

Old Cambridge District

A Historical Sketch of the Region Comprised in the Present Towns of Cambridge, Jackson and White Creek, Now Included in the County of Washington, in the State of New York

Written for the

Ondawa-Cambridge Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution

by

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On the Occasion of the

One Hundred and Eightieth Anniversary of the Granting of the

CAMBRIDGE PATENT

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God gave all men all earth to love, But since man's heart is small Ordained for each one spot should prove Beloved over all.

- RUDYARD KIPLING

Where a man's roots grow deep, there should he tarry It is not good to wrest him from the loam
That holds the rich resources of his spirit — The place his soul calls home.
A man disturbed, he will go sick with longing. There is no comfort, though he journey far,
Save in the spot beloved and familiar,

Beneath one punctual star.

"Such a country never ceases to astonish and please. It is everlasting company to you. It is, indeed, just like some choice companion of rich heart and genial imagination, never twice alike in mood, in conversation, in radiant sobriety or half-bright sadness — bold, tender, deep, various."

- HENRY WARD BEECHER

FOREWORD

It is fortunate for us all that Mr. Moscrip had completed Part I of his "Old Cambridge District" before his death in 1955. He had also completed one chapter of his proposed Part II. We include this also as it is well able to stand on its own merits.

Very occasionally a farm is designated by the name of its owner at the time Mr. Moscrip was writing, which was the year 1941. Ownership of these farms has, of course, in some instances changed.

> PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE WASHINGTON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY DR. JANE WELLING, Chairman

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OLD CAMBRIDGE DISTRICT

Part One — The Land

CHAPTER ONE

IN THE BEGINNING

The Basis of Our Pride

Bounded on the north by the Batten Kill, on the south by the Hoosick River, on the west by the eastern limits of the Saratoga grants, and on the east by the "high mountains" several miles within the boundaries of what is now Vermont, "Old Cambridge District" has had a fascinating and inspiring story. The annals of this compact area of 115 square miles of nobly wooded hills, deep hollows, crystal brooks and fertile farms, now divided into the Towns of Cambridge, Jackson and White Creek, with the Village of Cambridge in the center, more than justify deep pride.

So Eden-like in its natural perfections that no one has ever seen it without longing to remain, our home has happily been spared the fame and fashion which have lent celebrity to regions far less favored and have thereby all but ruined them for discriminating tastes. Thus indeed, which is more worth while, have been preserved here, as hardly anywhere else, the ways of living, the ideals, the viewpoints and the outlook which actuated America in its beginnings and which have made America great. We respond with solid satisfaction to the factual details of our story, from the visit of the French fur traders to the Tiashoke cornfield of the Owl, the Indian prophet and recorder, at the mouth of the Owl's Kill, in 1540, down to this twentieth century with which we are so fully abreast in all the comforts, conveniences and enlightenments of modern invention and modern culture; but we take greater pride in the matchless manhood and womanhood which peopled this wilderness against fearful odds, and in the survival among their descendants through the generations of no small portion of their good sense, their courage and their virtues.

Ours is a region of Indian trails, camping places, waterways and trade routes, known and used from time immemorial. For centuries it was the channel through which the tide of battle ebbed and flowed. Over these old trails and through these waterways the missionary, soldier, explorer, trader, trapper, hunter and settler followed the Indian. Not until Wolfe at Quebec had lifted the peril of massacre from this soil were the white man's women and children safe north of the Hoosick, and during the Revolution Cambridge District was again in the center of hositilities. But the struggle for liberty and independence, the drill for self-government and the jealous safeguarding of essential rights were in progress here before the Revolution. These qualities were nurtured in the souls of the Cambridge District's settlers.

The men and women who had abandoned the accumulated amenities of several generations in the settlements along the Sound, in Rhode Island and Connecticut, to follow their oxen over the mountains and through the dark, unbroken forests to these valleys were a simple people but terribly alive. They had to have action. They could never lie in hammock while there was a bear in the woods. Teeming with ideas, full of inventions, boundless in optimism, tireless in effort, they expected nobody but themselves to do anything for them. Land was cheap, but the flat, rich intervales which are now so fertile were then undrained and poisonous with malaria, and the first farms were on the mountain-sides amid appalling stony outcrops as big as barns. Where there was room between the boulders to swing a scythe, a family's united efforts made more than a maintenance year after year. It was socially correct to owe nobody and to get ahead, and they toiled incredibly and they saved, never doubting that a man's own, which he had earned, belonged to him and was all that did. Shillings were scarce and were seldom spent except for such things as salt, gunpowder, lead or china, which could not be made at home. Yet no girl grew up without some sort of dowry, and no young man lacked wife and farm of his own when he was ready for them. It was a hard life, lonesome, tough; they must have felt at times that there was little in it — but something kept them going, something stronger even than they were strong — the moral law in their hearts, awing, changeless, indubitable; their sense of human worth and dignity; their faith in America's destiny. Though they could never see it, their children's children should.

These earnest people, pressed hard against the bare essentials, lived and died, moreover, in the immediate presence of God. That the welfare of society consists mainly in the exact performance of the simple duties of life here and now was clear to them. and theirs was a faith which demanded responsible personalities. kept up to the mark. In the veins and sinews, the brain cells and the marrow of these men and women now so long asleep coursed the nation that was to come and is yet to be-conquered wildernesses, great cities, astounding inventions, skill, learning, power, wealth, worth, character, aspiration, love of country, love of justice and righteousness, the fear of God. That is what America owes to the people who settled the Cambridge District and to the sons and daughters of this region who have gone out into the world. That is the basis of our pride that a pure stock surviving in an environment essentially unchanged has kept so nearly intact unto this day so much of the early strength, so many of the early virtues. Here, if anywhere, is early Americanism faithfully preserved, a living heritage.

They Made History, Not Histories

No one who is unacquainted with the early history of the State of New York can form a just conception of the innumerable trials and hardships that were forced upon the first settlers. of which those of the Cambridge District had more than their share. This, of course, is one of the principal reasons why this region has been cold-shouldered so generally by the writers of history, and why the assumption has been so easily made that it has had no history worth reciting, for where men and women had to people a wilderness, subdue the forests, make roads, and fight for their lives while bending every energy to procuring the means of bare subsistence, there was naturally little time, energy or money for literary effort, and it is not at all surprising that there is the saddest deficiency in those ancient records and narratives which are the most favorable for the construction of general history and without which it is easiest to slur over the past in silence.

The early years of the Cambridge District were a period of incessant turmoil. The colonies had outposts for defense against incursions from the north, but Cambridge was beyond the outposts and war was constantly at its doors. Wolves and panthers stalked the woods, but more dangerous was the lurking savage always on the lookout for a victim and the subtle Canadian ever conspiring for an attack. As if foreign and barbarous foes were not bad enough, Cambridge District was on the very firing-line of the Green Mountain Boys' fierce guarrels with the Provincial and State governments, involving night riders' raids, horsewhippings and Klu Klux terrorism, and culminating - actually! in an attempted secession from the United States at a convention held in Cambridge. Those were years, moreover, in which was brewing and finally burst forth the colonies' revolt against the King, a struggle which wrought peculiar social devastation in this region, as well as actual bloodshed, since fully one-half of the New York colony's population was loyal to the Crown, and that in large part of the wealthier and more cultured elements. In such a conflict, not only neighbor rose against neighbor but brother against brother. Homes and churches were wrecked, trade and business were paralyzed. Anarchy ruled. What government there was lacked credit, means, or even decent respect. There was no money. Debtors and creditors haggled and wrangled through riots and insurrection. Thirteen States torn with internal strife seemed frankly out to swindle one another. Disunion was everywhere in the air, and the nations of Europe hovered like hungry vultures to pounce upon and devour our fragments.

It is small wonder that in such times little attention was paid to setting down dull records which we today would value beyond all price if we could have them. It is probably true that most of the people on these lands were virtually unlettered, and that few of them or their friends were possessed of sufficient literary ability to make up a worthy account of their origins and adventures. Perhaps, indeed, like some of today's school children, they saw no point to clogging their minds with things that everyone knew. But we can readily imagine that, where it was such hard work merely to keep alive and dissensions of such ferocity were rampant in the land, even the thinkers among the people found their thoughts and time too fully absorbed for historical note-making. After years of devastation, with heavy losses in property and population, every energy had to go into the tasks of reconstruction. As a matter of fact, it was not until the nineteenth century was well under way that Cambridge District got on its feet and was in a position to give the necessary attention to even so vital a matter as common schools. It was different, for example, in Massachusetts, with 150 years of settled culture behind it, where there was never any fighting, or any enemy near, after the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, and where there were plenty of men, trained, and equipped with leisure and means, to write and publish the annals of New England, which they did to such marvelous effect that almost our entire population has been indoctrinated with the belief that Lexington and Bunker Hill constituted ninety-nine per cent of the Revolution.

Of Lexington and Concord the English historian Trevelyan says: "Pages and pages have been written about the history of each ten minutes of that day, and the name of every colonist who played a part there is a household word in America." We could do with some of that attention to detail when it comes to surveying the Cambridge District's history — but we are forced to make out with what we have, which perhaps may be none the worse for the application to it of fresh eyes, unconfused by generations of accumulated and reiterated fable. Research among old documents is not an unmixed pleasure and one who has spent much time among them will agree with Stephen Vincent Benet, who, referring to Kenneth Roberts' current fictional success, has remarked upon the difficulties confronting the researcher. "Sup pose," he says, "you decide to write a novel whose climax deals with General Bullwhistle's famous evacuation of Fort Mistake a heroic, if minor, feat of arms mentioned in all standard texts. After badgering a number of libraries and reading a good many books, you are likely to find that Fort Mistake was evacuated (a) at dawn, (b) at midnight, (c) at high noon under a heavy fall of snow, and (d) it was not evacuated at all until three days after the standard texts said it was, and, from all one can gather, should not have been evacuated then if General Bullwhistle had had the brains of a mouse. This helps greatly in what is known as setting the scene, and is the sort of thing that causes historical novelists to run nervously around their libraries, flapping their arms and uttering short, piercing cries."

The Owl of Tiashoke, and the Owl's Kill

We can start with at least one sure landmark. Passing over the fascinating geological story of three successive shallow seas which engulfed this entire region millions of years ago, followed by three great upheavals of the earth which created the Green Mountains of eastern Vermont and our own Taconic ranges, to be moulded and sculptured into their present contours and drainage systems by successive glacial ages of comparatively modern date, we find that the Indians were here, and that, so far as the Cambridge District is concerned, they were at the height of their power and prosperity when our history begins. Not only that, but the favorite abiding place, chosen garden spot and sacrificial altar of one of their most eminent prophets and tribal heroes - Soquon, the Owl or orator of the Mohicans - was within our boundaries at Tiashoke where the Owl Kill, named for him by his Dutch neighbors on the Hoosick Patent, empties into the Hoosick River. Furthermore, at Pumpkin Hook (ridiculous garbling of its true name, Pompanuck) was for fifty years the lodge and village of Mahwee (otherwise Mauwehu), brilliant and dashing young Pequot warrior with whom perished the last hopes of that once proud people.

