. It was during the gold craze, when the premium went so high that speculators won or lost fortunes—sometimes in a day. Johnson thought he had a sure thing on the market, and invested and lost his all. In a fatal moment, thinking he was sure to win, he made the one false move of his life. He took money from his till, and invested it, thinking to recoup his losses. He lost. Then in his desperation, he again invaded his till, this time in a frantic effort to replace the Government money lost, and lost again. Then from bad to worse—loss upon loss resulted, until he could no longer cover up the condition of his cash—exposure and punishment followed.

With his reputation blasted, his life ruined by a false step—he returned to the world. He lingered along, doing the best he could to make an honest living, and a few months ago he went to that far off country from whose bourne no traveler ever returns.

James H. Stevens, an old Herkimer veteran, who of the older men of Herkimer does not recall "Jim" Stevens?—by trade a tailor—and profession a telegraph operator.

Stevens was of English extraction. He enlisted, probably in the 152d, and after the war came to Washington and succeeded in getting an appointment in General Spinner's office. He procured a pension, purchased a small place at the town of Arlington, near the Heights in Virginia, and entered politics. Some years later, he lost his position under the Government, retired to the shades of his little Virginia home, and resumed his occupation as a tailor.

His habits became somewhat irregular, he was divorced from his wife, and some years later died.

General Spinner did not at first appear to comprehend the magnitude of the task before him, when he accepted the office of Treasurer. The first issue of greenbacks he attempted to sign with a pen. Those who remember that famous signature of his can form some idea of the extent of the undertaking. He soon lamed his wrist, and nearly paralyzed his arm in the effort. Then in despair, he had a number of clerks designated to sign for him. Soon this was abandoned, and the plan now in use was adopted—that of having his signature engraved on the plate from which the notes are printed.

It was about this time that women were first employed in the departments, and to General Spinner belongs the credit of their first introduction to the government service. "God bless General Spinner," they say, and in proof of their gratitude, they will one day erect a monument in his honor. They have already raised the money, and only await a suitable site to begin its erection. Many anecdotes might be related, which would be of interest—a few must suffice.

Whenever a union victory was reported, the clerks of the office would be called out into the corridors, and then all would cheer for the Union. The General did not mean that their patriotic ardor or unionism should get cold. In 1864, the force of the departments was organized into regiments. General Spinner took position in that of the Treasury department, as a high private in the rear rank. Not because he was afraid to go to the front; he wanted to be where he could see that others did their duty.

One day immediately after the official close of the war, a fellow who had been an officer in the United States Army, and had deserted to the Confederate side, entered General Spinner's office with Andrew Johnson's pardon in his pocket, and made some inquiries about the pay that was due him at the time he deserted. Then up rose the old Mohawk war horse, and swore a little. He had something of a Ben Wade reputation in his line, and he added to it.

As the rehabilitated deserter backed off, he undertook to more forcibly present the strength of his claim by pointing to President Johnson's pardon. The eye of the old Mohawk Dutchman glistened, his brow wrinkled more and more, his mouth got longer, as he burst out: "I'll see you and the President both in h—l first, and then I won't." In the

room at the time was a minister of the gospel, his wife and daughter, who had been driven from Petersburg at the outbreak of the Rebellion on account of their Union sentiments.

The preacher walked up to General Spinner, and placing his hand on the old fellow's shoulder, said:

"General, you know how I deprecate profanity. I must say, however, that I never heard it sound so much like praying before."

A letter was one day received from some Confederate sympathizer, enclosing a \$500 Confederate note for redemption with the statement that inasmuch as the United States had made it impossible for the Confederate States government to redeem its obligations, he felt that the United States Government should do it instead.

General Spinner read the letter over quite carefully, and then turning to the then chief clerk of his office, Mr. E. O. Graves, said: "Answer that letter; inform the gentlemen where the Confederate government has gone to, and tell him to go down there and present his bill."

In 1875, the General resigned his position as Treasurer of the United States, mainly because he and Mr. Secretary Bristow could not agree.

He had run the office in his own way for fourteen years, and when someone else undertook to do it for him, he would not submit, and resigned. It was subsequently stated that had General Grant understood the situation, he never would have accepted General Spinner's resignation.

Warner Miller was born at Hannibal, Oswego county, August 12th, 1838, the son of Hiram and Mary Ann Warner Miller. He grew to manhood at Northville, Fulton county, working on the farm in summer and attending school in winter. He entered Union college in 1856, working his own way through that institution, graduating with honor in 1860. After graduation, he taught Latin and Greek in Fort Edward Institute for a year, and then entered the army. In October, 1861, he joined Company I, of the 5th New York cavalry, as a private soldier, and was soon after made Sergeant Major of his regiment. He was taken prisoner by the rebels at Winchester, Virginia, and later (in 1862) was paroled.

Mr. Miller early took an active part in politics, and was for many years chairman of the Republican county committee of Herkimer county. Was a delegate to the National Republican convention at Philadelphia that renominated President Grant. He was elected to the lower House of the State Legislature in 1873-4, and on the ways and means and canal committees in 1875.

In 1878, he was elected to the 46th Congress from the 12nd Congressional district, composed of the counties of Herkimer, Jefferson and Lewis, and re-elected in 1880. In the House of Representatives he served on the committee on militia.

July 16th, 1881, he was elected to the United States Senate, succeeding Thomas C. Platt.

In the Senate, Mr. Miller was a tireless worker, a close student, a believer in common sense methods, and never shrunk from any task which the welfare of his great constituency assigned to him. In 1882, he was appointed member of the committee on commerce, postoffices and post-roads. In 1883, he was made a member of the committee on education. In 1886, he was made chairman of the committee on agriculture, which afterwards included forestry.

From these committees emanated some of the most important legislation of the period covering Mr. Miller's services.

His retirement from the Senate as a result of political machinations was a distinct loss to the whole country. He had grown to be an all-around statesman, with constantly broadening views. His treatment of all National questions was able and patriotic, and while New York may have had more brilliant men in the upper house of Congress; from a business and common sense point of view, it can be safely said that the State has seldom been more ably represented than when Warner Miller was in the United States Senate.

Many other Herkimer county people have undoubtedly sojourned in Washington from time to time since the close of the war of the Rebellion, but so far, the writer has been unable to secure the data necessary to give them proper notice.

The people mentioned served at a time of great interest to the older residents of Herkimer county, and most of them in an office of great importance to the country, and under a man thought much of by those who knew him best.

Alas! they are nearly all dead and gone. Those who remain, but a meager number, will soon pass from the stage, only to be remembered, if at all, by deeds done and character made.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN HERKIMER COUNTY.

AN ADDRESS BY WILLIAM IRVING WALTER, OF ST. JOHNSVILLE.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society February 8, 1902.

The Lutheran church was established in New Amsterdam very early in the history of the New Netherlands. A congregation of Low Country adherents of the Augustana was organized and had erected a church edifice there about 1650, the first congregation of that denomination in America. The Lutheran immigration to America began to take a substantial shape during the war of the Spanish Succession (1704-13), when the country of the Upper Rhine was devastated by the contending armies. In 1708, Rev. Joshua Kockertal, a Lutheran clergyman, with his family and congregation, to the number of fifty-two persons, came to the province of New York under the patronage of the government of Queen Anne, and this was the beginning of the German immigration to America. The story has been told and re-told of the settlement of these pioneers on the Hudson, their dissatisfaction and the removal of some of their number to Schoharie, and ultimately to Pennsylvania and to Burnettsfield. It is with these latter and with their descendants that the present paper deals.

While in Europe, the line between the adherents of Luther and those of Zwingli had since the abortive conference at Marburg been sharply drawn, often to the detriment of both; in America the case was different. The Germans of the Reformed persuasion found a denomination already established, practically identical in creed and church government, and speaking an allied tongue, also having denominational allies among the dominant English-speaking colonists. Under these circumstances it is not strange that many of the immigrants found themselves disposed to minimize theological definitions, and that the Reformed church was greatly re-enforced by the new arrivals, and also that the pioneers directing their efforts more to subduing nature and establishing homes for themselves and their families than to the technicalities of organization, that an interval of forty years exists between the set-

tlement of Burnetsfield, and the first account of an organized Lutheran congregation.

In 1764, Peter Hassenclever, a native of the duchy (now kingdom) of Wurtemberg, joined his fellow countrymen on the upper Mohawk within the limits of the present town of Schuyler. Engaging in the manufacture of potash, he united with his neighbors and co-religionists on Sunday in worship, occupying his ashery for that purpose. This was unquestionably the first Lutheran organization in Herkimer county.

In 1809, a building was erected on the present site of the school-house in district No. 4, which was used for many years both as a church and school-house. In 1878, the frame was still standing, the building being then used as a wagon house. The society also owned a parsonage at one period. In 1836, this building gave place to one used exclusively for school purposes, the remaining members of the society, which was greatly diminished, having united the previous year with the Methodist Protestant society and others, in the erection of a Union church building, which stood about thirty-five years. In 1868, it gave place to a Union church built by the Free Methodists and others, open to clergymen of all denominations. Of the first board of trustees of the Union church, the venerable Alexis L. Johnson was a leading member. The brittania chalice used in the administration of the Sacrament was in 1878 in the possession of Hiram L. Johnson.

A Lutheran congregation existed in the town of Warren (which at that time included Columbia), in 1803. In that year it united with the Reformed and Congregational societies of Warren in the erection of a Union church, the Congregationalists having an interest of one-half, the Reformed of five-twelfths, and the Lutherans one-twelfth. This building gave place in 1840 to the present Reformed church of Columbia.

In 1815-16, a Union church was erected in the town of Warren, on the "Crain" or "Baker" farm now owned by T. Clark Swift, about a mile east of Jordanville, in which the Lutheran denomination was interested.

We have no information as to the length of time that the building was occupied. The dismantled frame was standing in the late sixties. We have no records of the clergymen who officiated in these churches, with the exception of traditionary accounts of "Dominie" Garner, whose last settlement was in Schuyler. His descendants are still living in the county.

Another pioneer organization was at Otsquago, or the "Osquawek." This was the first center of population in the town of Stark. This congregation, in connection with the old Minden or "Geisseberg" church near Hallsville, Montgomery county, was from 1792 to 1817 under the pastoral care of John Christopher Wieting, a native of Brandenburg, Germany, who may with propriety be styled the father of the Lutheran church in Central New York. Although his residence was in Montgom-

ery county, his influence and that of his son, Philip, extended into Herkimer and other counties, and is not extinct yet.

John C. Wieting was one of the Germans sold by their native prince to the ministry of George III., to aid in subjugating the colonies. Taken prisoner at Saratoga, he preferred to cast his lot with his countrymen in America, rather than to retain allegiance to the petty tyrant who sold his subjects like cattle.

Here we must be allowed to make a few remarks, without an understanding of the subject which we are considering is impossible. When the Protestants, as they were termed, presented their confession of faith at Augsburg, in 1535, the wording of the articles was delegated to Philip Melancthon, whose pacific disposition induced him to minimize the differences between the Catholic church and the reformers, as far as possible. The abandonment of the hopes of reconciliation, and attempts to harmonize differences among the reformers themselves resulted in the production of the "Smalcal articles," in 1537, and the "form of Concord," in 1580. About a century later the pietistic movement in Germany, led by Philip James Spener and August Herman Franke, created new divisions which are not yet healed and are strongly marked in the Lutheran church in America. The pietists, who insisted on personal and experimental religion, were held by those who adhered strictly to the letter of the confessions as schismatics, the more intemperate the letter of the confessions as schismatics, the more intemperate among them retorting on the conservatives as formalists and legalists. In the period now under consideration there was no semblance of central authority in the American Lutheran church. Muhlenberg had organized the Synod of Pennsylvania in 1748, and the Synod of New York had been formed in 1786. The poverty of the country, the imperfect means of communication, and the transition in language from German to English, left these frontier churches in great measure to work out their own destiny.

The church at Otsquago existed until after 1840, having in connection with the Minden church participated in 1830 in the organization of the Hartwick Synod. Events which we shall rehearse later led to the obliteration of the society and the demolition of the edifice, which stood on the "Holmes farm," near the cemetery. The last surviving member, Loadwick Springer, grandfather of the present supervisor of Stark, died in June, 1857, aged eighty-three years.

The name of Palatine, Montgomery county, the name of which commemorates the native district of the pioneer settlers, formerly included the town of Manheim and the eastern part of the city of Little Falls. Reimenschneider's Bush, in the extreme western part of the town, was one of the pre-Revolutionary settlements, and at one time of great local importance. On September 1st, 1821, a religious society was organized at Reimensnyder's Bush under the title of the "German Evangelical Society of Herkimer County." This society was composed of members

of both the Lutheran and Reformed communions. The nearest Lutheran organizations were those at Stone Arabia and Palatine on the east, Schuyler on the west, and Otsquago on the south. The Reformed churches of Snell's Bush and German Flats (Fort Herkimer) were the closest neighbors of that denomination, while at Little Falls the only existing organization was the Presbyterian, the English representative of the Reformed.

In 1822, a Union church was erected on land donated by members of the Keller family. The first trustees were Peter B. Keyser, Henry F. Keller, John Pickert, John Bellinger, Jost D. Petrie and Peter P. Nellis. The cost of this building, long known as the "Old Yellow church," was \$1,600. It was dedicated October 29th, 1822, the officiating clergymen being Rev. John P. Spinner, Reformed, of German Flats; Rev. N. Domayer, Lutheran, of Stone Arabia, and Rev. Stephen W. Burritt, Presbyterian, of Little Falls. Rev. John P. Spinner was the first pastor for the Reformed and Rev. N. Domayer for the Lutherans. In 1847, the congregations was incorporated by legislative act as "The Dutch Reformed and Lutheran Union Church," and in 1868, during the pastorate of Rev. George Young, the organization of a distinctively Lutheran congregation was effected. Since the pastorate of Rev. Domayer, the following Lutheran clergymen have had pastoral charge here: Rev. Lambert Swackhammer, 1834-43; Rev. Chauncey Francisco, 1843-6; Rev. Stephen W. Champlin, 1846-7; Rev. A. L. Bridgeman, 1847-9; Rev. Benjamin Devendorf, 1853-6; Rev. Conrad Ochampaugh, 1867-71; Rev. A. L. Bridgeman, 1871-3; Rev. J. W. Young, 1876-99; Rev. H. D. Hayes, 1899 to January 1st, 1902. Rev. Hayes resigned to accept the pastorate of the church at Chatham, Columbia county, and the congregation has called as his successor, Rev. R. J. Van Deusen, of St. Johnsville, a licentiate of the Franckean Synod, who is at present pursuing his studies at Hartwick Seminary, but who expects to enter upon the discharge of his duties April 1st, 1902. The church building was thoroughly repaired in 1852-3 at a cost of \$1,500, and rededicated January 20th, 1853, Rev. G. W. Hemperley, of Minden, delivering the dedicatory discourse. In 1883, the present structure was completed and dedicated January 18th of that year, the venerable Rev. N. Van Alstine officiating. For a short period before Rev. J. W. Young's incumbency the church was supplied by Rev. M. G. Webster, pastor of the M. E. church of Little Falls. In 1883 and 1893, the Franckean E. L. Synod held its annual sessions here, and at the former date the Synodical W. H. and F. M. S. was organized, Mrs. Willard Keller, an active member of the church, being then and since a prominent member and indefatigable worker in that body. At the last meeting of Synod, sixty-eight communing members were reported, also church property, including parsonage, valued at \$4,000, and a Sunday school of nine officers and forty scholars, and the expenditures for all objects aggregating \$696.10.

During Rev. Mr. Swackhammer's incumbency of the Manheim pas-

torate, he participated in the organization of the Franckean Lutheran Synod. The period from 1830 to 1840 was one of unrest and upheaval. "The era of good feeling" had been followed by the exciting political contests accompanying and growing out of the Presidential election of 1824, the acrimonious disputes over the admission of Missouri had induced discussion of the slavery question, the total abstinence agitation was exerting a powerful influence, and anti-Masonic agitations threatened the public peace in some instances, and philanthropic visionaries were organizing peace societies and clamoring for the abolition of capital punishment. These ebullitions of popular feeling were accompanied by and in great part the results of periods of religious excitement, known as revivals, and resulted in the formation of many new organizations, and the disruption and too often the obliteration of existing ones. In the reaction which often followed, extreme liberal opinions were embraced by many, and Universalist organizations were the result. A meeting was held at the new Lutheran church at Minden, Montgomery county, May 24th, 1837, to take into consideration the organization of a new Lutheran Synod. Four ordained clergymen were in attendance, Rev. John D. Lawyer of Rensselaer county, Rev. Philip Wieting of Schoharie county, Rev. William Ottman of Freysbush, Montgomery county, and Rev. Swackhammer of Manheim, whose pastorate at that time included Minden and Newville and Danube (Indian Castle).

Philip Wieting, son of John Christopher Wieting, previously mentioned, was no ordinary man. While never a resident of Herkimer county, his influence was too strongly marked to be ignored in any historical sketch of the southern part of the county. Born in the Hallsville neighborhood, Minden, September 23, 1800, he from childhood felt and expressed a preference for the legal profession, while his mother, a member of the Groff family of Montgomery county, was equally decided that he should devote himself to the ministry. Hartwick Seminary was founded in 1815, two years prior to the demise of the senior Wieting. Here young Wieting was for some years a student, and while here his experiences fitted him for a leader of men. A wild, reckless, and wayward youth, he, in advance of the day of temperance pledges and temperance organizations, realized the danger of indulgence in intoxicants, and abjured their use. The early revival movements interested him, and after an experience which left ineffaceable impressions on him and those with whom he came in contact, he abandoned all thoughts of a legal career and devoted himself to the gospel ministry. He was licensed by the New York Ministerium, September 6th 1825, and ordained September 1st, 1826. A strong, fervent and earnest exhorter, he was noted as a revival preacher, but his strong common sense kept him in the pastoral work, where the results of his labors were gathered and preserved. His first clerical experiences were in Jefferson and Lewis counties, but on September 1st, 1828, he took charge of the Sharon pastorate, Schoharie county, where he spent the

remainder of his life, which closed September 7th, 1869. His last public appearance outside of his immediate neighborhood, was on Sunday, June 6th, 1869, in the now demolished church at Fort Herkimer, where he addressed the communicants at the Synodical Communion.

On February 9th, 1831, Rev. Wieting organized a congregation of forty-one members at Southville (now Starkville), the first movement in the county of the "New Measure" Lutherans, as they were termed. On July 20, 1834, Rev. Swackhammer had organized a Lutheran congregation at Newville. The original members were: Abraham I. Wagner, John Spoor, John Deusler, Philip Baum, Philip Baum, Jr., William Walter, Abraham Doxtater, and Henry Ostrander. The last survivor of these was William Walter, who died November, 1895, in his eighty-seventh year. The following year (1835), Rev. Swackhammer organized the present Lutheran society at Minden (long known as Fordsbush, to distinguish it from the old Minden, or Geissenbergh, church, now for many years extinct), with the following charter members: Mr. and Mrs. Adolph Walrath, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac House, Mr. and Mrs. David Moyer, Mr. and Mrs. John Abeel, William Abeel, Lucinda Cress, Nancy Hawn, Christina Short, Elizabeth Nellis. Many of them were residents of Danube, and a large share of the membership of the congregation has always been found in that town.

The church edifice at Newville was erected in 1835, as a Union church, by the Lutheran, Universalist and Free Will Baptists. We also find at this time a Lutheran organization at Danube (Indian Castle), which in 1839 was merged in the Minden congregation. The Franckean Synod was a distinctively "New Lutheran" organization. The inciting cause was the desire to form a synod which would favor revivals, the anti-slavery, total abstinence, and anti-Masonic movements, and license preparatory to ordination young men of piety ability and discretion who had not had the advantages of a thorough theological training.

It may be interesting to note now the enthusiasm with which theories adopted by earnest men with high ideals adapts itself to unforeseen situations. Among the reforms much agitated about this period was the peace movement, which the Synod heartily endorsed. At the annual meeting in 1845, it adopted a resolution condemning the practice of clergymen officiating as chaplains of militia regiments at the annual parades. In 1863, they approvingly spread on their minutes a letter from Rev. Justus Steinmetz, a young licentiate, who had enlisted as a private in the volunteer army, and unanimously voted to renew his license. In the following year it spread on the journal a highly eulogistic tribute to his memory, he having fallen at the battle of Chickamauga.

At the organization of the Synod, the lay delegates from Herkimer county were: Minden, Abraham I. Wagner, John P. Smith; Newville, John M. Gardinier, Henry Ostrander, John Spoor; Jacob Walter; Dan-

ube, John Davy, John Davy, Jr., William Davy, Abraham Shaver; Southville, Henry L. Devendorf. Delegates had been appointed from Manheim, but did not attend. Henry Cronkite, John C. Cronkite, and Adolph Walrath of Danube, were present as advisory members. On the following day the first session of the new Synod was held.

In 1838, Rev. Swackhammer resigned the charge of the Minden, Newville and Danube churches, and in 1843, that of Manheim. For a time he located at German Valley, New Jersey, but failing health obliged him to relinquish that charge. In 1849, he resigned his membership in the Synod and returned to the Hartwick Synod, in which he remained until his decease, which occurred between 1850 and 1858.

Rev. John D. Lawyer was called from Rensselaer county to the pastorate of Minden, Newville and Danube, in 1838, residing at Minden. He retained charge of this district for only one year, preaching afterward at Hartwick, Otsego county, and Argusville, Schoharie county. He was a man of great ability, but of erratic character. He had left the bar for the pulpit and resigned the presidency of the Hartwick Synod to join the new organization. In 1848, questions were raised toward the identity of his views with those of the denomination as formulated by the Synod, which had embodied in its constitution, "Articles of Faith," making no reference by name to the symbolical books of the church. After some correspondence relative to an investigation of the matter, he took the irregular course of withdrawing from the Synod, abandoning the clerical, and returning to the legal profession. In this course he failed to do justice to his talents, and his after life bitterly disappointed his friends.

The congregation at Starkville was at the time of the organization of the Synod served by Rev. William Ottman, in union with the church at Freysbush (organized in 1834). In 1838, Rev. David Ottman (licensed at the initial session of the Synod), assumed the charge of the district. In the following year, a third member of the Ottman family, Seffrenas, accepted a call from Newville and Starkville. On March 23, 1840, Rev. S. Ottman organized a society in what was then the south part of the town of Little Falls, but it is now a part of the town of Stark. This congregation, which assumed the name of Bethel, numbered twenty-one original members. Since the establishment of a postoffice at that point a few years ago, it has been known as Deck. A church edifice, which is still in use, was dedicated December, 1841, by Rev. P. Wieting, Revs. Van Alstine, Swackhammer, J. S. Robinson, D. Ottman and S. Ottman being present and participating. In 1841-2, this congregation reported forty-one members, after which it began to decline. It occupied part of the territory of the old Otsquago church, and its organization drew the life from the parent body. A few years later the Otsquago church building was destroyed by a lot of rowdies, an act of sacrilegious vandalism which reflects great discredit upon the community.

The congregation at Bethel suffered a severe loss in 1845, in the death of Jacob L. Springer, who came to it from the Otsquago congregation, and who was prominent in organizing the society and building the church.

On March 27, 1841, Rev. S. Ottman, at the school house at Fort Herkimer, organized the following persons into the Lutheran church of German Flats: John Spoor, Catherine Spoor, William Wormuth and wife, and Jacob Rasback. These have been admitted by letter from other organizations; fifteen more were admitted by confirmation. The first election of officers was held November 26, 1842, when Bernard Christman and Samuel J. Palmer were elected deacons and Jacob Rasback and William Wormuth, elders.

In July, 1843, a church building located a little west of the old stone church, on the opposite side of the highway, was dedicated, Revs. P. Wieting, N. Van Alstine and S. Ottman conducting the exercises. John Spoor was one of the founders of the Newville congregation, and at this time resided very nearly the location of the West Shore station at Jacksonburg. He returned to Newville within a few years, where he died in 1885, the last of the founders of the Franckean Synod. His removal and the tragic death of Bernard Christman were severe blows to the society. The highest number of members it reported was thirty-six, in 1846. In December, 1843, Rev. S. Ottman having previously resigned the care of the church at Starkville, resigned that at Bethel, and in February, 1844, that at Newville, retaining German Flats until 1848. During his incumbency at Newville, in June, 1842, the Franckean Synod held its first meeting in Herkimer county. His clerical labors afterwards were performed at Middletown (Penn.), Worcester, Otsego county, and Rush, Monroe county, removing in 1855 to Sodus, Wayne county. His ministerial career terminated in 1855, in a manner distressing to his friends, unworthy of his own abilities and calculated to throw reproach on the cause to which he had solemnly devoted his talents.

The congregation at German Flats suffered a gradual decadence. Occasionally services were held by Rev. C. Ochampaugh, Rev. N. Van Alstine and possibly by others, but continual losses reduced the membership numerically and neglect and ill-usage nearly destroyed the building.

In 1867 Rev. George Young, who was in charge of Manheim, began holding services in the school house. The membership was increased and the church thoroughly repaired and in June, 1869, the Franckean Synod held its annual convention there. The society had suffered a heavy loss in December, 1868, in the death of Adam A. Steele, for many years the leading member of the congregation, and at the time of his decease a delegate-elect to the biennial convention of the general synod, a position that was filled by his son, James H. Steele, now a resident of Herkimer. Other causes for discouragement followed, and shortly

after the session of synod, Rev. Young resigned the pastorate, a course necessitated in great part by his own indiscretions.

One by one the members died or removed to other localities, and within a few years a tempest destroyed the dilapidated building. Rev. Young removed in 1871 to Bouck's Hill, Dundas county, Ontario, where in 1873, the scandal which had for some time been whispered concerning his character materialized, and his connection with the church terminated in a manner not at all to his credit.

In 1841, Rev. Jesse S. Robinson was called from the Sand Lake district, Rensselaer county, to take charge of Freysbush and Starkville. In 1844, he took charge of Bethel and relinquished Freysbush. During this period the congregation reached its maximum, reporting, in 1844, 91 members.

I have been unable to obtain any data concerning the erection of the Union church at Starkville. It was originally the joint property of the Lutherans and Free Will Baptists; the latter society becoming extinct, their interests were purchased in 1876 by the Universalists.

Rev. Robinson resigned the Starkville district in 1845 and removed to St. Johnsville. Here his carelessness in financial matters became so pronounced that it could no longer be ignored, and in 1848 the synod felt compelled to sever all relations with him. He afterwards secured a position in the ministry of another denomination, as did Rev. George Young, a quarter of a century later.

In August, 1846, Rev. Rufus Smith, a native of Jefferson county, then serving the St. Lawrence county pastorate, accepted a call to Starkville and Bethel. This arrangement, although very natural and convenient, failed, notwithstanding the unquestioned abilities of the pastor to build up the numerical strength of the congregations. In 1851, he removed to Raymertown, Rensselaer county, and after several years to Sharon, Walworth county, Wisconsin. Here and in Illinois he passed the balance of his life. His religious zeal and dislike of narrow denominationism carried him in his later years into the other extreme of the repudiation of all denominational ties. These views had obtained some footing in the section under consideration, those who held them being denominated "Countrymanites," from the Countryman brothers, John L. of Danube, and Isaac, of Stark, who were prominent in the advocacy of anti-denominational theories, and who in carrying out their peculiar ideas had withdrawn from the congregations of Minden and Starkville.

In 1844, on the resignation from Newville of Rev. S. Ottman, that society resumed its relations with Minden, which congregation had in 1839, called as the successor of Rev. John D. Lawyer, Rev. Nicholas Van Alstine, then settled over the congregations at Summit, Schoharie county, and South Worcester, Otsego county. Rev. Mr. Van Alstine was born in Sharon, Schoharie county, in 1814. Having graduated from Hartwick Seminary, he was present at the organization of the

Franckean Synod, and received license to preach at its first session, his congregations also uniting with the new Synod. He was ordained at Clay, Onondaga county, June, 1838, and the following year removed to Minden, where his formal induction into the Christian ministry had occurred and with which locality his connection did not terminate until his decease. Under his pastorate the denominational interests prospered, the Newville congregation reporting 94 members in 1847. The friction which was unavoidable between three societies occupying the same building, and the inconvenience consequent upon services held only in the afternoon were obstacles which materially interfered with the advancement of the Newville congregation. In 1850, Rev. Van Alstine resigned to accept a call to West Sand Lake and East Schodack, Rensselaer county.

The Minden and Starkville congregations extended a call to Rev. G. W. Hemperley, of Jefferson county, who assumed charge October 25, 1851. Rev. Hemperley was an able, popular and successful preacher, but the result at Starkville demonstrated that services held solely in the afternoon do not attract people as much as is desirable. Rev. Hemperley closed his services at Starkville in 1857 and at Minden in 1859. After Rev. Van Alstine's resignation, Newville remained vacant as far as the Lutheran denomination was concerned until November, 1852. During that time the Baptist congregation secured the services of Rev. Charles Cook, who was ordained there in 1851.

He resigned in 1852, and in November of that year Rev. M. W. Empie, who had for some years been engaged in missionary work in Illinois and Wisconsin, took charge of Newville, Freysbush and Bethel. Rev. Empie was a man of great ability and strength of character, and is affectionately remembered in every locality where he ministered to the spiritual needs of the people. He entered the ministry in 1845, and during his missionary work assisted in organizing the first Norwegian Lutheran church in Chicago. He remained at Newville until October, 1854, devoting an equal share of his time to Freysbush, preaching at Bethel but one year. Circumstances unnecessary to refer to here induced him to consider favorably a call to the Jefferson county charge, where he labored earnestly and successfully until 1861, when he succeeded Rev. N. Van Alstine at West Sand Lake and East Schodack. After a pastorate here of more than eighteen years he resigned in 1879. Having supplied the congregations at Starkville and Freysbush for several years, he accepted a call to Churchtown and Taghkanic, Columbia county, where he served acceptably and successfully until his decease in July, 1896, at the age of seventy-two. He received in 1895, the honorary degree of D. D. from Hartwick Seminary. In November, 1858, Rev. C. Ochampangh, of Rush, Monroe county, accepted a call to Newville, Starkville and Bethel. This arrangement continued but one year. While no one questions Rev. Ochampangh's sincerity, he was not of the proper temperament to win success under the circum-

stances existing then and there. At the close of the year he accepted a call to Manheim as previously stated. This was his last regular pastorate. At the close he retired about 1887, having temporarily supplied Canada and Jefferson, and possibly other pastorates.

On the resignation of Rev. Mr. Hemperley, in 1859, the congregation at Minden extended a call to Rev. Mr. Van Alstine, who accepted it, taking charge in December, 1860, preaching every alternate afternoon at Newville, with occasional services at Bethel, German Flats, and St. Johnsville. He remained at Minden and Newville until December, 1870, but through the numerous and rapid changes, and possibly other causes, the church at Newville seemed to have lost its hold on the people. The Civil war and the excited political discussions preceding, accompanying, and following it, were not favorable to religious effort, and notwithstanding Rev. Van Alstine's unselfish and determined efforts, the congregation at Newville was no stronger at the close of his pastorate than at the beginning. In 1870, he removed to Raymertown, where he held the pastorate for the phenomenal period of twenty-nine years, closing on October 15, 1899, an active ministerial and pastoral career of sixty-three years. His last days were spent with his son, S. M. Van Alstine, at Little Falls, where he passed away, November 3, 1900, in his eighty-seventh year. He was a man of phenomenal talent and ability, and before he retired from active pastoral work, Hartwick Seminary honored itself by conferring on him the honorary degree of D. D.

In November, 1871, Rev. J. H. Weber of Avoca, Steuben county, filled the vacancy caused by Rev. Van Alstine's resignation. Young and enthusiastic, he proved a popular pastor, and both congregations increased in numbers and in influence. In 1877, he began holding services at Bethel and the following year reorganized that society, which since the death of its only active male member, Levi Acker, in March, 1869, had been considered extinct. At the expiration of eight years a proposition to renew the relation failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote in the congregational meeting at Minden. A proposal to retain him as pastor at Newville and Bethel was declined by him on the ground that it would tend toward the disruption of the Minden congregation. He accepted a call to Ashland, Pa., and is now pastor of a large and flourishing society at Sunbury, Pa., and an influential member of the Susquehanna Synod. Immediately on Rev. Weber's resignation, the congregations at Newville and Bethel entered into an arrangement with Rev. William E. Churchill, of Avoca, Steuben county, who had received license in 1876, and who had had a rather unfortunate experience with the congregations at Bouck's Hill and Avoca.

Mr. Churchill, who was a native of England, was a man of small literary attainments, plausible manner and address, retentive memory, and apparently with little or no conception of the qualifications necessary for a minister of the gospel. His administration at Bouck's Hill

had proven so unsatisfactorily, that a committee of investigation, composed of the ablest members of the Synod, had reported on it very unfavorably, and he only escaped severe censure, if not dismissal from the clerical profession at that time, by submission and apologies. But while apologizing to his superiors, his conduct as pastor was entirely unimproved. Having located at Newville, it was not long before he and the church officials were in a condition of irreconcilable hostility, and the pastor had lost the confidence of that portion of the community from which the church drew support. Complaint was entered to the synodical officials, and at the session for 1880, held at Avoca, in June, where he had hoped for ordination, the extension of his license was unanimously refused, and he was dropped from the rolls of synod. He refused to recognize this action and blustered about an appeal to the general synod, a course impossible by the constitution of that body. He continued to occupy the pulpits of the churches on Sundays, but after a few weeks he was left without auditors. The society at Bethel compromised with him on his claims for services, but at Newville, where he had resided, the feeling was intense, and a bitter litigation was the result, in which the uncertainty of a recourse to the courts and the exuberance of the plaintiff's imagination were both demonstrated. While claiming to retain his position in the Lutheran ministry, he, with great theological impartiality, sought admission to denominations as divergent as the Methodists and Universalists. Finally tacitly discarding his clerical pretensions he engaged in newspaper work and endeavored to become a political factor, residing successively at Little Falls, St. Johnsville, Mohawk and Frankfort. Having begun in politics as an enthusiastic and intolerant Republican, he in 1889, figured as a shining prohibition light, and in 1890 accepted the Democratic nomination for school commissioner in the southern district. It is needless to say that that district formed a striking exception to the general Democratic triumphs throughout the country that year. The following year while publishing a weekly paper at Frankfort he indulged in some severe strictures on the management of the canals in Herkimer county. Summoned to Albany to make good his charges before a legislative investigating committee he, to the surprise and disgust of those who had endeavored to retain confidence in him, tamely retracted his allegations. Having thus lost the confidence of all classes he removed to Wayne county, where his checkered career closed a few years ago. Prior to his death he re-entered the clerical profession by way of the Baptist denomination. Some years back he had addressed Dr. Van Alstine by letter, expressing his regret and penitence for his conduct, and hinting at a wish to make a different record, but received no encouragement to hope that the Lutheran denomination would ever risk a duplication of its experience with him.