Not least among the difficulties of reducing the tangled threads of Indian lore into a simple narrative is the fact that the Indians not only confined their record-keeping to the memories of their wise men and old women, who embellished them from time to time and gave different versions to different inquirers, but that their sense of location was extremely indefinite. To the Indian the conception of a place as a certain spot enclosed by fixed boundaries was as hard to grasp as the white man's silly notion that horses, cows and pigs were supposed to have owners. Roaming at will, as he did, over vast areas of mountain and forest, with no permanent habitation, planting a crop wherever he happened to be in the Springtime, and claiming all outdoors as his own unless a stronger force could expel him, it was all the same to a Mohican whether he was in the Catskills, the Helderbergs, the Cambridge Valley or on the Connecticut River. Added to this, there seems to be no source-book in which Indian data have been reduced to order, so that one finds that facts which ought to be stated consecutively are scattered, widely separated, through as many volumes as there is time to consult. Thus, Tiashoke, the home of the Owl, may be found to have been almost anywhere between North Hoosick and Schaghticoke, nor has the United States Geological Survey helped the situation by arbitrarily assigning the name to the hamlet of East Buskirk, on the other side of the Hoosick River and a mile south of it. My own conclusion, after considerable reading, is that, with Indian vagueness, this whole portion of the Hoosick Valley may have been

Tiashoke to some Mohicans, but that the mouth of the Owl Kill, where the Dutch fenced off for the Owl a twelve-acre garden, is the place specifically meant.

These Indian hereabouts were Hoosicks, of the Mohican tribe. The Mohicans (or Mahicans, an alternative name) in turn were of the basic linguistic stock called by the French Jesuits of Canada Algonquins (or Algonkians), a race which occupied nearly all of northeastern America from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, except those portions held by their inveterate enemies the Iroquois. Akin to the Mohicans were the New England Indians — Pennacooks, Pequots, Wampanoags (of Plymouth Rock), Nipmucs, Narragansetts, the Abenakis of Maine, etc., etc. — with whom they were frequently in alliance and even dwelling together from time to time.

In Mohican tribal councils, next to the King or Great Sachem ranked three grand councillors — the Runner, or secretary and messenger, who guarded the pipes of peace and peace belts of wampum; the Owl, or orator, whose chief qualifications were wisdom and the ability to remember and recite the nation's historic traditions; and the Hero, or chief warrior, known as Maquon. Our concern is with the Owl, or Soquon, to whom was assigned the Hoosick Valley and whose usual residence was at Tiashoke. "Hoosick," indeed, is named after him, as is "Housatonic," as well as the Owl Kill, since the Mohican word for owl was, quite naturally, "hoo" or "ook-hoo," and the suffix variously spelled (-ac, -ic, -uc and -oc, or) -ack, -ick, -uck, -ock and -ook, means simply "the place of" or "place where."

That the Soquon and Maquon were held "chiefest in dignity" among the Indians who met the royal governors in conference in Albany is evident from the records of the Moravian missionaries of Count Zinzendorf's staff, who worked among the Hoosick and Mohawk scouts in 1742. That their offices were of ancient origin is attested by the stately reception which earlier holders of the titles gave at Tiashoke in 1540 to the fur traders from St. Ange, France, who, under Jean Allefonsce, had begun a settlement at the present site of Albany in that year. According to the Frenchman's journal (cited in Cuyler Reynolds' "Albany Chronicles,") Soquon and Maquon feasted the visitors on bear, wolf, venison, cornbread, squash, pumpkin and succotash, with partridge berries, wild strawberries and wild grapes for dessert, washed down with crystal water from the spring-fed Owl Kill. A Jesuit father with the party, on learning of the cross-shaped configuration of the land where the Walloomsac runs into the Hoosick, near by, blessed the streams, raised the Church's flag, and named the spot St. Croix (Holy Cross). Later the traders built a palisaded Fort St. Croix on the spot, as well as a chapel to St. Anthony of Padua. Corrupted to Sancoick, the fort's name has lasted for 400 years, and it has been suggested, perhaps with reason, that Mount Anthony was named from the chapel in the forest. Incidentally, when Hendrick Hudson visited the Mohican village at the present site of Castleton, sixty-nine years later, he was welcomed by the Indians as another visitor from St. Ange the country of the angels, across the sea—so vividly had they preserved their memories of the sixteenth century traders and the Jesuit father.

It might here be noted parenthetically that Walloomsac was named for certain French-speaking Walloons, who came from what is now southern Belgium but was then part of the Netherlands, to settle with the Dutch at Albany in 1624. They took up land in Greenbush, on the east shore of the Hudson, and, having visited Tiashoke and hunted in the Cambridge Valley, chose the ruins of Fort St. Croix as the site of a summer camp. The stream thus got the name of Walloons Creek, but the Indians called it Walloons-ac, with the suffix denoting "place of", — whence Walloomsac.

The Prophet at Home

Scarcely less interesting to us than the momentous fact that European white men were familiar with the Cambridge District almost seventy years before Samuel de Champlain from the north and Hendrick Hudson from the south made the discoveries with which the history of northeastern North America is usually said to begin-eighty years before the landing at Plymouth Rockis the picture of Soquon's pastoral luxury and benign regime in his beloved Owl Kill Valley, then as now the handsomest and pleasantest country a man could hope to behold, furnishing its Indian lords with an abundance of maize, beans, pumpkins and varied fruits; with its dancing streams and the lovely lakes at the Owl Kill's northern source teeming with fish; its air and waters inexhaustibly stocked with geese, ducks, pigeons, turkeys, partridge, quail and grouse; and uncounted deer, elk, bears, foxes, beaver, otter, mink and such like creatures roaming the majestic forests. Esthetically, the selection of this spot as a chieftain's

home was an example of the unerring taste for picturesque beauty which ever characterized the more noble of the Indians.

The Soquon with whom we are mostly concerned must have been born about 1600. He lived to an extreme age, dying on shipboard while on his way to visit Queen Anne in London in 1710. He was a man of high breeding and lofty bearing, with great gravity of countenance and manners and the dignity and courtesy of a polished gentleman. He was well shaped and strong when he was more than seventy, having pitch-black hair as coarse as a horse's tail, broad shoulders, small waist, brown eyes and snowwhite teeth. His clothing was sumptuous. Around his waist he wore an elaborate girdle of wampum, with a square leather apron hanging before and behind. Sometimes he wrapped himself in a brilliantly colored deerskin, but usually he wore a sort of robe, vividly dyed and fastened on the right shoulder with a knot and at the waist by a belt. His shoes and gaiters were made of elk hide before the Hollanders arrived, after which he fancied Dutch shoes and stockings. His face was painted in many colors. In the Summer he usually slept outdoors, but he had a house at the mouth of the Owl Kill which would lodge fifteen families. Its framework was of hickory poles, with the tops bent together above, to which thin saplings were lashed throughout its length. The sides and roof were covered with the bark of elm, ash and chestnut trees, with the smooth side turned inward and the sections overlapping as a protection against the weather. In the Winter, the Owl moved into the woods on the high hills along the present Vermont border, for shelter and to be convenient to the hunting and to firewood, emerging at the new moon in February for the festival which preceded the Spring planting.

As became his prophetic office, the Owl's great altar, also at Tiashoke, was his principal concern. There he conducted certain services in honor of the Great Manitou, but the devil Hobbamocko, was it must be confessed, the object of much more respect, for the Great Spirit's good will toward men, when he bothered to think about them, was taken for granted by the Indians, but no one could tell what trouble Hobbamocko might make next, what pain he would send, what injury inflict, or what misfortune he might devise. Because they feared especially his malign interference when they were hunting or fishing, they burnt in his honor the first fruits of the chase, but at times nothing but an elaborate ceremonial was deemed sufficient to appease him or to learn his intentions. On these occasions, painted braves would tumble with strange contortions head over heels, beat themselves, leap with hideous noises through and around a large fire. Finally they would raise a tremendous caterwauling, in the midst of which Hobbamocko would appear in the shape of a ravenous or harmless animal. The first betokened something bad, the other good, both giving information regarding coming events, but obscurely, so that if matters turned out differently the Indians would attribute it to their own ignorance in not understanding the Devil's right meaning. Some, bewitched, would froth at the mouth, throw themselves in the fire, and smite themselves unmercifully, until the Owl, very much in control of the weird proceedings, would end the enchantment by whispering in their ear.

It would be pleasant to leave this picture of riotous high jinks, peace and plenty undisturbed. The fact is, however, that from 1540, when we first know of a Soquon at Tiashoke, until almost every Indian had gone from the Cambridge District, more than 200 years later, this region was the scene of almost constant turmoil, bloodshed and savage cruelty. If every man who looked upon it found it fair beyond compare, it seemed also that every man who deemed it desirable was determined to possess it. Almost to the close of the seventeenth century the Mohicans were in never-ended warfare with the Mohawks, and those years of the eighteenth century in which its four embittered intercolonial conflicts were not ravaging the countryside were for the Mohicans merely bloody interludes leading on to their extinction.

When the Dutch came to the upper Hudson the Mohicans, of whom the Owl's Hoosicks were an important part, occupied the Green, Taconic, Helderberg and Catskill mountains. They were the greatest strategists of the Abenaki democracy, and it was by no accident that they held the most powerful military position in northeastern America, controlling both banks of the Hudson, both shores of Lake Champlain, the Mohawk gateway to the West, and the Hoosick and Batten Kill avenues into the Connecticut River valley and New England. The Mohawks of the Iroquois race, ferocious enemies and beginning to wax powerful, declined to tolerate them in so advantageous a position. By 1628 they had driven Maquon and Soquon and their followers through the Batten Kill pass and over the Green Mountains to the Connecticut River at Coos Falls, where they were joined by the Pennacooks of the White Mountains and the Abenakis of Maine. For forty years the fighting never wholly ceased. One of the battles, of which no date has been preserved, but which by tradition was of great ferocity, was fought around Lake Lauderdale and Hedges Lake. In 1667 the Mohawks built a new fort and chapel at St. Croix (North Hoosick). In 1668 they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hoosicks at Pownal. But in 1669 the Owl worsted the Mohawks decisively, destroying their St. Croix fort and chasing them all the way down the Hoosick Valley and across the Hudson, after which he led his people back triumphant to old Tiashoke. In 1670 Governor Francis Lovelace made a peace between the hostile nations in which the Owl's Cambridge District hunting grounds were specifically reserved to him. The next year, 1671, the French Jesuits founded La Prairie Mission at Montreal and began to draw there both their Mohawk and Hoosick converts. Thus opened a hundred years of pulling and hauling between the French and English for Indian control, from which the Cambridge District, on the high road from Canada, was to suffer severely.