The unfortunate ministerial career of Mr. Churchill was a severe if not a fatal blow to the congregations at Newville and Bethel. Since

that period there have been only occasional services held at those places by the successive pastors of the Minden congregations, which has been served by the following named gentlemen: 1880-1, Rev. Edwin Potter; 1882-4, Rev. Leander Ford; 1885-7, Rev. Charles L. Barringer; 1888-92, Rev. H. A. Strail; 1892, Rev. B. E. Fake, D. D. In 1883, Philip Springer, who had been connected during the most of his life with the congregation at Bethel, removed to Richfield Springs, and while writing these lines intelligence was received of his death. Subsequent to his removal, the death of the venerable John M. Morrison, some years back, took from the society its last earthly prop. After the Lutheran society of Danube had been merged in that of Minden, in 1839, the denomination, although retaining a nominal interest in the church building, made no attempt at building up an organization then, limiting its work to holding occasional services. For some years there was a Methodist society at that point, and in 1860, Rev. R. M. Stanbrough of the Manheim Reformed church effected an organization there. After Rev. Stanbrough's resignation in 1867, this fell into "innocuous desuetude," and in June, 1898, became entirely extinct by the death of its last surviving member, Miss Sally Ann Cramer.

The building, which had been repaired and rededicated in 1855, was occasionally occupied by clergymen of different denominations. In 1894, a Union Sabbath school was organized by the residents and Rev. B. E. Fake began holding regular services. For these purposes the school house of district No. 3 of Danube was utilized, the church being entirely out of repair. The people of the community united and contributed the necessary funds and labor, and thoroughly renovated the historic edifice. On April 1st, 1895, Rev. B. E. Fake organized a society of eleven members which, at the Synodical session of 1901, had increased to twenty-five, and which the latest accounts represent as still increasing.

In June, 1895, the church was rededicated by Rev. Fake, Rev. P. B. Strong, of the Baptist church at Little Falls, preaching the dedicatory sermon, Revs. F. D. Leete, M. E., and V. E. Tomlinson, Universalist, of Little Falls, and Rev. E. Morrell, Christian, of St. Johnsville, present and assisting; Hon. Titus Sheard of Little Falls delivering an able, appropriate and instructive historical address. The building is now a Union church in which the Lutherans, Universalists, Regular Baptist, Reformed, Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal denominations have interests, although the four latter bodies have very few adherents in that locality. After the resignation of Rev. Conrad Ocham-paugh, in 1859, the congregation at Starkville secured the services of Rev. G. Young, a licentiate, who also had pastoral charge of Freysbush. Rev. Young, who was ordained at Argusville, Schoharie county, in June, 1861, retained this charge until 1867, when he removed to Manheim. He was succeeded by Rev. O. D. S. Marcley, who was licensed in 1867 and ordained at Minden, in 1868. In 1869, he removed to Jef-

erson county, and some years later to Ashland, Pennsylvania, where his labors closed with his life.

On May 1st, 1870, Rev. W. H. Shellaud succeeded Rev. Marciay, and remained until December, 1879. The district was then supplied until 1884 by Rev. M. W. Empie, during which period in September, 1883, occurred the death of John R. Hall, a staunch and devoted adherent of the church. Since 1884, only irregular services have been held at Starkville.

In February, 1888, the weak organization suffered an additional loss, by the death of David B. Elwood. Since Rev. Dr. Fake's incumbency at Minden, he has bestowed a great deal of labor on Starkville and Newville. Within a few years German Lutheran congregations connected with the Synod of New York and New Jersey, and served by Rev. C. A. Schroeder, have been organized at Herkimer, Little Falls and Dolgeville.

For some years there existed in the town of Ohio a German congregation of the Missouri Synod, a very exclusive High Church body, which has adherents in nearly every State and Territory in the Union and in Canada. Concerning these societies, I have been unable to secure any data. I hope that in the future some other investigator may be more successful.

The question arises, why have so much labor and financial outlay left so few visible results? The one reply that comes within the province of these investigations is that the drift of population to the cities and large villages is demanding great changes in church work, as well as on political and economical lines. The city is the center from which all work, moral and religious, as well as educational and business, must radiate. Not only the numerical ratio of population as between urban and rural conditions, but the composition and moral surroundings of many rural localities have undergone great changes.

JOHN FRANK, HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND HIS ACCOUNT BOOK.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL OF HERKIMER.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society February 8, 1902.

John Frank was born in the present town of German Flats, March 23, 1756, and lived until about the year 1840. He became a justice of the peace and one of the county judges of this county after the organization of our State government. He was an active patriot during the Revolutionary war and a member of the committee of safety in the German Flats and Kingsland district; and he fought in the battle of Oriskany. He owned and lived upon the farm south of this village which is now owned by John C. and Bartley Manion; and he was known to his contemporaries as Judge Frank. His house occupied the site where the brick house now stands, and there before the Revolutionary war and subsequently, he kept a store and tavern and carried on his farm.

I have before me his account book, which belongs to the Herkimer County Historical Society, which I believe is the oldest account book in Central New York. The earliest entries therein bear the date of 1774. At that time and for many years afterward, as I find from old account books which I have seen, all country merchants sold rum and other liquors by measure and by the drink; and in this book the charges for liquor of some kind are many times more numerous than all other charges combined. The principal liquors sold were rum, brandy and wine.

Judge Frank's house seems to have been a rendezvous for his neighbors on both sides of the Mohawk River; and I am sure that the robust men of those days had many hilarious drinking bouts there, as I find in the book several charges for broken wine glasses, broken bowls and broken window glass. Boatmen and passengers upon the Mohawk river undoubtedly stopped there on their journeys up and down, and frequently had meals and lodging there. Prior to this century, there was no stage line, and the mail for this region was undoubtedly brought up on the river and left there that the people might come and obtain the same.

There was no bridge across the Mohawk River in this county prior to 1800 except one where what we call the lower river bridge now is, and that was built by Judge Frank and others about 1796. There was no bridge between this village and Mohawk until about the year 1816.

The charges in the book were kept in pounds, shillings and pence, and I will refer to a few which will give us some idea of the state of society and of the business as well as of the scale of prices at the time when they were made. It must be remembered that a pound was twenty shillings, and that eight shillings was one dollar. The oldest account was against Conrad Frank, who must have been the father or brother of John:

		s.	d.
1774	May 13. To $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon New Rum.....	2	6
	July. $\frac{1}{2}$ pint Rum		6
	October. 1 quart New Rum	1	4
	December 28. To 1 quart Old and 1 quart New Rum.	3	
1775	April 18. To 4 bowls Toddy.....	4	
	June 24. 1 pint Wine	1	6
	July 13. To 1 quart W. I. Rum	1	9
	Sept. 18. 1 gallon New Rum	5	
	Dec. 20. To 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallons New Rum for David Schuyler	8	
1776	May 15. To cash paid Dr. Petry for 1 glass of balsam and bleeding	5	
	Aug. 20. To 2 schippels of wheat and 1 quart of W. I. Rum	4	6
	Sept. To 3 schippels of Wheat. 2 gills of Rum.....	1	6
	Nov. To Cash paid John Smith for 1 pt. Rum when you was wounded	16	

This John Smith was undoubtedly the grandfather of the late William Smith of this village. A schippel of wheat was a trifle more than a peck. On the credit side of the account under date of November, 1774, was 1 fat cow, 3 pounds and 18 shillings equal to \$9.75.

Judge Frank dealt in furs, and I find Duncan McDougal charged in December, 1775, with one Otter skin, 24 shillings, and one Martin skin, 9 shillings. McDougal must have been a heavy drinker, as in the same account for three days, March 1, 2, 3, 1786, he was charged with 12 bowls of Toddy, 12 shillings; 2 slings, 1 shilling; 2 quarts of cider, 1 shilling, while for three meals he was charged 3 shillings.

Liquor evidently circulated freely on election days, as I find charged to Henry Herkimer, Sr., under date of May, 1778, "Liquor in Club for Governor, 9 shillings and 4 pence;" and also at meetings of "The Liberty Boys," as I find from several charges in the book.

Colonel Henry K. Van Rensselaer must have been very fond of cider, as I find him charged as follows: 1779, from the 26th of August to the 26th of September, to 32 mugs of cider, 13 shillings and 4 pence; Nov. 19, 21 mugs cider at different times, 8 shillings and 9 pence; December

20, 2 barrels of cider, 21 shillings, and December 26th, 7½ mugs of cider, 3 shillings and 1½ pence. In the same account he was charged with 21 schippels of winter apples at 1 shilling and 6 pence per schippel, with pasturing horse 14 days, 3 shillings, and with yarn for fait tens, 2 shillings.

In 1785 and 1786, Conrad C. Folts, among charges for gills of rum and nips of grog, I find charged as follows: 1 razor, 4 shillings; 1 wool hat, 12 shillings and 9 pence; 1 yard calico, 8 shillings.

In an account against his brother-in-law, George Weber running from 1781 to 1792, among charges for rum, brandy wine, sling, bowls of toddy and nips of grog, there are these charges: Black silk handkerchief, 13 shillings; ½ lb. of tea 2 shillings and 9 pence; 1 pair of buckles, 4 shillings; 1 yard of lace, 4 shillings and 9 pence; 1 skein of silk, 1 shilling; 2 ells of fine linen, 2 shillings; bonnet paper, 9 pence; and paid for making bonnets, 2 shillings and 7 pence; 1 lawn handkerchief, 6 shillings and 6 pence; 3 knives and 3 forks, 3 shillings; ¾ ells blue serge, 11 shillings and 5 pence; 1½ ells linen, 4 shillings and 10 pence; 2 doz. small buttons, 2 shillings; 2 ounces of snuff, 9 pence; 4 ells corduroy, 24 shillings; 1 ell blue shalloon, 3 shillings and 6 pence; 1½ doz. gilt buttons, 2 shillings and 3 pence; 1 stick twist, 9 pence; 2 skeins thread, 4 shillings. It must be noticed that an ell measures a yard and a quarter. On the other side of the account, Mr. Weber is credited with 1 slave boy bought of him, 9 pounds, equal to \$22.50; with epaulettes, 32 shillings, and with 2 quires of paper, 3 shillings.

In an account with William Quin, commencing in 1791, the debtor side is made up almost exclusively of liquor by measure and by the nip. He must have been a school teacher, as he is credited with the schooling of three children for the year 1790, 3 pounds, and of two children for the year 1791, 2 pounds and 4 shillings.

In 1786, George Demott is charged with one paper of pins, 1 shilling and six pence, and credited with 9½ pounds of ginseng at 2 shillings per pound.

In the account of Frederick Weber, commencing in 1786, I find charged 1 bowl of Sangaree, 2 shillings; 1 ell of Lawn, 6 shillings and 9 pence; 22 panes of window glass, 16 shillings and 6 pence; 1 pair of stockings, 6 shillings; 4 Almanacs, 5 shillings; 1 bowl of Sampson, 1 shilling; 21¼ lbs. of beef at 3 pence per pound. He must have been a "high roller," judging from the liquor of all kinds charged to him, and from several broken wine glasses, a broken bowl and a broken window pane also charged to him. He was probably a blacksmith, as he is credited with some blacksmith's work.

In the account of John Smith, commencing in 1778, besides many items for liquor by measure and by the nip, I find such items as these: 4 pounds ten penny nails, 5 shillings; 1 paper of ink powder, 1 shilling and 6 pence; 4½ gallons of new rum had by Mr. Campbell, "when

he went with your Gingseng to Schenectady;" 1 knife and fork, 2 shillings and 9 pence; liquor for 6 jurymen "in your trial;" 200 lbs. Gingseng roots, 400 shillings, and 20 lbs., 1 shilling and six pence per pound. On the opposite side of the account he is credited among other items with one piece of Irish linen, 27 yards, 4 shillings per yard.

In Henry Miller's account, commencing in 1787, I find charged $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards of calico, 12 shillings, $4\frac{1}{2}$ pence; $5\frac{1}{2}$ ells of Broadcloth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ shillings and 3 pence; 1 cow bell, 8 shillings; and he is credited with 8 pounds of Gingseng roots at 2 shillings and 6 pence per pound and 30 lbs. at 3 shillings per pound.

In Conrad P. Folts' account, commencing the same year, there are charges for 1 yard bonnet lace, 4 shillings and 6 pence; 1 yard cap lace, three shillings and six pence; lawn for cap, 4 shillings; 1 skein silk, 9 pence; 1 sheet bonnet paper, 9 pence; $2\frac{1}{4}$ ells calico, 13 shillings, $11\frac{1}{2}$ pence; 2 oz. Indigo, 2 shillings; 1 grass Scythe, 6 shillings and 6 pence; 8 panes of window glass, 8x10, 9 shillings; and he is credited with 20 lbs. Gingseng, 3 shillings per pound.

In Susannah Small's account, I find charged 1 hat, 9 shillings; 2 lbs. tea, 2 shillings and 6 pence; 1 pair of scissors, 2 shillings; leather for shoes, needles, wintering two sheep, 10 shillings; 18 sheets writing paper, 2 shillings; 2 pounds alum, 8 pence; $35\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of flour, 6 shillings; $\frac{1}{2}$ schippel of salt, 4 shillings; 1 pound of tea, 5 shillings; cyphering slate, 2 shillings. She is also charged with $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of rum, 8 shillings; 1 pint West India Rum, 1 shilling and 3 pence, and 1 nip of grog; 6 pence; and she is credited with $13\frac{1}{4}$ days binding wheat per Polly (presumably a slave), 3 shillings and 6 pence, and 1 day's work per Polly, 12 days' spinning, per her daughters, 9 shillings, and 7 days' carding wool, 5 shillings and 3 pence, and one day's work helping his wife when slaughtering, 1 shilling, and for several items of Gingseng. These items bring before our minds the kinds of farm work the women of that day did, and the fact that they indulged in rum and nips of grog.

In 1788, I find John Fox credited 1 shilling for 2 young fowls, and about the same time Frederick Shoemaker was credited with $13\frac{1}{4}$ days' work in harvesting, 7 shillings; 1 day mowing wheat, 4 shillings, and two items of Gingseng, and one Martin skin. In the account of Phineas Allen, I find one loaf of bread, charged in 1789, at 2 shillings.

In an account against Dr. William Petry, my grandfather, commencing in 1788, among numerous charges for cider, rum, nips and bowls of grog and slings, there was a charge for use of horse to ride through the Mohawk River, 1 shilling. I find John Andrews credited in 1788 with 35 pounds of leaf tobacco, 23 shillings and 6 pence, and in 1789, with 1,000 shingles, 40 shillings. Jost Hess was credited in 1788 with 1 Cub skin, 2 shillings. In an account against Frederick Bellinger, commencing in 1790, among many charges for rum and other liquors, he is charged with two pairs of Indian shoes, 6 shillings, and credited

with carpenter work at 5 shillings per day, and with drawing 1 hog-head of rum from Schenectady, 12 shillings. Mary Small is credited with 11 days' spinning at 9 pence per day. I find Timothy Frank, his brother, ancestor of Frank W. Christman of this village, charged in 1790 with $\frac{3}{4}$ ell calico, 3 shillings and 4 pence; 1 quire of writing paper, 1 and 6 pence; 1 almanac, 1 and 6 pence; and in 1791, credited with 9 pounds of butter, 6 shillings and 9 pence, and one ox, 4 pounds, 10 shillings. In 1790, Frederick Orendorf is charged for egg punch, 1 shilling, and about the same year in June, credited with 2 shillings for 40 eggs. In an account with John Fox commencing in 1789 there were many charges for cider, rum and other liquor, and these among other credits; 1790, Sept. 7, Playing "the Fiddle on my bee," 12 shillings; 1791, Aug. 16, Jack your negro playing for a company, 13 shillings; Oct. 4, the same, 8 and 6 pence; Dec. 27, the same, 12 shillings.

In an account commencing 1788 Christopher Fox was charged with one pair plated shoe buckles, 4 shillings; $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. tea, 2 shillings; 1 Castor hat, 14 shillings; 1 wool hat, 7 shillings; 1 scythe, 11 shillings; breaking 1 bowl, 1 shilling, 6 pence. In 1791 and 1792, Edward Walker was credited for 3,088 pounds of maple sugar at 6 pence per pound. July 3, 1790, an account was opened with John Brussler who agreed to work for Mr. Frank for one year for 18 pounds, and the debtor charges are mostly for grog.

There is an account against Adam Hartman, the famous Revolutionary soldier, mostly for grog. Paul Seckner, a mason worked for Mr. Frank in 1791 for 4 shillings per day; and November 16, 1795, Frederick Fox agreed with Mr. Frank to work for him until the first day of the following June for 9 pounds, "victuals, drink, lodging, washing and mending included." Adin Fancher, in an account commencing 1791, among other things, is charged with board for 5 days, 7 shillings and 6 pence, and for four weeks and three days' board, two pounds, and he, evidently a blacksmith, is credited with making staples, whiffletrees, a crane, shoeing horses, mending flesh fork, andirons, gridirons; and with four days' work going and coming with a raft of boats on the Mohawk River from Whitestowa, 14 shillings. In an account with Nicholas Wolever, commencing in 1790, he is charged with 3 shillings and three pence "when the Club was on a frolick," and two shillings for "liquor lost running horses," and six schippels of oats, 12 shillings. I find several hints in these accounts of the existence of a club which met at Mr. Frank's house, and also of wagers of liquor on horse races. Those were hilarious men.

Samuel Robertson was a doctor and was charged with the usual round of drinks, and he is credited with doctoring Mr. Frank 4 journeys, 2 pounds and 16 shillings, and for medicines, 2 pounds and four shillings. 1792, December 26th, John Smith is charged with "breaking one wine glass which you borrowed of me when you married," one shilling; and in 1793, he is credited with two patents for military lands,

fifty pounds. Robert Beeb, evidently a laborer, is charged with drinks, and is credited with labor at about two shillings per day. The last entry on the credit side, under date of July 28th, 1791, is as follows: "Agreed with me for one year's work for 25 pounds. September 12th, left me in the morning before I was out of bet." Christopher Rube has a large number of items charged to him for grog, meals, grain, use of horse and oxen, etc., and he is credited in 1792 with the weaving by his wife of four coverlets, 32 shillings, and of 20 ells of linen, six pence per ell, and with bottoming four chairs, four shillings. Abel Praa, in 1792, is charged as follows: "To sundries in a club at a frolick at my house which I have paid for you, 5 shillings 10 pence." "To my son bringing you across the river, 4 pence."

In an account with John Bruster, in 1791, I find the entry of an agreement under date of October, to labor for Mr. Frank for one year for eighteen pounds and two pair of shoes, and a charge for one regimental artillery coat, four pounds. The taking of usury was common in those early days. Money for loan was scarce and it brought a high price. In an account against Robert Herring, in 1793, I find this charge: "To cash, eight shillings, which you have promised ten shillings for." Rev. Abraham Rosecrantz was the minister in charge of the churches here and at Fort Herkimer, and in an account with him I find him charged from April to July, 1788, with these items: $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of snuff, 3 shillings; 3 ells Darant, 9 shillings; 3 sticks of twist, 2 shillings and 3 pence; $1\frac{1}{4}$ yds. of black lace, 5 shillings, $8\frac{1}{2}$ pence; 2 skeins silk, 2 shillings; 1 pound shot, 1 shilling; $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. powder, 2 shillings and 6 pence; $\frac{1}{2}$ paper of pins, nine pence; and he is credited with subscription to his salary, 1 pound. This is the only account in the book in which I find no charge for liquor. He probably paid cash for his drinks.

The items for broken wine glasses which I find in these accounts may have been due to a custom in vogue in those days of breaking glasses when a health was drunk, so that they could not be used to drink the health of any other person. This is illustrated in an old bill for a state dinner given in 1783, recently discovered by State Historian Hastings among the archives at Albany. The dinner was given by the Governor and Council in honor of the French Minister and General Washington. There were 120 guests and the total cost was 156 pounds, and only one-third of this sum was spent for food, the greater portion of the remainder being for liquid refreshments. The diners enjoyed 11 dozen bottles of Madeira, 3 dozen bottles of Port, 5 dozen bottles of English beer, and 30 bowls of punch. From a glance at the bill it might be supposed that all these bottles had a disturbing influence upon the occasion, for there is a charge of four pounds and 10 shillings for 60 broken wine glasses and three pounds for 8 broken decanters. But Historian Hastings explains that it was the custom in the old days to dash the glass upon the floor as soon as a health had been drunk.

These accounts bring before us in quite distinct outlines the state

of society and the character and habits of the people here in the latter part of the eighteenth century. They were a jovial, social and fun-loving people—addicted to horse racing and drink. Their lives were simple and robust, very few of them became rich, but most of them kept out of debt. Labor, farm produce and liquor were cheap and merchandise was dear. Calico cost as much as silk does now. As there were few manufactories in this country, most of the merchandise was imported. The merchants evidently bought peltry and they dealt in Ginseng, which seems to have been an object of considerable trade in this region. It is a plant having a root which was dug and dried. It grew wild in the woods and swamps, and was supposed to have medicinal properties. It is still dug and dealt in almost exclusively for exportation to China, where the people believe in its medicinal value for almost all diseases. It is, at the time of this writing, worth from five to six dollars per pound in this village, as I am informed by Rasbach & Burrell, who deal in it; and there was a time in China, before any importations were made from America when it was worth much more than its weight in gold. It still grows wild in this county and to a small extent is cultivated. It is now believed by competent experts to be absolutely without any medicinal value.

The women of that time indulged in liquor as well as the men, but not to the same extent. Its free use was not discountenanced, and was almost universal among the men of this region. It was regarded as indispensable upon a journey and it had the sanction of the church, as the following facts show: In February, 1797, John Frank and Rudolph Steele went to Albany as a committee of the Dutch church at Fort Herkimer on business for the church; and upon their return they rendered an itemized account of their expenses, which was audited and allowed by the consistory and entered in the church records, as follows: 1797, Feb. 7, To Liquors at different places, 4 shillings; Feb. 8, paid John Fonday for three suppers, 3 quarts cider, 3 lodgings and $\frac{1}{2}$ gill gin, 10 shillings and six pence; Feb. 9, paid Johnson, Schenectady, 1 grog, 1 lodging, 1 supper, 1 glass bitters, 7 shillings and six pence, and stage to Albany, 8 shillings; to and in Albany, 2 dinners, 1 glass punch, 9 shillings; cash paid Barber the printer, 3 pounds 3 shillings; cash paid Myers for getting the papers from New York, 8 shillings; from the 10th to the 16th included, to sundries in liquors, 8 shillings, to $7\frac{1}{2}$ days' boarding and liquors at Crane's in Albany, as per receipt, 5 pounds, 11 shillings; to bread and cheese for on the way home, 2 shillings; liquors to Schenectady, 4 shillings and six pence; at Alsober's, Schenectady, for liquors and lodging, three shillings and six pence; to expenses in liquors from Schenectady to home, 7 shillings.

Rev. John P. Spinner came to this place from Germany to serve the Dutch church here in 1801, and the church was to pay his expenses from New York to this village. After his arrival here he rendered an

itemized account of his expenses, which was allowed and paid; and among the items were charges for quite a large quantity of beer.

In those early days, liquors were used not only on all festive occasions, but at funerals, which were frequently times of merriment rather than of mourning. In the early part of the 18th century the following account was rendered by the administrator of the estate of Peter Jacob Marius, a prominent citizen of New York, and was allowed:

	£	s.	d.
To 29 gallons of wyne, at 6s 9d per gallon.....	9	15	9
To 19 pairs of gloves at 2s. 3d.	2	4	3
For bottles and glass broke, paid	0	3	7
Paid 2 women each 2 days' attendance	0	15	0
Paid for a suit of mourning for ye negro woman freed by ye testator, and making,	3	4	7½
Paid for 800 Cokies, and 1½ gross of Pipes at 3s. 3d....	6	7	7½
Paid for speys (spice)for ye burnte wyne and sugar...	0	1	1
Paid to Sexton and Bell ringer, for making ye grave and ringing ye bell	2	2	0
Paid for ye coffin	4	0	0
Paid for gold, and making 14 mourning rings	2	16	0
Paid for 3 yards of beaver stuff at 7s. 6d. buttons and making it for a suit of mourning	1	14	6
Paid for ½ vat of single Beer	0	7	6"

But this custom of cheerful funerals, where the comfort of the guests was well looked after, was not confined to the Dutch or Germans, but prevailed elsewhere in this country. Baltimore before the Revolutionary war was settled by Irish, Scotch and English, and there a bill survives for funeral expenses which, besides yards upon yards of crape, tiffany, broadcloth, challoon and linen, several pairs of black gloves and other necessary attire, includes these items: 47½ pounds loaf sugar, 14 dozen eggs, 10 ounces nutmeg, 1½ pounds allspice, 20 5-8 gallons white wine, 12 bottles red wine, 10 3-8 gallons rum.

The women of those early days in this vicinity were industrious and lardy. They did the knitting, spinning, weaving, dyeing, carding of wool, and performed all the other duties which could be discharged in the household; and besides, they generally worked in the fields in haying, harvesting, planting and hoeing. The social gatherings of the people were frequent and greatly enjoyed. Many of the names found in this book have disappeared from this region, but many of them, like the Bellingers, Orendorfs, Shoemakers, Yules, Petries, Smalls, Edicks, Starings, Rasbacks, Smiths, Spohns, Schuylers, Webers, Wolevers, Widricks, are still found in this county. They were generally honest, courageous and patriotic, and in these respects at least we ought not to fall behind them.

FAIRFIELD ACADEMY AND FAIRFIELD MEDICAL COLLEGE.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE W. SMITH, OF HERKIMER.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society March 8, 1902.

These institutions deserve special notice for their connection with the local history of Herkimer county and for their influence felt in a much wider sphere. The academy from 1803 to 1901, the college from 1812 to 1840, were intellectual fountains, whose light was carried by their students to most of the States of the Union. Material victories more impress the common mind, but the mental and intellectual are the transcendent forces and the living soul that creates all material success. The institutions whose career we are now to recall are the chief monuments of our local history. The shadow of the one which passed away more than sixty years ago, and the shadow of the other just receding, bring to thousands interesting recollections. A great multitude had hoped to bring to the centennial of Fairfield Academy votive chaplets of oak and laurel and ivy, who can now only offer to its silent halls the sad wreaths of cypress and rue. How many hearts echo the wish that the shrines endeared and sacred by their young endeavor and by young romance, might have survived time's changes to a later date!

In the fall of 1801, the Rev. Caleb Alexander, a Presbyterian clergyman, of Mendon, Mass., a graduate of Yale College, visited Western New York as a missionary to the churches and to the Indians. At that time such a mission was thought to be a solemn affair, and on setting out Mr. Alexander wrote in his journal: "August 10, 1801.—Having received my commission from Rev. Nathaniel Simmons, D. D., president of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, and having obtained the consent of my church and congregation and committed myself and family to the direction and disposal of God, I began my missionary tour to the people of the western part of the State of New York." After visiting in the West, he preached at Norway, Fairfield and Salisbury. He gives the population of those towns: Fairfield, 2,065, which in 1890 was 1,553; Salisbury, 1,694, which in 1890 was 1,800; and that of Norway was then much greater relatively and in fact than now.

Mr. Alexander advised the founding of an academy at Fairfield. Captain Moses Mather actively engaged in raising the necessary funds. With the amount raised and pledged, the first academy building was raised July 4, 1802. The academy was chartered by the Regents March 15, 1803, and organized April 13, 1803, with Mr. Alexander as principal. In the board of trustees were the foremost men of that day. Westel Willoughby and John Herkimer sat in Congress. Matthias B. Tallmadge, Nathan Smith and Francis A. Bloodgood (of Oneida) were members of the State Senate. Thomas Manly, John Meyer and Samuel Wright sat in the Assembly. Jonathan Hallett, Abijah Mann, Sr., Moses Mather, Samuel Giles, William Griswold, Alvah Southworth, Cyrus M. Johnson, William Smith, Charles Ward, Clark Smith, Thomas Bennett, John Snell, Henry Coffin, Aaron Hackley, Sr., were all prominent citizens. For a long time this was the only institution that afforded academical instruction in this part of the State. In 1825, the only colleges were Columbia, Union, Hamilton and Geneva college, the latter incorporated in 1824, and the New York City and Fairfield Medical Colleges. The liberal and aspiring young men of this part of the State availed themselves of the facilities afforded by Fairfield Academy, and it drew students from many different States. Many of its students became distinguished in divinity, law, medicine, and in political and military life.

The Regents in 1811, apportioned a fund of \$2,000 to twenty academies; \$100 to Fairfield academy, a like sum to Lowville, Clinton, Cherry Valley and Johnstown academies; \$125 to the Oneida, Hamilton academy, and to the others from \$75 to \$150 each. The revenue then available for the support of common schools from a State fund of \$500,000 was \$36,000. These were humble resources compared with the immense sums now raised by taxation and from State funds to support common schools and given by private munificence to endow institutions of learning and public libraries. But they were considerable compared with the financial ability of the people of that period, and they marked a growing sentiment in favor of a wider diffusion of knowledge, and a notable contrast to the former indifference of the upper classes, especially in the old world, in respect to the mental status of the mass of the people. Even in lettered England, those who lived by manual labor were expected to remain in mental darkness and to have no outlook beyond instruction in matters of daily toil; more was thought dangerous, and the masses were taught to pray to be contented in that station of life in which they were born. Among the upper classes there was a traditional prejudice against any extended education of the common people, since they were foreordained to inferiority, poverty and ignorance. John Foster, in one of his essays written in that era, makes an earnest plea against this despotic prejudice and points out how a larger popular education might promote social welfare and even a higher enjoyment of superior station, taking for

his text the words of the prophet Hosea: "My people are destroyed by lack of knowledge." Wesley and Whitefield about that time began their crusade against what Foster denounces as the "heathenism of England," by preaching to the multitudes in the open fields. In 1780, Robert Raikes heralded the coming sense of the need of wider education by opening Sunday schools, then the only practicable means of reaching the children of the people. These movements were the first distinct recognition in England of a public obligation to provide the means of popular instruction. The public duty to bestow secular education was imposed in America as a logical sequence. Here where a people were governors, but at the same time bound to give their lives to protect property and the State by every kind of public service, universal education was recognized as a just claim as well as a necessary condition for the success of popular government.

Mr. Alexander returned to Fairfield in 1802 and in April was elected principal and took the academy in charge. "He was an accomplished scholar, a man of commanding presence, of great tenacity and perseverance," and these qualities gave the institution success from the start. While at the head of the academy, he preached at Fairfield, Salisbury and Norway, and at other points in the north part of the county. He left Fairfield in 1812 and took charge of an academy at Onondaga Hollow, where he died at the age of 73. Mr. Alexander was the author of a Latin and English grammar and of a work entitled Grammatical Elements.

In 1808, the trustees established a medical department in connection with the academy and employed Dr. Josiah Noyes, of Dartmouth, to give lectures upon chemistry, and Dr. Jacobs to lecture upon the practice and theory of medicine. To accommodate this department the "Woodin Laboratory" was erected, and the increase of students attending these lectures was such that a larger building, the "Stone Laboratory," was erected. A medical and anatomical school was now established, and, the number of students continuing to increase, a stock company in 1811 erected the "North Building" for their accommodation. The standing of this school was such that the Legislature granted to it two years later, the sum of \$5,000. This medical school, as will be seen, was raised to the rank of a college, in 1812.

Upon the resignation of Mr. Alexander, the Rev. Bethel Judd succeeded him. About this time the academy came to the receipt of \$750 annually from Trinity church of New York, on the stipulation that the principal should be a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal church, and that the academy should give free tuition to four divinity students preparing for the ministry in that church. From this fact the academy was sometimes referred to as a "Divinity school."

In 1814, Rev. Virgil H. Barber was chosen principal. After about two years he announced that he had adopted the creed of the church of Rome. This announcement produced a deep sensation. The odium

theologicum among those New Englanders of that day was active and bitter, especially against Roman Catholics. Even the minor "Protestant Variations" on doctrinal points were thought to be near to mortal sins. We find Rev. John Taylor (Congregationalist) in 1802 lamenting that the number of Methodists and Baptists in that vicinity "had nearly ruined the cause of religion." It is not probable that there was at the time of Mr. Barber's change of religious views, a single patron of the academy who professed the Roman Catholic faith. Even if religious antagonism had not compelled Mr. Barber's retirement, the academy could not well afford the loss of the annual stipend paid by Trinity church, which would follow his retention.

Mr. Barber is described as a remarkable man, possessed of extensive classic learning, and distinguished by his fine presence and affable manner. He had several children and students in his family. It is said that Latin was used in ordinary conversation and that it was required at the table, so that students brought their lexicons to their meals. I find nothing of his subsequent career.

In the preceding year (1813) the "Woodin Laboratory," which had been erected for the lectures in the medical department of the academy, was transferred by the trustees of the academy to the newly organized college. About 1816, many efforts were made to obtain a charter organizing Fairfield Academy as a college. In that year the Regents of the University consented to grant a charter for such college to be named Clinton College, on the condition that the promoters of the proposed institution should raise the sum of \$50,000 for its establishment and endowment. A strenuous effort was made to comply with this condition, but pledges for only about \$25,000 could be obtained and the project was abandoned.

Mr. Barber's successor was Rev. Daniel McDonald. Under him were many students who obtained professional and public eminence. In 1820, the academy received a grant of \$5,000, which was used in the purchase of the North building. Dr. McDonald left in 1821 to become principal of the Geneva Academy and the arrangement between the Fairfield Academy and Trinity church now ceased, and the patronage of Trinity was transferred to the institution at Geneva. Dr. McDonald is said to have been a remarkable man. He took a prominent part in founding Hobart College and was for several years the acting head of the college. Shortly before Dr. McDonald left, Bishop Hobart was offered the entire property of the Fairfield Academy to induce him to locate at Fairfield and contemplated college and theological school afterwards established at Geneva, but as a field of activity farther west than Fairfield was desired, the offer was declined.

In the spring of 1821, lax financial management, a loose state of accounts and uncollected bills had brought on a crisis, and the trustees decided to inaugurate a new system. They accordingly transferred the entire administration of the scholastic affairs of the academy to Rev.

David Chassell on the following terms: He was to receive all the fees for tuition and what was appropriated to the institution by the Regents, except a reservation for repairs, and he was to have the use of all the academy buildings and property free of rent. After three years, Mr. Chassell left and he was succeeded by Professor Charles Avery, who took charge of the institution on the same terms. Three years later he was appointed to the chair of mathematics in Hamilton College. Professor Avery had a distinguished career at Hamilton, from which he retired as Emeritus professor.

About 1826, Judge Hiram Nolton lectured on law to the students of the academy. Incidents connected with these lectures were related to the writer in 1844 by students who heard them. Thus we see that in this period, 1816 to 1826, Fairfield was a seat of learning in the classics, divinity, law and medicine.

On the retirement of Mr. Avery, Dr. Chassell resumed the control of the academy, which was held by him until 1810, and afterwards, in the years 1815 and 1816. Dr. Chassell was born in Glasgow, Scotland, April 30, 1787. His eighth birthday was on the Atlantic coming with his parents to America. His parents settled at Barnet, Vermont. He entered Dartmouth College in 1806 and graduated in 1810. Before leaving college he was elected principal of Caledonia Academy at Peacham, Vermont. In 1815, he removed to Cambridge, Washington county, N. Y., and took charge of the academy at that place. While in college he began the study of the law, but while at Cambridge he devoted himself to the theological studies in which he was engaged for the rest of his life in connection with his duties as teacher. He was licensed as a Presbyterian minister of the Presbytery of Troy, in 1819, and ordained by that body in 1820. He received the degree of D. D. from Union College in 1840. Upon the dissolution of the faculty of Fairfield Medical College in 1810, and somewhat in consequence of that event, Dr. Chassell retired and purchased a farm in Newport and for two years following he had charge of the academy at Herkimer village, his daughter, Lucinda Chassell, acting as his assistant. Dr. Chassell was fitted by high qualities of mind and character and by extensive learning for the office of teacher. He inspired students with elevated ideals and a resolution to pursue them. His discipline was rigid and he was more feared than loved by the lax and the negligent, but he was respected and venerated by students who devoted themselves to study. He had the masterful faculty called "good government," which is not always united with intellectual power. His complexion and eyes were dark, and his keen and penetrating glance seemed to reach the secret thoughts and intents of those about him, and he made impressions upon them that were not forgotten.

On the retirement of Dr. Chassell in 1840, the trustees employed as principal Rev. Henry Bannister. Associated with him in 1842, was Orlando Blanchard, teacher of mathematics, a peculiar genius. He

had mechanical tastes and constructed the town clock in Herkimer. The other principal teacher was Lester M. Clark, who gave instruction in Latin; in his class were Hon. John M. Carroll, afterwards of Johnstown, and member of Congress from this district, and the writer. In 1840, the "Waterman Building," known afterwards as the "Wood Building," was hired and equipped for a female department, and the fall term of that year was under Miss Julia A. Baldwin. In 1842, Miss Mary Waterman, and in 1844-5, Miss Mary H. Brown, afterwards wife of Colonel Aaron Petrie, were principals in this department. Mr. Bannister was succeeded by Rev. Oran R. Howard, in 1844. With him were Prof. Blanchard and John P. Griffin, the latter assistant in the English department. When the medical college closed, its buildings came to the use of the academy and furnished an ample equipment of buildings for use of the academy.

Until 1854, most of the students boarded themselves in their rooms, bringing furniture and provisions from their homes. The general attendance during the period from 1842 to 1852 may be pretty well estimated from the catalogue of the following years: 1842, gentlemen, 175, ladies, 69, total, 244; 1844, gentlemen, 137, ladies, 108, total, 245; 1843, gentlemen, 118, ladies, 93, total, 211; 1852, gentlemen, 147, ladies, 99, total, 236.

Mr. Howard was succeeded by Dr. Chassell, in 1845, and he remained until 1847, when he was succeeded by Rev. Avery Briggs, who presided until 1850. For the year 1850-51, John P. Griffin and Edwin Martin presided as associate principals. John P. Griffin and Samuel O. Bisbee were thus associated in 1851-2; in 1852-3, John P. Griffin and Israel Holmes were associate principals, and for 1853, Israel Holmes was sole principal. Seneca Wieting was principal during the winter term of 1853-4.

Rev. Lorenzo D. Stebbins became principal in the spring term of 1854, and continued to the winter term of 1854-5. On coming to Fairfield, Mr. Stebbins inspired the trustees and friends of the academy with the idea of giving to the academy a career on a higher plane. A large building was erected which afforded quarters for boarding a large number of students, and the title of "Fairfield Classical Academy and Female Collegiate Institute" was adopted. Extensive advertising, and a canvass of a large part of the State brought to Fairfield a throng of students and in November, 1854, the "Big School" was opened and the high tide mark of the academy was then reached. The buildings were filled to overflowing. But the low prices for board and tuition did not cover expenses and the necessary increase of rates reduced this extraordinary number of students, but the number continued large. The enlarged number of students required a wider field for society work and this year the Philorhetorean Society was established, as the rival of the Calliopean Society, which for many years had been the only society formed for extemporaneous debate. The first society of this

kind was the Alexandrian Society, organized in 1806. The new society, energized by a fresh impulse and aided, it seems, by the sympathy of the Athenian Society, established in the Female Seminary, forced the Calliopeans to the background. The vigor and success of the new movement are shown by the fact that in the Philorhetorean Society alone there was a registry of members afterwards found in 22 counties of this State, and in 26 States and Territories, and 8 foreign countries, in the years 1851 to 1860 inclusive. How much this area was extended by other students the writer has no means to determine. Mr. Stebbins was soon compelled to retire on account of ill health.

Rev. John B. Van Petten succeeded to the principalship in the spring term of 1855, shortly after the organization of the Ladies' Seminary. He continued at its head until July 3, 1864, when he became chaplain to the 31th regiment of N. Y. S. Volunteers. The institution in both departments was well attended at this period and continued to flourish until the breaking out of the Civil war. Upon that event some of the teachers and many of the students entered the army. During this period of Mr. Van Petten's administration he states the average number of students was over 300. Many of these graduated with high honors at various colleges and universities. About these years, Bartlett Barker, Franklin Hannahs, Miss Gordon and Gustave Guenther were associate teachers. In the Ladies' Seminary, Miss Lucinda Chassel, Miss Knox, and Mrs. John B. Van Petten successfully presided. Miss Libbie Chatfield was art teacher in 1866 and 1867. She was followed by Miss Libbie Quinby. Miss Quinby's successor was Miss Nellie Du Bois.

The universal excitement that followed the breaking out of the Civil war carried great numbers of young men into the army, and a more permanent diversion of students from academies was caused by the organizing of graded union schools with courses of classical study, in the principal villages of the State. Perhaps the attendance in 1871, which was 205, may be taken as an approximate average for the twenty years succeeding 1861. In 1871, the value of the property of the institution was reported as \$28,728 and its liabilities at \$5,375. At a sale on mortgage foreclosure, March, 1902, the highest bid was \$210.

The successor of Mr. Van Petten was Rev. A. G. Cochran, who was in charge in 1861-62, and Mr. Van Petten resumed charge in 1862-63. He was then followed by L. Bartlett Barker, from 1863 to 1867, when Mr. Van Petten again resumed the principalship until 1868, when he was succeeded by Prof. Walter A. Brownell, of Syracuse, who was in charge until 1871. In the last named year George S. Griffin and George E. King were associate principals.

Rev. William H. Reese took charge of the seminary as principal, in 1872, and upon his invitation Charles V. Parsell took the department of Latin and Greek. In 1873, Mrs. Lucinda Chassel Thomas was chosen principal of the female department, succeeding Mrs. Josie Griggs, and held that position until 1877, when she was succeeded by Miss

Jennie Duncan. Mr. Reese left in 1875. Prof. Parsell was then chosen principal and continued as such until 1879, and then resigned, having been chosen principal of the Liberal Institute at Fort Plain.

While Messrs. Reese and Parsell were teachers the attendance was not large, but the faculty was an able one and the standard of scholarship was high. The succeeding principals up to the time of the Warne regime were Charles E. Babcock (1879-1881); Charles Leroy Wheeler (spring term, 1881); Albert K. Sutton (1881-1882); J. B. Van Petten (1882-1883); H. Judd Ward (winter and spring terms of 1884); Isaac Borts (1884-1885).

In 1882, the property and rights of the corporation were merged in a stock company; \$5,000 was raised with which debts were paid and repairs made. A new charter was obtained, changing the name to "Fairfield Seminary." The school was reorganized and the property leased to General Van Petten and those above named as succeeding him. For various reasons the school continued to decline during this period.

Messrs. D. D. and F. L. Warne came to the control of the seminary in 1885. Their active enterprise and energy gave to the institution for several years an aspect of prosperity. They published an elaborate annual, setting forth the character of the institution and the educational advantages which it afforded, advertised and canvassed widely, and applied all the methods for exciting public interest that are employed in business affairs. They gave a business college course and employed numerous teachers. In 1891, they secured the detail of an officer from the United States army to give the students military drill and a large armory was built. A fine company was named the "Halleck Guards," in honor of General H. Wager Halleck, a former student of Fairfield Academy. Their fine equipment and soldierly appearance added eclat to many public functions. Preparatory departments in law and medicine were established and measures were initiated for a course of lectures on law and medicine.

In the hand-book of the "Fairfield Seminary and Military Academy" for 1901, Frank F. Gray is named as principal, Miss S. M. DePew as preceptress, E. B. Peck director of the medical department, W. A. Inger-ton director of the law department, James M. Hall teacher of languages, Nellie M. Allen teacher of mathematics, A. H. Jackson teacher of sciences, Miss Adelaide Warne teacher of art and modern languages, W. A. Brenner director of commercial department, Captain George R. Burnett commander of cadets, Mrs. G. R. Burnett instructor on piano, Miss Louisa Fay on the voice, and Miss Dunbar teacher of elocution. Besides this, almost a university scheme, the fertile brain of the proprietors contemplated a summer school in the Adirondacks on the model of Agassiz's Penikese school. This was a final effort. The program rivaled the curriculum of a college, but there were no favoring currents to fill so broad a sail, and the seminary came to a pathetic, but is hoped a temporary close.

FAIRFIELD MEDICAL COLLEGE.

The founding of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Western New York was nearly coeval with the first of the medical colleges established under the auspices of the State. In 1769, private individuals established a school in New York city, at which lectures were delivered to a few students, but the troubles preceding and attending the Revolutionary war suspended them and they were not resumed during the war. In 1792, members of the medical profession organized a medical school annexed to Columbia College, much as the medical school in 1808 was made an adjunct to the Fairfield Academy. In 1791, the State authorized the Regents of the University to establish a College of Physicians and Surgeons, but they did not act upon this authority until 1807. In 1808, the State endowed this college by a grant of \$20,000. Fends and jealousies among the profession interrupted the program of this institution, and from 1793 to 1810, only thirty-four students took the degree of M. D. It may perhaps be inferred that the Fairfield college was located on the borders of the western settlements to escape the reach of the dissensions that had been so injurious to the earlier college.

The Fairfield Medical College, as has already been seen, was founded upon the medical department of Fairfield Academy. The charter of its incorporation is dated June 12, 1812, and bears the signature of Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of the State, and the college had an endowment of \$10,000. The trustees, some of whose names are historical, were: Westel Willoughby, Jr., Jonathan Sherwood, Luther Guiteau, Solomon Wolcott, Isaac Sears, Abijah Tombling, Amos Hale, Sim-eon Ford, Clark Smith, Joseph White, Alexander G. Fonda, Oliver C. Comstock, John Nellis, Isaac Sargeant, Reuben Hart, Amasa Trow-bridge, Francis A. Bloodgood, William D. Ford, James Kennedy, Oliver Ellis, Andrew A. Bartow, William Smith, John Stearns and James Hale. The faculty were as follows: Lyman Spalding, professor of anatomy and surgery, and president; Westel Willoughby, professor of obstetrics; James Hadley, professor of chemistry; John Stearns, professor of theory and practice. The first class of students, 1812-13, numbered 18; that of next year was 24; in 1816, the class was 28; that of 1818 was 41; that of 1822 was 62; that of 1827 was 141; that of 1828 was 171; that of 1832 was 205. The largest class, 217, was that of the year ending January 30, 1834. The class of 1835 was 198.

In 1816, T. Romeyn Beck having been chosen to fill the chair of medical jurisprudence, began his course of lectures on that subject. These lectures were afterwards expanded to the great work on medical jurisprudence which became familiar to physicians and lawyers throughout the world.

In 1817, Dr. Joseph White, of Cherry Valley, was chosen to fill the chair of anatomy and surgery and as president of the college to suc-

ceed Dr. Spaulding, and President White was allowed to substitute his son, Delos White, to deliver the lectures on anatomy in his stead.

In view of the small population of the county at that time and the distance of Fairfield from the more densely settled districts, the progress of the college was notably rapid. In a few years after it was opened, Fairfield Medical College was next to the Medical University of Pennsylvania, then the leading institution of its kind in this country, in the number of its students—these two and one in New York city, one in Baltimore, one in Boston, and one connected with Dartmouth College being the six medical institutions of America. In 1811, Columbia Medical College conferred degrees upon only eight graduates. The first degrees at Fairfield were conferred at the end of the third year on Sylvester Miller, of Lowville, and Horatio Orvis. Dr. Caleb Budlong, of Frankfort, received his degree in the next class, and his son-in-law, the late Dr. William H. H. Parkhurst, also of Frankfort, and the late Dr. William B. Stebbins, of Little Falls, took their degree in the last class, 1839-40. George Hadley, son of Prof. James Hadley, and afterwards professor of chemistry in the Buffalo Medical College, graduated in the class of 1838-39.

It may be remarked in passing that the Pennsylvania institution, which was no mean rival of the Medical University of Edinburgh, acquired its reputation under the auspices of the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush, the friend and in some respects the imitator of Franklin and called the Sydenham of America. He acquired great reputation by his success in treating the yellow fever of 1793, by the heroic use of the lancet, a method of treatment at which medical men of this day would stand aghast. Such changes in the practice and theory of medicine suggest the thought that the practice of this science, as well as that of the law, is not as exact as demonstrations in Euclid, excepting perhaps in their dissection of the subjects.

For some years graves in the neighborhood of Fairfield were violated to obtain bodies for dissection, and these occurrences had aroused threats of popular violence. In January, 1819, the trustees passed a resolution for the dismissal of any student who in any way engaged in procuring illegally, any human body, for such a purpose, and next year the Legislature was asked that the bodies of unclaimed convicts dying at the Auburn State prison might be had for dissection at the college, in the following year, Dr. Delos White resigned on account of the difficulty in obtaining subjects for dissection. The next year (1822) Dr. James McNaughton was chosen professor of anatomy and physiology.

In 1827, President Joseph White, who had for ten years filled the office of president, resigned all his official duties on account of age and infirmity. He was succeeded by Professor Westel Willoughby, Jr., in the presidency, and Dr. John Delamater came to the chair of surgery.

John Delamater was born in the town of Florida, Montgomery county. He was educated to the medical profession and became eminent.

He was chosen professor of surgery, succeeding Dr. Delos White, and in 1830, he was confirmed by the Regents as professor of practice and in the diseases of women and children. In 1837, Dr. Delamater was chosen vice-president, along with N. S. Benton, John B. Dygert, Thomas Hawks and Henry Ellison of the Herkimer County Educational Society and Teachers' Association. Of this society, organized that year at Little Falls, at a convention of the friends of education throughout the county, David Chassell was president, James Henry corresponding and Erwin A. Munson recording secretaries. After the closing of the medical lectures at Fairfield, Dr. Delamater removed to Cleveland, Ohio, where he died, distinguished for his professional attainments and personally known as the "beloved physician."

The increase of students was now such that an additional building was erected containing 32 dormitories and the lecture rooms were improved and enlarged. The college faculty was confirmed by the Regents in 1836, as follows: Westel Willoughby, Emeritus, professor of midwifery; James Hadley, professor of chemistry and pharmacy; T. Romeyn Beck, professor of medical jurisprudence and materia medica; James McNaughton, professor of anatomy and physiology; John Delamater, professor of practice of physics and diseases of women and children; Reuben D. Mussey, professor of surgery and midwifery. These remained throughout, except that Professor Mussey was succeeded by Frank H. Hamilton in the chair of surgery. Dr. Willoughby acted as president until 1840, and was nominally president at the time of his death at Newport in 1844, at the age of 75 years.

The organization of the medical department of Geneva College in 1835, and the founding of the Albany Medical College in 1838, much reduced the number of medical students at Fairfield, and it was thought that it could not be longer successfully maintained. To this embarrassment were added some dissensions in the faculty and perhaps some conflicts between the college and academy. Hospital and clinical practice, so essential to efficient medical education, could not be had in such a location, and the lack of subjects for dissection had always been felt, and with the lecture course of 1839-40 the active work of Fairfield Medical College came to an end. In the last class there were 105 students, and of these, 55 received the degree of M. D.

The advantages of medical instruction in a city like New York secured for its two medical institutions 560 students in 1870. But the Albany and Geneva institutions from whose competition the Fairfield College retired thirty years before, had in that year only 76 and 19 students respectively. In 1870, the medical students of the State were reported at 1,019, including dental students, distributed among eleven different institutions. It is probable that harmonious counsels and resolute effort might have prolonged the existence of Fairfield College for many years.

This retrospect awakens keen regret for lost opportunities. Had the

resources of that early day been equal to making Fairfield Academy Clinton College, in 1816, this college standing by the side of the Medical College, each mutually supporting each other under the favoring auspices of the State, Herkimer county might now be the seat of two important and ancient institutions of science and learning. The perishing of institutions fitted to promote a salutary growth of learning affects us more deeply than the closing of transitory human life. The world mourns the loss of the ripened wisdom of scholars and scientific sages, but these the course of nature will restore. But seats of learning once broken up can only be re-established by special effort. Looking back to 1816 and to 1840, we feel the touch of a local sentiment full of pathos:

“For of all the sad words of tongue or pen,

The saddest are these: It might have been.”

Let us hope that some master of wealth, or some body of men in whom cherished memories of Fairfield still abide, may reanimate those silent halls with a renewed life, or that the State may utilize them for a Normal school, for which the location and the plant afford signal advantages. Plans for a reorganization of the academy, it is said, are now under consideration by able and energetic gentlemen, which it is hoped may be successful.

The institutions whose history has been recalled have not wholly perished. From them has come a marked growth in thought and public activity. Of their teachers and students some will be mentioned. Of these and of others extended sketches will appear in the writer's "Biographia" of Herkimer and other counties."

Westel Willoughby was a native of Connecticut and in early life began practice in Norway, one of the early settlements on the Royal Grant. He soon after removed to the present site of Newport village, where his residence and park have long been famous. Besides his professional achievements, he was a member of Congress in 1815-17, member of Assembly in 1808-1809, and was one of the founders of the Willoughby Medical College of Ohio, at which he also lectured. He was one of the judges of the Common Pleas from 1805 to 1821. A record of his labors on the marble slab at his grave in the Newport cemetery is read with interest by many visitors.

T. Romeyn Beck was born in Schenectady, in 1791, and died at Utica in 1855. His great work on Medical Jurisprudence, based on his lectures at Fairfield, was first published in 1823, and an edition was published in London in 1842. In 1850, ten editions had been issued—a work of renown in Europe. Professor Beck was also a learned mineralogist. On the discontinuance of the Fairfield College, he became one of the professors in the Albany Medical College, and was at one time president of the board of managers of the State Lunatic Asylum at Utica.

James Hadley was a native of New Hampshire and was born in 1785. He was a distinguished chemist, upon which subject he lectured

at Fairfield as long as medical lectures were maintained there, and in 1840 filled the same chair in the Medical College at Geneva. Professor Hadley made chemistry a favorite study. Professor Mather there devoted himself to it as his work during his life, and a son, George Hadley, became professor of chemistry in the Buffalo Medical College, in 1847. Another son, James, was the professor of Greek at Yale, and his son, Henry Hamilton, was professor of Hebrew in Columbia College. These three sons were born at Fairfield. The advice of Professor Hadley to the botanist, Asa Gray, turned his attention to that study. In person, Professor Hadley was tall and commanding, his countenance was dark and his features made up a distinguished personal presence.

James McNaughton was a native of Scotland, where he was born in 1797, and died at Paris in 1874. He graduated at the Medical University of Edinburgh and came to Albany in 1817. He was called to the chair of anatomy and physiology at Fairfield College, in 1822, and in 1840 he filled the same chair in the Medical College at Albany. He lectured fifty-three consecutive years and delivered 70 courses of lectures.

James Hadley, son of the elder James Hadley, was born at Fairfield in 1821, and his early education was at Fairfield Academy. After acting as assistant tutor in the academy, he entered the junior class at Yale, and there graduated at the head of his class in 1842. In 1845 he was tutor in classical history at Yale, and in 1851, succeeded Prof. Theodore W. Woolsey as professor of Greek language and literature, and has been ranked as first among the Greek scholars of America. His linguistic knowledge embraced Sanscrit, Hebrew, Arabic, Gothic, Welsh and others, including the modern languages. His lectures on the Roman Civil Law were included in the curriculum of the Yale Law School, and were repeated at Harvard. He was a master of the results of research on comparative philology, and vice-president of the American Philological Association. He was author of a Greek Grammar, History of the English language (prefixed to Webster's Dictionary), and Elements of the Greek Language. His lectures on Roman Law were edited by President Woolsey, and his Philosophical and Critical Essays were edited by Prof. W. D. Whitney, after his death. He was an adept in many sciences and as strong in mathematics as in literature. Such were the achievements of the student and tutor known at Fairfield as "Jimmy" Hadley. He died at New Haven in 1872.

Albert Barnes, by his Commentaries on the Scriptures, is known to millions of readers; the flora of the continent grows and blooms on the pages of Asa Gray's botanical works, and he ranks as one of the first of botanists; Hiram Denio, classmate of Barnes, was one of the greatest jurists of the State and of the Nation; Addison Gardner was Lieutenant-governor of the State and one of its eminent judges; Arphaxed Loomis was so radical a reformer of our legal procedure that we may justly claim for him the title of law-giver; H. Wager Halleck, Lieuten-

ant-general of the Union army, writer on military science and international law, whose military strategy cleared the valley of the Mississippi of rebel control from St. Louis to Corinth—a man greater than his fame; Jeremiah Clinton Drake, commander of Drake's Independent Brigade, named after him, was cut off from a brilliant career early in the war; Elisha P. Hulburt, an able writer on political topics, one of the ablest of our lawyers and judges—a man great enough to decline being Governor of the State; Charles A. Mann, renowned in his day as the ablest real estate lawyer of Oneida county; Luther Bradish, a distinguished speaker of the Assembly and Lieutenant-Governor; John Swinburn, a surgeon of great skill, employed by the French government to apply his methods in the French-German war of 1870; Orin Faville of Manheim, Lieutenant-governor and for many years superintendent of the schools of Iowa; John Foster, an eminent professor of Union College.

Among those at Fairfield after 1850, were Watson C. Squire, of Iliou, Governor of Washington Territory and United States Senator from that State; Robert J. Reynolds, Governor of the State of Delaware; John H. Knight, of Delaware, Mayor of Ashland, Wisconsin; William T. Lord of Delaware, Governor of Oregon and chief justice of that State; Mahlon M. Gilbert, Coadjutor Bishop of Minnesota with Bishop Whipple; Albert B. Watkins, secretary of the Board of Regents; Stephen Blake, assistant district attorney of New York city; Judson W. Ward, superintendent of the New Jersey Lunatic Asylum; Jean R. Stebbins, long the able editor of the Little Falls Journal and Courier, and who closed a useful career as president of the Agricultural Insurance Company; Albert M. Mills, an eminent lawyer, who has served his district in the Senate and his country in the Civil war; George Griswold, an eloquent anti-slavery leader in the forties, and his brother, William M. Griswold, sons of Colonel Amos Griswold of Salisbury, attained distinction in this county, and about 1850 and in succeeding years were prominent members of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin.

Prof. William Mather was born on Bartow Hill, Fairfield, in 1802. On arriving at the age of 14, he attended Fairfield Academy for several years and then took a full course of study in the medical college, graduating in 1826. He did not pursue medical practice for the reason that his sympathetic nature could not endure the witnessing of physical suffering, and he turned his attention to scientific teaching. He began by teaching a private class in chemistry in the Buffalo Medical College, and for several years maintained that connection. In 1828, he was invited to give lectures to the academic and theological students at Hamilton and continued them until 1838. In that year he was appointed professor of chemistry in Madison (now Colgate) University.

From 1838 to 1860, such time as he was not engaged at Hamilton, Prof. Mather gave lectures on chemistry at most of the important towns in the State. His lectures outside the university included

courses before the State Normal School at Albany, the Young Men's Association in Albany, and the Berkshire Medical College, Massachusetts. In 1841, he accepted the professorship of chemistry and pharmacy in the medical college of Castleton, Vermont, where he lectured several years. Aside from his enthusiastic pursuit of chemical instruction, he lectured on geology and mineralogy. Prof. Mather died at Fairfield June 21, 1890.

Nerxes A. Willard was a son of Nathan S. Willard, who graduated from the Fairfield Medical School in 1810, and who was a prominent physician until his death in 1827. Prof. Willard was born in 1820. He made dairy production a special study and wrote largely upon it. He was employed by the U. S. agricultural department to visit Europe in that interest. His report largely affected the dairy industry of this country. At the instance of the Royal Agricultural Society of England he wrote several works on dairying. He lectured at the fairs of most of the counties of this state, and gave courses of lectures before Cornell University and the Agricultural college of Maine. His works became standard authorities; Dr. Edward Smith, F. R. S., said in the London Standard of one of his works on "Condensed Milk Manufacture," that it was incomparable "in clearness, detail and correctness." The night previous to his death, October 26, 1882, he was engaged in preparing an article on dairying for the "Encyclopedia Britannica."

Among other graduates of the medical college still remembered are Isaac Munson, of Solisbury, of the class of 1834, of high repute as a physician in Jefferson county, a potent factor in its politics, county clerk, and whose organizing and financial ability as president of the Agricultural Insurance Company gave to it signal success; Daniel Belknap of the class of 1828, whose extraordinary faculty of diagnosis is a tradition; Lester Green, of the class of 1821, practiced at Little Falls, was twice president of the State Medical Society, and was its delegate to the Medical Society of the United States; Silas Ingham, an eminent physician, graduated in the class of 1839, studied with Dr. Noiton until 1844 was associated with Dr. Booth of Russia, afterwards practiced at Inghams Mills and in 1849 removed to Little Falls, where he was in practice for thirty years.

The foregoing are far from exhausting the names of those who have borne their part in the public service and in advancing the general welfare. Forty years ago the graduates of Fairfield Medical college were in active practice throughout our state and in the larger part of the states of the Union. Over the same territory are now found a great number of those who began their scholastic career at Fairfield Academy and who are giving youthful energy or matured mental power to the common welfare.

THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION; ITS ORIGIN AND ITS MEANING.

ANNUAL ADDRESS BY PROF. D. DEW SMYTH, OF HAMILTON COLLEGE.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society March 13, 1902.

It is with great pleasure that I meet with the members of the Herkimer County Historical Society this evening. It is altogether fit that the neighboring counties of Herkimer and Oneida should maintain such societies and the Mohawk valley with its legends and its history forms a fit home for such activity. Coming to you from Oneida county and representing as I do that college that at its birth was called "Kirkland's Folly," I am glad that in the close intermingling of our common history, Oneida county can share in the story of him who is perhaps your greatest hero. Here he lived. There he fought and gave his life to win. It is but eight miles as the crow flies, from our college campus to where that granite shaft marks the fateful battlefield. Your village and your county bear his name.

But it is not as a historian but as an economist, I am to speak, though with my economics I shall blend so much of history as is due the occasion and the theme.

The subject, "The Origin and Meaning of the Modern Industrial Organization," would in itself suggest the historical view-point, and it is here that modern economics differs from that "dismal science" against which Carlyle inveighed. Modern economics is historical. It reads the present in the past. It studies history and statistics; it observes and seeks to understand complex economic phenomena as a part of a vast social evolution. It is not so simple as it seemed; yet the newer science that is making, it is hoped, will be in truer touch with facts.

Our view-point, then, is this: the modern industrial system is new. It is not what it was a century ago; not what it will be a century hence. Laws, institutions, methods, as well as machines, are new and changing. Whence came they? Why came they? How efficient are they? Will they last? These are serious questions and they are ours.

"It is," says Sir Henry Sumner Maine, "in spite of overwhelming evidence, most difficult for a citizen of Western Europe to bring thor-

oughly home to himself the truth that the civilization which surrounds him is a rare exception in the history of the world," and yet the truth is plain.

It is customary to illustrate this fact in somewhat loose and broad manner by mention of the so-called industrial stages in social evolution: first, the hunting and fishing age, next the pastoral, then the agricultural age, followed by the age of commerce and lastly the industrialism of to-day. With slightly different emphasis, the same story may be told in terms of exchange as a development from barter, through money economy, to the present system of credit. And while this may not be a very accurate or scientific basis for classification, the narration of this story of development will serve to point out not a few important truths.

In primitive life, among a hunting or fishing people, there is no effective industrial organization. Industry is intermittent, sporadic. Division, or differentiation, of labor and of occupation does not exist, save possibly that determined by sex. Property as a social and legal institution, is not recognized. Possession of implements, ornaments and weapons alone is guaranteed. Commerce and trade have not begun. Capital in the form of rude implements of war and the chase lends little aid to man and the savage, face to face with an unknown and unconquered environment, is crushed and helpless. It is from such beginnings civilization is sprung.

The first step upward came through the subjugation of animal nature and in the domesticated flocks and herds of a pastoral age, the savage found a more abundant and more regular food supply, a higher standard of comfort, the possibility of advancement. Here, too, it was that labor found its first definite organization in slavery; a system which we to-day abhor, but which in primitive times marked an advance upon those conditions under which all captives were of necessity slain, as it also marked an essential step in industrial progress. If no men would work, some men must be made to work; else stagnation. Savage inertia must be overcome. The advancement of the few, though at the expense of the many, was the essential stimulus to rivalry and ambition. In the pastoral age, too, the right of property, though limited in content and scope, began to be recognized. Capital increased man's productive powers and trade and commerce, though as yet limited to commodities of large value in small bulk, began. Man had conquered one domain of nature. This is the nomadic age of Old Testament story. The picture is familiar.

Progress from the pastoral to the agricultural life involved greater possibilities. We know not that far off ancestor who brought the fire from heaven. Poetry and legend have rightly celebrated his achievement. We know not the home nor the race of that first discoverer of the potentialities of plant life for man and of the primitive methods for its utilization. Yet the two should be classed together as benefactors

of the human race. Agriculture meant settled homes. Agriculture meant a higher level of subsistence and the rest followed: a systematic organization of industry with the beginnings of its differentiation, the development of permanent political institutions, with a growing regard for law and order; the integration of society, constituting the condition precedent to that socializing process we call civilization. These were the essential facts: others only a little less important were the increased use of capital and the growing importance of trade and commerce, which, while characteristic of the age, at the same time marked the beginning of its breakdown.

At its inception, agriculture was crude and relatively unproductive. Implements were rude and methods ineffective, rotation of crops was unintelligent; fertilization unknown, lands must lie fallow to recuperate; but it is the first step that counts. Agriculture begins with slavery; it ends with free labor. Between the two, lies serfdom. It begins with communism in land; it ends in private property. Between, lie feudal tenures. It begins in economic isolation; it ends in an age of commercial expansion. Between, lies the age of the commercial adventurer, the age of the occasional market, the philosophy of medieval scholasticism, the usury laws and the doctrine of "just price." For Europe and for us the turning points in this development were: the Crusades, involving the very general manumission of slave and serf, the breakdown of custom and privilege, a stimulus to enterprise and adventure; the "Black Death," creating new demand for labor; the growth of cities, with their free artisans and systematic industrial organization into trade and merchants' guilds, the activities of the Housewife and other great commercial leagues; the achievements of the early voyagers and discoverers, than whom none other are more representative of the new life and among whom Christopher Columbus stands pre-eminent. These are some of the historic accidents, if such there be, that wrought the change then and there and brought in commerce and manufacture. But that such changes were inevitable, is clear. The old disappeared; the new came in, because the new brought with it greater efficiency. Free labor, intelligent and moved by the motive of self-interest, met the growing needs of society, as the bondman could not do. Private property in land, ensured more intensive cultivation than was possible under the legalized possession of feudal tenures. Exchange and commerce, growing out of social and industrial differentiation and realizing the productive capacities of individuals and of localities, could but supplant the relative unproductiveness of economic isolation. In the struggle, the more fit supplanted the less fit and, if rightly understood, this would seem to be the law of social and of economic, as well as of physical, development. Yet the old system "died hard" and many of the laws and precepts of the old were carried on into the new. The right of property in land was recognized, yet the power to alienate the same, won its way into law only by slow

and indirect means. The medieval notion of the sterility of capital still held and the doctrine and the laws of "usury" persisted. The philosophy of trade and commerce was still that of scholasticism. Exchange, it was thought, could involve no mutual benefit and profit came by trickery and sharp practice. In the domestic market custom and stringent laws fixed price, while sumptuary legislation regulated consumption. In international trade, the narrow policy of the "mercantile school" dominated. Freedom of movement and of enterprise, there was none and where not controlled by trade and merchant guilds, industry was in the hands of government made monopolies. To us the picture seems strange and yet, if I may venture it, we have by no means entirely outlived this same medievalism in law and in outlook.

Despite all hindrances, however, the age of commerce and manufactures was a great age for Europe. Commerce once begun, grew and in its growth exercised its normal functions, stimulating, harmonizing, unifying, socializing through contact. Manufactures, simple at the start—manufactures in the original sense of the term—hand crafts—trained the workers, developed skill, educated the masters and paved the way to that modern system under which manufacture means machine production. It was a great age: The age of the supremacy of English wool, the age of Colbertism in France and of Cromwell's navigation laws in England. It was then the Dutch Republic rose. It was the age of colonial plantation, the age wherein a golden stream of colonial treasure raised Spain to proud but temporary dominion. It was then that Drake, and Hawkins, and Raleigh sailed the seas and and that the Dutch and the English East India Companies disputed the trade of the Orient. Never before or since has there been such an era of inspiration and reawakening. It was the age of Luther and of Shakespeare, of the reformation and of the renaissance and modern industrialism is its outgrowth.