In the meantime the English in Massachusetts had, in 1637 and 1638, conquered the Pequot Indians, who were a Mohican faction driven earlier from this region and led by one Uncas. whose brother-in-law was that Chingachgook of Falls Quequick (Hoosick Falls) who was the father of Uncas of Cooper's tale, "The Last of the Mohicans". In 1675 and 1676 King Phillip's War overthrew a powerful Indian conspiracy in Massachusetts and virtually exterminated the Indians concerned, as a result of which there came to the Hoosick Valley, seeking shelter, King Phillip himself, Chingachgook, Chief Grevlock of the Wampanoags, and the fiery young Pequot sachem Mahwee, gallant but broken respresentative of the primitive savage at his best. The Owl assigned them to his village at Old Schaghticoke, where with the encouragement of the New York authorities they were joined by many other fugitives from New England. Still others, fleeing up the Connecticut Valley, joined their Algonquin kindred under the Jesuits and organized the St. Francis Indian village on the River St. Francis between Quebec and Montreal, familiar to readers of Kenneth Roberts' novels. By 1702 there were more than 1,000 members of the Schaghticoke community, but so successful were the French in drawing them off to Canada that in 1721 not more than 200 remained.

King Philip returned to New England in 1676, where he was slain by treachery. Greylock was one of those who went north to St. Francis, but Mahwee, having seen the Cambridge District, could not be lured away. He built his lodge at Pompanuck (our Pumpkin Hook) and settled there with more than a hundred retainers, where they lived happily for fifty years — a bright spot in those grievous times - all unaware that after their passing their village was to become one of the principal industrial centers of this region and then to relapse again to unbroken forest. In 1726, his friends mostly dead and buried. Mahwee wandered south on a hunting trip with a companion who was to become the grandfather of Osceola, leader of the Seminole revolution in Florida, 1835-1842, the hardest fought of all the Indian wars. On his return in 1730 Mahwee established himself on the Housatonic River in Connecticut, where he founded a new settlement called Scaticook, after his former refuge in the Hoosick Valley. In 1742 he was baptized by a Moravian missionary, with the name of Gideon. In 1746 the mission was broken up, but after a disastrous venture in Pennsylvania the survivors of Mahwee's community came back to the Housatonic, where they dwindled away. Mahwee died in 1755. Eunice Mahwee, his last descendant, died in 1870. Some years ago the remaining handful were of negro mixture, and all knowledge of Indian language, arts and customs had been lost.

A True-Hearted Hero

Getting back to the Owl, in 1675 he was on the crest of the wave. In that year Governor Edmond Andros made a treaty with him and with the Mohawks, under which they swore fealty to the Duke of York and Albany and their scouts were enlisted in the English service. Three hundred of these scouts saved Albany from massacre by going over the mountains to intercept and rout an Indian expedition which had destroyed Hadley, Springfield, Northfield and Deerfield. It was after this the Owl, spurning large rewards, gave refuge to King Philip for the winter, but the Mohawks discovered his hiding place and drove him out. On the Indian festival of the new moon of February in the following year took place the memorable peace council at Schaghticoke, when Governor Andros, his ministers and troops pledged friendship with more than a thousand warriors of the Iroquois and Abenaki nations, and two Trees of Welfare were planted, one for each of the Indian peoples, while Governor Andros promised to the Mohawks a mission chapel at what is now Stillwater and to the Hoosicks a chapel at the Owl Kill. The Owl was at his best in these ceremonies, delivering an impressive oration, which he was able to and did repeat to Governor Cornbury twenty-five years later. His tree, by the way, a remarkably vigorous and symmetrical oak more than fifteen feet in circumference, has only lately fallen. and its decaying fragments may still be seen. But the tree of the Mohawks was long ago struck by lightning and no trace of it remains.

Probably forty villages, scattered from Stockbridge to Manchester and along the Housatonic, Hoosick and Walloomsac rivers and the Batten Kill, and at least a thousand fighting men were at this time under the Owl's control and ruled by him from Tiashoke. But dark and bloody days were coming. For more than a hundred years war was in the air throughout this region all the time. In four long drawn-out intercolonial conflicts (King William's war, 1689-1697; Queen Anne's war, 1702-1713; King George's war, 1744-1748, and the French and Indian war, 1754-1763) the French and English fought for the possession of North America. Though these struggles were ended in Europe from time to time by treaties of peace, hostilities never totally ceased in America at any time. War parties and scouts were continually passing through the Cambridge District. Even in peace there was scarcely a month without an outrage on this soil, scarcely a year without an organized raid, and there were repeated massacres.

The Owl, though a very old man, apparently did his part in King William's war, supplying scouts and warriors at request and helping to man the English fort at Schaghticoke. In 1704, during Queen Anne's war, he served the Albany Dutch and English, though without their knowledge, by joining with the Mohawks in an agreement with the St. Francis and Caughnawaga Indians whereby the settlements around Albany were to be spared, thus confining the Indian raids to the territory east of the Hoosick and Housatonic rivers. In 1707, on the occasion of his giving a final deed to the Knickerbocker and Schuyler tracts in Schaghticoke, the Owl received as payment "2 blankets, 12 duffel cloth coats, 20 shirts, 2 gunns, 12 pounds of powder, 36 pounds of lead, 8 gallons of rum, 2 casks of beer, 2 rolls of tobacco, 10 gallons of Maderia wine, and a number of pipes," together with annual payments in the month of October for ten years of "1 blanket, 1 shirt, 1 pair of stockings, 1 lap or apron, I keg of rum, 3 pounds of powder, 6 pounds of lead, and 12 pounds of tobacco." Moreover the Albany City Council fenced off at the city's expense twelve acres of ground for the Owl's garden, on the banks of the Owl Kill near Eagle Bridge. This was to keep out the livestock of the Dutch settlers who were beginning to take up farms on the Hoosick Patent. Late in 1709, with four other great sachems, the Owl was sent to England to visit his fellow ruler "Mother Anne," but he did not survive the voyage and was buried at sea.

Thus passed on at the age of 110 a true hero, a man of actual and phenomenal greatness, who loved our Cambridge District as his earthly Paradise and who seems, even considering the limitations of a seventeenth century red man, never to have done wilfully aught that could mar his memory. It is pleasant to recall that in an age when many white men elsewhere in America were guilty of wanton outrages against the Indians, sufficient to drive any people mad, for which the Indians too often retaliated with deeds of fearful savagery, there was no instance of broken faith or lack of mutual respect and confidence between the Owl and either the Dutch or English in these parts.

The rest of the story of the Hoosick Indians is soon told. With the Owl gone, Tiashoke was early abandoned. In 1726, the same year in which Mahwee left Pompanuck forever after fifty years of happiness, the last two sachems at Schaghticoke passed away. Chief Keeperdo (Hoosick Abraham) took a party north to Whitehall and eventually to Ohio, Black Hawk, leader of the Indian revolt in the Northwest in 1832, was descended from this band. "Queen Esther" led another party into the lower Champlain Valley in what is now Vermont, and westward also. In 1733 Governor William Cosby begged them to return, but, promising loyalty, they said they were too poor. "We cannot kill a deer when we are obliged to sell our powder and lead to buy rum." By 1754 only sixty men, women and children were left at Schaghticoke, and these deserted in a body, after four days and nights of devildancing (no doubt a ceremony of absolution or exculpation, and perhaps of grief as well), to join their kindred among the Indians from St. Francis who, with a party of Frenchmen, perpetrated the Hoosick and St. Croix raids on August 28th of that year. That is a haunting story told by a white settler who dwelt near the Indian village — how a huge war party of strange Indians appeared at sundown, apparently from nowhere; how from time to time all through the darkness of that night he heard Indians running in single file at top speed past his little cabin; how in the morning the huts were all deserted and the campfires out - forever. Still there were some who were true to the Owl's pledged word of friendship, for four days before the Hoosick outrage five Indians from the North brought word to St. Croix of the impending foray. enabling the settlers to save at least their lives.

These were all grim years in the Cambridge District. All around were organized assaults, some of them with bloodshed, with total destruction of all the settlers had. Ambuscades of savages lurked constantly throughout the valley, and the presence of twenty-seven war parties was recorded within a few years. General Rigaud marched directly through this region in 1746, with 1,200 Frenchmen and St. Francis Indians, camping at old Tiashoke on the Owl Kill on August 18th, and advancing from there along both banks of the Hoosick River, against Fort Massachusetts (Adams, Mass.), which he captured and burned on August 20th. Returning he destroyed the Dutch settlements at North Petersburg, Hoosick and North Hoosick. Thirty prisoners from the fort, twentynine from Williamstown and seventy-six from the Hoosick settlements were marched through Cambridge, up the Owl Kill trailone of many such sad processions to tread that path-to captivity in Quebec, where most of them died in prison.

While King George's war ended officially in 1748, it may be said that for ten years after 1747 the region north of the Hoosick River was virtually abandoned by the English and was left entirely to the mercies of wandering war parties of Indians and French. There are dim traditions of early settlers straggling back to their devastated fields during this period, but none is definite enough to be recorded. By 1756, however, Fort Hoosac was built at Williamstown and Fort St. Croix at North Hoosick, and the trails and passes of the Cambridge District were again patrolled by alert and active scouts. When Colonel Israel Williams marched his Massachusetts regiment through Cambridge in the late Summer of 1759, to reinforce General Wolfe against the French at Quebec, it was clearly apparent that the tide of war was turning and that after generations of turmoil and terror the light of civilization was about to break upon this harried countryside.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CURTAIN RISES

The Lay of the Land

That portion of the Province of New York which was later to be known as the Cambridge District was still for the most part unbroken wilderness in 1760. The Manor of Rensselaerwyck, granted by the Dutch West India Company to Kiliaen Van Rensselear, a pearl merchant of Amsterdam, in 1629, and purchased from the Indians by his agents between 1630 and 1637 to the amount of twenty-four miles north and south and forty-eight miles east and west, comprising nearly all of the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer, had for its north line in this region the present town line separating the Rensselaer County towns of Hoosick and Petersburg, and Pittstown and Grafton. On the manor mills were built and churches erected, and farming was extensively carried on. The first settlements north of the manor, in the Cambridge District (not then so styled), were on the Hoosick Patent and the Walloomsac Patent.

The Hoosick Patent of 70,000 acres was granted by Governor Thomas Dongan, June 3, 1688, to Maria Van Rensselaer and Hendrick Van Ness of Albany, Jacobus Van Cortlandt of New York and Gerritt Tunisson (Van Vechten) of Catskill. This patent extended eastward from the Schaghticoke tract (granted to the Indians) and the Schuyler possessions in the Town of Easton, two miles on each side of the Hoosick River to "a certain fall, called Quequick (Hoosick Falls), and from said fall, up the creek, to a place called Nach-a-quick-quack" (North Petersburg). The Walloomsac Patent of 12,000 acres, on both sides of the Walloomsac River, was granted June 15, 1739, by Lieutenant Governor George Clarke, then acting governor, to Edward Collins, James DeLancey, Gerardus Stuyvesant, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Charles Williams and Frederick Morris of Albany, as a result of the advertisement by Governor Clarke, on June 5, 1739, of "all the vacant land east of Hoosick Patent" for settlement. A considerable portion of the Hoosick Patent was within the present Town of Cambridge, and much of that patent, and of the Walloomsac Patent also, was within the present Town of White Creek, so that the modern history of the Cambridge District really begins with those patents. As a matter of fact, the boundary between Old Hoosick and Old Cambridge districts remained indefinite until after the organization of the townships in 1789, and dwellers near the line must justly be claimed for either, and often were.

It will aid in understanding the situation as to land patents if one will visualize the three present towns of Cambridge, Jackson and White Creek as the unit they once were. (In that unit, until 1791, were included as part of the Cambridge District all of Arlington south of the Batten Kill, the whole Town of Shaftsbury, and Bennington north of the Walloomsac.) The north boundary of this unit would be the Batten Kill. That has never changed. It was also the county line for many years - Charlotte County (established in 1772) running north from there, while the Cambridge District and the Vermont towns just named were in Albany County. (The Batten Kill had its name, by the way, from the fur trader Bartholmew Van Hogleboom, who settled at its mouth in 1684. It was first called Bart's Kill of which Bottskill is a corruption, and later Batten Kill.) Our unit's west boundary would be the present line between the Towns of Jackson and Cambridge and the Town of Easton, which line has also been fixed since the men who laid out the Saratoga Patent of November 7. 1684, surveyed that town as the "East-Town" of the Saratoga District. The east boundary was "the high mountains" on the eastern borders of Arlington, Shaftsbury and Bennington. On the south, as we have already indicated, the boundary was vague. Dwellers in the northern part of the present Town of Hoosick were sometimes held to be in the Cambridge District and sometimes not. It is not recorded that any difficulties ever arose in the matter.

The limits of the patents were, in any event, clear enough. The Hoosick Patent curved in a great crescent, two miles wide on each side of the Hoosick River, in the southern part of the tract made up of our three towns; and at the point where the Hoosick Patent's northern line intersected the present county line the Walloomsac Patent began, extending eastward on both sides of the Wallomsac River to Haviland's Brook, known today as Paran Creek, in North Bennington. Following more or less the curve of the stream, the Walloomsac Patent's northern line ran northeast from the point of intersection noted above to about the locaion of Mr. Raymond Taber's home, from thence easterly to a point a little north of the Grange Hall in White Creek, and thence southeast to North Bennington.

It may be seen therefore that in the southern portions of the present Towns of Cambridge and White Creek everything was in the Hoosick Patent between the river and a line approximately two miles north of the stream. This line runs half a mile north of South Cambridge, takes in School 14 in the Town of Cambridge, and then bends east and south, passing through the three corners where the Turnpike starts up Oak Hill, through Mr. Frank Frazier's home, and through Post Corners, thence dropping southeastward to the intersection referred to. Land in the Town of White Creek which was within the Walloomsac Patent includes White Creek village and the whole southeast corner of the Town east of a line running about one-half mile west of the Little White Creek stream and parallel to it.

The intersection already mentioned several times, located exactly where the road running southward from the Roscoe James' place (now owned by Mr. and Mrs. James Harrington) crosses the county line - being the longitude of 73 degrees, 20 minutes, west from Greenwich - was apparently a base point for early surveys. A line running due north from it, 1,092 chains (approximately thirteen and two-thirds miles) in length, to the Batten Kill, which it strikes one-half mile west of the State highway bridge over that stream, was the base line for all the patents in the Cambridge District. Such line was the east line of the Cambridge Patent itself (not of the Cambridge District, however), and easterly from it were laid out the eight other grants into which the Cambridge District was divided. We shall have occasion to refer to it again. In its northward course this line runs through Shaker Hollow, a little west of the old road; is directly on the road at the top of Mount Tom, crosses White Creek stream and the road from Cambridge to Ash Grove about one mile east of the Cambridge Village limits, skirts the westerly edge of the Jackson marshes, and passes one half mile east of Lake Lauderdale. Everything in the three present towns of Cambridge, Jackson and White Creek, west of this line to the Easton town line and north of the Hoosick Patent, comprised the area of the Cambridge Patent.

There is one exception, an area shaped like a prostrate par-

enthesis with its points down, which may be parenthetically dealt with here. The Cambridge Patent's south line was intended to be the north line of the Hoosick Patent, but a surveyor's error located it, in the grant, some half a mile too far north for part of its course. This left a thin crescent of ungranted land, superimposed on the great crescent of the Hoosick Patent, with its eastern point or horn on the hill behind Mr. Frazier's house and its western terminus on the Easton town line at the point where that line, if followed northward from its southern terminus, first changes its direction. The farthest north of this crescent is reached one mile east of Center Cambridge. The area thus left masterless, amounting to 1,400 acres, was granted to Joseph Reade, Jr., and Wilhelmus Van Antwerp of Albany, more than five years after Cambridge Patent's date.

The Dutch Bring Civilization

This, however, is getting ahead of our story. We have noted that civilization first came to these parts on the Dutch grants. It was brought to the Cambridge District by the holders of the Hoosick Patent of 1688 and their descendants. The first of these was apparently Arendt Van Corlaer 3d, who was born in 1690 and died in 1797 at the age of 107. In the field opposite the Van Ness Acres gasoline station near North Hoosick may still be seen a burial plot containing his tombstone. (The name is misspelled "Curler" on the stone.) We shall hear of this Van Corlaer again in connection with the Cambridge District. His ancestory was distinguished. His grandfather, the first Arendt Van Corlaer, was commissary-general of Fort Orange and a cousin of Patroon Kiliaen Van Rensselaer. It was this grandfather who purchased from the Indians, for the Patroon, all the Van Rensselaer lands east of the Hudson. This Arendt Van Corlaer the first married in 1643 the widow of Jonas Bronck, the scholarly Swede for whom the Borough of the Bronx is named, who was killed by the Indians. His elder brother was Captain Jacobus Van Corlaer of Fort Good Hope, at the present site of the city of Hartford on the Connecticut River. Arendt Van Corlaer 2nd was born in 1644. He and his father founded Fort Schonowe (Schenectady). In February, 1666, Governor Samuel Courcelle of New France sent 600 French and Indian warriors on a raid to harass the Schenectady Mohawks. The elder Van Corlaer ransomed some of the Indians' Canadian prisoners, and was invited to Montreal to receive the Governor's thanks in person. On the journey he was accidentally drowned in Lake Champlain, which bore for 100 years the name of Lake Corlaer, in honor of "the Indians' friend." Indeed, so greatly honored was he among the Indians that their name for the Governor of the Province, no matter who he was, remained for generations simple "the Corlaer".

Arendt Van Corlaer 3rd inherited from Maria Van Rensselaer great lot 10 of the Hoosick Patent, and in 1709, aged nineteen, he settled at St. Croix (North Hoosick) in company with the fur trader Adam Vrooman, son of Bartle Vrooman of Old Saratoga (Schuylerville), the earliest permanent settler at that spot.

Two other of the original Hoosick proprietors were Hendrick Van Ness and Gerritt Tunisson Van Vechten, who were survivors of the Esopus massacre of June, 1663. Gerritt Cornelius Van Ness, son of Hendrick Van Ness, born December 2, 1702, inherited St. Croix Manor, two miles square, on the northeast bank of the Hoosick River between the Owl Kill and the Walloomsac. In 1724 he married Sarah Van Valkenburg of Albany and built a saw mill and a grist mill at the site of the present bridge over Little White Creek, near North Hoosick. His manor house was on the terrace twenty rods above the Walloomsac ford. About the same time a Dutch stockade was built on the site of the Jesuits' Fort St. Croix on the high bluff a few rods east of the Van Ness mansion. It was similar to all New York border stockades and contained several small mounted cannon which would fire cobble stones as well as iron shot. Joining with Gerritt Cornelius Van Ness in the founding of this settlement were Arendt Van Corlaer 3d and Adam Vrooman, who had long been resident in the vicinity; Pitt Van Hogleboom, George Nicolls, son of the royal patentee of the Town of Islip, Long Island, and collateral descendant of Colonel Richard Nicolls, first English governor of New York: Johannes De Ruyter, a descendant of the famous Dutch Admiral De Ruyter of the battle of Solebay: Juria Kreigger, later founder of Pownal, a descendant of Colonel William Kreigger of Governor Stuyvesant's Fort Amsterdam militia in 1664; Jan Oothout, a grandson of Hans Reinier Oothout of Captain Jacobus Van Corlaer's Fort Good Hope garrison on the Connecticut: Jacob Onderdonk, Daniel Albertus Brodt (Bratt or Bradt), Rykert Bovie, Jacob and Abram Fort, Johannes Van Denburgh, Johannes De Fonda, Jan Huyck, David and Stephen Van Rensselaer, Robert Leake (Lake), William Nicholas, Andrew Norwood, George Searles, and Pieter Sur Dam (Suydam).

Descendants of many of these are still our neighbors. All of them did their part in setting up in the wilderness the beacon lights of civilization, in hard work, thrift, integrity, good faith and a simple and sincere Christianity. They were the earliest pioneers of Cambridge District, and between 1724 and 1746, when General Rigaud destroyed it in his invasion which resulted in the burning of Fort Massachusetts at Adams, they maintained a true Dutch village near North Hoosick. In the hamlet, besides Patroon Van Ness' mansion, were more than a score of other dwellings, a schoolhouse, saw mill, grist mill, ashery, store, smithy, wagon shop and tannery. The first church was founded by Count Zinzendorf's Moravian missionaries from Bohemia, about 1741.