The beginnings of this last movement are to be found in England's history, probably because there feudalism and absolutism never reigned supreme and its origin dates back to incidents that at the time seemed little significant. In 1769, James Watt patented his steam engine. In 1770, Hargreaves patented his "spinning jenny." In 1771, Arkwright invented his "water frame." In 1779, Crompton combined these in his "Spinning mule." In 1785, Cartwright devised his "power loom." These are apparently simple facts, yet they were weighted with enormous potency for future time. They meant the breakdown of the domestic system of production, the passing of the handicrafts, the rise of the machine, the subjugation of nature's forces in the conquest of nature's resources by man. It was the beginning of the so-called "Industrial Revolution."

Of the inventions mentioned, the first in time and in importance was the last to be utilized. It was nearly one hundred years before steam power was largely used. Meanwhile it was water-power that

drove the mills, and populations concentrated wherever such power existed, gathering in large factories, aided by machines that did the work of many men, multiplied commodities in amounts that then seemed marvelous. The immediate and revolutionary effects of the change can hardly be appreciated by us to-day; its ultimate effects are still to be realized.

England made the start and at the outset held a monopoly. Before the continent could participate, there must come that vast social upheaval, through which, beginning with the French Revolution, Europe should throw off the shackles of Feudalism. Meanwhile it is interesting to note that England's machine made wealth paid the armies of the coalition in their long but successful struggle against the despotism of Napoleon. For us the change came earlier. English policy sought to monopolize the field, but in 1789, Samuel Slater, well called the "Father of American Manufactures," evading the laws that forbade the exportations of machines and models, defying the laws that forbade his own emigration, sailed for America. Trained from youth in the methods, versed in every detail of the new machinery, the knowledge that he brought with him proved the most fruitful importation ever brought to these shores. In 1790, he founded a factory at Pawtucket, R. I., and the new movement was begun. In 1794, Eli Whitney invented his "cotton gin." In 1807, Fulton's steamboat sailed the Hudson, and in 1814, Francis Lowell set up at Waltham, Mass., the first complete factory, in which the spinning and the weaving and the dying were performed under one roof. The factory system was here, and while it is interesting for dwellers in the Mohawk valley to note that the movement began in the textiles, it was but a little time before it spread throughout the industrial realm.

What did it mean? It would be entirely possible to tell the story in yards of cloth, bushes of wheat and tons of steel, but that would weary, while at the same time it would ignore the deeper meaning of the movement. Beneath the outward phenomena of quantities and values, the fundamental significance of the movement lay in the fact that nature's mighty forces had been subjugated to the use of man.

Through all history man and nature are face to face. "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" is as true to-day, however much we may refine commodities, however much the social organization may hide the true relation, as in the days of primitive man. Man working on and through his environment: this is the field of industry, the field of economic research and in the intelligent utilization of nature's forces, the powers of man have been multiplied a hundred-fold. The "Industrial Revolution" marked the dominion of intelligence in industry and trade. This was the central fact and the rest followed. With the use of power, water, steam, and now electricity, the factory system was born, and in that system was involved the concentration of industrial population, the differentiation of labor and of occupation, the realiza-

tion of individual productive capacity, the stratification of society into industrial classes, the differentiation of employer and employee, the growing predominance of capital, the dependence of class on class and man on man.

With the application of machine power to transportation, has come the exploitation of world-wide resources, the realization of local capacities, the dependence of locality on locality, the development of a world market for all staple commodities, and the revolution wrought in the carrying trades, has been no less epoch-making, than that which has taken place in manufacture. The Suez canal and our own trans-continental railways; the Trans-Siberian railway and the Trans-Isthmian canal of the future, have been and will be turning points in social and political history as well as in the story of economic progress.

It is, however, with the economic organization and its meaning, that we have primarily to deal, and its significance will be best illustrated by reference to the older institutions and ideals which have been supplanted in this later day. Despite the liberalizing inspiration of the commercial age, medieval ignorance, intolerance and absolutism persisted long and feudalism would not down. It was not until the eighteenth century that the reaction came but when it came, it came with a rush.

Voltaire's satire discredited the old. Rousseau's philosophy formed the working basis of the new. "Natural Law" became the creed of the century, finding its most perfect expression in our own Declaration of Independence. "Men are created free and equal," endowed with natural, inalienable and absolute rights. Let but Government be stripped of its usurped power and men will "rise in the image of their maker!" In politics, this was the philosophic basis of the American and of the French Revolutions. In economics, it found expression in the writings of the "physiocrats" and in the growth of industrial liberty. "Laissez faire, Laissez passer," became the watchword of the industrial revolution, and it was French physiocracy, blended with Scotch keenness and English common sense, that gave us the first true philosophy of that movement. It was no accident that gave the world "The Wealth of Nations" in our own great year of '76, for in it Adam Smith sounded the declaration of industrial independence. Freedom of labor, freedom of capital, freedom of enterprise, freedom of competition and non-intervention of government; industrial liberty; this in rough way was the message. "The Wealth of Nations" is the product not of legislation but of labor and in the working, Providence provides the law, whereby each seeking his own must serve the whole. This is the substratum of Adam Smith's philosophy and in large measure it will be ours, though we shall be forced to qualify somewhat.

Out of the philosophy of Adam Smith and his followers, out of the revolutionary need of changed and changing conditions, gradually came the new law, the new institution, the modern system. The eighteenth

century saw the final breakdown of feudalism. The nineteenth saw the right of private property, including the rights of alienation and bequest, extended, liberalized. It saw, too, the freeing of capital, as evidenced in the growing obsolescence of usury laws, which though they may still be found on the statute books, are to-day practically non-enforceable. Freedom of the domestic market came early; though, for most of us, freedom of the international market is still unrealized. Freedom of enterprise was characteristic of the movement and showed itself in the limited field of government industry, in the extended scope of private property, in general corporation laws, in our patent laws, which, though they legalize temporary monopoly, are intended to stimulate private enterprise. The field is open; the prize to the swiftest. The nineteenth century's message was freedom in politics, in religion and in industry and trade and in the latter sphere, its fundamental institutions are the rights of private property and of free contact conceived of as natural, inherent and absolute.

What does it mean, this system of industrial liberty? Is competition a fixed and absolute concept? The older economists would have answered, "Yes," but to-day we must qualify the affirmation. The validity of the competitive principle rests upon the theory that wealth, essential to man's existence, must be won from nature through labor, that hope of reward or fear of starvation must furnish the impetus, that laboring to produce values for himself, man must produce values for his neighbors, that led by enlightened self-interest, labor and capital will seek those occupations, wherein as they create most wealth they will be socially most productive, that no motive, other than self-interest, can so stimulate exertion and enterprise, that no force other than social demand can so efficiently direct social production; and, in the main, we concede the validity of the proposition. In our own day Mr. Andrew Carnegie, stimulated by intelligent self-interest, has amassed vast wealth, but that in so doing he has contributed largely to the industrial well-being of the United States, those great mills at Pittsburgh and Bethlehem bear ample testimony, nor can the philanthropy of his days of affluence bear greater fruit, than have his days of earnest and intelligent striving for success. In a different field, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, inventor of method and of organization, uniting with trained financial skill, a creative imagination, no less remarkable than that of an Edison or a Marconi, is likewise contributing his share in organization and reorganization based on financial integrity. Had that vast landed domain acquired by the United States under the treaty of Paris and extended by subsequent purchase and treaty, remained in the hands of the government, its exploitation would still be largely in the future. Railway subsidies alone would not have availed. Through homestead law, through private property and competition, it has been peopled in a century, its resources developed, and its products laid down in a common market. Jefferson said, "it would take a thousand years to settle

the northwest territory." To-day the redemption of our arid lands through irrigation is a national problem. The story of the past century's achievements forms the concrete expression of the potency of individual initiative. But farther than this: in this struggle to subdue its environment, society, through its competitive organization, not only enforces the strongest motive to activity and enterprise, but also throws the responsibility of failure on the individual; and the validity of such process, rests upon the assumption that the previous acquisition of wealth, necessary for such undertaking, shall be sufficient index of industrial capacity.

Individual opportunity, individual responsibility, these are the essential characteristics of our current industrial organization and involved in them, is yet another, namely this: that modern industry is essentially speculative. Between the planting and the harvest, price changes determine the farmer's profit. The manufacturer buys labor and raw materials and wagers his judgment of future markets against the possibility of loss. The railroad pushes forward to develop unknown resources and unknown traffic. The promoter, the broker, the inventor, the captain of industry, each in his own way speculates on market uncertainties. It is as easy to bet on the price of hops, staking your labor and capital against the market as it is to bet on the price of stocks and in Central New York, I venture to say, that the former is the more prevalent form of speculation and, I am also inclined to think, is equally uncertain. Says President Hadley: "The success or failure of a man engaged in manufacture, transportation or agriculture depends more on his skill as a prophet than upon his industry as a producer;" and again, that the line between the legitimate and the illegitimate depends not on the method or form of the transaction, but wholly on "the intent and purpose." Moreover, it must be added that the more distant the market, the newer the method, the swifter the progress; the more the speculative element predominates. Mistake means loss; loss to the community in wasted capital and labor, but a loss the immediate burden of which is shifted to the shoulders of the individual. Gain means social betterment—progress—but here, too, the immediate profit belongs to the individual, as it was for such profit the risk was borne. To quote again from President Hadley: "The problem of industrial growth can be solved only by encouraging enough experiments to secure progress without encouraging so many as to destroy the whole accumulated capital of the country." Such in brief is the meaning of the competitive principle, such the philosophy back of our current industrial organization. It has been said that, in the last one hundred years, man has achieved greater industrial progress than in all the centuries of his previous development, and that progress has been in and by this system. It is this system that has given us a Morse, an Edison, an Armour, a Wannamaker, a Carnegie, a Rockefeller, a Morgan. It is this system that has built our railroads and our steamship

lines; that has built our factories, developed our resources, and peopled our farms; that has given us the telegraph, the telephone and electrical power; that has devised and perfected our vast and intricate system of credit; that has organized capital and labor in joint co-operation for the exploitation of the world.

But is the picture all so fair? Is the optimism of the early economists justified? Is their philosophy without flaw? May not theirs prove to have been but a partial view of the truth? Is it not true that society has not and could not realize to the full the system, they posited as the ideal? What is the meaning of strikes and "lockouts?" What the meaning of commercial crisis, what the meaning of labor unions, what the meaning of trusts, what the meaning of that social discontent that finds expression in that false but significant phrase, "the rich are growing richer; the poor, poorer?" What and whence is socialism?

Through values operative on labor and on capital social demand is met but neither value nor demand have in themselves any ethical or utilitarian significance. Wealth is wealth, whether it rests upon wants intelligent and morally commendable or upon wants ignorant and vicious. The truth lies deeper. In Ruskin's fine phrase, "There is no wealth but life!" Self-interest is a fundamental economic motive but self-interest is by no means a fixed concept; nor is it to be interpreted only in food and clothes. Fortunately for man, in these later days, industrial progress has so far satisfied these primal wants, that hunger, thirst and cold are for the great mass of humanity only indirectly felt as economic stimuli. The standard of life for which men strive, is not subsistence only, but more; nor is the wealth men prize, prized for itself alone but rather for the power it brings and for the social prestige it confers. By that same human trait that causes the savage to value rude ornament next to food, man measures wealth in terms of social approbation. Self-interest is not simple but complex, not fixed but variable and in public opinion largely lies the power that shall determine its content and its direction.

"Laissez faire" voiced a timely policy but contains no scientific principle. Free competition among laborers ended a hundred years ago in the complete degradation of England's laboring population. It is the law of the "sweat-shop" and it meant and means long hours, vile housing, low wages, the exhausting and destructive toil of women and children. Unintelligent, unorganized, pitted against the power of capital, labor was helpless and only the law could intervene to save the race from the competitive greed of self-interest. Factory laws regulating hours and conditions of employment followed and labor unions growing out of the new conditions gave the lie to the economists. Competition among employers under a capitalistic regime, brought with it overproduction, "cut-throat" prices, commercial panics and to-day the "trust." Wherever capital plays large part, competition, lowering

price so long as an appreciative return on fixed charges is earned, means war to the death; the destruction of all specialized capital. The "trust" is the natural development. Moreover, attempted competition in fields by nature monopolistic, through needless duplication of plants, serves only to make economic service and reasonable price impossible. Two water companies supplying the same city, two gas mains occupying the same street, two railroads serving the same community, involve waste—waste of social capital and labor. Moreover, such conditions, in that they make combination profitable, make monopoly inevitable. It is folly to trust to competitive control. It is the part of wisdom to recognize the inherent monopolistic tendency and to safeguard the social interest through effective control of franchises granted. Competition between capital and labor involves the time-wage with its leveling tendency and their co-operation in production, offset by conflict in distribution, is a clumsy makeshift. Our current movement toward arbitration is a necessary corrective of such artificial antagonism. Speculative industry does bring progress; but speculation gone mad brings financial ruin. Moreover, to the extent that speculative profits result from fraud and chance; to that extent, speculation throws the control of industry not into the hands of the fit but of the unfit and defeats its end.

Such is our system in reverse; such some of its weaknesses. Will it last? Its defects do not overbalance its merits but it is idle to answer criticism on any assumption of perfection and finality. Our system; our institutions and our organization, has developed out of antiquity by slow and painful process. It has survived the older order, because it was more fit. We may anticipate in a general way, that so much of it as is fit to-day, so much of it as may adapt itself to changing and ever more complex conditions will survive. But if the truth be told, the present would seem to mark, not the triumph, but the passing of the old competitive ideal.

Natural rights and natural laws are no longer "words to conjure with." All economic laws assume those legal and social institutions which must change, as they have changed in the past and with each change, will come some modification of man's relation to nature—some modification of economic law. Intelligent individualism will continue as the motive force of industry. In it lies the spring of progress; in it, too, lies the only possible solution of that vast underlying social problem of population; in it lies the law of individual morality. Thrift, prudence, ambition, are among man's highest ethical attributes. Industrial individualism will endure but it will be robbed of any notion of absolutism. The freeing of the Russian serf in 1861 did not solve his economic problem. He has used his freedom of contract to sell himself and his posterity into the hands of the usurer. In America, the work at Tuskegee, so far as it goes, is the essential complement of the proclamation of emancipation. Among

an intelligent, thrifty, industrious population, trained to labor and by inheritance possessed of commercial integrity, individual initiative and large industrial freedom are essential to progress and consonant with social well-being. This was the true message contained in the eighteenth century philosophy and as thus stated it may challenge the attacks of socialism. On the other hand and in the words of another, "there is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals," and if reason and history prove anything, inequality, mental, moral, physical, is part of the necessary order and a principle of development. Equality is easily said; equality is easily legislated under the law but equality, save before the law, is not to be realized. Government intervention, classifying, protecting, limiting competitive action, is as natural, as normal, as is competition within the group and against it the cry of equality and free competition will not avail. Nor will the same cry avail against the growing organization of labor. The present process is a process of integration—socialization. On the one hand, it means interdependence; on the other organizations. In the field of labor, Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell are performing the same function as are Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller in the field of capital. It is idle to seek to check the movement and in the attempt, society is sacrificing the opportunity to direct the process through effective control. Concerning the trust the same principle and statement will hold. The capitalistic monopoly contains within itself great possibilities for good as well as for evil. As Mr. Charles Schwab has repeatedly said, "the trust can hope permanently to succeed only on the basis of economies achieved through large production," and this fact will emphasize itself as experience in trust management shall teach the normal limits of trust powers. Moreover, as organized to meet "cut throat" competition, so far as their influence goes, intelligent trust management will work toward market stability. If I read the market aright, the United States Steel Corporation is to-day straining every nerve to ward off a disastrous boom to be followed by disastrous depression. Indeed, in market stability rests the permanent integrity of this and all other such combinations. The Northern Securities Company may not be good law, but it is good economics and the sooner we learn this fact, the sooner we shall be able to legislate laws that shall be not only enforceable but truly remedial. The trust contains possibilities for good. Many of its evils are due to a transitional period of development. Some of the evils will cure themselves. The United States Steel Corporation in its public financial statement is meeting one of the greatest evils connected with this new phenomenon, namely, over-capitalization and dishonest stock manipulation, and in the precedent established lies a force that will drive others to the same publicity, if they would hold the market for their securities. Should such force prove insufficient, then must government intervene, enforcing publicity of accounts and responsibility on the part of directors. We must reconcile ourselves to

the fact that under modern conditions, freedom of contract involves freedom to contract for combination, both in respect to labor and to capital, and while we deplore and condemn such conditions as the recent investigation of the affairs of the National Asphalt Company disclosed, we must not seek to destroy, but to control through the pressure of public opinion as well as through intelligent legislation. Competition will endure, but its limits will change and its level rise. The institutions of private property and of free contract will persist, but the terms will cease to be shibboleths. Freed from blind obedience to the older philosophy and precepts, man will seek that true balance, which to our thinking must exist, though differing for every age, between the spheres of individual and social activity. No longer will we seek to combat the socialistic propaganda on the unhistorical and unscientific ground of natural law and natural rights, but recognizing that the justification of essential institutions lies in their social utility, we shall seek to prove such utility in a perfected organization. To do otherwise is to invite revolution. Freed from the older precepts, too, there will come a juster conception of the relation of the individual to society. No longer can the individual shirk the responsibilities of wealth. Wealth is power, wealth is opportunity, wealth is duty. Wealth is a social product. Society is partner with every producer through government, through institutions, through those "inappropriate utilities," our heritage from past discoveries and inventions. That crude phrase popularly attributed to the elder Vanderbilt is even more false to-day than when it was uttered. Man cannot to-day "Damn the public," through whom, with whom, by whom, his wealth has come. In greater realization of wealth's responsibilities, in a truer knowledge of wealth's possibilities, in a higher individual and social morality, many of our industrial ills will solve themselves and it is to such sources we must look, rather than to law, for the solution of many a knotty problem. Eighteenth century philosophy spoke a timely word, but it saw one side of the truth only. Man had reached that stage in development wherein it was essential that he should be freed from all the hateful restrictions of a coercive culture. But with its overthrow, came the need of a new compelling force, a new social bond and that can to-day be realized only in the growth of higher ethical spirit; a truer and broader altruism. It is the old problem of the individual and society, and neither the crude philosophy of early individualism nor the still cruder socialism of to-day has solved it. Its solution lies in the oft-quoted statement of Aristotle, namely, that man is "a social animal." Society is based on the individual. The individual finds his true development only in society. Neither can exist without the other. Without the initiative of strong individualism, a society must perish; without the co-operation of society, the individual is helpless. It is for the future to work out a true harmony of these forces.

The future then does lie with industrial liberty. But liberty is no

mere negative concept, nor does it exist in the negation of social control. "There is no liberty save under the law." At a recent meeting of the American Economic Association and speaking on the subject of industrial liberty, Dr. Richard T. Ely quoted these words from Plato's Republic: "The most aggravated forms of tyranny and slavery arise out of the most extreme form of liberty;" and again, quoting from Italy's apostle of liberty—Joseph Mazzini—"If you enthrone it (liberty) alone as means and end, it will lead society first to anarchy, afterwards to the despotism which you fear." And in closing, I can do no better than to quote Dr. Ely's own words: "Liberty," he says, "cannot be an absolute ideal because authority is needed in society in order to secure the harmonious co-operation of its various elements. * * * Industrial liberty is a conception having relative and not an absolute value. * * * It is not something which can be decreed off-hand * * * but rather is it a social product to be achieved by individuals working socially together; * * * it comes not all at once but slowly as the result of long-continued and arduous process. It is not the beginning of social evolution but rather one of the goals of social evolution and one which must be brought into harmony with other goals, such as quality, also relatively conceived, and fraternity, the only one of the three goals—liberty, equality and fraternity—which can in any way be conceived absolutely. We have then," he concludes, "among others, three goals of industrial evolution: liberty, equality, fraternity—but the greatest of these is fraternity."

KING HENDRIC.

AN ADDRESS BY W. MAX REID, OF AMSTERDAM.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society April 12, 1902.

In accepting your invitation to read a paper before your society, I was governed, not by any confidence in my ability to interest, instruct, or even to amuse, but by a desire to visit you in your historic home, and to look upon your hills and dales made memorable by blood shed for the cause of liberty.

I wished to see your fertile fields, won from the wilderness by hard and earnest toil, and sprinkled with the life-blood of your Hollander and Palatine ancestors.

Over these fields the hardy impetuous Dutch Boers followed dear old General Herkimer to death and victory in the ravines and plateau at Oriskany. In the light of the 20th century, I speak advisedly when I claim that gruesome engagement as a victory, because, although General Herkimer's troops failed to accomplish that which they set out to perform, their stubborn, ferocious resistance broke the spirit of the Indians and drove the British troops from the field and saved the Mohawk valley, for the time being, from desolation by torch and scalping knife.

Did you ever think of the analogy between the Dutch Boers of the German Flats and Mohawk Valley, and their kindred, the Boers of South Africa?

During the early part of the 17th century, Dutch Boers, that is, Dutch farmers, settled along the Mohawk and Hudson valleys, and at the same period Dutch Boers (farmers) established a colony in South Africa, afterward called Cape Colony. During the reign of Queen Anne a number of Palatines also immigrated to both countries.

The Hollanders of New York had to contend with the Indians, the Hollanders of the Cape with the Quaquas, or Hottentots, as they named them. Both became expert with their rifles, which were their constant companions at home or afield, and were obliged to endure many privations in search of liberty of thought and liberty of action. Each had their controversies with their mother country and each had their conflicts.

In New York province, the colonists had frequent conflicts with hostile Indians, in Cape Colony, with hostile black men. We had the obnoxious stamp act, they the successfully resisted attempt of England to make their chosen home a penal colony.

We had our Washington, they their Pretorius and "Oom Paul." Your ancestors fought for liberty and their homes, they are doing the same now on many a bloody field. We had our Tories, they their Outlanders. Your fathers achieved independence in the latter part of the eighteenth century, they are attempting to accomplish the same thing a hundred years later. Is not this a struggle for liberty as truly as the struggle of your heroic ancestors of the American Revolution?

Notwithstanding the friendly feeling existing between the American people and Great Britain on account of her sympathy for us during the recent war with Spain, I cannot help feeling that deep down in the hearts of the dwellers of the Mohawk valley will be found that strictly American characteristic, sympathy for the under dog.

One of the most picturesque figures in the colonial history of New York is that of the Mohawk Indian, miscalled "King Hendrick." This man is particularly interesting to the residents of the Mohawk valley on account of his connection with Sir William Johnson, Joseph Brant and other noted personages during the last French and Indian war, and from the fact that the valley of the Mohawk was his home by adoption. His father, it is said, at one time lived on the Connecticut River, and may have been a Mohigan. In the colonial history of New York his Indian name is given as Te-o-hi-ak-i-gara-we, and his English name Henry, which was undoubtedly changed to Hendrick by the Dutch. It is thought that he was born about 1675 or '80, as it is recorded in 1698 that he had been a Christian eight years. Assuming that he was fifteen years old when converted, would make the date of his birth 1675. Lossing and others, however, make the date 1680, which is probably as near right as we can get it after a lapse of over two centuries.

It is also recorded that Henry and Joseph, two Mohawk lads, were taught to preach by Godfridus Dellius, a Reformed Dutch minister, about 1698. Although but little can be learned of his early life, the little that is recorded would seem to indicate that even in his early manhood he was a person of influence among the Mohawks and consequently among the colonists.

As early as 1697, he was sent to Canada to represent the Mohawks in a mission of importance, and, together with an Indian named Joseph (who probably was also named Brant and the grandfather of Joseph Brant of Sir William Johnson's time), used his influence for the advancement of the Protestant religion among the Indians of the Mohawk valley, and was of great assistance to Rev. Mr. Skaats and the notorious Rev. Godfridus Dellius in their early efforts to introduce Christianity among the Mohawks. It is said, however, that Godfridus Dellius, Peter Schuyler, Major Dirk Wessels and one William Pinchon,

schemed to obtain deeds of immense tracts on the Mohawk, Hudson and Schoharie Rivers. Dellius, through the friendship of Hendrick and Joseph, did succeed in obtaining deeds for "a tract of land lying on the Mohacqus River four miles wide and fifty miles long," also "a tract on the Tiononderoga (Schoharie) about thirty miles long," and "a tract seventy miles long and twelve miles wide on the east side of Hudson's River." The Mohawks were told that it was only a deed in trust to prevent the government from taking their lands away. The grants to Dellius were not, however, deeds of trust, but bona fide deeds, making him absolute owner of vast tracts of lands on the streams spoken of above. These grants were confirmed by Governor Fletcher, who is said to have been interested in the fraud.

On August 31, 1700, Hendrick appeared before Lord Bellomont, then Governor of the province of New York, and said: "We complained to your lordship two years ago in the name of the Five Nations, that our land was taken from us by Colonel Peter Schuyler, Captain Evert Banker, Major Dirk Wessels, and one William Pinchon, of New York, and Mr. Dellius, the late Dutch minister at Albany; whereupon your lordship wrote to the King and we have our lands again." The deeds were not abrogated, however, until 1708, when an act to annul was confirmed by Queen Anne. In the meantime the Rev. Godfridus Dellius was driven from the country, having first been deposed from the ministry.

Hendrick and Joseph had been instructed by Dellius to preach and pray in the Mohawk language by means of a woman interpreter. Hendrick, Joseph and the woman all testified against Dellius and proved that he (Dellius) had tried to suborn Hendrick in the matter of the great grants to him.

For nearly a half century the government of New France, through their Jesuit priests, had been more or less successful in converting Indians of the Five Nations to Catholicism, and inducing the converts to remove to Canada and settle at a Jesuit Indian mission on the St. Lawrence, called La Prairie de la Magdelene. Somewhat later this mission was removed up the river to the St. Louis rapids, and given the name of "St. Francois Xavier du Prez." This name was afterwards changed to "St. Francois Xavier du Sault," or "St. Francois Xavier" at the rapids. A few years later we find the place called by the Indians, "Caughnawaga," an Indian word meaning "At the Rapids." It is also known in history as "La Prairie."

To counteract the influence of the Jesuits, and to prevent the wholesale immigration of the Five Nations to Canada, the English and Dutch sent Protestant missionaries among them and many were converted. As early as 1700, the Five Nations prayed for a Protestant minister to be settled at Onondaga, the central fire of the Confederacy, and at this conference Hendrick spoke as follows. "We are now come to acquaint your lordship (Bellmont) that we have prevailed upon Brandt and Jacob

and three more of our people not to go to Canada to live."

The continual warfare between the Five Nations and the French and their Indian allies, and the frequent incursions of the French and Algonquins in the Mohawk valley was a source of continual terror and alarm to the frontiersmen of New York and New England, and efforts were frequently made to induce the home government to adopt strenuous measures to drive the French out of Canada and thereby give peace to the whole border.

There was no man in the whole province who had more extended views of the importance of driving the French out of Canada than Colonel Peter Schuyler. To preserve the friendship of the Five Nations, without which it would be impossible to prevent the frontier from becoming a field of blood, he studied all the arts of insinuating himself into their favor, he gave them all possible encouragement and assistance, and very much impaired his own fortune by his liberality to their chiefs. They never came to Albany but what they resorted to his house, and even dined at his table; and by this means he obtained an ascendancy over them which was attended with good consequences to the province. Impressed with a strong sense of the necessity of some vigorous measures against the French, he resolved to make a voyage to England at his private expense, the better to make known to the ministry the absolute necessity of reducing Canada to the crown of Great Britain. For that purpose he proposed to take with him to Queen Anne's court five Indian chiefs representing the five Nations. Therefore in due time the journey was made and the embassy, consisting of Peter Schuyler, Colonel Nicholson, the Mohawk chiefs Hendrick and Brandt, and three other sachems, together with Abraham Schuyler as interpreter, arrived in London after a voyage of considerable discomfort to the Indians. It is recorded that three Sachems and their interpreter, Abraham Schuyler, were presented to the Lords of the Board of Trade, April 25, 1710. "The arrival of the Five Sachems in England made great bruit throughout the kingdom, the mob followed wherever they went and small cuts of them were sold to the people."

We can imagine the appearance of those five stalwart Iroquois on their first arrival in the crowded streets of London, led by Hendrick Tall and commanding, with his princely form clad in the barbaric costume of the Mohawk, with a countenance that would not have dishonored royalty, he was a very striking figure. The garments of all the Sachems of the finest finished buckskin, profusely decorated with wampum, their raven hair adorned with bands of silver and eagle's feathers, while each chief was enveloped with a bright colored and gaily decorated blanket, gracefully draped around their majestic forms. Even the lines of vermilion and black, with which their faces were seamed, did not detract the least from their noble countenances or the stoic, independent demeanor of those typical Amerinds. At this time Queen Anne's court was in mourning for Prince George of Denmark,

a brother of the king of Denmark, and husband of Queen Anne. Thinking it more seemly and at the same time having an eye to the picturesque, she resolved that the Sachems, as guests of the Queen, be also clothed in mourning; and they were, therefore, turned over to the "dressers of the playhouse," who were advised by the Queen to make a show of them. Whereupon they were dressed in black under-clothes made after the British pattern, with scarlet ingrain cloth mantles edged with gold thrown over the black garments in place of a blanket.

Imagine Hendrick and his companions in short breeches and fine silk stockings, shoes with ornamental buckles, long coat and waistcoat, frilled shirt and cocked hat. It is said that more than ordinary solemnity attended the audience they had with her majesty. Sir James Cotterell conducted them in two coaches to St. James', and the Lord Chamberlain introduced them into the royal presence. Their speech on April 19, 1710, has been preserved:

"Great Queen: We have undertaken a long voyage, which none of our predecessors could be prevailed upon to undertake, to see our great Queen and relate to her those things which we thought absolutely necessary for the good of her, and us, her allies, on the other side the water. We doubt not but our great Queen has been acquainted with our long and tedious war in conjunction with her children against her enemies, the French; and that we have been as a strong wall for their security, even to the loss of our best men. We were mightily rejoiced when we heard our great Queen had resolved to send an army to reduce Canada, and immediately in token of friendship, we hung up the kettle and took up the hatchet, and with one consent assisted Colonel Nicholson in making preparations on this side the lake; but at length we were told our great Queen, by some important affairs was prevented in her design at present, which made us sorrowful, lest the French, who has hitherto dreaded us, should think us unable to make war against them. The reduction of Canada is of great weight to our free hunting, so that if our great Queen should be not mindful of us, we must with our families forsake our country and seek other habitations, or stand neuter, either of which would be much against our inclinations.

In token of the sincerity of these nations, we do in their names, present our great Queen with belts of wampum, and in hopes of our great Queen's favor, leave it to her most gracious consideration."

In London they were called the Indian "kings", which name, given by the English, clung to Hendrick all of his life, and is used to-day when we speak of him, "King Hendrick."

Governor Hunter reported in 1713 that Fort Hunter and Queen Anne's chapel at Tiononderoga was finished, but that the Rev. Mr. Andrews the first minister to the chapel had a very indifferent reception by the Mohawks, because one Hendrick who was one of the Sachems who went to England had told them that the Reverend was to claim 1-10 of all their lands and goods.

That he was a warrior of no mean ability is well known and that he led a war party of 65 Mohawks against the French during the year of 1745 is a matter of record. A little later, however, Johnson reported an attempt of the French through a Jesuit priest to induce him to go to Canada to live.

About this time there appears to have been a season of great uneasiness and great uncertainty among the Six Nations in their attitude towards the English of the Mohawk Valley. Stories were circulated among the Indians that a scheme was under way whereby the French and English were to combine and destroy the Indians of New York and Canada and take their lands. This seems to have been believed by the Mohawks to be true, and a very bitter feeling was manifested by them against the Albanians on account of the fraudulent manner in which the great Kayaderossees and other large grants had been obtained. Rumors were in circulation among them from time to time, that the measures for extermination were already in progress, and at one time the Indians of the lower castle, Tiononderoga, were stampeded by a report that several hundred Albanians were marching against them, and fled to the upper castle at Danube in terror and confusion.

The discontent of the Mohawks was so universal that even Hendrick and other leaders were effected by it. Col. Johnson writes in 1750 that Hendrick was insolent to him and would not shake hands with him because he (Hendrick) had heard that Governor Clinton and Johnson were in league with the French to kill all the Indians and take their lands. Johnson was soon able to convince Hendrick of the falsity of the report and the alarm subsided.

Hendrick's counsel to Sir William at Lake George is well known to you all, and also his tragic death, September 8, 1755, a few miles away. It is said that his son, Paulus, was with him at the battle of Lake George and when he heard of his father's death he exclaimed, placing his hand over his heart, "My father's still alive here. The son is now the father and stands here ready to fight." He was ever after called Te-yen-da-ga-ges, or Little Hendrick.

It is told, that at the battle of Lake George when the French under Dieskau were marching by the way of Wood Creek to attack Johnson in his camp on the lake, that the information was communicated to General Johnson at midnight, September 7, and early in the morning a council of war was held. It was determined to send out a small party to meet the French, and the opinion of Hendrick was asked. He shrewdly replied, "If they are to fight they are too few; if they are to be killed they are too many." His objection to the proposition to separate them into three divisions was set forth with this remark, taking three sticks he said, "Put these together and you can't break them. Take them one by one and you break them easily." Johnson was governed by the opinion of Hendrick and a detachment of twelve hundred

men in one body under Colonel Williams was sent out to meet the approaching enemy.

It is said that Johnson was very much chagrined at the small number of Iroquois that followed him to Lake George (less than 300), when he had every reason to believe that the number would be at least 800. Hendrick also was mortified at the poor showing made by the Six Nations. He however explained to Johnson that the overhearing vanity and jealousy of Gov. Shirley and his unreasoning attack on General Johnson was the main reason why the Upper Indians did not come down.

Hendrick said: "Governor Shirley told us that although we thought you, our brother Warraghiyaghey, had the sole management of Indian affairs, yet he, (Shirley,) was over all, that he could pull down and set up. He further told us that he had always been this great man, and that you, our brother, was but an upstart of yesterday. Those kind of discourses from him caused a great uneasiness and confusion amongst us, and he confirmed these things by a large belt of wampum. * *

* * Brother, we have taken this opportunity to give you this relation, that the gentlemen here present may know and testify what we have said, and hear the reasons why no more Indians have joined the army." W. E. Stone says: "Thus closed the last formal speech that the great Mohawk chieftain lived to make. True as tempered steel to the interest of the English, his last moments were in harmony with those of his life spent in keeping the Six Nations steadfast to their ancient alliance. Although he was a rude brave of the forest, yet his noble appreciation of the exigencies of the public welfare, the more polished Governor of Massachusetts might well have imitated." I can imagine the appearance of the old warrior and sachem, as he went forth to death that beautiful morning in September, at the head of his band of Mohawk braves. Although, perhaps, a septuagenarian, his age was indicated by the deep lines in his face and increase of adipose, rather than any loss of energy or powers of reasoning. In consideration of his age and size, Johnson lent him a horse which he bestrode and was soon at the head of the column, followed by two hundred Indians, and was eventually involved in the fatal ambushade in the vicinity of Bloody Pond. Tall and commanding in appearance on foot, he was particularly conspicuous on horseback. It is said that the sharp eye of Hendrick detected some signs of the enemy but too late to withdraw from the trap the troops had been drawn into. At the first fire his horse was shot, and falling, pinioned him. In trying to rise he was killed by a bayonet thrust. We are aware that Hendrick and General Johnson were closely connected in matters relating to the Iroquois, both military and political, but I think that it is not generally known that they were also connected in affairs domestic. It has been frequently remarked that very little is known of Johnson's domestic affairs during the early years of his life at Mount Johnson, or Fort Johnson, as the

old stone mansion near Amsterdam was called after 1756. From a lineal descendant of Sir William and through the kindness of Augustus C. Buell, the author of "Paul Jones, the Founder of the American Navy," I am able to furnish the missing links of Sir William's domestic life between 1746 and 1753. It has been said that after the death of Catherine Weisenberg, the mother of his son John and daughters Mary and Nancy, he had a Dutch widow as housekeeper, but that she did not remain with him long, as her place was taken in 1745 by a niece of Hendrick, being the daughter of his brother Abraham, who is frequently spoken of in the Documentary History of New York. As in the case of Molly Brant, Sir William did not wed this Indian girl, who took the English name of Caroline. She had three children by Sir William, one son and two daughters. The son was named William and the daughters, Charlotte and Caroline. The mother died in giving birth to the third child, Caroline; William was the first born. This half-breed son is the William Johnson, alias Tag-che-un-to, who is mentioned in Sir William's will as William of Canajoharie. The date of Caroline's death was in 1753, which consequently makes the birth of Caroline Johnson the half-breed in 1753; and the installation of Mary Brant as Sir William's mistress was subsequent to that date. Probably this occurred soon after the death of Caroline, as her daughters (Charlotte and Caroline Johnson) are said to have been adopted by Molly and treated as her own children, while William, the half-breed, was mainly raised by his grandfather, Abraham, or his uncle, "Little Abe," at Canajoharie Castle, at Danube. The history of the two daughters is of interest. Charlotte, the eldest, married a young British officer shortly before the Revolution, but who afterward joined the Continental army and fell at Monmouth Court House. His name was Henry Randall. She had two children, one named Charlotte Randall, who married George King. George and Charlotte King had a daughter, Charlotte, who was the grandmother of my informant.

The other daughter of Mollie Brant's predecessor (Caroline), whose name was also Caroline, married a man named Michael Byrne, a clerk in Sir William's office of Indian affairs. Byrne was killed at Oriskany in Butler's Rangers. His young widow, Caroline Johnson, went with the Brants to Canada and afterwards married an Indian agent named MacKim, whose descendants are still living in Canada.

Mr. Buell also informs me that the Brant who went to England with Hendrick and others in 1710 was the grandfather of Joseph and Mollie Brant. When Joseph was born, 1742, his grandfather was probably between 60 and 70 years old. Brant's father was called Nickus by the Dutch. He must have been at least 30 years old when Joseph was born, and Molly was at least six years older than Joseph.

The mother of Joseph and Molly was also a daughter of Abraham (the brother of Hendrick) and a sister or half-sister of "Little Abe," of the lower castle at Fort Hunter. This made her a niece of Hendrick

also, and a sister of the girl Caroline who went to live with Sir William in 1745.

It is also said that Joseph Brant's wife was a daughter of the Oneida chief Sauquoit, and her mother was a daughter of Hendrick. So it will be seen by the foregoing that the families of Brant and Hendrick were closely inter-related. As Molly Brant's mother was the sister of Caroline, Molly's predecessor was her own aunt and Sir William might be called her uncle. Returning to William Johnson, the half-breed mentioned in Johnson's will. He was educated by Sir William at Dr. Wheelock's school at Lebanon, Conn., and was at the battle of Oriskany with Brant. Here he was killed in a hand to hand contest with the half-breed Thomas Spencer, who played a conspicuous part with Herkimer's troops and at the siege of Fort Schuyler. Incidentally it may be of interest to know that the said Thomas Spencer is said to have been a son of the missionary, Rev. Elisha Spencer, by an Oneida girl, born at Oghwaga, about the year 1755.

I know not what the truth may be;
I say the tale as 'twas said to me.

THE TOWN OF MANHEIM.

AN ADDRESS BY JOHN B. KOETTERITZ, OF LITTLE FALLS.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society May 10, 1902.

The town of Manheim, in the county of Herkimer, is very nearly the center point of the State of New York, and is located on the north side of the Mohawk River, between 43 degrees and 43 degrees and 7 minutes northerly latitude, and 74 degrees 42 minutes and 74 degrees 52 minutes westerly longitude, and the approximate area is about 42 square miles.

The town is kite-shaped, with the blunt or head end at the northwest corner and the sharp or the tail end at the southeast corner. The lowest elevation is about 320 feet above tide at the junction of the Mohawk River and East Canada Creek, and the highest point is the spur of the hill on the west side of the Salisbury road on Ed. J. Burrell's farm, which is 1,468 feet high. The southern boundary of the town is the Mohawk River, the eastern boundary is the East Canada Creek, and the west and north lines are artificial and will be described later.

The principal creeks in the town are the Crum Creek, the Gillet or Ransom creek, and the Beaver Creek. The town is well watered, the soil in the town is excellent, and the dairy farms of Manheim have always enjoyed great reputation for productiveness.

The writer of the history of this town is confronted with the difficulty that very little material of historical value has been preserved. Of course, the town books, the county clerk's records, the records of patents, and the local histories give some outline upon which to base a historical sketch, but it is hard to gather enough data of general interest and worthy of preservation which are not contained in such records.

It has always been the tradition among the old people of Manheim that the town at its erection was named by Dr. William Petry of Herkimer, who called it Manheim, on account of some personal associations with that city in Germany in his early life.

Manheim (meaning "Home of Man") is the second capital of the grand duchy of Baden, and lies on the right bank of the Rhine at the mouth of the Neckar. It is the most regularly built town in Germany, perhaps the earliest in the world surveyed on strictly rectangular lines, and the prototype of American city construction. Opposite Manheim

Bes Ludwigshafen in the Bavarian Palatinate. The town contains now about 75,000 people. The history of the modern Mannheim begins with the opening of the 17th century, when elector John Frederick the Fourth founded a town there which he peopled with Protestant refugees from Holland. The strongly fortified castle which he erected had the unfortunate result of making the infant town an object of contention in the thirty years' war, during which it was five times taken and retaken. In 1689, Mannheim, which had in the meantime recovered from its former disasters, was captured by the French under Melac and ruthlessly destroyed. Ten years later it was rebuilt on an extended scale and provided with fortifications. For its subsequent importance it was indebted to elector Charles Philip, who, owing to church disputes, transferred his residence from Heidelberg to Mannheim, in 1720. It remained the capital of the Palatinate for sixty years. It is now an important trade center and its people are known for their musical and literary spirit. It was in this city that the dramas of the great German poet, Max von Schiller, were first produced upon the stage.

Mannheim has a comparatively restricted history on account of the total loss of the private papers of Sir William Johnson, who was the owner of all the land, excepting three or four small tracts.

The oldest patent in the town was granted to the Rev. Petrus Van Driesen, of Albany, a well known Reformed preacher of early colonial times, who erected during his pastorate at Albany the Old Dutch church at the foot of State street, and who was also buried under the altar of that church.

The part of the Van Driesen patent in Herkimer county is now included within the Beardslee farm. For information, I will include in this paper, at the end of the history of each patent, the references to the records in the office of the Secretary of State.

June 24, 1731, Land Papers, volume 10, page 162. Petition of Petrus Van Driesen for a license to purchase 2,500 acres of land in the county of Albany, and report of Francis Harrison, chairman of the committee of council to whom the same was referred.

September 25, 1731, Land Papers, volume 11, page 6. Petition of Petrus Van Driesen and Johannes Ehl, praying a patent for 2,000 acres of land lying on the north side of the Mohawk River.

September 30, 1731, report of Philip Livingston, chairman of the committee of council, to whom the same was referred.

May 9, 1732, volume 11 of Land Papers, page 38. The Indian deed to Petrus Van Driesen and Johannes Ehl, ministers of the gospel, of all that tract of land lying in the county of Albany, on the north side of the Mohawks River, beginning at the westernmost corner of the land granted to Francis Harrison & Co., on the bank of said river, and runs northeasterly along the bounds of said tract two English miles and a half, thence northwesterly one mile and a half, thence southwesterly two miles and a half to the Mohawks River and down the same to the place where it began.

September 15, 1732, volume 11 of Land Papers, page 45. Petition of Petrus Van Driesen and Johannis Ehl and others, praying a patent for a certain tract of land on the north side of the Mohawks River recently released to the Crown by the Indian proprietors, and report of Rip Van Dam, from the committee of council, to whom the same was referred.

October 23, 1732, volume 11, of Land Papers, page 49. Warrant of survey for Petrus Van Driesen, Johannis Ehl and others, for a tract of land on the north side of the Mohawk River.

February 7, 1736, volume 12, of Land Papers, page 63. Description of a survey of a tract of land for Petrus Van Driesen, lying on the north side of the Mohawks River, near Canajohary, beginning at the mouth of a certain brook called the Canada Kill, and containing 1,026 acres. Cadwallader Colden, Surveyor General.

May 4, 1737, volume 12 of Land Papers, pages 74 and 75. Warrant for a patent to Petrus Van Driesen, for a certain tract of land lying in the county of Albany, with a certificate to Petrus Van Driesen, for all that certain tract of land on the north side of the Mohawks River near Canajohary, beginning at the north of the Canada Kill, and containing 1,000 acres.

Map of tract of land granted to Petrus Van Driesen, in 1737, and its subdivisions, and the quantity of acres each contains, and giving also the names of the proprietors. State Library, Manuscript room, Map No. 33.

From papers filed in 1785, it appears that John Van Driesen, the grandson of Petrus, experienced a great deal of trouble in locating this land and showing proper title. It does not fully appear how this was settled, but in 1786, this same John Van Driesen obtained an adjacent patent, to which the following are references:

July 5, 1786, Land Papers, volume 42, page 122. Map of 428 acres of land lying in the county of Montgomery, on the north side of the Mohawk River, on the west side of a creek called by the Indians Tegahubaroughwe, and by the Christians, Canada Kill or creek. Surveyed for John Van Driesen by Simeon De Witt, Surveyor General.

July 6, 1786, Land Papers, volume 42, page 122. Return of survey for John Van Driesen, of 428 acres of land on the north side of the Mohawk River, on the west side of a creek called by the Indians Tegahubaroughwe, and by the Christians Canada Kill or creek.

August 14, 1786, volume 60 of Land Papers, page 54. Abstract of letters-patent granted to John Van Driesen, for 328 acres of land on the west side of Tegahubaroughwe or Canada Creek, Montgomery county.

The next oldest patent, part of which is included in the town of Manheim, is the so-called Glen's Purchase. Six lots of that purchase are located within the town, viz: lot 14, originally granted to John Schuyler; lot 15, to Jacob Glen; lot 16, to Andrew MacDowel; No. 17, to Patrick McClaugry; lot 18, to Philip Schuyler; lot 19, to Abraham Glen. Glen's purchase was originally granted to various parties in

large subdivisions. It would lead too far to enumerate all the subsequent steps taken in acquiring this title, and I will give only a few as references.

On October 29, 1734, volume 11, of Land Papers, page 135, we find the petition of Jacob Glen and others, praying a patent for 24,000 acres on the north side of the Maquase River. Report of James De-Lancey, from the committee of council, to whom the same was referred.

Land Papers, volume 60, page 151. Map of a tract of land, purchased in the year 1734, in his Majesty's name, from the native Indians, by Jacob Glen and others. Cadwallader Colden and Alexander Colden, Surveyors General.

August 15, 1738, Land Papers, volume 12, page 162. Certificate to James De Lancey, John Lyndesay, and Abram Glen for eight several tracts of land, being a part of a purchase, 48 miles above Schenectady, which begins at the common landing and runs along the Maquase River to the Kennedy Kill, three of which containing together 1,950 acres, for James De Lancey, two containing together 1,540 acres, for John Lyndesay, and the remaining three containing 1,936 acres, for Abraham Glen. And for which eight days later (see volume 12, page 162) a warrant for a patent was issued to James De Lancey, John De Lindesay and Abraham Glen.

August 17, 1738, volume 12, of Land Papers, page 154. Warrant for a patent to Patrick McLaughry and Andrew McDowal for five several tracts of land situated on the north side of the Maquase River and containing 3,700 acres of land in the southeastern part of the tract between the creek and the Mohawk River.

The Snell and Timmerman patent was probably the first large part of the town actually settled.

May 17, 1752, Land Papers, volume 14, page 147. Jacob Zimmerman and John Joost Schnell, made a petition for a license to purchase 4,000 acres of the tract of land lying in the county of Albany, on the north side of the Mohawks River, about six miles below the great flats, between the lands there belonging to Petrus Van Driesen and Cornelius Cuyler.

July 26, 1753, Land Papers, volume 15, page 61. Petition of Jacob Timberman and Johan Joost Snell, praying a license to purchase of the Indians 4,000 acres of a certain tract of land lying in the county of Albany, on the north side of the Mohawks River, about six miles below the great flats between the land there belonging to Petrus Van Driesen and Cornelius Cuyler.

May 29, 1754, Land Papers, volume 15, page 105. Indian deed to John Joost Schnell and Jacob Timberman, for a certain tract of land lying at Canajohare, on the north side of the Mohawk river in the county of Albany, beginning at a large white pine tree marked with a blaze the three notches on four sides, standing on the west side of a creek or stream of water called Cannady Kill, eleven chains below a great fall

in said creek, ninety chains from said Mohawks River, measured on a north twenty degrees east course, and runs from said tree north eighty-four degrees west one hundred chains, then north forty-five degrees west eighty chains, thence south three degrees thirty minutes west sixty-eight chains to the said Mohawks River, at a marked tree standing eight chains below the mouth of a creek called by the Indians, Cathetackne, then up the stream of the Mohawks River as it runs to a young walnut tree marked on three sides, standing opposite to the dwelling house of Han Nicholl Herchimer, then north fifty degrees east forty chains, thence south eighty degrees east eighty chains, to the said creek called Cathetackne, then up the stream thereof as it runs to a birch tree marked with I. S., being ninety-five chains in a straight line, and from thence north seventy degrees east ninety-one chains to the said Cannady Kill, and thence down the stream thereof to the place of beginning, containing about 3,600 acres: certificate of Cadwallader Colden, Jr., that the same was surveyed by him and the purchase money mentioned therein paid in his presence and also certificate of Hendrick Fry, justice of the peace, that the same was duly executed.

February 5, 1755, Land Papers, volume 15, page 135. Petition of Jacob Timberman and Johan Joost Schnell, praying letters-patent for a tract of land at Canajoharie on the north side of the Mohawks River, in the county of Albany, containing about 3,600 acres. The map of the patent dated March 28, 1755, can be found in the State Engineer's office, in Fieldbook 35, on page 214, and field notes on page 215.

A small patent to the west of John Van Driesen's was granted to Isaac Vrooman in 1788. A certificate of location was issued August 4, 1790 (see Land Papers, volume 49, page 96) to Isaac Vrooman and Frederick Hassold, for a tract of land of 433 acres on the north side of the Mohawk River, opposite the Canajoharie Castle.

The history of the Royal Grant has been so ably narrated by Judge Smith that I will not repeat any parts of his paper, and only add some references.

October 15, 1760, Land Papers, volume 16, page 5. Petition of Johan Joost Petrie and his associates to the number of fifty persons, praying a renewal of the license granted to him on the 6th day of April, 1755, to purchase 50,000 acres of land bounded southwardly by the Mohawks River and partly by patented lands, eastwardly by Caioharee or Canada Creek, opposite Fort Henry, and northwardly by Canada Creek at Bunetsfield and extending back into the woods. The original petition of 1755 was made by Jacob Foltz, John Joost Petrie and others for 50,000 acres and to run into the woods 20 miles. The original petition of Sir William Johnson was dated March 17, 1761, and can be found in Land Papers, volume 60, page 45. Whether this petition was made before "the dream" occurred we cannot tell, but it might seem plausible that he began to dream as soon as the Palatines began to apply for the land.

The Royal Grant was not surveyed until 1764, and a copy of the survey made by Isaac Vrooman is on file in the State Engineer's office. The survey began on Monday, October 29, 1764, on the west line of the Petrus Van Driesen tract on the shore of the Caicharonde or Canada Creek, and followed then the west line of said creek. The survey party camped the first night near the north line of the Snell and Timmerman patent. As they passed along said creek, he describes the present location of Dolgeville as "some good land along the bank of the creek" and camps the next night in the town of Salisbury. Surveying westwardly from the present location of Stratford along what is now known as the Jerseyfield line, he quarreled with the Indians about the direction and they forcibly moved his compass so that he would run in a due westerly direction. Running on this bearing he reached the West Canada Creek, followed the same down and stayed at the houses of John Roback and Mr. Herkimer, and took with him Adam Barse and Nicholas Weaver, Jr., to show him the lines of the German Flats patent. He continues his report: "Friday morning I intended to finish my survey from the Little Falls down the river to the land granted to Petrus Van Driesen, but the Indians had hunted some beaver and martin during my survey, and had sold them for rum and got so drunk that it was out of my power to get them together or to do anything with them." The men with him on this survey are of interest, as they were possibly the first white men crossing the upper part of the town. They were John Van Driesen, Philip Garlock, Jacob Contreman, Jacob Zeeber, Sافrenus Zeeber and William Zeeber, Jr., and the following Indians: Paulus, Omoghario; William, Tagourante; Philip, Ojonaha; Thomas, Jagyowarne; William, Teyaharo; William, Tecannossaronne; Adam, Charestageba; Adam, Waterraitke; two boys, Peter and Gideon.

The line of the grant which was unfinished on account of the interference of the Indians, was corrected by Vrooman in 1768, when he started from the house of Sافrenus Snell at Canajoharie with white men and Indians, among whom was Joseph Brant, Desuegenekara.

The map of the first survey can be found in the State Engineer's office, portfolio "B," No. 213, and two maps of the later survey are contained among the MSS. in the State Library, Albany, N. Y.

All of the lands in the Royal Grant with the exception of those willed to such of the Indian children of Sir William Johnson who were too young at the time of the Revolution to take an active part against the Americans, were forfeited and sold.

I cite from the testament of Sir William Johnson, the following sections relating to the Royal Grant as far as it interests the town of Manheim: "To my prudent housekeeper, Mary Brant, mother of the above mentioned children, I give and bequeath the lot No. 1 being the part of the land now called the King's Land, which said land is to go after her death to my son Peter and his heirs forever." This is part of the

farm now occupied by Peter M. Bidleman, on the turnpike. "I give and devise unto Peter, eldest son of Mary Brant, 4,000 acres in the Royal Grant, now called King's Land, next to the Mohawk River, being a strip of land in the Royal Grant near the Little Falls, and west to lot No. 1, opposite the house of Nicholas Herkimer, and includes two lots, Nos. 2 and 3, along the riverside, and which are now occupied by Ury House." These latter two lots are now owned by Mrs. Dr. Garlock, and were formerly the property of Major Andrew Finck. The 4,000 acres willed to Peter Johnson would embrace the lower part of the town of Manheim up to Ira Timmerman's, and also part of the present city of Little Falls. Peter Johnson was a captain on the British side during the Revolutionary war and his lands were forfeited to the State.

The will continues: "I devise and bequeath to Elizabeth, my daughter of Mary Brant, * * * 2,000 acres in the Royal Grant now called Kings' Land." This embraces the center part of the town, and her lands were also forfeited.

He willed to Magdalene (usually called Lana) sister of the said Elizabeth and daughter of Mary Brant, 2,000 acres of land in the Royal Grant, now called King's Land, joining the tract of her sister Elizabeth.

The extreme northern part of the tract granted to Magdalene would be in the town of Salisbury, south of the tract still known as Margaret Johnson tract. The tract of Magdalene Johnson would include the village of Dolgeville and all the lands west of it up to the William Peck farm.

The first special reference to the territory embraced in the present town we find in the Paris documents, volume 13. It is taken from a description of the country between Oswego and Albany in 1757, and says: "The portage at the Little Falls is a quarter of a league and is passed with carts. There is a road on both sides of the river, but that on the left bank is preferable, being better. From the portage at the Little Falls continuing along the left bank of the river there is only a foot path, which is traveled with difficulty on horseback. Three leagues must be made over this path to arrive at the Canada Creek, when we meet the high-road that passes from the termination of the Little Falls portage along the right bank of the Mohawk River, where there is a ford above Fort Cannatchocari, opposite the mouth of the Canada Creek. There is also a ferry boat at this place to put carts across when the river is high." So it appears that at that time the wagon road from Little Falls to East Creek went along the south side of the river to the above named fort. This fort was the castle of King Hendrick, mentioned on Sauthier's map, and also shown on the recent map published by the Regents on aboriginal locations. Here wagons or carts could be transferred across the Mohawk River by ferry and then continue their voyage through the present town of St. Johnsville.

This castle of King Hendrick was located on the Smith farm, opposite Beardslee's, south of the river.

Tryon county was erected from Albany county, on March 12, 1772.

By act of Legislature of March 24, 1772, highway commissioners were appointed for the Stone Arabia district as follows: Sufhrinus Tyger, Adam Loux, Jury Copernol, Arent Brower and Hendrick Merchel.

By an act of the same date all that part of the said county of Tryon, which is bounded as follows, to-wit: on the east and on the north side of the Mohawk River by the Mohawk district (i. e., by the north and south line drawn from the Kill commonly called Anthony's Nose continued to the north bounds of the colony); on the west by a north line from the Little Falls, on the north by the north bounds of this colony and on the south by the Mohawk River, shall be one separate and distinct district, and be henceforth called and known by the name of Stone Arabia district.

On March 8, 1773, the name of this district was changed to the Palatine district. The town of Palatine in those days before the Revolutionary war embraced a large part of the present counties of Herkimer, Montgomery, Fulton, Hamilton, and St. Lawrence, and the total area of the town was 2,800 square miles, and went from the Mohawk River to the St. Lawrence.

On February 6, 1773, an act for the better laying out roads was passed and commissioners of highways were appointed for the district and the same were reappointed by the law of April 3, 1775. The commissioners so appointed were Harmanus Van Slyke, Jacob Klock, John Frey, Adam Loucks, and Isaac Paris.

The glorious record of the town of Palatine during the Revolutionary war is known to you and rather the subject of another paper. The present territory of Manheim at the time of the Revolution contained to our best knowledge only the settlements of Riemensnyder's Bush and of Snell's Bush, all other settlements were the results of the influx after the Revolution. I shall cite from Simms such events which particularly interest the town. Tradition exists among the old inhabitants of Snell's Bush, that their church and settlement was totally destroyed during the Revolutionary war; I have not been able to verify the truth of that tradition. Riemensnyder's Bush was also a German settlement. It is probable that it received its greatest increase after the failure of the Hassenclever expedition in Schuyler. A few of the families settled there, as for instance, the Boyers and Windeckers, may possibly claim descent from the Palatines. This settlement was twice the scene of bloodshed during the struggle of the colonies, and I insert here verbally from the frontiersmen of New York, the story as told by Simms, correcting only a few obvious errors.

"About the middle of March, 1778, a party of the enemy, Indians and Tories, made a sudden invasion and broke up the settlement. A sur-

prise thus unlooked for, was accomplished by journeying upon snow shoes, and just at a time when some of the settlers were endeavoring to find less exposed situations. Cobus Mabee was in the act of removing his family to the vicinity of Indian Castle. His children then were two sons and two daughters. He had gone with most of his household effects, accompanied by his wife and two younger children, to the Mohawk valley, leaving John and Polly, his oldest children, to take care of the premises until his return, on the following day. As the invaders scattered about the settlement, Hess, who was at the murder of the Mount boys, and another Indian, who was well known to the Mabee family—probably Cataroqua—visited the premises, expecting as believed, to kill or capture Mr. Mabee.

As the two Indians came there they saw John near the house in the act of cutting potatoes for cattle, and ran directly to him. Hess held out his left hand, with a salutation of friendship, while his right hand grasped a sharpened tomahawk. As the lad took the proffered hand, he read his fate in the significant look, so peculiar to the defiant eye of the Indian, and discovering his sister at the moment a little distance off, his voice, in German, sounded the caution—"Polly, take care of yourself, or"—the sentence remained unfinished upon his lips. She saw the gleam of the weapon that, as it cut short his warning to herself, fell heavily upon the skull of her brother, fled and effectually concealed herself under some cornstalks. Her brother's scalp was torn off, the dwelling, which afforded little plunder, was soon on fire, and the Indians were on their way to find other exposed victims.

Returning to his former residence, after the enemy left it, Mr. Mabee found his unfortunate son, then 15 years of age, still alive and receiving the caresses of his sister, two years younger. As stated, these children had been sent to school, and well had improved their time. They were devotedly attached to each other, and John was considered the most promising boy in the settlement. Placing his son upon the sled, where Polly again acted the nurse, he drove as carefully as possible to the Mohawk valley, but soon after arriving at the castle, the boy was released from his suffering.

Of the settlers surprised and carried into captivity, were: Conrad, Jacob, Adam and Joseph Klock; Mabus Forbush, Robhold Ough, Adam and Rudolph Furrie, Henry Shafer and son Henry. Shafer had married the widow of Jacob Moyer, and at the time of the surprise, was preparing to move on the place Cobus Mabee was vacating. Indeed, his son Henry had been sent thither with a load of some kind, and was captured on his way. No females, it is believed, were killed or captured on this settlement at that time; and the father of Forbush, who was too old to make the journey, and too bald to afford a bounty-paying scalp, was, by a freak of humanity or some other motive, left behind. On leaving the neighborhood the enemy crossed over to the East Jerseyfield road, and there captured John Keyser and his sons, Michael

and John, burned his buildings, and from his sheep and cattle they replenished their larder. Calvin Barnes, who married into the Keyser family after the war, was living on the Keyser place in 1850. The prisoners received their share of suffering on their way to Canada, and probably all came back. Some of the dwellings in the settlement, from motives of policy, were not burned until a later invasion of the enemy. While some of the incidents took place in the present town of Fairfield, most of the people mentioned in the above article lived in the present town of Manheim.

On the 3d of April, 1778, and about two weeks after the above event, another party of the enemy, fifty strong, consisting of Indians and Tories, the latter outnumbering their allies, whose dress and character they emulated, led by Captain Crawford, a royalist, visited Reimensnyder's Bush and its neighborhood. Among the Tory visitors were Suffrenes Casselman, one Countryman and several Bowens, who had gone from the lower Mohawk settlements. Not long before this invasion, Frederick Windecker had removed to the vicinity of Fort Plain; and James Van Slyke, who married Gertrude, a daughter of Windecker, was then living on the homestead. At the grist-mill located on the Lorenzo Carryl farm the enemy captured its proprietor, John Garter, and his son, John, a lad entering his teens, and Joseph Newman and Bartholomew Pickert, who chanced to be at the mill. The invaders arrived at the Windecker place as the family were at dinner. The family was threshing wheat, and John House, who was related to Van Slyke and had come to assist him, together with a man named Forbush. Van Slyke was that day sick in bed, and what was unusual on similar occasions, he was suffered to remain there with his scalp on. The enemy captured at Windecker's, John House, Forbush, my informant, John Windecker, then in his 13th year, and Garret, a brother of James Van Slyke, about the same age as young Windecker. They also captured in and contiguous to this settlement, John Cyphers, Mr. Helmer, Jacob Youker, and George Attle. The two latter, who were out on a scout from Fort Reimensnyder's Bush, were captured in the woods.

Of this number was John Garter, the Reimensnyder's Bush miller; Suffrenes Dygert, and one Hapley, of the Herkimer settlement; the two latter from the south side of the river near Little Falls. In attempting a midnight escape, the fugitives were discovered by the water-guard not far from the fort, and were brought back and flogged as deserters. Garter, whose punishment was the most severe, received a thousand stripes save one. He was literally flayed, but survived to be transported for life, never to again see his family."

After this paper was written, the fifth volume of the Public Papers of Governor George Clinton, edited by Hugh Hastings, our State Historian, was received. As the testimony in regard to the invasion of the settlements north of the present city of Little Falls and of the events preceding and subsequent to it is told by the military leaders

of that section, I give here now some brief extracts. On August 4th, 1779, a large number of the inhabitants of Tryon county addressed a petition to the Governor, "setting forth the great Distresses they labor under on Account of the Indians; whereof, Numbers pretending to be friends, stroll about the County, draw and eat up our provision, and are fed by public Stores, whilst they watch to cut our Throats." This petition was signed, among others, by Cornelius Lamberson, Jacob Klock, George Klock, Henry Klock, Adam Snell, Jacob Snell, Jost Snell, George Loucks, Jacob Small, Conrad Zimmerman, Conrad C. Zimmerman, William Zimmerman, John Favill, and about two hundred more.

On September 30, 1779, the military officers of Tryon county addressed the Governor and implored him to protect the western boundary "by troops under proper officers, posted at the several frontier forts, in order to frustrate and oppose with the assistance of the militia all revengeful designs of a cruel enemy." This petition was signed, among others, by Colonel Jacob Klock, and Quartermaster John Pickerd. The answer of Governor Clinton, October 4th, 1779, gave them little encouragement and urged them to rely on the strength of their own county and the militia of General Ten Broek's brigade.

A return of Colonel Klock's regiment of Tryon county on February 19th, 1780, shows that the whole regiment consisted of 199 men, of which not less than 89 were commissioned and non-commissioned officers. On March 21st, 1780, Colonel Gozen Van Schaick sent to the Governor two letters of Colonel Jacob Klock, both dated March 17th, 1780, of which I quote a few sentences: "Honored Sir: The 15th Instant a party of the Enemy to the amount of fifty, have made their appearance at Reemsnyder's Bush, and have taken Captain Keyser with his two sons, and two other prisoners, killed one, and burnt the Captain's House. I was up with the Palatine Battalion yesterday; the Enemy was gone off. I could not make a farther pursuit for want of Snow Shoes. There is different reports that there is an other party of 100 out —an other course but nothing came officially."

Clinton in a letter dated March 26th, 1780, writes to Colonel Klock that he was led to hope "that the distresses the savages were reduced to last year by our successful campaign (Sullivan's) against them, might have induced them to sue for peace." He writes Mr. Klock that he highly approves of his exertions and states that he has written to Colonels Van Schaick and Ten Broek to assist Klock in his endeavors to protect the frontier. On April 4th, 1780, Colonel Klock sends George Ecker with the payrolls of the regiment to the Governor and reports also as follows: "Since my last to you, we have been most Constand in alarm here; a Party of the Enemy has been Dracked Near Fort Schuyler. I kipt out Scouts and Could not discover them as yet; It comes very hart upon our meletin here, I have Posted part of the militia in seven difirend posts on the Frontiers, and if we do not Cit assistance soon, I am afraid the Greatest part of the People will moove

away; therefore, I hope you would grant us assistance as soon as Possible you can, and Remain, Sir, your most obetiant Humble Serv't, Jacob Klock."

On April 5th, 1780, Colonel Klock is forced to the fort and another disaster which I will let him tell in his own quaint language: "Honored Sir: Last Monday the 3d Instant a Party of the Enemie broot out here in a place Called Remersnyder's Bush, Consisting of Forty two Indians and forty white men; they have taken Nineteen of our men Prisoners; we have pursued them about Twenty five miles; Could not further for want of Snow Shoes. This Remersnyder's Bush has been a Large settlement; now the People is all moavtng away from there, Except a fue families that Lives in a Fort there, where I have kept a small guard. I am sorry that I must inform your Excellency that my opinion is, if we are not very soon assisted with Troops, that this County will be Intirely destroyed, for the Regiments is but very small; the Half of our people is Inlisted in the Batoo-Service and Taken Prissiners. Therefore, hopes if Possible your Excellency will assist us with Troops otherwise we cannot stand it. The Enemie has made a very old man prissoner the other day, which they Discharged again. They told him they wond before long destroy the whole County. Tho this Last party Burnt nothing Except a mill, I am very Certain the Indians will if possible, have Revenge for what damage they have Rec'd Last Summer, which they Can very easy here, if no assistance Comes."

After the Revolution, the lands of Sir William Johnson came immediately into the market and nearly the whole of them were purchased by James Caldwell of Albany, who sold them to settlers. The price usually obtained by him was from five to ten dollars an acre. The original field notes of Caldwell's survey of the lands of the town of Manheim are in the collection of Mr. Watts T. Loomis.

It will be necessary to follow for some time the general events in the town of Palatine from the Revolution until Manheim became a town. The first town meeting of Palatine was held in 1786, and John Frey was elected supervisor and Charles Newkirk town clerk.

The first entry of any highway within the boundaries of Manheim occurs in an old Palatine district clerk's book and is the following: Return of a public highway from the Yankee Bush settlement in Palatine district * * * beginning east by or near the new dwelling house of John Grant in said district, in a settlement called Riemensnyder's Bush, running thence north passing the houses of Richard Young, Barent Keyser and the lot of John Keyser, now in possession, thence north passing the house of John Feeble six chains, thence easterly passing the house of Benoni Ford to the boundary line of William Lee, thence along his line to a fell in a hill, thence to said William Lee's house, thence to William Lee's, Jr., house, as the road now lies. It is dated September 27, 1788, and signed by Highway Commissioners Jacob G. Klock, John Zielley and Samuel Gray.

This road is a part of the present Salisbury road and the Yankee Bush mentioned therein is a settlement of Connecticut and Massachusetts immigrants who came there immediately after the Revolution, and from which settlement such families as the Burrells, Brocketts, Fords, Ives, Cooks, Thompsons and others originate.