While this was going on, Philip Van Ness, a cousin of Gerritt Cornelius Van Ness, founded a colony called Tiashoke, on the north bank of the Hoosick River, below the junction of the Owl Kill, about 1724, being joined by Wouter Van Vechten, Lewis Van Woerdt, Johannes Quakenbosch, Nichols Groesbeck, and Peter and Ludovicus Viele, sons of Jacob Viele of the Knickerbacker colony at Schaghticoke. The Tiashoke Manor of Philip Van Ness contained 4,000 acres and was in places the full two miles in width of the Hoosick Patent. It extended from Hart's Falls (Schaghticoke) to the Owl Kill. On it Chief Farm-master Thomas Whittebeck built a saw mill and a grist mill near the junction of Gordon's brook with the Hoosick River. A little later, Johannes Van Buskirk, Augustus Van Cortlandt and Augustus Van Horne located on the south bank of the Hoosick, opposite the Tiashoke hamlet, and founded the hamlet of Van Buskirk's Bridge (odiously shortened to Buskirk-the bridge, however, coming much later, the handiwork of Martin Van Buskirk, Van Cortlandt and Van Horne, as heirs of Patroon Jacobus Van Cortlandt of New York City, one of the original proprietors of the Hoosick Patent, had inherited a large part of that grant, including the site of Hoosick Falls, to which spot they presently removed.

At the time of the founding of Cambridge the patroons of Dutch Hoosick manorlands were Stephen Van Rensselaer of Rensselaerwyck, Barnadus Bratt of Hoosick, Augustus Van Cortlandt and Augustus Van Horne of Hoosick Falls, Gerritt Cornelius Van Ness of North Hoosick, and Philip Van Ness of Tiashoke. Their sons and daughters inherited thousand-acre farms on both banks of the Hoosick River between Buskirk and Petersburg.

Cadwallader Colden, Founder of Cambridge

Now the curtain rises on the granting of the Cambridge Patent, and there emerges from the shadowy past, as the conceiver, creator, godfather, enthusiastic forwarder and affectionate patron of our beloved Cambridge, one of the most distinguished and least know of the eighteenth century's great men — a philosopher, scientist, colonial administrator and high-minded gentleman — King George's trusty and well beloved Cadwallader Colden, Esquire, President of the Council and Commander in Chief of the Province of New York and the territories depending thereon, and for more than seven of the years between 1760 and 1774 the Province's royal Governor.

As the progenitor of Cambridge, Cadwallader Colden (1688-1776) deserves more from us than a passing reference. But he was much besides. Born a poor country boy, son of a Scottish parson, he was educated at the University of Edinburgh for the ministry. Drifting rather toward science, he studied medicine for three years in London, and then sought in America the career in which he was to become a physician who added definitely to medical knowledge, author of several important medical treatises; a learned botanist, close friend and constant correspondent of Linnaeus, of Benjamin Franklin and of the John Bartram who established the first botannical garden in America; an investigator in all the known sciences, in astronomy, physics, chemistry, and what we now call psychology; author of a philosophic theory of dynamic materialism and founder of the American Philosophical Society; a student of sanitation far in advance of his day; an acceptable historian, whose work on the Five Indian Nations has been many times reprinted; an educator to whom the interests of education were a passion, one who strove earnestly for the education of women, one who saw education as the means of fitting men and women for service as citizens and patriots while increasing their own powers of enjoyment; one the vigor and breadth of whose intellectual life was, in short, astonishing; and one, moreover, who for fifty-eight of his eighty-eight years was the chief administrator of the lands of one of the largest British provinces and for many of those years the province's chief official, the most able governor it ever had and by far the best equipped.

When the end came, and the Revolution confirmed his warnnings, justified his repeated cautions to the ministry in London, made all his plans and accomplishments of no account, and wiped out his record as if it had never been. Cadwallader Colden dropped out of history as quietly as he departed life in September of '76.

The life work of the administrator of an overthrown govern-

ment is seldom the subject of enthusiasm, and however well done must be considered in the nature of the case to have been unsuccessful. No country today points with pride to Cadwallader Colden as the first man to make a science of the care of its lands, yet any country might still honor one who entered into the execution of his office at a time when corruption was rampant, and yet, without one just accusation ever brought against him of hyprocrisy, much less against his character, dealt honestly and justly with the soil of New York in the face of all the clamor of the unscrupulous, the petty, the cunning and the greedy; one who combated successfully a Provincial Assembly which sought by every means, including the withholding of revenue and supplies, to induce him to disobev his instructions and violate the terms of his commission: one who maintained intact the royal prerogatives as the representative of the King and central authority in the Empire, in the service of a government which was at best haphazard, deaf, credulous, fussy and ignorant, and much of the time was simply idiotic: one who established for the first time system in provincial records and maintained it there for two generations: and one who, above all, safeguarded the rights of the Indians at every point, to the extent of a score of lifelong feuds incurred on their behalf; who made it virtually impossible for any interest, however powerful, to acquire Indian lands dishonestly, and who, in all his dealings with a conquered race, left an example that has found few followers in high places.

Here in Cambridge, we can honor in Cadwallader Colden not only the founder of this District and of this Village, but the great man he truly was. Now that we are able to look dispassionately at the men and events of the Revolution, we cannot even hold it against him that he was faithful to the Crown. It was one of the principles of his character to keep a promise to the letter. A spoken promise was to him as sacred as a written one, and he had taken a solemn oath of allegiance to the King, which he felt that he could not honorably break. Aristocratic and extremely conservative, he may well have had his doubts of popular government. However frugal, honest and religious the people in general undoubtedly were, some of the leaders of the popular party were not notable for piety, honesty or industry, and he must have met some whom he could not trust. Nevertheless, he understood the issues, and there are on record repeated instances of his strong advise to the ministry to yield to just demands and have a care in inflicting outrages on loyal provincial sentiment.

We may fairly base upon such counsels the supposition that the outcome of the Revolutionary War would not have been wholly unsatisfactory to Cadwallader Colden, had he lived to see it, though force of circumstances and perhaps the burden of his eighty-eight years compelled him to sustain the other side. In this connection it is pertinent to note that his grandson, Cadwallader David Colden (1769-1834), lawyer and public official, though educated in London, returned in 1785 to New York, where he attained great distinction at the bar. He was a Colonel of volunteers in the War of 1812, and from 1818 to 1821 was mayor of New York City He was a member of the State Assembly in 1818, a representative in Congress in 1821-1823, and a State Senator from 1825 to 1827, in which capacity he did much to secure the construction of the Erie Canal and was a leading factor in the organization of the State's public school system.

What Cadwallader Colden did for Cambridge is fair and clear enough. Into its charter he wrote not merely the name which he had chosen for it, but provisions for free elections of all local officers by the freeholders of its land, without religious qualifications, without poll tax, without distinguishing any proprietor or his heirs from those who merely dwelt on the land and did all the work. This was at a time when there was no basic right to vote for any officer and when limitations on all these subjects were matters of course in granting land. At a time when, moreover, "in New England the favorites of the Puritan legislatures could manage to get grants of townships and farm lands by the 10,000 acres, and gradually become rich merchants in the seaboard towns or 'Lords of the Valley' along the Connecticut" (James Truslow Adams, History of the United States, Vol. I, p. 118), Cadwallader Colden wrote into the Cambridge Patent the restriction that at least one family for each 1,000 acres must be settled in outright ownership of the land within three years and at least three acres of every fifty must be under actual cultivation within that period, or the grant should be void. He insisted, moreover, on the setting aside of 200 acres for the support of a minister and a schoolmaster in the Town "forever". He was determined that in his Town of Cambridge the spiritual and intellectual as well as economic welfare of the common man should be protected, and that there should be no nullification of that man's powers and opportunities. He had seen much of patents under which the State set up a church and under which the favored owners retained all political rights in their own hands, while the poor settler had nothing to say about his worship or his taxation. or the making of roads, the election of local officers, the passing of local laws, or any other matters in the Town which his toil was building for those owners' benefit. He forbade effectively all such conditions in the Cambridge settlement.

Indian Deeds

In August, 1760, Cadwallader Colden, who had been President of the Provincial Council for many years, became acting governor in succession to Lieutenant Governor James DeLancey. He was at length in a position to take the initiative in a project long on his mind and in his heart - the opening up for settlement of the noble region north of the Hoosick and Walloomsac Patents. Many times as Surveyor-General of the Province he had traversed these woods. They seemed to him as they have seemed to all of us, to be of surpassing beauty, and while there was then no feeling of an active community in a region that was all wilderness, silence, and the impenetrable grandeur of mountain, hollow and forest, nevertheless there was rich promise of fertility wherever dale met woods or meadowlands swept unbroken from the banks of sparkling streams to their beltings of cool, dark green on the hillsides. Now that the French were being beaten, and it seemed likely that the age-long peril of Indian massacres would soon be permanently removed, visions were persistent in Colden's mind of prosperity and happiness in busy, thriving, well populated communities in these surroundings, and he took steps for their fulfilment.

The first move was to have application made to the Governor and Council for leave to purchase. That granted, a treaty would be held and an Indian deed obtained, for it was Colden's own rule that the aboriginal title must be first extinguished by fair bargaining. A warrant was then issued to the Surveyor-General for a survey, and a map and field notes were prepared. The Attorney General was then directed to prepare a draft of a patent, which was submitted to the Governor and Council and if approved was engrossed on parchment, recorded, sealed and issued. In this matter Governor Colden, while DeLancey was still in office, had called upon Isaac Sawyer of Connecticut and Jacob Lansing, founder of Lansingburg, to treat with the Indians for the land which was to become the Cambridge Patent, while he arranged with Arendt Van Corlaer 3d of St. Croix, and with Nicholas Lake, Jr., of a New Jersey family, a cousin of Robert Lake of St. Croix, to acquire the Indian title to that land in the Cambridge District which lay east of the Cambridge Patent. The Sawyer and Lansing deed from the Indians appears not to have been preserved in the State archives, many of which were damaged beyond remedy in six years' close confinement on board the British ship Dutchess of Gordon during the Revolution. The Lake and Van Corlaer document, under date of May 20, 1761, is, however, to be found in Volume II of Indian deeds in the office of the State Land Board, at page 62. It reads as follows:

"To all Christian People to whom this Presents shall come or in any wise may Concern I Jacob alias Schenk only remaining Indian of the Tribe of Schachticook Indians who have all Deserted to Canada sendeth Greeting Know Yes that for Divers good Causes and Lawfull Considerations me hereunto moveing but more Especially for the consideration of Fifty Spanish Dollars to me well and truly in hand paid by Arent Corlaer and Nicholas Lake both of the Province of New Jersey the receipt whereof I Do hereby acknowledge and thereof and therefrom Do Acquit Exonerate and Discharge them the said Arondt Corlaer and Nicholas Lake In Behalf of his Majesty King George the third of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c Have Bargained Sold Released and for ever Quit Claimed and by these Presents Do Bargain sell Release and for ever Quit Claim unto our most gracious Soveraign King George the third his Heirs and Successors all my Right Title Interest Claim and Demand of in and to a Certain Parcell of Land lying on the East Side of Hudsons River in the County of Albany on both sides of a Brook or Rivulet Called by the Indians Tightikillijagtekock by the white People the South Branch of Batten Kill Bounded on the South by the Patent of Walloomsack on the West by Sawyers and Lansings Purchase on the North by Batten Kill and on the East the High Mountains Together with all and singular the Woods Underwoods Trees Timber Feedings Pastures Meadows Marshes Swamps Ponds Pools Waters Water Courses Rivers Rivulets Brooks Runns and Streams of Water Mountains Rocks Quarries Stones Mines and Minerals &c And the Reversions Remainders Yearly Rents Taxes and Proffits thereof and of every part and parcell thereof TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the above Bargained Premisses with their and every of their appurtenances unto our said most gracious Soveraign his Heirs Successors and Assigns to the sole and only proper Use and Behoofe of our said most Gracious Soveraign His Heirs Successors and Assigns for ever In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my Hand and Seal in Albany this twentieth day of May in the first year of the Reign of our said most gracious Soveraign George the third by the Grace of God over Great Brittain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c Anno Domine One Thusand Seven hundred and Sixty one

JACOB alias his

X

mark SCHENK

Signed sealed and delivered in the presence of

> JNO R BLEECKER RUTGER BLEECKER"

This document obviously conveys the Indian title to everything between the Walloomsac Patent on the south and the Batten Kill on the north, east of the east line of the Cambridge Patent (the Sawyer and Lansing Purchase"), which line, as we have noted, was a straight line running north and south through Shaker Hollow. This deed thus took in all of Shaftsbury and most of Arlington, and the northeast corner of the Town of Bennington. The brook or rivulet "called by the Indians Tightikillijagtekock" could be either White Creek, which rises east of Two Tops and flows down through Ash Grove to the Owl Kill, or the Little White Creek of White Creek Village, most probably the former, though it seems doubtful that even in 1761 either of these streams could have been supposed by even the white people to be a branch of the Batten Kill. They are, however, the only streams of any size in the area described. As to the consideration of "fifty Spanish dollars," though it might seem ludricrously small, we must remember that those were times in which even a knife or a hatchet was really worth more to an Indian than many square miles of wild land. It is interesting, too, to note that the "mark" of Jacob Schenek (who undoubtedly got his German-sounding name when he was baptized by the Moravian missionaries at North Hoosick) is the figure of a turtle, excellently drawn, which recalls the fact that the mother tribes of the Mohicans, in the remotest past, were known as the Turtles and the Bears. When we come to the survey of the Cambridge Patent, we shall see that it starts from a tree blazed with a turtle - quite evidently a means of solemnizing Indian dealings. As Sir William Johnson wrote to Dr. Arthur Lee, February 28, 1771: "Each tribe has the peculiar Badge from whence it is denominated, and a Sachem of each Tribe being a necessary party to a fair Conveyance such Sachim affixes the Mark of the Tribe thereto, which is not that of a particular family (unless the whole Tribe is so deemed) but rather as the publick Seal of a Corporation."

The making of this deed must have been an intensely significant and American spectacle. Governor Colden was no doubt there, in an old room in the sleepy Dutch town of Albany, bewigged and spectacled, his eves beaming kindly. He would be clad, as he often was, in a blue cloth coat, faced and cuffed with scarlet cloth and lined with scarlet, with white buttons; with white waistcoat and breeches, white stockings and black half-gaiters. wearing a short cut-and-thrust silver-mounted sword in a leathern scabbard, while a resplendent gorget was pendent from his neck. His Majesty's humble was shrewd and enterprising servants Arendt Van Corlaer 4th and Nicholas Lake, Jr., were there, along with the magistrates of the jurisdiction, and there was also the strongly pathetic figure of Jacob Schenk, last remaining leaf on the Schaghticoke Indian tree, signing away with the ceremonial turtle the hills and vales of Pompanuck, where his people's corn had grown and their campfires burned for ages. Sometimes, we are told, a handful of the lost Mohicans have come back to the Cambridge Valley to visit peacefully their forefather's ground. They never lingered long, and finally they disappeared entirely. It has been left for us, at this late day, to awaken to the fact that the Indians' ideas of these hills must have been picturesque enough and colored strongly enough by romance to bear comparison with the representations in print or on canvas of any spot on earth.

The Cambridge Patent

July 23, 1761, Cadwallader Colden's patent for the Cambridge settlement was signed, sealed and delivered. It is recorded in Volume 13 of Patents in the State Land Bureau, at page 395, and it begins as follows:

"GEORGE THE THIRD by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting WHEREAS our loving subjects Isaac Sawyer, John R. Bleecker, Abraham Jacob Lansingh, Edmund Wells, Joseph Wells, Samuel Gilbert, Daniel Ingham, Eliphalet Howe, Thomas Gilbert, Thomas Wells, Clement Sumner, Stephen Palmer, Edward Sawyer, Ebenezer Dewey Junior, John Sawyer, Thomas Sawyer, Azariah Beach, Benjamin Beach, Daniel Tillotson, Obadiah Horsford, Alexander Phelps, Eleazor Pumroy, Jacob Abraham Lansingh, Johannes Ja-

cob Lansing, Jordan Post, Francis Lansingh, George Clinton, Abraham Vandenbergh, Joel Jones, John Russ, Samuel Filor, Joshua Phelps, Nathaniel Phelps, Increase Porter, Elisha Pratt, John Merrell, Gad Merrell, Jonathan Hutchinson, Jedidiah Post, John Post, Jazaniah Post, John Gilliot, Benjamin Pumroy, Elijah Lothrop, Ichabod Phelps, Benjamin Trumble, William Sumner, Samuel Gilbert Junior, Dirck Vanderheyden, Jacob Vanderheyden, Lerinus Winne, David Baker, Ephraim Wright, Stephen Barber, Israel Post, Ezekiel Jones, Samuel Jones, Eilas Pipon, John Peters, William Winterton and Peter Marsolines by their humble Petition presented to our trusty and well beloved Cadwallader Colden Esquire our President of our Council and Commander in Chief of our Province of New York and the Territories depending thereon in America in Council on the tenth Day of June now last past have set forth That the said Petitioners pursuant to a License granted by the Honorable James DeLancey Esquire late our Royal Grandfather's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the said Province and Territories had purchased in our name of the Indian Proprietor thereof all those four Tracts or Parcels of Land situate lying and being in the County of Albany on the East Side of Hudson's River containing in the whole about sixty thousand acres exclusive of the allowance for Highways and being further bounded and described as by the Deed from the said Indian Proprietor for the said Lands bearing Date the twentieth Day of May now last past and therewith produced might appear: That the said Petitioners proposed making an immediate settlement on part of the two largest of the said Tracts, and did undertake to settle to the Number of Sixy-Two Families on he whole of the Lands so purchased within the Term of three years to be computed from the determination of the present War and to seat and establish a Township on each of the said two large Tracts reserving and setting apart for the Support of a Minister of the Gospel and the Maintenance of a School Master in each of the said Townships forever the Quantity of Two Hundred Acres of each of the said two large Tracts AND therefore humbly prayed our Letters Patent to them their heirs and assigns for the four Tracts of Land so purchased by them as aforesaid under the Quit Rent and Restrictions directed in the Instructions of our said late Royal Grandfather WHICH PETITION having been then and there read and considered of our said Council did afterwards to wit on the Twenty second day of June new last past humbly advise our said President and Commander in Chief to grant to the said Petitioners their Heirs and Assigns our Letters Patent for the said four Tracts of Land so purchased and described as aforesaid that is to say to each of the said Petitioners and to their respective Heirs the Quantity of ONE THOUSAND acres of the said Land: And that a Clause or Clauses should be inserted in the said Letters Patent erecting and constituting each of the said two larger Tracts respectively into one Township with the privilege to the Freeholders thereof to meet annually and chuse necessary Officers in the said Townships respectively: *In Obedience* therefore to the said Instructions the Commissioners appointed by the same Instructions for the setting out of Lands to be granted within our said Province have set out for them the said (here are repeated the sixty-one names of the grantees recited above) ALL THOSE four several Tracts or Parcels of Land situate, lying and being in the County of Albany on the East side of Hudson's **River**"

* * * *

(The first three of these tracts were as follows, omitting the boundary descriptions:

First: 1,150 acres on the Hudson River north of Rensselaerwyck, extending from the Run of Water called Kolle-Killitjon south to the north bounds of Rensselaerwyck, then east along those bounds to a tract previously granted to David Abraham Schuyler, Frederick Morris, Charles Williams, Thomas Clark, Edward Collins and Sarah Williams, at the Doop Kill, then generally northwest to the Hudson. This is the present Lansingburg.

Second: 3,700 acres, northerly from Tomhannock.

Third: 24,650 acres, comprising the southern half of the present Town of Pittstown (the northern portion of which was in the Hoosick Patent.)

* * * *

"And the fourth of the said Tracts of Land so set out as aforesaid begins at a large Water Maple Tree marked with a Turtle standing one hundred and twenty chains measured on a course North twelve degrees East distant from the South East Corner of certain Lands granted to Peter Schuyler Robert Livingston Dirck Wessels John Johnson Bleecker et al. Johannis Schuyler and Cornelius Van Dyck commonly called and known by the name of the Patent of Saraghtage and ten Chains to the Southward of the Place where a line running North twelve degrees East from the said Maple Tree crosses a Creek called Poghquampecack and this Tract runs from the said Maple Tree North sixtyseven degrees East two hundred and ninety Chains, then North eighty seven degrees East seventy two Chains, then South seventy four degrees East one hundred and sixteen Chains, then South fifty seven degrees East one hundred and thirty eight Chains, then South forty six degrees and thirty minutes East eighty eight Chains, then South thirteen degrees East one hundred and seventy Chains, to the most westerly corner of a certain Tract of Land called Wallumschack formerly granted to Edward Collins James DeLancev and others, then North one thousand and ninety-two Chains to the middle of the Stream of a certain Creek or Kill called Donondohowe or Batten Kill, then Southwesterly along the Middle of the Stream of the said Kill as it runs including half of the same Kill to the East Line or Bounds of the Lands aforesaid known by the name of the Patent of Saraghtage, then Southerly along the said East Bounds of the Patent of Saraghtage to the Maple Tree aforesaid where this Fourth Tract first began, containing thirty-one thousand and five hundred Acres of Land and the usual allowance for Highways: The said four Tracts of land so set out as aforesaid containing together Sixty-one Thousand Acres of Land and the usual Allowance for Highways: And in setting out the said four Tracts of Land the said Commissioners have had Regard to the profitable and unprofitable Acres and have taken care that the Length of the said Tracts or either of them doth not extend along the Banks of any River otherwise than is conformable to the said Royal Instructions as by a Certificate thereof under their Hands bearing Date this first Day of this instant Month of July and entered on Record in our Secretary's Office may more fully appear: Which said several Tracts of Land set out as aforesaid according to the said Royal Instructions we being willing to grant to the said Petitioners their Heirs and Assigns forever with the several Privileges and Powers hereinafter mentioned KNOW YE that of our especial Grace certain Knowledge and meer Motion we have given granted ratified and confirmed and do by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors give grant ratify and confirm unto them the said (here are inserted once more the names, as above) their Heirs and Assigns forever ALL THOSE the four several Tracts or Parcels of Land aforesaid set out abutted bounded and described in manner and form as above mentioned together with all and singular the Tenements Hereditaments Emoluments and Appurtenances thereunto belonging or appertaining AND also all our Estate Right Title Interest Possession Claim and Demand whatsoever in and to the