It would hardly be of interest if I enumerated all the highways which were laid out before the organization of the town. As records, the same are of little importance, as the descriptions are in all cases indefinite and cannot be resurveyed, and I will mention only a few. On May 25, 1795, the road was laid out from the county line on the line of John Windecker and Zachariah Cramer, passing the houses of William Kissnor, Elijah Barnes and William Harris, thence to the grist mill of John Feeble. In September, 1796, a road was laid out from the Snell's Bush school house along the middle line of the patent to the Royal Grant. I might say here that one of the oldest roads is the one called in the old records the Jerseyfield road, and which leads from the carrying place at Little Falls, along the present Fairfield road, and thence through the towns of Norway to the abandoned settlements in the northern part of the Jerseyfield patent. The present Salisbury road we find sometimes designated as the East Jerseyfield road, and it went from Little Falls to Mount Pleasant meeting house, now Burrell's Corners, through the paper mill and thence along the road now known as the Slip road. July 4, 1793, a road was laid out on the east side of the East Canada Creek to the place where John Beardslee will erect a bridge, thence westwardly to the present Snell's Bush road near Christman's. A road was laid out in 1794 from Cornelius Lamberson's, passing the clearings of Joseph Lobdell, Mrs. Turner and the Widow Clark, to a certain bridge, thence south to the saw mill of Samuel Low, Esq., on the East Canada Creek, leaving the same on the left, thence southwardly and westwardly to the old Jerseyfield road. Part of this road is now Main street in the village of Dolgeville, and the mills of Samuel Low, were located where the felt mills are standing.

The meeting house at Yankee Bush was erected before 1794, when it was mentioned in the records.

On April 24, 1794, Samuel Low manumitted two slaves, Anthony Lewis and Willet Grammack.

An entry in the town book on December 23, 1794, shows that a bridge across the East Canada Creek had been built.

Of twelve jurors in a highway case in this part of the town of Palatine in 1796, five signed by mark, showing the illiteracy of the people after the Revolutionary war.

The list of the supervisors for the town of Palatine were, 1786, John Frey; 1787, 1788, 1789, Christian Nellis; 1790 and 1791, Jacob Eaker; 1792, Frederick Getman; 1793, Samuel Gray; and 1794, 1795, 1796, Jacob Snell.

The old town records show that in 1786, 166 votes were cast for Gov-

ernor and 203 for the Assembly; in 1790, 77 votes for Senator and 82 for Assembly and Congress. In 1792, 198 for Governor and Senator, 270 for Assembly; in 1793, 206 votes for Continental representatives; 1794, 221 votes for Senator and 260 for Assembly.

The census for 1795 for the town of Palatine shows 171 electors who were freemen not possessed of freeholds, but who rent tenements to the yearly value of forty shillings; 27 electors who possessed freeholds of the value of twenty pounds and under one hundred pounds; and 107 electors possessed of freeholds of the value of one hundred pounds.

It appears from a remonstrance in regard to making a north and south line through Little Falls the county line between Herkimer and Montgomery, in 1790, that many of the inhabitants of the present town were anxious to be attached to the new county of Herkimer, while others were willing to remain with old Montgomery county. Opposition to the division at Little Falls was signed by Dr. William Petry and four hundred others who wanted the division at East Creek. The old stock of Palatines and prominent men like John Meyer opposed the Little Falls division, while General Michael Myers, the leader of the Federalists, wanted the county line in that place for political reasons. The original remonstrance is in possession of M. M. Jones, Esq., Utica, N. Y.

Chapter 74, Laws of 1797, defines the boundary line between Herkimer and Montgomery county as starting at the east end of the easternmost lock of the canal on the north side of the Mohawk river at the little falls, thence north agreeable to the magnetic direction of the needle in the year 1772 to the Jerseyfield patent. Herkimer county was erected by Chapter 10 of the Laws of 1791.

The town of Manheim was erected in 1797, and the description of the town reads now as follows: Bounded eastwardly by the east bounds of the county, southwardly by the Mohawk River and westwardly and northwardly by line beginning at the east end of the easternmost lock of the canal on the north side of the Mohawk River at Little Falls, and running thence north as the needle pointed in 1772 until an east line strikes the northwest corner of a large lot, No. 11, in Glen's purchase; then easterly to the east corner of Glen's purchase; and then east to the bounds of the county.

On July 15, 1797, Supervisor Cornelius Humphrey of Salisbury, Jacob Snell of Palatine, and Jacob Markell of Manheim, met and arranged for the care of the paupers, and one-half of the person of Christian Allum became the first town charge; he to be kept jointly with the town of Salisbury; also one third of Violet, who was the slave recently manumitted by Esquire Low. The school money allotted to Manheim in 1797 amounted to \$153.94. An idea of the general state of education is given by a jury of twelve, out of which nine could not sign their own names.

I will take from the earliest town book a few facts. Children of

slaves had to be recorded, so for instance, we find such entry: "Be it remembered that in the year of our Lord 1801, on the 8th day of February, a female slave child was born, being the property of Adam Bellinger. Recorded said child on the 17th day, 1801. Jacob H. Timmerman, town clerk." A few days later we find another female slave born to Henry P. Smith. The town laws are nearly the same as everywhere. They concern mostly the keeping up of stallions, hogs, etc., and no horses, cattle, sheep or hogs were allowed to run free at any inn, store or blacksmith shop.

The town books also show that in the winter time the inhabitants had to keep the turnpike open during certain months, when the company received no tolls.

To show the political status of the town in 1801, we glean that George Clinton received 80 votes for Governor, and Stephen Van Rensselaer 23; and for Senator, Evans Wharry received 89 votes, and his opponent about 22; for Assembly, Charles Ward received 113 votes, his opponents about 31.

On May, 14, 1810, Dick and Katy, slaves of Bartholomew Pickert, were freed by him.

There were in 1811 six school districts in the town. The town expenses were in 1797 a total of \$236.40, and reached the high water mark in 1864, when they amounted to \$21,161.89. The present budget of the town is about eight to ten thousand dollars a year.

I give a list of the supervisors of the town of Manheim since its erection, especially as the list published in the recent histories is erroneous:

Jacob Markell held the office of supervisor from 1797 to 1812. 1818-19, 1824 to '28; Nathan Christy, 1813 and 1814; Luther Pardoe, 1815, 1820 to 1822; Frederick Getman, 1816, 1817; Lawrence Timmerman, 1823; August Beardslee, 1829; John J. Timmerman, 1830; Isaac S. Ford, 1831, '32; Jacob Powell, 1833; John P. Snell, 1834 to 1837; Suffrenas Snell, 1838 to 1839; John Hoover, Jr., 1840 and 1841; John J. Beardslee, 1842; Jacob Yourau, 1843, '44, 1850; N. S. Green, 1845; John Markell, 1846 to 1849; Oliver LaDue, 1851, 1852; Jeremiah G. Snell, 1853; Hiram Broat, 1854, 1855, 1867 to 1871, 1886, 1887; Levi Bellinger, 1856, 1857; Luke Snell, 1858, 1859; James H. Weatherwax, 1860 to 1862; Morgan Biddleman, 1863 to 1864; S. S. Lansing, 1865, 1866; Michael Lévee, 1872; Charles E. Bauder, 1873, 1874; Seymour Keyser, 1875, 1876; Norman Timmerman, 1877, 1878; John Garlock, 1879 to 1881, 1896 to 1902; William A. Goodell, 1882, 1883; Hannibal Snell, 1884, 1885; Charles Cook, 1888; Thomas Curry, 1889 to 1892; Timothy Dasey, 1893; Wheeler Knapp, 1894 to 1895.

The survey for the Utica and Schenectady railroad through the town was begun at the end of the month of September, 1833, and the road was in operation about 1836. A railroad to Nicholasville was chartered by Chapter 195 of the Laws of 1834, and was named the Manheim and

Salisbury Railroad company, of which Jeremiah Drake, D. B. Winton and A. A. Finck were directors. This railroad was to consist of a single or double track from the Utica and Schenectady R. R. to Nicholasville (now Stratford.) The stock of the company was \$75,000 and the commissioners besides the above mentioned were Jacob Powell, Gideon Snell, Luther Pardee, A. A. Finck and E. P. Hurlbert.

By Chap. 442 of the laws of 1836, the capital stock of this company was increased to \$300,000, and they were empowered to make a contract with the Utica and Schenectady railroad to cross over that road to the Erie canal; this project also contemplated navigation to the outlet of Lake Pleasant. By Chap. 387 of the laws of 1837 the name was changed to the Mohawk and St. Lawrence Navigation company. This road died a natural death, as the crisis of 1837 interfered with the financial part of it, but the same scheme was revived several times, and it was the forerunner of the late Saratoga and Sacketts Harbor railroad. In 1836 the St. Johnsville and Ogdensburgh Company railroad was organized, and was to go from St. Johnsville and intersect the Manheim and Salisbury railroad at Brocketts Bridge. In 1882 the Little Falls, Dolgeville and Piscop R. R. Co., was organized, surveys were made and right of way secured. It was intended to extend this railroad into the heart of the Adirondacks. The Adirondack forestry bill of 1883 knocked the bottom out of this scheme and this road died a lingering death. The present Little Falls and Dolgeville railroad was constructed about ten years ago, but has not proved a financial success and has been in the hands of a receiver for several years past.

The Salisbury and Manheim McAdam Road Company was incorporated May 10, 1837, and Harry Burrell, Arphaxed Loomis and Atwater Cook were made commissioners; this charter and road were maintained for many years up to about fifteen years ago. Two plank roads crossed the town and the same experience was had here as everywhere when that temporary craze of plank roads prevailed throughout the country about fifty years ago.

The losses of the town of Manheim on account of the investment in plank roads are said to have been rather heavy.

I will say a few words regarding those men of the town who achieved other political honors than election to town offices. Their number is so remarkably small that either the politicians of Manheim must be too modest, or that whenever the political plum tree is shaking, they are caught napping. During 105 years of the existence of the town we find that only once a citizen of the town was elected to congress; that was in 1815 when Jacob Markell was elected to that office. The following were elected to the assembly: 1802 and 1803, Charles Ward; 1815, Nathan Christy; 1820, Jacob Markell; 1825, Jacob Wire; 1828, John P. Snell; 1834, Augustus Beardslee; 1861, John Markell. Frederick P. Getman was elected senator for the years 1799 to 1802. Sanders Laus-

ing was a member of the constitutional convention of 1821, and Edward A. Brown of the last convention.

Morrell D. Beckwith, a native of Oppenheim and a lawyer and surveyor by profession, was elected while residing at Brocketts Bridge as school commissioner of the northern district of Herkimer county.

James H. Weatherwax, born in Manheim, Nev. 29, 1829, was a prominent and successful farmer. He was elected supervisor in 1860, and held the office three successive terms. In 1867 he was chosen sheriff of the county, and in 1880 Governor Cornell appointed him as one of the state assessors. He died on his farm in Manheim, now occupied by his son, James Weatherwax, January 1, 1883.

George W. Ward, of Dolgeville, has been our efficient district attorney for two years past. When Edward Simms, now a resident of the town of Manheim, held the office of county clerk, he was elected from the town of Danube.

Only a few families settled before and during the revolution within the present town of Manheim. From local histories, church records, and old town records it appears that the following names represent fairly the first original pre-revolutionary settlement: Boyer, Baxter, Cramer, Edel, Faville, Garter, Garlock, Keyser, Keller, Klock, Kiits, Oxner, Pickert, Ritter, Riemensnyder, Schnell, Van Slyke, Windecker, Zimmerman, to which were added soon after the revolution and before Manheim became a separate town the following names: Adamy, Belinger, Beardslee, Churchill, Christy, Christman, Cummings, Dacke, Ehl, Graves, Hart, Hose, Harris, Johnson, Loucks, Lepper, Markell, Pickert, Staley, Scott, Smith, Seymour, Youran, Young, Van Tassel and Ward.

As far as known now the first settlement in the town was made at East Creek on the patent granted to Rev. Peter Van Driesen. Here Henry Van Driesen, one of his sons, and perhaps other members of that family were located, but this information is only inferential. It certain that near the middle of the 18th century one Roger Baxter, a farmer, set settled at East Creek. He leased on July 2nd, 1768, to Thomas Baxter lands on Canada Creek near Fort Hendrick. The Baxters were residents of Schoharie as early as 1730 and probably before. Schuyler Baxter lived also at East Creek. He was the son of Captain John Baxter and Mary Schuyler, his wife, and was born April 10th, 1761. John Baxter, and wife went to England and never returned. Another member of that family was Eckerson Baxter, whose widow, Anna Marguerite, conveyed on October 11th, 1788, to Cornelius Van Schelluyne of Albany, all that tract of land situate at or near Canajoharie in the county of Montgomery, on the north side of the Mohawk River over against Fort Hendrick, being part of a tract of land heretofore granted to Petrus Van Driesen, deceased, bounded as follows: South by the Mohawk River, north by the rear line of the said patent, east by the lands formerly belonging to Henry Van Driesen, deceased, west by other

lands formerly belonging to the said Henry Van Driesen, excepting a tract of land heretofore conveyed by Roger Baxter to Thomas Baxter.

When the present owners of the East Creek estate tore down the old Judge Beardslee residence on the south side of the turnpike a paper signed on June 22, 1831, by Augustus and John J. Beardslee was found under the hearthstone, stating that: "This foundation was laid June 23, 1831. * * over this cellar a house was burned down by the Indians in the revolutionary war and its owner, Roger Baxter, killed and scalped. Afterwards, about the year 1800, another house over this cellar was burned down by accident, the premises being then owned by Frederick Getman." The Judge Beardslee house stood just about opposite the present mansion on the south side and close to the turnpike.

It may be of interest to the descendants of the first settlers and to students of genealogy to learn the names of those who lived in Manheim about 1797 and a few years after. I have taken the names from all available sources and this list is probably as fair a census of the male adult population of Manheim from 1797 to 1802 as can be made at this late date:

Amsted, Henry; Adjutant, Andrew; Anderson, James; Ayres, Henry, Elijah, Ebenezer, Silvenus; Adamy, Henry, Allen, Timothy, Hezekiah, Adams, Aaron; Bellinger, Adam, Adam, jr., John, Mareks; Boyer, John, Leonard, Valentine, Robert, John, jr.; Bloodough (Bloodhow), Henry, Christian; Brown, Nicholas, Philip; Beardslee, John; Bishop, Conrad; Byteman (Biddleman), Simeon, Peter, Simeon, Robert; Backus, George; Booyea, John, Conrad; Beck, John; Barnes, Elijah; Burr, Abraham; Burke, Benjamin; Boardman, Nathaniel; Bateman, Elijah; Broat, Henry; Churchill, Benjamin; Christy, Nathan; Cook, Rudolf; Cypher, John, John, jr.; Christman, Isaac, Jacob, John, John, jr., Frederick; Cady, John C., Chatterton, Michael; Cummings, Stephen; Chago, Jacob, Henry; Cahoon, John; Clark, Joseph; Dill, John; Dacke (Dockey), John; Dewey, Hezekiah; Daggett, Jacob; Davis, Jacob, Jacob, jr.; Dodge, Nathaniel; Dumlap, Thomas; Doland, John; Edel, Jost, Henry, John, George, jr.; Ehl, Peter; Elwood, Benjamin; Faville, John; Forbmsh, Bartholomew, Jacob, Warner, Mabes; Fisher, John, Michael; French, Jotham; Forrey (Furrer), Adam; Freymoyer, David; Freeman, Charles; Ferguson, Daniel; Furman, Benjamin; Frame, Samuel; Fort, John; Feeter, William, Adam; Finck, Andrew, Andrew A.; Garlock, Adam, Adam, jr., John; Gilbert, Zalmon; Graves, John; Garter, Henry, Robert; Gerrington, Frederick; Gillet, Elibu, Elibu, jr., Cephas, Luther, Roderick, Geffers, Lewis; Goodbrote or Goodbread, William, Bastian; Green, Ephraim, Stephen; Gray, John, Adam; Grant, John; Getman, Frederick, jr.; Hellenbold, Tunis; House, Adam, John; Hart, Daniel, John; Hose, Henry; Heldrick, Edward; Hatcock, Daniel, Huber (Hoover), Henry; Hoffman, John; Harris, William; Hendrix, Samuel; Hagert, John; Hagadorn, Jacob; Johnson, James, Benjamin, George, Lysander, Michael; Jones,

Evans; Kilts, Peter, William; Nicholas, Nicholas, jr., George; Kaufman, Anthony; Kissner, William; Klock, Jacob C., Adam J., Adam, jr.; Keller, John, John, jr., Henry; Kraemer (Cramer), Zachariah, John; Kyser or Keyser, Michael, John, Barent, Michael B., Peter, Michael, jr.; Kingsley, Aaron; Kirk, James; Kern, Baddus; Kennedy, Patrick; Loncks, Peter P. or Peter jr., Peter, George, jr., Jacob, George, John, Henry, G., Henry; Lyn (Linn), George; Liskan (Liskim), Samuel; Lepper, Wyant, John, Jacob; Lawrence, John; Landfere, Redwood; Lozler (Loesker, Lasher), Jacob; Leslie, Daniel; Lake, John; Murray, John; Markell, Jacob, John; Moore, James; McCarty, Charles; Moyer, John, Ludwig, Theobald, Jacob, John J.; Munson, Isaac; Metcalf, Joseph, Elijah; Morse, Rufus; Marsh, Benjamin; Mabee, Abraham; Newman, Joseph, John; Neeley, John; Norcross, Isaac; Norton, John; O'Connor, Philip; Pickert, Bartholomew, jr., Frederick, Christian, Conrad, Bartholomew, John, Hezekiah; Petrie, John, Henry, Nicholas, Hanyost, Joseph, Marks; Philips, Henry, Silas; Potter, Peter; Peck, Samuel, Jonathan, Elihu, John, Isaac; Pardee, Augustus; Patten, Robert; Platt, Epenetus; Plank, Philip; Pansom, Jonathan, Robert, Rufus; Rosbach, Frederick, Henry, John, Reed, Israel, Augustus, William; Ridenburg, Daniel, Riemensnyder, John, Henry; Ritter, Frederick, Henry, Mathew; Rickert, Ludwig, Henry; Rouse, John, Benjamin; Rolstone, John; Robinson, Robert; Rightmeyer, David; Snell, Jacob, J., Jacob, Frederic, Peter J., Jost, jr., John, Jost, Sevrenus, Jost J., Peter, Peter jr., John P., Jacob P., Jacob G., Jost G., Adam, Peter G., John S., Hanjost S., Hanjost P., Adam P., Jacob P.; Scott, David, William; Shaver, Henry, Nicholas, John; Staley, John; Stauring, George, Jacob, Valentine, Conrad; Smith, William, Henry P., Peter, John, Nicholas, John P.; Stall, Henry, John, jr.; Stemble, Bastian; Seeber (Saver), James, Jacobus; Shell, Marcks, Frederick; Stranch, Baldus; Stone, Benjamin; Steward, Samuel, Jesse; Spencer, Elijah, Nathaniel; South, Ezekiah; Seymour, Elijah; Shiff, George; Shutt, Peter; Storn, Marks; Sherwood, Ozias, Thomas; Sampson, Barzilla; Shufeld, Zacharia, John; Stebbins, John; Shall, Wilhelmus; Spofford, Thomas; Timmerman, Henry, George, John, Adam, Henry L., Conrad, Lorenzo, William, Henry H., Jacob H., Conrad C., Henry jr., Jacob, John G., Adam H., Conrad L; Taylor, Joseph; Thorp, August; Thonbling, Moses; Thumb or Thume, Dan, Conrad; Van Allen, Richard, Jacob; Van Drieseu, Henry, John, Peter; Van Slyke, Jacobus, Gerret; Van Tassel, Henry, William, David; Van Lone, John; Vincent, Allen; Van Valkenburgh, James; Ward, Charles; Waggoner, Emmanuel; Wabrath, George, Casper; Windecker, Frederick jr., Jacob, Nicholas, John, Frederick, Conrad; Wolleben, Peter; Watkins, Joseph, Ebenezer; Wiswell, Samuel; Wood, William; Williams, Aaron, John; Wright, Calvin; Younan, Jacob, Jacob jr.; Young, Richard; Zoller, Casper, Casper jr.; Zabriskie, Andrew; Zemen, Moses.

We find by counting up the names that there are 191 family names

represented by 380 individual taxpayers, which would indicate a probable population of 1,800 people.

Of the 191 families then appearing, only 36 are represented now by male descendants. The other families have died out or moved elsewhere. Of the 380 individuals 225 were of German extraction about 30 of Holland Dutch. The names of 120 indicate English or New England origin and only five bear distinctly Irish names.

Spofford's Gazette of 1822 describes Manheim as follows: "Except along the Mohawk there are no intervals, but the upland is of superior quality and probably yields as much wheat as any town of the size in the county. The inhabitants are principally farmers, though with a competent number of mechanics, and there are 200 families, probably of Dutch extraction. There are two Dutch Reformed Churches, nine school houses, six grist mills, nine saw mills, three fulling mills, two carding machines.

"The town was settled first about 1770. The inhabitants were driven off by the war and returned with peace. The post office is in the southeast corner. Population, 1,777; 329 electors; 8,809 acres of improved land; 1,512 cattle; 615 horses; 2,577 sheep; 13,840 yards of cloth manufactured per year."

The proportion of mixture of the population we have shown above. Let us now say a few words about the blending of these elements. In those days the German element was in a decided majority; the majority of the leaders in this county and town were Germans, as Michael Myers, Jacob Markell, Andrew Finck, Dr. William Petry, John M. Petrie and others, and so it was over in Montgomery county. The great mass of the German population was not progressive, not well educated; instead of retaining their own language or adopting the English they used a patois, a mixture of both, commonly known as Mohawk Dutch, and similar to the Pennsylvania Dutch. Exposed for three quarters of a century to the life of the pioneer, wedged in between the Indians and Hollanders, they were cut off from the progress of civilization and the benefits of education. It cannot be denied that the majority had not advanced much. Their personal valor, their loyalty and thrift were the same as their ancestors, but the conditions at the time of the influx of the New England immigration were against them. This immigration was of the best Puritan stock from Connecticut and Massachusetts, had better education, and was more enterprising, more united. It required only a few decades before the English speaking population gained supremacy, filled the offices and controlled affairs. The pastors then began to preach in English, and the same language was taught in all the schools and at this date there are perhaps not half a dozen descendants of the early German settlers who understand a few sentences of Mohawk Dutch. But after this Anglicizing process was completed, the renaissance of the German stock took place and now the two races are socially, politically and intellectually

peers. This periodical decline is not to the discredit of the descendants of the Palatines; it is a law of mankind as old as man, that the isolated colony of a strange people, speaking a strange tongue and accustomed to different habits, will make only feeble resistance to the race ruling the land.

At the beginning of the last century and at the time to which my list of inhabitants applies, the lands in the town were nearly all taken up. More woodland remained, and, as the farms were smaller than the present ones, the number of clearings and habitations were larger and more evenly distributed. With a few exceptions, the dwellings were modest and many of them log houses. The raising of wheat, cattle, sheep and hogs, and the manufacture of potash, were the principal sources of revenue. Little Falls existed then as a very small village, but the settlement of that time was wholly outside of the limits of Manheim; that part of the village later on within the town was not settled until after 1832. It gradually grew until in 1895, when the new city limits cut this part out of the town when about 2,300 people lived within that part of the village and within the town.

About two miles above Little Falls there was at the end of the 18th century the small village of Riemensnyder Bush, already mentioned, mostly inhabited by Germans. At the present site of Dolgeville were some small mills and a few houses. A few miles north of the north line of the town were three settlements: Salisbury Center, Salisbury Corners and Mount Pleasant, at Yankee Bush (now Burrells Corners.)

At the center of the town, near where Jacob Markell lived was a cluster of dwellings. At Inghams Mills, then called Feeters Mills, the beginning of a hamlet was to be seen, founded by Colonel Feeter, who was building some mills at that place. One of the most important villages in the town was what now is remembered as the Old City, at the foot of the falls near East Creek. Founded by John Beardslee in 1794 or prior, a bridge was built over the East Canada Creek; and a number of mills, taverns, shops and dwellings made up quite a town. With the building of the turnpike and the laying out of the same in its present place, and the erection of a new bridge over the East Canada Creek, the settlement dwindled away and a new one sprung up at East Creek. In the days of staging on the turnpike this again became quite a factor to be in turn deserted after the building of the canal.

Another small hamlet existed on Gillett Creek near the mills of John Faville, on what is now called the Peck farm; and another near by where Major Finck resided, not to be confounded with the later "Fincks Basin" on the south side of the river.

The Snell and Timmerman families settled their patent immediately after it was granted and tradition among the families says that a small church was erected at the time of the settlement and stood in the southern part of the patent. Before the revolution four of the Snells, Suffrenas, Peter, Jacob and Joseph, donated land for a church at the pre-

sent site. That church stood until 1830 when the present building was erected. The congregation belongs to the Reformed Church and usually keeps a minister of its own, but of late years the services have been supplied.

The next oldest church is the church known as the Yellow or Manheim church. Entries in the church books of Stone Arabia show that several years prior to the revolution the pastors of the Lutheran church of that place went to perform religious functions at Riemensnyder's Bush, and that the church was supplied until 1831 and perhaps later, from Stone Arabia. As a matter of fact the Stone Arabia churches acted for all the German population of the Mohawk valley as parish churches, until the end of the 18th century. Existing records prove that prior to 1811 a church society existed at Manheim, made contracts, paid salaries; but the records are so incomplete that it is hard to give exact facts. In 1821 the society was incorporated. In 1822 a frame church was built. That building was remodeled in 1853 and the new present church was erected in 1883. The first church building stood probably on the south side of the road and was surrounded by the original burying ground. In the early part of the century the Rev. Mr. Domayer, of Stone Arabia, was for many years the pastor supplying that church. From 1811 to 1831 he was assisted by Anthony Kauffman, who was a local exhorter. If tradition is true, both were characters such as are not found in these days among the brethren of the cloth. About four times each year pastor Domayer would go around to his outlying churches and baptize the children, marry the living, and enjoy a round of festivities which sometimes taxed pretty heavily the old Dominic's staying qualities. His salary at Manheim was \$25.00 per year.

The first church society at Brocketts Bridge was organized in 1811, and the original church building still exists at the west side of Main street in Dolgeville, and is used by Mrs. Whitney as a barn. Richard Hewitt, Nathaniel Spencer and John Faville, jr., were the building committee, and the first meeting was held at the house of Nathaniel Spencer. Lorenzo Dow and George Gary preached in that old building, and Abbey Kelly Foster lectured there repeatedly. In 1812 Major Winton organized some meetings which caused a split in the church, and he and his followers held their meetings in the loft of the tannery, until the Main street church was built and was used by a sect known as "Christians." After Winton's failure the organization dwindled away and the Methodists got hold of the building and vacated their old church which was sold in 1852. About six years ago a new and larger building was erected on Helmer avenue, and the M. E. church of Dolgeville is now the largest and most prosperous congregation in the town.

On June 11, 1834, a M. E. church was organized at East Creek and called the Lower East Creek Society of the M. E. church. The first trustees were John Richtmyer, Henry Bloodough, Charles C. Chase,

Simon Hendrick, jr., and David Snell. The first meeting was held at the house of Henry Bloodough. I understand that this congregation met at the East Creek school house; for how long it was kept up I have not been able to ascertain, probably not much later than 1850.

The Methodist Episcopal church of Manheim Center, located near the Ransom school house, was organized March 15, 1846, and Daniel Hayes, Henry Bellinger, Peter Bellinger, Peter Boyer, Adam Bellinger, Jesse Lewis, Jacob J. Davis and David Loucks were elected trustees. The same church was reorganized April 27, 1850, as the Central M. E. church of Manheim, with a new set of trustees. In 1850 Henry Bellinger sold to the congregation the lot on which the church stands, and soon after the present building was erected. The preaching was done by the M. E. pastors of Salisbury Center and Bocketts Bridge. At the same time the building was open to the use of any christian denomination. The church as organized was kept up until after the war, when on account of the removal and death of old members the same was abandoned, but the organization was kept up until about 1880, when Charles W. Ransom was the last clerk. The members were then transferred to the Bocketts Bridge M. E. church.

At the beginning of the anti-slavery agitation, the Abolitionists desired to hold meetings in the M. E. church, but were opposed by the majority of the members of the church, consequently the anti-slavery men under the lead of John D. Spofford, organized the "Moral and Religious Society" under an act of the legislature passed April 15, 1884, and incorporated themselves as the Free Church of Bocketts Bridge. The first trustees were John D. Spofford, Joseph Hewitt, James Brown, Zenas Bockett, Reuben Faville and Solomon Cramer, and it was voted by the society, "That the seats and pews in the church so built or owned by said society shall be forever free for the occupation and use during any public worship or discussion without distinction of color, creed, sect, or denomination." This was signed by the trustees and witnessed before Ira Beckwith, justice. This church too had only a brief life and the building got somehow into private hands and has been used as a dance hall and show house for many years past.

The St. John's German Evangelical Lutheran church of Dolgeville was organized March 7, 1885, with Paul Grass, Karl Dedicke and Adolph Freygang as trustees. The Rev. William F. Zell was the first pastor. This congregation still exists and owns a church on Faville avenue of that village. For some years a German Methodist church kept up an organization at Dolgeville, but is now defunct.

There are now in Dolgeville a Presbyterian church, a Baptist church, and a very popular and prosperous Universalist church. The latter owns a handsome building and the church is active and growing.

An Episcopalian church was organized some years ago, but the membership dwindled away and the church was sold under foreclosure and is now owned by a strong and promising Roman Catholic or-

ganization. Even the Christian Scientists are said to have made some inroads in Dolgeville.

The Baptist church of Inghams Mills was organized in 1818 and the Rev. A. Beach was the first pastor. Meetings were held at private residences and at the school house until 1844, when the present church was erected. The society was organized and incorporated on the 10th of January, 1842, with Nathan Brown, Joseph Hewitt, Harvey Ingham, David Snell and others as trustees.

After we have made a survey of the houses of worship in the town, it is but appropriate to make also a short visit to the places of burial of the dead. The Snell's Bush cemetery surrounds the church on an eminence of ground visible for many miles, and many old stones mark the graves of the earlier settlers. In that cemetery the Snell, Timmerman, Markell, Garlock, Feeter and Younan families are well represented. The oldest gravestone in the yard seems to be the one indicating the last resting place of Peter Snell, who died July 4, 1804, and who was born 1731. It is said he was the son of the original patentee, John Joost Snell.

A small burying ground in Snell's Bush is sometimes called the Snell cemetery or Spooky Hollow cemetery, and contains the graves of many descendants of the Snell family, but the cemetery is evidently considerably newer than the one surrounding the church.

In the pine woods on the Beardslee farm near the vault which contains the remains of Judge Beardslee, is an old cemetery in which we find the graves of many of the original settlers of "the Old City of East Creek." Among others there rests John Beardslee and his wife, Lavinia. A great many members of the Kilts family are buried in that ground. The oldest monument is that of James Pardee, who died April 29, 1815. There is only one private burying ground remaining along the turnpike, which is called the Finck and Van Valkenburgh cemetery. The oldest marked grave in the ground is that of Major Andrew Finck, who died Feb. 3, 1820, aged 59 years, 3 days. The ground also contains the grave of Frederick Finck, grandson of the Major. His very promising career as an artist was cut short at the age of 32 years. A small burying ground on Dr. Haight's farm contains some graves of Petries and Loucks, the oldest burial being in the year 1822.

The Boyer family has a burying plot on the Chauncey Cook farm, but the monuments have been destroyed and only the markers remain. There are buried in that ground John Boyer and his son, both revolutionary soldiers, and Leonard Boyer, a soldier of 1812.

The most interesting cemetery in the town of Manheim is the one surrounding the Yellow church. I have stated elsewhere this was probably not the first cemetery, but we find in the present one a great many graves of the original inhabitants, and the Keyser, Windecker, Feeter, Bellinger, Petrie, Keeler, Pickert, Van Slyke and Broat families

are much represented. The oldest stones in it mark the graves of Bartholomew Pickert, who was born in 1726 and died in 1807, Frederick Windecker, who was born in 1725 and died in 1808, and John Keller, who was born 1740 and died in 1806. A small burying ground opposite the Manheim Center Ransom M. E. church still existed fifteen years ago, but has now entirely disappeared.

The cemetery containing the first New England immigrants of the town of Manheim is located on the William Peck farm and is known as the Sherwood cemetery. This is an old ground and contains the graves of the earlier members of the Faville, Barnes, Bennett, Sherwood, Ransom, Ayres, Spofford and Peck families. The oldest grave is that of Anna, wife of Amos Sherwood, who died Aug. 14, 1812, age 30. The Inghams Mills cemetery has been, if we can apply that word to such an institution, the most popular burying ground. It has been carried on for years past as a private institution, but lately has been incorporated according to law and is well cared for under the management of Mr. Norman C. Loucks, who devotes much of his time to that cemetery. The Pleasant Hill cemetery of Brocketts Bridge, at Dolgeville, N. Y., is the largest cemetery in town, and has grown out of a small yard which was opened about 1840. There are many and elaborate monuments in this cemetery. The Spofford, Faville, Spencer and Brockett families have always been represented on the board of trustees and have taken special pride and interest in these grounds.

I have to confine myself to a few general remarks concerning family histories, and, if any families are omitted, or the apparent due credit is not given them, the above must be my excuse. The family which can claim by age, by numbers, and by patriotic showing, the right to be mentioned first, are the Snells, who are the descendants of Johann Snell, sr., who was born in the year 1696, in the Palatinate in Germany, and died September 12, 1787, in Stone Arabia, aged nearly 92 years. He left living at the time of his death, 3 daughters, 26 grand-children, 72 great-grand-children, 3 great-great-grand-children. Johann's was probably the father of the patentee, Johan Joost. Johann's appears in the early German records on the Hudson river, and as far back as 1733 he is mentioned as a lieutenant in the militia company, "In Ye Maquas Land." The colonial history mentions often the name of Snell; and we find there, Jacob, Adam, Christian, Frederick, Frederick jr., George jr., Jacob jr., John jr., Johann's, George, Nicholas, Peter, and Sufrenas, all performing services in colonial times as officers and privates. The Snells furnished a large number to militia and levies and we find in New York in the Revolution, "the following:" Adam, Adam jr., Elathan, Frederick, George, Hanickle, Han Yost, Jacob, Jacob Frederick, John, John jr., John P., John J., John P., Joseph, Peter, Robert, Sefrinus, Stephen, Thomas, Jacob and Zeley. Simms and other works state that nine of that family went to Oriskany, of whom seven were killed. On the Oriskany monument the names of Frederick, George,

Jacob, Jacob Johan, Johan jr., Joseph, Peter and Sophronius appear. The number of those killed at Oriskany probably refers to those of all the Snells in the Mohawk valley and not to those only who settled in Snells Bush. The family is still numerous but its number in the town is getting very small.