same Lands and Premises and every Part and Parcel thereof and the Proversion and Reversions Remainder and Remainders Rents. Issues and Profits thereof and of every part and parcel thereof EXCEPT and always reserved out of this our Present Grant unto us our Heirs and Successors for ever all the Mines of Gold and Silver and also all white or other sorts of Pine Trees fit for Masts of the Growth of twenty four Inches Diameter and upwards at twelve Inches from the earth for Masts for the Royal Navy of us our Heirs and Successors To Have and to Hold one full and equal one and sixtieth Part (the whole into sixty one equal Parts to be divided) of the said several Tracts or Parcels of Land Tenements Hereditaments and Premises by these Presents granted ratified and confirmed and every Part and Parcel thereof with their and every of their Appurtenances (except as hereinbefore excepted) unto each of them our Grantees above mentioned their Heirs and Assigns respectively to their only proper and separate Use and Behoof respectively for ever as Tenants in Common and not as Joint Tenants TO BE HOLDEN of us our Heirs and Successors in free and common socage as of our Manor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent within our Kingdom of Great Britain YIELD-ING RENDERING AND PAYING therefor yearly and every year for ever unto us our Heirs and Successors at our Custom House in our City of New York unto our or their Collector or Receiver General there for the time being on the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary commonly called Lady Day the yearly Rent of two Shillings and six pence Sterling for each and every hundred acres of the above granted Lands and so in proportion for any lesser Quantity thereof saving and except for such part of the Lands allowed for Highways as above mentioned in Lieu and Stead of All other Rents Services Dues Duties and Demands whatsoever for the hereby granted Lands and Premises or any part thereof: And we do of our own especial Grace certain Knowledge and meer Motion create erect and constitute the Tract or Parcel of Land herein granted and distinguished as aforesaid by the Name or Distinction of the third Tract and every part and parcel thereof a Township for ever hereafter to be continued and remain: and by the name of PITTS-TOWN for ever hereafter to be called and known. AND we do also of our especial Grace certain Knowledge and meer Motion create erect and constitute the Tract or Parcel of Land hereby granted and distinguished as aforesaid by the Name or Distinction of the *fourth Tract* and every part and parcel thereof a Township for ever hereafter to be continued and remain by

the Name of CAMBRIDGE for ever hereafter to be called and known: And for the better and more easily carrying on and managing the Public Affairs and Business of the said Townships respectively our Royal Will and Pleasure is and we do hereby for us our heirs and Successors give and grant to the Inhabitants of the said Townships respectively All the Powers Authorities Privileges and Advantages heretofore given and granted to or legally enjoyed by all or any or either our other Townships within our said Province"

(Here are inserted provisions for Town Meetings and for the annual election, "chosen out of the Inhabitants by the Freeholders," of a supervisor, two assessors, one treasurer, two overseers of the highways, two overseers of the poor, one collector, and four constables, and for the filling of vacancies in these offices by the freeholders.)

* * * *

"Provided always and upon Condition nevertheless that if our said Grantees their Heirs or Assigns or some or one of them shall not within three years next after the Conclusion of our present War with France settle on the said Tracts of Land hereby granted so many Families as shall amount to one Family for every thousand acres of the said Tracts Or if they our said Grantees or one of them or one of their Heirs or Assigns shall not also within three Years to be computed as aforesaid plant and effectually cultivate at the least three Acres for every fifty Acres of such of the hereby granted Lands as are capable of Cultivation or if they our said Grantees or any of them their or any of their Heirs or Assigns or any other Person or Persons by their or any of their Privity Consent or Procurement shall fell cut down or otherwise destroy any of the Pine Trees by these presents reserved to us our Heirs and Successors or hereby intended to be without the Royal License of us our Heirs or Successors for so doing first had and obtained that then and in any of these Cases this our present Grant and every Thing therein contained shall cease and be absolutely void and the Lands and Premises hereby granted shall revert to and vest in us our Heirs and Successors as if this present Grant had not been made anything hereinbefore contained to the Contrary in any wise notwithstanding"

* * * *

(Here follow provisions for recording the grant and for its

validity according to its intent, notwithstanding errors in descriptions, bounds or names.)

* * * *

"IN TESTIMONY whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made PATENT and the Great Seal of our said Province to be hereunto affixed WITNESS our trusty and well beloved Cadwallader Colden Esqr our President of our Council and Commander in Chief of our Province of New York and the Territories depending therein in America at our Fort in our City of New York the Twenty third Day of July in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty One and of Our Reign the First.

(signed)

"CLARKE" (Secretary)

We shall come a little later to the settlement of Cambridge. Here it may be sufficient to note that many of the grantees in this patent were residents of Hebron, Conn., who had made great plans for a settlement hereabouts, but that, due no doubt to the continuance of the French and Indian War, which brought about great dislocations of economic life throughout the colonies, with high wages and prices, followed by collapse, debt and distress, many of them gave up the high hopes with which they had entered into the contract, and in subsequent transfers their rights came by legitimate purchase into the hands of Isaac Sawyer, Edmund and Joseph Wells and Jacob Abraham Lansing, among the patentees, along with Alexander Colden, William Smith and Goldsbrow Banyar of the provincial government. There is no reason to impute to this transactions the slightest irregularity. Banvar, in particular, the clerk of the Provincial Council, was a public official of the utmost tact, loyalty and skill, as well as of high character, Alexander Colden was the son of Cadwallader Colden and his successor as Surveyor-General of the Province, and was familiar with the Governor's plans and hopes.

As to why the name of Cambridge was chosen for this District, there appears to be no definite information. The Provincial government was accustomed, when it was necessary to christen developing areas, to use one of the titles belonging to the royal family. No great departure from this rule is found in the naming of Pittstown, created in the same grant with Cambridge, since in 1761 the name of William Pitt the elder was the most illustrious in the civilized world, pronounced by every Englishman with pride and by every enemy of England with mingled terror and admiration. But the dukedom of Cambridge, created for George II in 1706, had lapsed in 1727 when he became King, and was not revived until 1801, when it was bestowed upon the seventh son of George III, father of that nineteenth century Duke of Cambridge who was chief in command of the British army for many years. The title of Cambridge, therefore, had been long in abeyance when the Cambridge Patent was granted, never did belong to George III, and seems unlikely to have been in Colden's mind. Nor was anything in his career, so far as we know, connected with the English Cambridgeshire or Cambridge University. This is evidently a topic for further research.

Other Patents in the Cambridge District

The next patent granted in the Cambridge District was to Arendt Van Corlaer 3d and Nicholas Lake, Jr., with the latter's three brothers, James, Thomas and John Lake, who were given 5,000 acres, under due formality and seal, on November 21st of the same year, 1761. This patent capped the truncated cone which the Walloomsac Patent thrust into the southeast corner of the Town of White Creek. Its shape was that of an inverted V, with the eastern arm much fatter than the western one. Starting at the base point on the county line to which we have previously referred, this patent's southern limits are precisely on the northern line of the Walloomsac Patent. Its west line follows the base line northward about one and one-half miles to the hill behind Mr. Thomas Behan's house, turning there and running about three and one-half miles northeast to a point midway between Martindale Corners and Briggs Corners, thence about two and one-half miles somewhat south of east to the southern slope of West Mountain in the Town of Shaftsbury, thence a little west of south three miles and one-quarter to the outskirts of North Bennington, thence northwest three and one-quarter miles to the White Creek Grange Hall, thence westerly a little more than one mile, and southwest two and one-half miles to the place of beginning. It may be assumed that the services of Lake and Van Corlaer in obtaining the Indian deed had some relation to this grant, on which, however, they were nevertheless obligated to settle at least five families and place 300 acres under cultivation within three years - a difficult task on ground so mountainous and densely wooded.

The second grant in the Cambridge District, after the Cambridge Patent, was at the northern end. It will be recalled that

the thirteen-mile base line to which we have repeatedly referred separated the Cambridge Patent, lying wholly on its western side and including the fertile Owl Kill Valley, from an area extending eastward to the high mountains in Vermont, fully equal to the Cambridge Patent in size but of a terrain forbidding to agriculture. Good land along the Batten Kill was, however, available on the east side of the base line, and 10.000acres of this was patented on May 11, 1762, to Ryer D. Schermerhorn. Johannes Quackenbos, Peter Quackenbos, John Smith, William Schermerhorn, Jacob Schermerhorn, Nicholas Quackenbos, Thomas Smith. Freeman Schermerhorn and Joseph Lynson, all of Schenectady. This was officially the Schermerhorn Patent but is commonly called the Annaquassicoke Patent. It is in shape like a gigantic L, with the horizontal line very fat and tilted upward. Our familiar base line forms its entire western boundary, starting from a point a little more than one mile east of Cambridge village on the road to Ash Grove, and running north eight miles to the Batten Kill, which it meets at the north end of the Town of Jackson. The Batten Kill, going upstream toward Arlington, then forms the patent's eastern and northern boundary as it curves southward and then northeast. The northeast corner of the patent is at the bottom of the first southern loop made by the Batten Kill after it enters New York State, and is about one-third of a mile from the State boundary in a straight line east and west. From this point the line runs south-southwest something more than five miles, along the west slope of Goose Egg Mountain and the west slope of Two Tops to a point a quarter of a mile north of the road to Pumpkin Hook and three-quarters of a mile east of Ash Grove. There it slants slightly south of west a mile and a half to the place of beginning. This patent was laid out in 1763 into twenty-five great lots of 400 acres each, beginning at the north end. Six of the original patentees sold out, and Thomas Smith, William Smith, Johannes Quackenbos and Ryer Schermerhorn became the owners of five lots each, while Jacob and Barnardus Vrooman Schermerhorn held five lots between them.