The Timmerman family is also of clear Palatine stock and the original name, Zimmerman, is still used by some branches. Adam, Christian, Ensign Conrad, Conrad L., Lieutenant Hendrick, Hendrick L., Ensign Henry, Jacob, Jacob L., Lieutenant Johannis, Lieutenant John, John, John G., and William Timmerman and Dewitt, Ensign Frederick Henedrich, Henry and Nicholas Zimmerman appear on the muster rolls of the revolutionary army and Jacob Zimmerman was a prisoner of war captured by the Indians at Oriskany. The name of Heinrich, Jacob and Conrad Zimmerman are immortalized on the Oriskany Battleshaft. Andrew, Conrad, Conrad jr., George, Henry, Jacob, Lawrence, Theobald and Matthew Timmerman and Zimmerman were colonial soldiers.

The Markells reached the Mohawk valley by way of Schoharie, and were early settlers of the vicinity of Stone Arabia. Henry Markell, father of Jacob Markell, was a gallant Revolutionary officer and kept for many years a tavern on the farm now occupied by C. E. Piteer, in the town of St. Johnsville. His son Jacob was born in 1770, and settled after the Revolution in the town of Manheim, of which town he became the leader. He held many political offices and his influence among the Germans was great. He was also for many years a justice of the peace, and nearly all the suits for miles around were tried before Squire Markell; his decisions were just and equitable. He had a fine property of 800 acres, of which 180 are still in possession of his grandson, George Markell, who lives on the old homestead.

By military service and family connections Major Andrew Finck held in the early days of the town the most prominent position; his son, Andrew A., was known for years as one of the famous Mohawk turnpike tavern keepers, and as an enterprising and far seeing business man. His later financial ruin was due to the treachery of friends for whom he signed and endorsed. There are no persons of that name living in the town.

The Garlock family claim descent from John Christian Garlock, who served in 1711 as captain of a Palatine company in the Canadian war and who was one of the leaders in the immigration from the Hudson to the Schoharie valley and after whom Garlocksdorf in Schoharie was named. He became one of the owners of the Stone Arabia patent and some of his children settled there. Adam Garlock came to Manheim just prior to the Revolution and returned after the war and settled on the place now occupied by James and John Garlock. John Garlock, the great-grandson of Adam, is the present supervisor of the town and a man favorably known within and outside of our county. Other German families as the Feeters, Keysers, Bellingers, Loucks, Broats and

Windeckers, have become at various times prominent. Their ancestors were patriotic and the present members of the family are land owners, business men and professional men of high standing in the community. The Kellers are the descendants of John Keller who was a native of Switzerland.

Of the families of Holland Dutch extraction I mention the Van Valkenburghs, descendants of James Van Valkenburg, who was an early tavern-keeper on the turnpike. The Van Slykes settled before the Revolution in the northwestern part of the town. The Lansings, although later comers, became identified with the affairs of the town.

Of families settling the upper part of the town, the Favilles are probably the first arrivals. John Faville came from New Jersey with the troops during the early part of the Revolutionary war, and settled at the locality in Salisbury known as Yankee Bush. Very soon after the Revolutionary war he purchased of Caldwell the water power and lands now known as the Faville Falls, on the William Peck farm, where he started a grist-mill and other industries. He also farmed it and raised a large family. His descendants are spread all over the United States, and the family is still numerous at Dolgeville.

The Spoffords settled in what is now Dolgeville, at an early date and owned a large part of the territory now occupied by the village. J. P. Spofford and his brothers owned and operated mills on the stream. John D. Spofford was an ardent Abolitionist. His son, General John Pemberton Spofford, the lieutenant-colonel of the 79th regiment during the Civil war, was an officer famous for gallantry and deserves the credit of bringing the Dolge industry to that place. The Spencers and Ayres came before the close of the 18th century and settled southwest of Dolgeville. The home farm of the Spencers is still occupied by Howard Spencer, the only one of that name remaining in town. The Brockett family, descended from the Wolcott branch of the Connecticut Brocketts and settled first at Salisbury, and later Zephi Brockett settled in Fulton county just across from Mannheim and within the present village of Dolgeville. This occurred in about 1813, and in 1826 when he had become the leading man of the little settlement, a postoffice was established and named Brocketts Bridge, and continued under that name until 1880 when during the presidential campaign the name was changed from Brocketts Bridge to Dolgeville. The best known member of the Brockett family was undoubtedly Zenas Brockett, who residing at his beautiful home called Liberty Home, was for many years one of the leaders of the anti-slavery party of Central New York. His place was a station of the underground railroad and many a slave was here protected and sheltered while on his way to Canada. Zenas Brockett was one of the most genial of men but one of the most tenacious of fighters. He died in 1883 at a ripe old age.

Of other families of New England extraction and which have made their impress upon the affairs of the town, I mention the Rices and

Sadlers. Joseph Rice of the northwestern part of the town is the owner of one of the largest and best managed farms, and a man enjoying to a great extent the esteem and confidence of his neighbors. The Sadlers have been engaged in the mercantile business at Ingham Mills for many years. The business is now owned by James D. Sadler of that place.

The Beardslees of East Creek belong also to the New England immigration, and as the family never spread very much the property has been kept together and is the most valuable one in the town. The first one here of that name was John Beardslee, who was born in Sharon, Connecticut, in 1759, and died in Manheim in 1825. He was a mill-right and engineer. He settled first at Whitestown; he built the first bridge across the Mohawk river at Little Falls, and many other public buildings and mills too numerous to mention. He built, in 1791, a bridge across the East Canada creek near the falls, and started there a settlement now remembered as "Old City." His son, August Beardslee, as lawyer, judge, and man, was well known and esteemed. His son, Guy R., has begun to utilize the great water power of the East Creek and is now furnishing electricity to many Mohawk valley towns.

The history of Dolgeville, which I wrote in 1887, makes it unnecessary for me to go into the details of that interesting little community.

A brief outline will suffice of Dolgeville's history. Mills existed at the present site in 1794. A tannery was located there about 1818 by one Reuben Ransom and conducted up to 1830. The Ransom family were early owners of land and water power there, and the old house of David Ransom on Main street is one of the oldest buildings in town, now occupied by John F. Lamberson. The large tannery which was for many years the source of life of the village, was operated by D. B. Winton, N. S. Green, Amos Griswold, and finally by a large tannery firm from New York city, of which John Watson was the best known partner, and Oliver Ladue the manager, one of the most popular men of Central New York of his time. The operation of the tannery ceased entirely in the sixties. The village in the meantime had grown up from a few houses to a fair sized country town. When Dolge came, the village contained about 600 inhabitants, and grew to nearly 2,500 in 1898. Dolge's failure in that year was a serious shock to this factory town, but, rising like the Phenix from the ashes, the town has revived and survived. The population is nearly the same as it was at the time when it had its greatest boom, and now everyone is busy, contented and confident.

The farmers throughout the town of Manheim experience also the fact that the waves of prosperity begin to touch our agricultural interests, and so it is true that, at the time of the writing of this paper, the citizens of Manheim are justified in looking with serenity to the future.

GLEANINGS FROM THE MOHAWK COURIER AND
THE HERKIMER DEMOCRAT, AND SOME
INTERESTING FACTS OF LOCAL AS
WELL AS OF GENERAL IN-
TEREST, 1846-1850.

AN ADDRESS BY HON. ROBERT EARL OF HERKIMER.

Delivered before the Herkimer County Historical Society June 14, 1902.

The newspapers are the repositories of current history of unequalled interest and importance. In them are pictured the absorbing interests and engrossing passions of the passing hour, and there we find mirrored, as nowhere else, the customs and habits of the people.

I am fortunate in having in my possession the numbers of the Mohawk Courier published in Little Falls from January 1st, 1846, to December 30, 1847, and of the Herkimer County Democrat published at Herkimer from March 16th, 1848, to February 6th, 1850. These papers cover a very interesting and momentous period of our state and national as well as our local history.

Under a law passed in 1845 largely due to statesmen residing in this county, a constitutional convention was held in Albany, in the summer and fall of 1846, under which our state government was changed and reorganized. The delegates to that convention from this county were Michael Hoffman and Aphaxed Leonis, and no other two members of the convention left by their labors so great an impress upon the new constitution as they did. My brother, then studying law in Albany, wrote me under date of September 17th, 1846, of Mr. Hoffman as follows: "The convention has now under consideration the report of Michael Hoffman (relating to the financial provisions of the constitution). Though there is some opposition to it, and efforts are made to entrap him, yet he stands up like a towering monument which no one can approach but with feelings of admiration. He treats his opponents with the utmost respect and courtesy, but often confuses them in the mazes of figures and statistics which are as familiar to him as household goods, or even the names of his own family. His report and measures will triumph." And they did.

I was well acquainted with both Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Loomis. The former was of the two the greatest philosopher and student, and the latter had the most practical talents and was the most sagacious politician. The two acting together had more weight than any representatives from this county in any legislative or constituent body have at any time since had. They were in the convention the leaders of financial, legislative, and legal as well as of many other reforms, and they represented a school of political philosophy and statesmanship whose ideas have been embodied in the fundamental law of the state ever since.

The proposed constitution was submitted to the vote of the people at the election in the fall of 1846, and was, after most thorough discussion, adopted by a large majority; and with all its changes it went into operation in 1847.

Under an act of 1845, in all the counties of this state except that of New York, there was in May, 1846, an election to determine whether licenses should be granted to retail intoxicating liquors. If at such election, a majority of the voters of any town or city voted for "no license," then the board of excise of such town or city could not grant any such licenses; if the majority voted "for license," then the board could grant licenses, but could make no charge for them. In this county and throughout the state, a majority of the towns, and a majority of the electors in nearly all the counties voted for "no license." In this county the result by towns was as follows: For no license, Fairfield, Frankfort, Herkimer, Litchfield, Little Falls, Manheim, Newport, Norway, Ohio, Russia, Salisbury, Schuyler, Warren and Winfield. For license, Columbia, German Flats and Stark; and Danube was a tie.

Under the law of 1845, the question of license or no license was again submitted to the voters of most of the towns and cities of the state in May, 1847, and the verdict of the previous year was generally reversed. In this county, in Stark, Danube and German Flats there was no election. In the other towns the following was the result: for license, Columbia, Frankfort, Herkimer, Little Falls, Manheim, Norway, Warren, Ohio; for no license, Fairfield, Litchfield, Newport, Russia, Salisbury, Winfield. I cannot find what the vote in Schuyler and Wilmurt was. The Albany Evening Journal right after the election spoke as follows of the cause of the revolution in public sentiment relative to the license question: "It would be a great error to assume that the overwhelming majority just cast in favor of license was a vote against the temperance cause. Tens of thousands of the best and truest friends of temperance have become satisfied that the law was working evils and mischiefs not the least of which concerned the cause that it was intended to promote. That the law has set back the tide of temperance is too true. It will take years of zealous efforts on the part of the indomitable Washingtonians, and of patient, kindly labors from the Sons and Daughters of Temperance to recover the ground that has

been lost. The ground can however be recovered—not by legal pains and penalties, but by the gentler influences of the law of kindness.” The law of 1845 became so unpopular that it was repealed in obedience to an overwhelming public sentiment soon after the election, May 12, 1847.

For many years prior to 1846, there had been disputes over the north-western boundary west of the Rocky Mountains between Great Britain and this country which at one time threatened war. Many Americans insisted upon the line of 54 degrees 40 minutes from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean; and their partisan cry was “54 degrees 40 minutes or fight.” That line would have barred Great Britain from the ocean, and would have placed Russia in that region on our north. Great Britain claimed that the proper boundary was the Columbia River. The dispute was finally settled in the summer of 1846 by a treaty which established the line of 49 degrees as the boundary. By that treaty, our country obtained the undisputed right to 288,689 square miles of territory—an area nearly equal to one third of the entire area of the United States at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War.

By a joint resolution of congress passed March 1st, 1845, and the subsequent acceptance of that resolution by Texas, the latter country was annexed to and incorporated into this country. This was done in spite of protests from Mexico, and led to a war with that country, commencing in April, 1846. The war was conducted by our country, under Generals Scott and Taylor, with unvarying success until the conclusion of peace, in the summer of 1848, while our army was in possession of the City of Mexico. That war, its causes, conduct and results were greatly discussed in congress and other legislative bodies, and in the public press. It made and marred many public characters, and in several respects undoubtedly shaped the course of our subsequent national history. It made General Taylor president in 1848, and General Pierce in 1852; and it made General Scott the unsuccessful Whig candidate in 1852. It intensified the anti-slavery agitation which led to the adoption of the Wilmot Proviso, and the rupture of political parties, and finally to the Civil War. It added to the territories of our country including Texas 949,818 miles—an area larger than the 13 original states, and larger than the Louisiana Purchase, under Jefferson in 1803, which was 875,025 square miles.

Every addition of territory to our union, with one exception, (that of the purchase of Florida from Spain in 1819) encountered strenuous opposition from a large portion of our people including some of our ablest and most patriotic statesmen. Even Jefferson, after the Louisiana Purchase, regarded it as extremely doubtful whether it would be possible to maintain our government over so great an extent of territory; and he was quite clear that it would be impossible to extend our government over Oregon. Albert Gallatin, one of our ablest public men, about the same time speaking of Oregon, said: “That it will be best for

both the Atlantic and Pacific nations, whilst entertaining the most friendly relations, to remain independent rather than to be united under the same government."

John Quincy Adams, then senator from Massachusetts, in discussing the bill for the admission of Louisiana as a state, said: "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion that if this bill passes the bonds of this union are virtually dissolved; that the states which compose it are free from their moral obligations; and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some to prepare definitely for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must." Here was a bold assertion of the doctrine of secession announced by the southern statesmen many years afterwards.

Thomas H. Benton in 1825 expressed the opinion that there might be a new independent American Republic on the Pacific Coast, and that the Rocky Mountains should be the dividing line between the two Republics. In 1845, probably a majority of our people thought the annexation of Texas would prove to be a dangerous expansion of our territory. Daniel Webster was of this number, and he said: "Perhaps the time was not far distant when there would be established beyond the Rocky Mountains and on the shores of the western sea a great Pacific Republic of which San Francisco would be the capital." Robert C. Winthrop, speaker of the house of representatives in 1844, and other members of that body from various parts of the country gave expression to similar views. Senator McDuffie of South Carolina, in a debate on the Oregon question, pictured the difficulty of building a railroad into that region "requiring tunneling through mountains five or six hundred miles in extent," and exclaimed: "The wealth of the Indies would be insufficient;" and as for agricultural purposes, "I would not give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory." (A Century of American Diplomacy by John W. Foster, pp. 309, 313.)

All the difficulties anticipated from the extension of our territory have been overcome by steam and electricity. They have brought the Pacific Ocean as near to the capital of our country as New York and Boston used to be, and have practically made neighbors of the entire people of our country living between the two oceans. The utterances to which I have alluded show how difficult it is for the wisest statesman to see very far into the future. Now no one questions that every addition to our territory upon this continent has been a great advantage to our country. Even the acquisition of Alaska in 1867 for which our government paid \$7,000,000 has proved very valuable. The sealing industry of the Prybiloff Islands alone have yielded our government over \$12,000,000. Again, we hear prognostications of danger to our country growing out of the recent annexation of our insular territories, amounting in all to 138,399 square miles. While no one can foresee the course of the future in such matters, I am inclined to believe that these later prophets of evil are no wiser than were those to whom I

have alluded; and that our country under the guidance of Providence will be able nobly to meet its new responsibilities.

Silas Wright was one of the greatest statesmen, and noblest characters our country has produced. He was one of the ablest debaters that has yet appeared in the United States senate, and his personal traits were such as greatly to attach his friends and to secure their ardent devotion. He resigned his seat in the United States senate to become governor of this state in 1844; and in 1846 he was again the Democratic candidate for that office. The Democrats in this state began to divide into Radicals and Conservatives—finally called Barn-Burners and Hunkers, and he and his friends came under the former classification. There were differences about leadership, about patronage, and particularly about the subject of slavery. The effects of these dissensions began to appear in the spring elections of 1846. There was occasional combinations of one faction or the other with the Whigs and the breach between the two factions grew wider and wider. In this county in that year, the regular Democratic candidate for sheriff was James M. Gray of Little Falls; and Abraham Van Alstyne of Montgomery county was the regular Democratic candidate for member of congress for the Herkimer and Montgomery district. They were both Barn-Burners. The Hunkers bolted and, combining with the Whigs, nominated William I. Skinner for sheriff and General George Petrie for member of congress, both Hunkers of Little Falls; and after a very bitter contest they were both elected. Some of the Hunkers in the state voted against Silas Wright for governor; and the result was that he was defeated, and his Whig competitor, John Young, was elected. Those bolting Democrats were by the Barn-Burners called "the assassins of Silas Wright."

In February, 1847, a bill was introduced into congress appropriating money to be used by the president in negotiating a treaty of peace with Mexico; and David Wilmot, member of congress from Pennsylvania, introduced into the bill by amendment, a proviso, which came to be known by his name, that slavery should not exist in any of the territories to be acquired from Mexico as the result of the war and the treaty of peace. The bill with that proviso passed through the House of Representatives, nearly all the members from the north voting for it, and all the members from the south, excepting one from Delaware, voting against it. Every member from this state voted for it but one, Stephen Strong of Owego, Tioga county. The proviso was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 27 to 13, and the bill passed that body without the proviso, and afterward passed the house in the same way. The Barn-Burners of this state were all in favor of the proviso; and the Hunkers finally with great unanimity opposed it; and the battle over the Wilmot proviso in this and other states was fierce and bitter, and continued until the close of the war; and its echoes were heard long afterward. The South threatened secession if the principles of the proviso were adopted. The fight went on, and in many places in this

state was carried into the town elections in the spring of 1817. In this town, Brown H. Williams, Hunker, by a combination with the Whigs, was elected supervisor. In the Democratic state convention held in the fall of that year at Syracuse, the Hunkers were in a majority and nominated their candidates for state offices. They rejected the Wilmot Proviso offered as part of the Democratic platform. The convention was a very stormy one, and much bitter feeling was there engendered. Barn-Burners immediately called a state mass meeting to be held in this village October 29th, for the purpose of taking action in reference to the Syracuse convention. The Herkimer convention was largely attended by representative Barn-Burners from all parts of the state. Col. William C. Crain of this county was chosen temporary chairman, and Churchill C. Cambrelling of Westchester county permanent chairman. The convention assailed the action of the Syracuse convention in strong terms, adopted resolutions among which was the Wilmot Proviso, and also issued an address to the Democrats of the state. David Wilmot, the author of the Wilmot Proviso, was present and with other prominent speakers addressed the convention. Before adjourning, the convention called another representative convention to be held in this village, on the 22nd day of February, 1818, to chose delegates to the Democratic national convention to be held at Baltimore for the nomination of president and vice-president. The time and place for holding that convention was changed to February 16th at Utica. There the convention was held composed exclusively of Barn-Burners, and it selected delegates to the national Democratic convention. The result of that action was that there was a double organization of Democrats in this state, and a double set of delegates to the national convention.

The Barn-Burner papers placed at the head of their columns the Wilmot Proviso rejected at Syracuse under this caption: "The stone which the builders rejected, the same shall become the head of the corner;" and their battle cry became "Free Trade, Free Soil, Free Labor and Free Speech."

At the Democratic national convention held at Baltimore in May, 1818, for the purpose of promoting harmony in this state, it was decided to admit both sets of delegates from this state, and General Cass was nominated for president. The Barn-Burners withdrew from the convention, and a convention was called to nominate presidential candidates at Utica for June 22nd, and at that convention, Ex-President Martin Van Buren was nominated for president upon a Free Soil platform. Thus the Democrats went into the campaign divided, and General Cass, undoubtedly the regular Democratic candidate, was defeated by General Taylor.

In consequence of these divisions, in 1817, two Whigs were elected to the assembly from this county, James Feeter of Little Falls and L. L. Merry of Mohawk; and Thomas Burch of Little Falls was elected to the senate.

The Mohawk Courier was the organ of the Barn-Burners and the Herkimer County Democrat, which I owned and edited for several years commencing March 16, 1848, was the organ of the Hunkers; and right bravely the two papers fought the battles of the respective factions of the Democratic party.

During the period under consideration, there were several events abroad which attracted much attention and excited much interest in this country. The great famine occurred in Ireland in 1846 and 1847 which led to the death by starvation and fever consequent upon insufficient food of between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand people, and led, by the deaths and the emigration consequent upon the famine, to the permanent depletion of the population of that country. It aroused much active sympathy in all parts of the United States, and several ship loads of provisions were sent to that stricken land for the relief of its people; and the English Parliament appropriated in successive installments about fifty millions of dollars for the same purpose.

In 1848, Louis Phillipe, the King of the French, was driven from his throne and his country, and a republic was established in France which existed until it was overthrown by Louis Napoleon.

In 1848 Father Matthew who had achieved a world wide reputation as a temperance reformer in Ireland and England came to this country, and remaining here about two years, he did a great work for temperance among the people from his own land. In Ireland, England and the United States, he induced millions to sign the pledge of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks.

I must now come closer to matters of local interest. Col. William C. Crain was speaker of the assembly in 1846, and no more popular officer ever filled that office. In that year the Herkimer county poor house was removed from the town of German Flats to its present site in this town. In March of that year, Micheal Hoffman was appointed naval officer at the port of New York, and he held that office to the time of his death in Brooklyn, September 27th, 1848, at the age of 60 years.

The report of the Herkimer County bank of Little Falls for April 15th, 1846, shows that its capital stock was \$200,000; its loans \$341,473.91; its circulation notes \$195,261, and its deposits \$20,349.91. The report of the Agricultural Bank of this village for August 1st, 1846, shows capital of \$100,800; loans \$85,153; circulating notes \$44,468; and deposits \$12,501.55. The report of the Mohawk Valley Bank of Mohawk for the same date shows capital \$100,500; loans \$50,536.41; circulating notes \$75,661; and deposits \$18,277.17. At that time this was the showing as to deposits when there were only three banks in the county. Now there are ten, and the smallest of these has deposits at least twice larger than the three had in 1846 and the deposits in all of them are now more than \$3,000,000 besides at least \$250,000 in trust companies

and savings banks outside of the county. Then the one bank here had \$12,591.55. Now the two banks here have average deposits of more than \$700,000. It thus appears that there is now vastly more money in the county than there was then, and what there is evidently finds its way more regularly into the banks than it then did.

It is reported in one of the papers that Charles Kathern, who lived in the house now owned and occupied by Dr. Kay, raised in his garden in 1846 a peach which measured $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches around and weighed 8 ounces.

In January, 1847, Sheriff Skinner appointed an under sheriff, a jailer and eight deputy sheriffs, all of whom are dead but the venerable member of this society, Alexis L. Johnson, who at the age of ninety years is still with us.

Silas Wright died much lamented all over the country August 27th, 1847. The Benton House of Little Falls, now the Girvan House, was opened in the summer of 1847. Hon. Edmund Varney, grandfather of Mrs. Hazellhurst of this village, one of the most prominent men in our county, who had filled a large round of offices, among them that of state senator, died at his home in the town of Russia of chronic bronchitis December 2, 1847.

The court of error adjourned sine die May 11th, 1847, and was succeeded by the court of appeals, instituted under the constitution of 1846. During the years 1847 and 1848, plank roads were constructed in this county in various directions, and they were maintained for many years when they were found to be too expensive. The first serious accident on the Utica & Schenectady railroad occurred from a head-on collision at the curve now called the Kay curve, about a mile west of the depot in this village on Sunday, June 30th, 1848. Three persons were killed and several were injured. One of the injured was William Bennett of Albany who brought suit against the railroad company to recover damages, and recovered \$10,000 at a circuit court held in this village. That action was tried for the plaintiff by Rufus W. Peckham of Albany, the father of the present Judge Peckham of the U. S. supreme court; and it was the first of its kind ever tried in this county. Rev. John P. Spinner, for nearly half a century a resident of this village and during most of the time minister of the Dutch Church here, died here May 22nd, 1848, aged 81 years. In the Herkimer County Democrat of May 11, 1848, the invention of the sewing machine is announced as a new thing and its wonderful performance described. In 1849, three passenger and two freight trains left Albany for Buffalo each day. Now as many as two dozen passenger trains and still a larger number of freight trains leave there each day.

In the spring of 1849, Henry Clay passed through this village on a railroad train and I saw him and heard him speak from the platform of a car. The Herkimer Journal, the Whig organ, having previously been published in this village, was in the fall of 1849 removed to the

village of Little Falls. In the same fall, George H. Fox, living at Fort Herkimer in the town of German Flats, was elected senator, Daniel Hawn of Stark sheriff, and Standish Barry, for the second time, county clerk.

Ex-President Polk died January 15, and Ex-President Madison died July 9th, 1849, aged about 82 years. In that year the cholera was quite prevalent in this state. At least two persons, both of whom I saw in the death throes, died of the disease in this village; and Professor Yates of Union college, died of it at Schenectady. Gov. Fish appointed August 31st, 1849, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer on account of the cholera, to be observed by the people in their churches.

Addison H. Laffin and his brother Byron bought the mill at the Upper Drop on the Hydraulic canal in this village and converted it into a paper mill; and commenced the manufacture of paper in June, 1849. They carried on that business there for many years until they failed and made an assignment for the benefit of their creditors. Addison led here quite a successful political career, having been for several terms member of congress and finally Naval Officer of the port of New York, and Byron became a colonel in the Union army during the Civil War. The Code of Civil Procedure, which superceded the common law practice was adopted that year; and with some changes it has been in force regulating the law practice of this state ever since. The common schools in this state were first made free in that year. An act was passed in March submitting the question of free schools to the electors at the fall election, and if approved by a majority of the electors it was to go into effect at once. The question was carried for free schools by a large majority, and thus the common schools became free supported by public money and taxation as they now are. John Dextater, the grandfather of Mrs. A. M. Gray, of our village, a Revolutionary soldier, at the age of 93, was alive July 4th, 1849, and participated in the Independence celebration in this village at which I read the Declaration of Independence. In 1850, the Union Free school in this village was constituted out of districts 1 and 8 to take effect May 1; and the same territory has constituted our village district ever since.

In the spring of 1850, there were some contractors working in the town of Frankfort upon the Erie Canal, and their laborers, mostly Irish, struck for higher wages and caused a riot. Sheriff Hawn organized a posse, and arrested 160 of them and brought them here, so far as I know the largest number of prisoners arrested at any one time in the state. My brother and I defended the rioters, and all of them were discharged but 19, and 9 of them were bailed and so far as I can now remember none of them was convicted.

During those years, 1846-1850, and for some years later, the editorials in weekly newspapers published in the country were prominent and important features. Political issues were fully and ably discussed, and upon them the people in the country had to rely mainly for their

political education, as the daily papers had scarcely any circulation in the villages and towns of the state. During that period, there were not more than four daily papers taken in this village. There was not much mercantile advertising in the papers, the advertising consisting mainly of patent medicines and legal notices.

I must now bring this paper to a close hoping that I have brought forward some facts that will prove of some interest to the members of this society.



In Memoriam.

Hon. Robert Earl, LL. D.

First President, Herkimer County Historical Society

Born September 10, 1824

Died December 2, 1902

THE LIFE HISTORY OF ROBERT EARL.

WRITTEN BY HON. GEO. W. SMITH, OF HERKIMER.

(Robert Earl was one of the founders of the Herkimer County Historical Society and its President from the time of the organization of the Society until his death. Therefore it seems meet and proper that some record should be made in these proceedings of his life work. The following sketch of Robert Earl was prepared for the Herkimer Citizen by Judge George W. Smith, his life-long friend. The article is condensed from a chapter prepared by Judge Smith for his Biographical History, on which the Judge has been at work for several years. The sketch is a fine tribute from one who knew Judge Earl for 60 years, and who, by his close intimacy and long acquaintance, is particularly fitted to measure Judge Earl's work and character.)

The distinguished career, the noble life of Robert Earl will have some commemoration in these columns. The foremost citizen of Herkimer county, its most active philanthropist, its greatest jurist, deserves the commemoration now widely given throughout the state.

Robert Earl was born in Herkimer, September 19, 1824, the son of John Earl and Margaret Petrie Earl. His ancestry came from distinguished lines of English and German families. The Earl family in America traces their descent from Ralph Earl of Portsmouth, R. I., who died there in 1678. He was, it is probable, a descendant of Sir Walter Earle, one of the five knights who in 1626 resolutely resisted the arbitrary execution of forced loans by Charles I. (Hume, Vol. 5, page 23; Pliny Earl's History; Biographia and History Central New York).

The mother of Robert Earl and Samuel Earl was the youngest daughter of Dr. William Petry. He was born at Neustein, near Mentz, in the Electoral Palatine, in the bailiwick of Oppenheim, in 1733. He had a classical education, attended the classical college at Mannheim, and continued his studies at Strasburg. He became distinguished as a surgeon before coming to this country. He had large experience in the army of Frederick the Great, and his professional standing is attested by the "Consitium Medicus Electorale Palatatinum" issued to him in 1764. On arriving at Herkimer in 1765, he engaged in trade, and in 1766 married Salome, daughter of John (Johannus) Wolffe, a pioneer on Crosby's Manor.

In the controversy that soon ensued between the colonies and Great Britain, he engaged with earnest zeal on the side of his adopted country. He was surgeon at Fort Dayton, 1776-1779. He was active at the battle of Oriskany, where his military knowledge gained in the

Prussian army, as well as his surgical skill, were found useful. He was wounded in that battle, and dressed, temporarily, the wound of General Herkimer, but had nothing to do with the unskillful amputation that resulted in his death.

Dr. Petry was highly esteemed by his compatriots, who recommended him to Governor Clinton in 1777 for one of the county judges of Tryon county under the constitution of that year and in the same year for the position of justice of the peace as a "republican and well qualified." In 1781 he was with Colonel Marinus Willett's regiment in the pursuit of Butler and Ross to Butler's Ford, and accompanied Colonel Willett in his abortive attempt to surprise the British post at Oswego. From 1765 he was the general surgeon and the most respected of the citizens of the Mohawk Valley to the time of his death. His obituary is found in the Farmer's Monitor of September 2, 1806, the date of his death, preserved in the rooms of the Herkimer County Historical Society, the oldest copy of a Herkimer county newspaper known to exist.

Robert Earl was reared on the home farm by his uncle, on which he and his elder brother, Samuel Earl, worked in their boyhood. His academical education was at the Herkimer Academy, where he prepared himself for college and entered the junior class of Union College in 1843. At college his standing as to conduct and scholarship was the maximum 100 in every department. On graduating in 1845 he began reading law with his cousin, Hon. Charles Gray, both student and preceptor afterwards sitting in the court of appeals. While pursuing his law studies he took charge of the Herkimer Academy in 1846-7. The first year after he became a voter he was elected superintendent of common schools. In 1849 he was supervisor of Herkimer, then trustee of the village and again supervisor in 1860.

Robert continued his reading with his brother Samuel and was admitted to the bar in 1848, and the firm of S. & R. Earl was then formed. From 1848 to 1850 Robert Earl was the publisher of the Herkimer Democrat and in 1852 conducted a campaign paper at Mohawk in the interest of Franklin Pierce for the presidency. In 1855 he was elected county judge and surrogate on the "American" ticket, his opponents being the brilliant Charles A. Burton and Volney Owen. The firm of S. & R. Earl soon obtained a large practice in all the courts of the state and Robert Earl was retained in most of the important litigations of the county. In 1862 Roscoe Conkling proposed a co-partnership with him, which he at first accepted, but afterward declined on account of ill health and Mr. Conkling made similar overtures in 1868.

Judge Earl was associated with Mr. Loomis in 1855 in the cases brought by David Dudley Field, (McKinnon V. Bliss), and others, on the title of Susannah, one of the Indian children of Sir William Johnson, to lands in the Royal Grant, in which the plaintiff was defeated. (See Royal Grant.)

Rev. Henry Budge was charged with the murder of his wife at her residence near Lyons Falls on the 10th of September, 1859. After a second inquest upon the body of the deceased, Budge was indicted for the alleged murder, and the indictment was tried in August and September, 1861, at Rome. He was defended by Roscoe Conkling, and the district attorney was assisted by Hon. Henry A. Foster, and was acquitted by the jury pro forma, upon the direction of the trial justice, Hon. William F. Allen. The question as to Budge's guilt divided families and churches in Lewis county and affected its politics for years. Hon. Caleb Lyon "of Lyonsdale," was a leader of the anti-Budge partisans and he published doggerel verses reiterating the charge of murder and imputing against Budge unchastity with a governess residing in the family of an elder brother, Hon. Lyman R. Lyon. There was a bitter feud between these brothers and Caleb's effusion was partly caused by the fact that Lyman R. Lyon was one of Budge's parishioners. Lyman R., Col. Seth Miller and others of the foremost men of Lewis county believed Budge was innocent, and if he was not, he was one of the most defamed of persecuted men, and they encouraged him to bring against Caleb Lyon an action for libel. Hon. Edward A. Brown of Lowville, a brother-in-law of the Lyon brothers, filed an answer fully justifying the charge of murder, but leaving the other branch of the libel undefended. Budge's counsel were Francis Kernan, Roscoe Conkling and Charles H. Doolittle, the strongest array of lawyers that ever appeared in a case in Central New York. Judge Robert Earl and Hon. Lyman Tremain were associated with Judge Brown in the defense. The issue so formed compelled a retrial of the charge of murder, and after a trial at Herkimer in October and November, 1861, lasting some three weeks, Budge obtained a verdict of \$100. Since the undefended part of the libel called for a much larger verdict the defense claimed this trifling recovery was a virtual victory and that the finding by the jury in effect affirmed the charge of murder. Upon this trial Dr. John Swinburn, who conducted the autopsy at the second inquest and was the principal expert witness for Caleb Lyon, testified that under the conditions proved Mrs. Budge's alleged suicide (by cutting her throat) was utterly impossible, while Prof. Alonzo Clark of New York, the plaintiff's expert witness, testified that no one but herself could possibly have inflicted the fatal wound. This trial laid the spectre of the Budge tragedy, but opinions as to the guilt of the accused were still divided. In 1870 Judge Earl successfully defended Mrs. Lyman, charged with the murder of her husband by poison, in the town of Warren.

In 1868 Judge Earl was chairman of the Democratic state convention that nominated John T. Hoffman for governor. He was then prominently brought forward as a candidate for comptroller, but the state ticket was adjusted by nominating William F. Allen for that office. In the meantime Judge Earl's reputation at the bar and manifest genius as a jurist had attracted the attention of such men as

Hiram Denio, Francis Kernan and Samuel J. Tilden and they secured his nomination for judge of the court of appeals, and in 1869 he was elected, succeeding Judge Lewis B. Woodruff, who had been appointed to fill a vacancy. Judge Earl took his seat January 1, 1870, and served until July 1, 1870, as chief justice, when by virtue of a constitutional amendment he was transferred to the Commission of Appeals, created for a term of three years, a term extended, by a further amendment, to 1875, which commission disposed of the cases pending in the former court of appeals and subsequently transferred to it by the new court. On the decease of Judge Martin Grover, in 1871, Judge Earl was appointed by Governor Tilden to succeed him, and held under that appointment until January 1, 1877. On that day, Judge Earl having been re-elected at the preceding annual election, began a full term of fourteen years.

In 1890 he was nominated by both the Democratic and Republican parties and elected. This extraordinary compliment was paid to Judge Earl in spite of the fact that the age limit would retire him at the end of four years, with the full salary for the succeeding ten years. During his term of service under this election he was in the court until December 31, 1894. In 1892, on the death of Judge Ruger, he was appointed chief justice by Governor Flower, and served as such to the end of the year. Union College in 1874 and Columbia College in 1888 conferred upon Judge Earl the degree of LL. D.

Some 1,800 opinions were written by Judge Earl while in this court, many of them discussing the most important questions arising in statutory, constitutional and common law. All of these opinions show wide learning and research; they display legal principles in clear outline and acutely discriminate between doctrines sometimes confused by less careful writers, and all are illustrated by strong sagacity and common sense and what Bacon calls the "dry light" of pure reason. It may, perhaps, be discovered that Judge Earl's exact and logical cast of mind had a more congenial field in the common law than in equity, where principles are somewhat less settled; but his discussion of equity cases shows the same vigorous grasp, the same clear discernment and the same familiar acquaintance with authority and with the history, and reasons upon which general jurisprudence is based. Indeed, Judge Earl's writings furnish a copious index to most of the great discussions that have occupied the attention of our highest courts.

In disposing of cases before the court Judge Earl's prompt perception and ready mastery of the law and of facts were greatly relied on and he was there an authority. While careful to preserve the symmetry of the law, he exercised an independent judgment where accepted decision sought to be modified or reversed. Though a devout churchman, his reliance on his own conclusions led him in his earlier service to the court to dissent with a freedom that gave him the title of "the Dissenter." In later years the court did not so often dissent

from him, and his conclusions were generally in accord with the majority. He evinced his reliance upon his knowledge of legal principles by a remark he sometimes made that when the facts of a case were accurately and clearly ascertained there was little difficulty in applying the law. When his views were variant from those commonly accepted he supported them by careful research and argument and not seldom legal principles were established or made more clear by the "daylight" of his luminous reasoning. His exposition of the common, the constitutional and the statute law are greatly relied upon, and it is safe to say that his opinions are as often cited as those of any other member of the court. In all his writings there is apparent a pervading sense of justice and equity. His industry and capacity for work were phenomenal and after writing on the cases allotted to him he often helped out others of his brethren when they for any reason were in arrears.

In 1895 the legislature passed an act for the appointment of a commission to propose the outlines of municipal charters for cities of the second class. The commission was constituted by one member from each of four such cities named in the act and by one member from the State at large. Governor Morton named Judge Earl as the member at large and Judge Earl was made chairman. That body drafted a scheme for the government of cities of this class, which, with some few modifications, was adopted by the legislature. This is now the existing law of the state and in many of its leading features it is the work of the constructive brain of Judge Earl.

The age limitation upon the judicial service may be expedient on the whole. Some judges after seventy would "lag superfluous" upon the bench. But this limitation found Judge Earl at the height of his intellectual power and with unimpaired physical strength. His vigorous and active mind at once turned to the founding of useful institutions and to the work and research neglected by those less public spirited and animated by less liberal views. His "taking thought" constantly added to the mental stature of the community and promoted the more elevated and refined pursuits and enjoyments of society.

On the 2d day of January, 1896, Judge Earl and Mrs. Earl made a formal deed of their residence and grounds in the village of Herkimer to the Herkimer Free Library. The spacious building was fully equipped by Judge Earl for the library and rooms assigned the Herkimer County Historical Society and to the Progressive Club, founded by the ladies of Herkimer. The value of the real estate, books and furniture thus given was about \$20,000. He also gave his time and labor in procuring the charter of incorporation for the Library Association and after its foundation continually contributed to the expense of its maintenance. The address of Judge Earl made at the presentation of this deed to the trustees and the response of the president of the board in their behalf and in the behalf of the public will be found in the "Biography and History of Central New York."

These gifts were received by a vast audience with deep sensibility

and the constant care and aid that Judge Earl extended to this institution were thoroughly appreciated by his fellow citizens.

Judge Earl was elected president of the Herkimer County Historical Society at its organization in 1895, and he was more active than any other in promoting an interest in its proceedings. His industry and research contributed valuable papers on local topics and historical essays of wide scope. The reading of these has been the most interesting features in the meetings of the Society. To draw the attention of the youth to these subjects he offered in 1899 a series of valuable prizes for the best essays on topics which he suggested, to be written by students attending the school of the county. This led to the production of several interesting papers which were read before the society.

Judge Earl has been largely interested in business affairs. In 1867 he was associated with William Smith, Samuel Earl, Alexander McComb Gray and Marcus W. Rasbach in forming a private banking company, entitled the Herkimer Bank. This association was incorporated as a bank in 1885, and it became the Herkimer National Bank, October 1, 1898. This institution at every stage of its existence has had the active support of Judge Earl's legal and business ability. He was vice-president and director and this institution has always been one of the most prosperous of the banking institutions of this part of the State. In 1867, he purchased, with Samuel Earl, a large landed estate in the town of Warren, which has been enlarged to 800 acres. This property he conducted as two farms, which are probably the best farm properties in the county. He was one of the original promoters of the Herkimer, Newport & Poland Railroad Company, and a director until it was merged in the New York Central system.

In 1901 Judge Earl was chosen as a referee to report the facts with his opinion on the great franchise tax case. This litigation embraces 17 corporations, mostly in the city of New York, and involves many millions of dollars. The referee had to consider in these cases questions touching the taxing powers of the Legislature, and whether the franchise taxes as imposed violated the provisions of the constitution. The amount involved and the gravity of the issues to be decided made this litigation one of the most important ever considered by the courts of this country. Judge Earl, after a laborious and exhaustive examination of these cases, wrote a lengthy opinion holding the act to be constitutional and that the taxes imposed are valid. His opinion is generally regarded by the profession as satisfactory. The judgment entered on his report will be reviewed in the Court of Appeals, and finally, it is probable, in the Supreme Court of the United States. The important suit between the city of Rome and the Whitestown Water Company, involving their respective rights to appropriate the waters of Fish Creek, was pending before him at the time of his death.

Judge Earl was married to Juliette Wilkerson, daughter of Henry J. Wilkerson, of Richfield Spring, October 12, 1852. Both were zealous

of his faithful supporters of Christ Church, Herkimer, and Judge Earl has represented the church in many ecclesiastical bodies of the Episcopal Church. Mrs. Earl died March 25, 1900, at Clifton Springs, where she had been an invalid.

Judge Earl's versatile literary tastes were mostly latent during his forty-six years of laborious work as lawyer and judge, but freed from those exactions his mind found recreation in new and possibly quite as congenial fields. His papers read to the Historical Society were notably interesting and valuable. On several occasions (in 1902) he supplied vacancies in the pulpit of Christ Church and his discourses were highly appreciated. He composed several devotional hymns of great merit which accompanied his pulpit ministrations. He wrote a large number of delightful secular poems which it was hoped he might some day permit to be published. The following lines taken from one on "Old Age," seem as prophetic as they are expressive of the ruling sentiment of his life:

I see the shadows on that farther shore
Which soon will cover me forever more.
And I shall hope that the paths I have trod
With other travelers, upward lead to God—
That I on earth may be remembered then
As one who loved and served his fellow men.

The public honors that came to Judge Earl were paid to personal merit, to ability, to a character "teres et rotundus," a character wholly rounded and complete. No motive ever sought to stain the whiteness of his integrity in public or private life. Conscious as he must have been of abilities equal to the demands of the highest stations, his modesty was a covenant to self-denial. In 1898, prominent men in his party earnestly solicited him to accept the nomination for governor. He declined to announce his candidacy to his numerous friends throughout the state. Had he seconded the wishes of his friends, it is quite probable that he would have been nominated and elected and added the highest civic honor to the highest distinctions of the judiciary. When the leading men of both parties proposed him to fill a vacancy in the supreme court of the United States and pointed to his unanimous choice by both parties for judge of the Court of Appeals as a precedent, the appointing power, admitting his fitness was constrained by political considerations to raise the sole objection, "he is a Democrat."

Judge Earl was stricken by paralysis on the 22d day of November, 1902. He recovered consciousness at times but was unable to speak and he continued to sink until December 2, 1902, when he died.

Judge Earl had no children. His immediate relatives are the children of his brother, Samuel Earl, viz: Robert Earl, Jennie (Earl) Taber, wife of William I. Taber, cashier of the Herkimer National Bank; Ralph Earl, lawyer at Herkimer, and William P. Earl, physician, at Little Falls, and Jacob H. Petrie, of Herkimer, and Rev. Jeremiah Petry, of Canada, his cousins.

The passing away of Judge Earl leaves a void which cannot soon be filled. Herkimer county will long cherish his dust as one of the most sacred of her possessions and will connect the record of his life with that of the noblest of her past worthies. The profound esteem of all his fellow men, the public gratitude and an affectionate reverence were the attendants of his closing days and were conspicuous at his death. Some trace of affection may be seen in funeral honors paid to eminent men, but in all the tokens of public feeling at the departure of Robert Earl there was a deep and solemn sincerity. Above his grave rises the halo of sadly pleasing recollections, fond regrets and memories which those who knew him will not willingly let die.

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.

All that was mortal of Robert Earl, the man who will live longer in the hearts of his townsmen, perhaps, than any one who has gone before him, has been laid to rest in the silent tomb on Oak Hill. Thursday, December 4th, was the day appointed for the funeral and some of the most distinguished citizens of the state journeyed to Herkimer on that day to pay their last tribute of respect to him whom we all honored and respected.

Among the number were ex-Governor David B. Hill, Chief Justice Parker, Judges Gray, Vann, O'Brien, Cullen and Werner of the Court of Appeals, ex-Attorney General Simon W. Rosendale, Congressman Sherman, ex-Justice Charles Andrews and his son, Justice William S. Andrews of Syracuse, Judge Scripture of Rome, many lawyers from Utica, nearly all the members of the Herkimer county bar, the board of supervisors and prominent citizens from all parts of the county. During the time of the services all places of business in the village were closed. At 11 a. m. a private service was held at the Earl homestead on German street, Rev. W. C. Prout officiating. After this service the remains were conveyed to Christ church, where they lay in state until 2 p. m., and were viewed by hundreds of citizens. The guard of honor during this time were F. W. Christman, Guy H. Miller, Judson Bridenbecker, C. A. Miller, D. M. Richardson, F. P. Addy, C. E. Cronk, W. J. Thistlewaite, Maurice Fikes and M. O. Wood, appointed by Herkimer Masonic Lodge, of which the deceased was the last charter member. At 2 p. m., the hour of public service, the church was filled to overflowing.

The Episcopal service was used and was conducted by Rev. W. C. Prout, rector of the church, assisted by Rev. John M. Marvin of Albany, and Rev. W. M. Cook of Ilion. Following the church service Hon. W. C. Prescott, chaplain of Herkimer Lodge, No. 423, F. & A. M., conducted a brief Masonic service. The church choir rendered the following during the service: Beethoven's funeral march; hymn, "Thou Hast Been Our Refuge;" hymn, "For All Thy Saints Who from Their Labors Rest;" hymn, "There is a Blessed Home;" postlude, Chopin's march funebre. The bearers were Hon. J. D. Henderson and Hon. W. C. Prescott, representing the church; C. S. Millington and E. M. Burns, representing the Herkimer National Bank, and Henry Churchill and C. E. Snyder, representing the Board of Library Trustees.

TRIBUTES OF RESPECT.

HERKIMER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The death of Judge Robert Earl brings to no society or organization such sincere regret and irreparable loss as it does to the Herkimer County Historical Society. It was his favorite organization and no one took as much interest in it as he. As president of the society since its organization he gave liberally of his means for its necessary expenses and of his time; he was never too busy to write for and encourage by word and deed the work of the organization. Over one-half of the papers read before the society during its existence of seven years were from the fertile pen of Judge Earl, and those papers were always of the greatest interest, showing careful study, great research and the hand of a literary genius in their preparation. His contributions to the early history of Herkimer county are well nigh invaluable. It was meet and proper that the society should take action on the death of its honored and beloved president, and on Thursday, December 4th, a band of sorrowing men met at the society rooms in special meeting. The venerable Albert N. Russell of Ilion, first vice president of the society, called the meeting to order, saying:

The Herkimer County Historical Society convenes at this time because of the death of its honored and beloved president, Hon. Robert Earl, which occurred on the morning of the 2d inst.

We meet to give expression to our grief and to make record of our esteem.

Without exception, all over the broad domain of this Empire State, those who speak for the people are paying tributes of respect to his memory and reviewing his career of eminent usefulness.

We join with all who honor his name and testify to the purity and nobility of his life; but intimately associated as we have been with him in the work of this society, of which he was the founder and most efficient member, we shall mourn his loss with a grief that none others, except it be his kindred, can feel.

To the Committee of Nectology is assigned the sad duty of making formal record of our bereavement and giving expression to our emotions.

While we shall unitedly make manifestation of our sadness, because of the irreparable loss to us as a society, shall we not bow our heads with deeper grief, because to each of us has come the loss of a friend.

Exalted as were the positions held for many years by Judge Earl—eminent as was the ability by which he won them—the greatest and best of all was the gentleness and cordial friendship which characterized his intercourse with all classes of people, whether rich or poor, humble or exalted.

While we make mention of his virtues and recall his generous and noble benefactions, we shall not forget the beautiful woman who was the chosen companion of his life and co-worker with him in his labors of love and beneficence, and, until her death, a most useful member of this society. Shall we not think of them to-day as re-united, and by the eye of faith look over the dark river which they have crossed into "that beautiful land" and see them together walking the golden streets of the Celestial City.

John D. Henderson, chairman of the necrology committee, reported the following resolutions:

The committee on necrology of this society has had no task equal to the present one.

Our president is dead. Robert Earl was the founder of the organization, and his death comes as a personal affliction to everyone of us.

We shall hear his voice no more. His life and his work have passed into history. We are thankful that we have had the great privilege of knowing him, of listening to him, and of meeting with him so often in this room, but we are aware that there is no one to fill his place, and that we have lost our greatest, our wisest and our ablest man.

Judge Earl took great delight in the work of this society, and gave it much of his time and thought. He was anxious for its success, anxious that it commend itself to the people of this county, and receive their support. He tried in every possible way to stir up the enthusiasm of its members, and increase its influence.

Well informed himself on all subjects of local history, he was ever willing to impart that information to others, and he welcomed all who had anything to contribute to the fund. He loved his home, the valley and the county of his birth, and he was proud of the part they played in the history of the state and nation. He believed it to be the duty of good citizens to gather up the facts of local history and preserve them in permanent form: he performed his part of that duty well, and his life furnished an example for us to emulate. Pure in speech and conduct, ever ready to contribute of his means to every worthy object, charitable for the faults of others, genial, kind and cheerful, it was a joy and pleasure to know him, and his personality will linger as one of the sweet memories of our lives. Let him rest in the eternal peace which God had prepared for him.

John D. Henderson,

Charles S. Munger,

Mrs. F. E. Easton,

Committee.

After their reading Mr. Henderson offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved, That the remarks of Vice-President Russell and the report of the necrology committee be received and adopted and given to the press for publication.

Resolved, That the regular meeting to be held on Saturday, December 14th, be a memorial meeting devoted to the further consideration of the report of the committee on necrology and that the chair appoint a committee of three to arrange for that meeting.

Resolved, That the society, as further evidence of its regard for the distinguished dead, attend the funeral in a body.

Acting President Russell appointed as an arrangement committee for the memorial meeting, Rev. J. H. Halpin, A. T. Smith and W. C. Prescott.

The regular monthly meeting of the Herkimer County Historical Society, held Saturday, December 13, 1902, was made a memorial meeting and was largely attended by friends and associates of the late Robert Earl, who had been president of the society since its organization in 1896. In the absence of First Vice-president Russell, Frank B. Parkhurst presided. Letters were read from Alexis L. Johnson, of East Schuyler, and George W. Pine, of Boonville. Although detained at home by illness, A. N. Russell sent the following tribute in memory of his brother and associate worker in the society:

Ladies and Gentlemen:—To speak at the memorial service of such a man as our lamented president, the Hon. Robert Earl, is a pleasant task, even for a layman unaccustomed to making public addresses.

Those who trace the routes which he travelled in his illustrious career will find no devious courses to be avoided, no erratic wanderings to be apologized for. It will not always be along the crowded thoroughfares, but ever upon the ways, the pavements of which were laid upon the immovable foundations of truth and righteousness.

It is not my province to dilate upon his achievements as a lawyer at the bar, or as a judge, filling with distinguished honor the highest judicial positions attainable in this great state. Should I make the attempt it would be but a faint echo of what has been so often declared by his ablest associates in the profession of which he was an ornament, his ablest associates in the profession of which he was an ornament, and a still weaker prelude to what will be uttered on this occasion.

The members of the Herkimer County Historical Society and the citizens of his native county and village will revere the memory of Judge Earl because the tower of his greatness was built on a foundation of goodness. Without this foundation, it matters little how magnificent the structure, it will soon sink out of sight and be forgotten by man.

Nothing can be more strongly confirmatory of our confidence in the stability and perpetuity of the "government of the people, by the people" than the fact that in their final judgment of our public men the

"common people" always give their verdict of approval to the men whose virtues gave character to their achievements.

Said an illiterate old Virginia neighbor of mine who could scarcely read the titles to the books of the gospel, to me one day: "Napoleon was a great man, but Washington was a great, good man." An epitome of all that could be said regarding the two noted men.

To-day the names of Washington, of Lincoln and McKinley and others of their type, are held in reverence in every part of the great republic, not because of their brilliant achievements alone but because their deeds were inspired by noble patriotism and made effective by earnest consecration to duty.

So we of the "common people," neighbors and associates of the good man whose loss we mourn and whose memory we shall always cherish, shall honor his name, not alone for his great nobility and renown, but because in all the walks of life he exemplified the character of the Christian gentleman, the good neighbor and the kind friend.

Our young people will act wisely if they emulate his example and found their ambitions on the rock which gave strength to the structure of his noble character.

Of his devotion to the work of this Society and his contributions to the store of historical information which we have been able to gather and record for the use of posterity, others will speak more at length. Suffice for me to say that in faithfulness of research and definiteness of description in his numerous papers concerning the early history of our country, and especially of the historic Mohawk Valley, have been illustrated the persistent industry and painstaking care which have characterized his work in every sphere of his endeavors.

Of his demeanor as a presiding officer, but one thing is to be said. It has been but an additional illustration of the courtesy and kindness which characterized his life in all its phases.

But best of all we shall cherish the memory of his cordial greetings before and after the sessions of the Society, when we felt the warm grasp of the hand and listened to the kindly words of friendship which fell from his lips.

Bye and bye as the days pass on and the years roll by, fresh flowers will be strewn on the graves of Judge and Mrs. Earl and then it will seem that those of most lovely hue and sweetest perfume have come from the hands of the common people.

Frank B. Parkhurst spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen:—Much as we honor the memory of the deceased president of this society, we would not encroach upon the time of those who have enjoyed a life-long acquaintance with the distinguished citizen, the Hon. Robert Earl, whose character we here commemorate. But, we cannot refrain from adding a brief word of respect and an expression of sorrow at the loss of our worthy friend and benefactor, whose death has stirred the public heart, and cast a mantle of gloom over this community.

It is significant when the members of his profession, throughout the State of New York, join in giving the highest praise to her eminent legal son; it is the consensus of the bar that in legal menmen he was second to no justice who has occupied the bench of our highest court. His long and honorable career of public service, his deep learning, profound intellect, and incorruptible integrity, joined with his simplicity of character and kindly disposition, caused him to be respected by all classes, and his demise to be universally deplored. Just in principle, clear in words and statement, forceful and precise in reasoning, he was ever the sincere, able and accomplished friend, lawyer and magistrate.

Notwithstanding his distinction in his calling, he was plain and unconventional among his home friends, ever appearing singularly far-minded and temperate, as a member of the judiciary—the most exalted branch of our government—should be.

He possessed qualities which fitted him for any civil position which his state or country might offer. With commendable strength of purpose he made the most of his environment and rare natural endowments. Not alone, however, because of these marked intellectual gifts, not because of the exalted stations to which he attained and which he graced so well, do we interpose a simple word expressive of our admiration for the noble character who founded, and guided, and ornamented this Historical Society. Let us trust that this initiative, with the desire of its founder, may be kept in view. It is a blessing of Providence that such motives are not obliterated by time, that they live beyond the confines of the grave; this, we believe, was a stimulus to our honored friend amid his onerous duties, and a solace in his declining years, contributing personal happiness by increasing faith in human gratitude and human progress.

Mindful of the well being of his fellowmen, Judge Earl, when released from his exacting public duties, retired to the peaceful shades of his old home, not to bask idly among loving friends, but, attentive to the need of perpetuating the valuable lessons of humanity which had gone before, he gave to this Society, not only material support, but his rich fund of historic lore, as well as his broad literary attainments and manly culture. The inspirations which his action engendered here have already contributed to the betterment of this community—in knowledge and citizenship.

Yes, apart from the great jurist, we have enjoyed the presence of the genial and exemplary citizen. Like all the truly great, his personality encouraged and warmed into action the dormant energies of his associates. We know that there was no false or groveling sentiment in the character of Judge Earl; that his aim to the last was to satisfy an honorable ambition in promoting the welfare of his neighbors, the people of his county and of his commonwealth.

It is not in the public walks of life that personal characteristics are so readily revealed as in social and private contact, where qualities

are often displayed which unite individuals as with hooks of steel, and when these are torn asunder there is pain and sorrow. Indeed, this chamber, at this solemn hour, is lonely to those who have so often felt the elevating presence of him whom we lament. The cheery voice is silenced forever; the grasp of welcome will be felt no more—he has gone "to the other shore," to the Supreme Judge, the higher Tribunal, whither we must all come at last. We have hope, nay, we have faith, that he there occupies a place compatible with his splendid preparation here below. May eternal peace and joy rest with the spirit of Robert Earl.

Other speakers were Hon. George W. Smith, J. D. Henderson, Rev. J. H. Halpin, Rev. W. C. Prout, Hon. A. B. Steele, Hon. W. C. Prescott, C. D. Thomas, Major E. M. Burns, A. T. Smith, Charles Bell and C. E. Snyder. Each of the speakers touched on some pronounced trait of character of the deceased jurist and briefly alluded to his successful career and well spent life.

HERKIMER COUNTY BAR.

Previous to the funeral and at noon a meeting of the Herkimer County Bar was held at the court house, Hon. George W. Smith presiding. Remarks eulogistic of the deceased were made by Hon. J. D. Henderson, Hon. W. C. Prescott, Hon. A. M. Mills, who also read a letter from H. Clay Hall; Hon. A. B. Steele, Charles Bell, C. J. Palmer, Hon. E. E. Sheldon, County Judge I. R. Devendorf, George H. Bunce, M. G. Bronner, C. D. Thomas, E. A. Brown, A. J. Smith, J. B. Rafter and D. B. Keeler, of Syracuse.

A committee consisting of Judge George W. Smith, Hon. J. D. Henderson, C. D. Thomas, Hon. A. M. Mills and M. G. Bronner were appointed to prepare resolutions on the death of Judge Earl and present them to the Supreme Court, which they did, as follows:

The earthly career of Robert Earl is ended. His lot was cast in a small town, and in a rural community, but very early he became known as a good lawyer, and soon rose to eminence. He was chosen county judge and surrogate of this county when he was only 21 years of age, and he filled the office with credit to himself, and to the satisfaction of the bar, and the people. At the age of 45 he was elected a Judge of the Court of Appeals to fill a vacancy and according to the law as it then stood, having the shortest term to serve, he became the chief judge of that court, which place he filled with great honor, until the old court gave way to the new court in 1870.

From the time of his first election, he served almost continuously in the highest court of this state, until he was retired, under the law, at the age of 70, in the very fulness of his usefulness.

No other man has to his credit so long a term of service in our Court of Appeals, and his opinions may be found in more than one hundred volumes of the New York Reports.

The extent of his researches in the law, and the magnitude of his

labors are unsurpassed; while the great value of his decisions, and opinions, is recognized by the entire profession. He avoided no responsibility. He heard patiently every argument. He treated courteously every advocate. He dealt fairly with every litigant. He examined carefully every question. He performed honestly every duty, and he illumined every subject that he discussed. Ever ready to share with others the result of his labors, and to give freely from the great treasures of learning, and wisdom, which he possessed, he was the friend of every member of our profession, and we shall ever remember his genial personality and count it a privilege to have known him. It is fitting to-day that we honor his name and we, therefore,

MOVE, That this memorial be adopted, and spread upon the minutes of this court, as a testimonial to one who has furnished a conspicuous example, of an excellent lawyer, a just judge, a genial gentleman and an honest man.

All honor to the memory of Robert Earl.

HERKIMER FREE LIBRARY.

The trustees of the Herkimer Free Library share in the general grief at the death of Robert Earl, and they meet not only to express their grief at the loss of an eminent citizen of the state, but to record their own sense of the peculiar loss to this institution and to testify to the general sorrow of its beneficiaries.

The Herkimer Free Library and its connected societies were the fruits of a generous and benevolent spirit to which the gratitude of our whole people will be due, so long as men appreciate the worth of a great and elevating public charity that promotes the highest interests of society.

We ought not to be unmindful of the constant and helpful aid which Robert Earl has given to this noble charity, which, we trust, our people will transmit with continuing public liberality and good will to the future generations of the noble founders, Robert and Juliette W. Earl.

Resolved, Therefore, that the trustees of the Herkimer Free Library evince their personal regard and esteem for the distinguished deceased, and testify the public gratitude and the affectionate sentiments of our whole people towards their greatest benefactor by attending his funeral in a body.

Resolved further, That the Library be closed until after the funeral, and the building be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days, and that this minute be placed upon the records and be published in the village papers.

Adopted at a meeting of the Herkimer Free Library, held at the library building, December 2, 1902.

Henry Churchill, President.
Charles Bell, Vice-President.

HERKIMER NATIONAL BANK.

At a special meeting of the directors of the Herkimer National Bank, held at 2 p. m., December 2, 1902, the following resolutions on the death of Honorable Robert Earl were unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

With profound sorrow the directors of the Herkimer National Bank have learned of the death of our beloved and esteemed associate, Honorable Robert Earl.

Judge Earl was one of the organizers of and has been connected with this bank since it began business in 1868, and during all of that time he has given to the bank his best counsel and has looked upon its success with honest pride.

His high character and great ability have been of much service to this bank; honest, calm, courteous and kind, it was a pleasure to be associated with him. His sterling integrity, sweet and composed life will ever be before us as an example of sound, conservative and courteous business methods and conduct.

Therefore, Be it resolved, that the board of directors of the Herkimer National Bank and its officers and employes attend the funeral of our late beloved and esteemed associate in a body; and that these proceedings be entered in the records of the Herkimer National Bank and published in the village papers.

Chas. S. Millington, President.

W. I. Taber, Cashier.

CHIEF JUSTICE PARKER'S TRIBUTE.

Chief Justice Parker, in adjourning the Court of Appeals for the funeral, spoke of the late Judge Earl as follows:

"The man with the longest service to his credit in this court—surpassing by a few months that of his distinguished associate, ex-Chief Judge Andrews—has gone to rest, leaving behind him a record of useful public service equaled by comparatively few of his generation. He was thoroughly equipped for a judicial career. His opinions evidenced splendid training, painstaking research, careful thought, a thorough grasp of the subject, common sense and a love for exact justice. His mind was to him a virile, ready and competent servant, which performed for him many arduous tasks. Admirable as he was in all these respects, he had that which endeared him even more to his associates, the bar and the public—a cordial, genial manner which betokens the true nobility of character, a love of fellowmen, which makes the heart gentle and expresses itself in cordial words and kind deeds. And he had a patriotic spirit which stimulated him to become a broad-minded student of governmental affairs, evidenced in many public utterances, but nowhere more effectively than in his opinions involving the consideration of constitutional questions. Stevenson's words aptly describe him:

"I knew thee, strong and quiet as the hills;
 I knew thee, apt to pity, brave to endure;
 In peace or war a Roman full equipt,
 And just I knew thee, like the fabled kings
 Who by the loud seashore gave judgment forth,
 From dawn to eve, bearded and few of words."

UTICA TRUST COMPANY.

Judge Earl was a stockholder and one of the officers of the Utica Trust and Deposit Company, of Utica. The directors of that organization, adopted the following resolutions:

Hon. Hobert Earl, LL. D., born September 10, 1824, died December 2, 1902. He served as surrogate and judge of Herkimer county and for eighteen years was a judge of the Court of Appeals of the state of New York. As a jurist he realized the highest standards. His legal learning, his manifest fairness, his uniform courtesy and his high character won for him the respect and regard of lawyers and citizens generally. He will always be accorded rank among the very best judicial officers who ever served this state in its court of last resort. He was an honor to his profession, to the bench and the commonwealth. For more than three decades he has been looked to as one of the foremost citizens of Central New York, a section in which he was deeply interested and whose welfare he always stood ready to advance. His death is a heavy loss to the community and as such is deeply mourned.

Judge Earl was one of the incorporators of the Utica Trust and Deposit Company, and since its organization had been a member of its board of directors. His sound judgment, his wide experience and his acknowledged ability made him a wise counselor and safe adviser. His associates in this corporation desire to make formal expression of their appreciation of his splendid record and career, his usefulness in all walks of life and of the loss sustained in his death. Accordingly it is ordered that this memorandum duly adopted be spread on the minutes.

CHRIST CHURCH.

At a meeting of the vestry of Christ Church, held Wednesday evening, December 3, the following minute on the death of Judge Earl was adopted:

Robert Earl has been a member of the vestry of Christ Church for nearly fifty years and warden for more than thirty years. He was chosen to represent the parish in the convention of the diocese of Albany twenty-five times and was deputy from the diocese to the general conventions at Minneapolis in 1895 and Washington in 1898. During his service as judge of the Court of Appeals he was necessarily away from Herkimer a large portion of his time, but he never lost his interest in the parish and its work, nor his eager desire for its welfare

and influence. No small part of its material prosperity came to it from his large generosity, and amongst the best influences which have gone to form it has been the quite regular devoutness of his attendance at the services. He loved the church's worship and was most ready and glad to take his due part in it. But more worthy than his unstinted generosity, more even than his regular attendance and devoutness at church, was his rare integrity. Diligent in duty, self-denying in life, unobtrusive in manners, simple in his tastes, gentle, genial, considerate, he was one whom to know was to honor, whom to honor was to love. Thus his example will be long cherished and preserved as a model and pattern to us who have to carry without him the responsibilities which have been so greatly lightened by his presence and his gifts.

TRIBUTE BY BISHOP DOANE.

The following tribute to Judge Earl is from Bishop William Croswell Deane, of the Diocese of Albany:

"There are now and then men to whom office cannot bring honor nor official titles dignity, because the honor and the title belong to them by their natural endowments and by the common consent of men. Judge Earl, who has just ended a long and distinguished life, was one of these. He was throughout all his life the honorable Robert Earl, before his appointment and then his election, twice successively, to the Court of Appeals. The story of his public life at the bar and on the bench is better known and will be better told by others. My knowledge of him lies chiefly along other lines. A member of the primary convention of the Diocese of Albany, at which I was elected Bishop, he has been continuously and constantly a member of that body, and the Diocese was honored by his presence in the General Conventions, 1895 and 1898, as one of its lay deputies. He served there with Judge Andrews on the committee that reported the canon for the establishment of courts of appeal. It was characteristic of him that he used his first leisure from the pressing demands of his official duties to give himself in this way to the service of the church. And there, as often elsewhere, he consecrated to church work his fine attainments and the rare endowments of his well furnished and truly judicial mind. It is a striking and very touching fact that Judge Earl should have kept in his heart and as his home the village of Herkimer, which was his birthplace and which he adorned by his life, and by generous and gracious gifts. There was something in the whole effect and appearance of Robert Earl which instinctively inspired confidence, quietness, composure, steadiness, with the sort of equipoise throughout which carried into all the relations of his life the judicial temperament. Quite apart from his professional training, he had a wide range of general knowledge, a true literary taste and a broad intellectual cultivation. His citizenship was public spirited, loyal and generous in every range of its responsibility. He was a churchman by conviction, based and built upon a thorough study and knowledge of the church. He was a con-

sistent Christian man, not only in the outward conformity, but in the inner spirituality of his life, and he was the very ideal of constancy in his affections and friendships to the end. Rounded and completed here as his earthly life was, leaving behind a memory of universal love and honor, he has passed through a peaceful ending, into a fulness of life and service for which God had prepared him here and with which we believe God will reward him hereafter.

JUSTICE ANDREW'S TRIBUTE.

Justice William S. Andrews adjourned a term of Supreme Court in Syracuse to attend the funeral. He interrupted the case on trial and said:

You are aware that the funeral of Judge Robert Earl takes place this afternoon. There is no man whose services to the state have been more valuable than his. He was longer a member of the Court of Appeals than any other member has been and at one time he was chief judge of that court. We cannot pay too much respect to the memory of a man like Judge Earl. I am going to adjourn this court until tomorrow at 10 a. m.

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