This Johannes Quackenbos (John Quackenboss) had only lately figured in a singular incident of the French and Indian war. Seventeen soldiers, of whom he was one, were taken prisoners by the Indians and carried to the present site of Hudson Falls. They were seated on a log, in a row, when their captors deliberately began to tomahawk them, taking them in order from one end of the log. When all were killed but Quackenbos, a squaw, capitvated by his stalwart physique and brilliant mop of bright yellow hair, claimed him as her own and his life was spared. Soon after his escape from captivity he joined the Schermerhorns in the purchase of the Annaquassicoke Patent, where he ended his days in peace and plenty.

No more land was granted in the Cambridge District until 1765. In the meantime stirring events were brewing. The French and Indian War came to an end in 1763. By the crude arrangements of that time army officers not on active service were reduced at once to half pay, and private soldiers were disbanded and left to shift for themselves. Under Pitt's forceful hand, however, the strongest efforts were intended to shift the whole aim of England's colonial policy - if a thing so nebulous as that had always been could be given such a name. With the acquisition of France's empire, the emphasis was to be placed on subduing the wildnerness, populating the waste places, and creating markets for English wares. It was, in fact, the first dawn of the Industrial Revolution. Emigration from the homeland, extremely active up to 1660 but after that of trifling importance, was to be revived and new settlements were to be encouraged on the widest scale. Nothing could fit in more nicely with these plans than to induce the reduced officers and disbanded soldiers to remain in America, take up the land and clear it and settle it.

Accordingly, on October 7, 1763, General Jeffrey Amherst, by royal order, issued "the King's Military Proclamation," under which, in recognition of their valiant and gallant sacrifices on his behalf, his Majesty was pleased to offer, from the royal bounty, to every field officer of his late service in America who chose to occupy the same 5,000 acres of land free of quitrents for ten years, to reduced captains 3,000 acres, to lieutenants 2,000 acres, to non-commissioned officers 200 acres, and to each private fifty acres. Amherst's proclamation, opening up the whole northeast, caused an unprecedented rush for patents. The King himself granted many, and ordered others to be granted, to men in England who had never seen America, greatly to the distress of his royal governors and the cause of much confusion when the grantees subsequently turned up with claims to be honored. The strain upon Governor Colden was particularly severe, as few of the reduced officers who had been in New England cared to locate there, and they concentrated therefore on New York. By April, 1764, no less than 400 of these reduced officers had applied

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to him for lands to be surveyed for them. It was almost impossible at that time to find so much land available, reasonably near a settlement, with title clear of dispute, and not reserved to the Indians. The tract beween the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, north as far as Lake Champlain, hitherto unbroken wilderness but now at length freed of the French and Indian perils, seemed an answer to prayer, and patents were issued for it as rapidly as the Indian titles could be extinguished and the surveys made. As we shall see a little later, there was no reason whatsoever, in law, morals or ordinary sense, to doubt New York's good title to everything in this region west of the Connecticut River and north of the north line of Massachusetts.

Several of these military patents fell in the Cambridge District. They were as follows:

To Lieutenant John Gregor, June 10, 1765, 2,000 acres.

To Lieutenant James Bain, July 12, 1765, 2,000 acres.

To Lieutenant Ann Gordon, July 12, 1765, 2,000 acres.

To Staff Quartermaster Major Duncan MacVicar, July 12, 1765, 5,000 acres.

To Lieutenant James Grant and Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, October 11, 1765, 4,000 acres.

October 21, 1765, there was patented the so-called Embury tract of 6,000 acres in the Cambridge District. This was not a military grant, but was made to Philip and Peter Embury, Thomas Proctor, Moses Cowan, and Samuel, George, John and James Wilson. Philip Embury was the famous Methodist pioneer preacher who founded in the Cambridge District the first Methodist church north of New York City and the second in America. We shall hear much more of him a little later. This patent, with the granting, on November 3, 1766, to Joseph Reade, Jr., and Wilhelmus Van Antwerp of Albany, of the 1,400-acre crescent between the Cambridge Patent and the Hoosick Patent, on the west side of the District, due to a surveyor's error to which we have already referred, brought the entire area of the Cambridge District into private ownership.

Of these grants, that to Embury and his associates was the northernmost. Its western boundary was the east line of the Annaquassicoke Patent, which as we have seen slants northeastward. Its northwest corner was a little south of the Batten Kill's first southern loop after it enters New York State, from which point its northern line extended eastward about one mile, then jogging south and southeast another mile, then due south four miles and one-half along the western slopes of Big Spruce and Grass Mountains in the Town of Arlington to a point about six miles due east of Cambridge village, thence westward four miles to the southeast corner of the Annaquassicoke Patent. Black Hole Hollow, Goose Egg Mountain and Two Tops are in this Embury Patent, which runs over into Vermont a good mile and a half.

The Grant and Campbell Patent was next south of the Annaquassicoke and Embury grants. Its west line bordered on the east line of the Cambridge Patent for half a mile at a point southeast of the village. From there the patent ran irregularly eastward more than four miles, extending a mile and a half into Arlington and Shaftsbury, and then slanting southwesterly to a point midway between Shaker Hollow and the Notch, its boundary running thence north a mile and a half and westward one mile to the base line. Pumpkin Hook is right in the center of this patent.

Lieutenant John Gregor's grant ran north and south, one mile wide and three miles long. It took in all of Shaker Hollow and an area east and west of Mount Tom. Bounded on the north by Grant and Campbell, it ran south to join the Lake and Van Corlaer patent a mile east of Post Corners.

Lieutenant James Bain's grant, also about one mile wide and three miles long, slanted from southwest to northeast. It lay east of Lieutenant Gregor's and was also bounded by Grant and Campbell on the north and Lake and Van Corlaer on the south. Mr. Herbert Niles' home is in the middle of its western end, and it ran northeasterly well into Shaftsbury, north of Briggs Corners, including the present Jermain place and most of the "New Road" from White Creek village to Pumpkin Hook. Lieutenant Ann Gordon's property was in Shaftsbury, east of James Bain and south of Duncan MacVicar, whose land was the farthest east of any of the Colden patents in this part of the country.

The Lost Manor of Clarendon

When we come to Duncan MacVicar's patent we approach a sad little tale long familiar to students of literature and history, though few among ourselves perhaps have realized how close to our own doorsteps the scene for it was set. The story is of a fine young Scot's high hopes of founding here among us a great estate, a sort of Utopian bower, and of his disillusionment and loss as related by his daughter, Mrs. Anne MacVicar Grant, in a little book entitled "Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America as they existed previous to the Revolution" — a work indispensable to historical scholars and long loved by delvers into Americana, as much for its charm as for its facts.

The "American Lady" of this pleasant book was Madame Schuyler, mother of General Philip Schuyler, in whose home still standing on the west bank of the Hudson a quarter of a mile east of the Albany-Troy highway, at the boundary line between Menands and Watervliet — Mrs. Grant, then a child, lived for some years during and after the French and Indian War, in which her father was in active service as staff quartermaster of the Sixty-fifth Regiment of Royal Foot.

Duncan MacVicar was a plain, brave, pious man, and, like many Scots, well-born, intelligent, but poor. His maternal granduncle, Alexander Stewart of Invernahayle, was the prototype of the Baron of Bradwardine in "Waverley" — does anyone ever read Sir Walter in these days? — far-descended, gallant, courteous, and brave even to chivalry. To Major MacVicar, eager to provide for his family and having no resources save his army pay, now halved by the war's termination, the King's proclamation, with its bounty of free land, seemed a golden opportunity. Mrs. Grant thus relates the artless dream:

"He, having a right to apply for the allotted quantity wherever he found it vacant, that is, in old unoccupied places, between different patents, which it required much local knowledge of the country to discover, had greatly the advantage of strangers, because he could get information of these secluded spots here and there that were truly valuable; whereas other officers belonging to regiments disbanded in the country either had no such opportunity or did not find it convenient to go to the expense of taking out a patent and surveying the lands, and so sold their rights for a trifle. * * * My father bought the rights of two young officers who were in a hurry to go to Europe, and had not perhaps the wherewithal to pass through the necessary forms used to appropriate a particular spot, the expense of that process being considerable. Accordingly he became a consequential landholder and had his half-pay to boot." Examination of Major MacVicar's patent indicates that the officers whose claims he took over were Adjutant William Gregor and Lieutenant Stuart, tracts of 3,000 and 2,000 acres respectively, starting east of Briggs Corners and the State Line and running off northeasterly so as to include practically all of Shaftsbury Hollow and a good part of West Mountain in the Town of Shaftsbury.

With Madame Schuyler's interested aid, "my father's plan of proceeding was fully digested. He was to survey and locate his lands (that was the phrase used for such transactions) and at leisure (as the price of lands was daily rising) to let them out on lease. He was to reserve a good farm for himself, but not to reside upon it till the lands around it were cultivated, and so many settlers gone up as would make the district in a degree civilized and populous — a change which was likely to take place very rapidly as there were daily emigrations to that neighborhood, which had become a favorite rallying point, on account of a singularly flourishing and well conducted settlement under the auspices of Colonel Schuyler in this quarter."

This reference is, of course, to Philip Schuyler's development of Old Saratoga (now Schuylerville), where he had engaged Scotch-Irish artisans from Glasgow, Londonderry and Dublin for his successful linen mill; operated a line of transportation between Schuylerville and Albany, and employed several hundred men the year round in his mills, on his land, in boats and at the Fish Creek weirs. That thriving community did indeed augur well for the future prosperity of all this region. Mrs. Grant continues:

"My father went up in Summer with a retinue of Indians and disbanded soldiers, etc., headed by a land surveyor. In that country men of this description formed an important and distinct profession. They were provided with an apparatus of measuring chains, tents and provisions. It was upon the whole an expensive expedition; but this was the less to be regretted as the object proved fully adequate.

"Never was a location more fertile or more valuable, nor the possessor of an estate more elated with his acquisition; a beautiful stream passed through the midst of the property; — (this was Little White Creek) — beyond its limits on one side rose a lofty eminence covered with tall cedar, which being included in no patent, would be a common good, and offered an inexhaustible supply of timber and firing after the lands should be entirely cleared.

"This sylvan scene appeared, even in its wild state, to possess singular advantages; it was dry-lying land without the least particle of swamp; great part of it was covered with chestnuts. the sure indication of good wheat land, and the rest with white oak, the never failing forerunner of good Indian corn and pasture. The ground, at the time of the survey, was in a great measure covered with strawberries, the certain sign of fertility. And better and better, still, there was, on a considerable stream which watered this region of bendiction, a beaver dam that was visibly of at least fifty years standing. * * Being very much inclined to be happy, and abundant in resources, the simple felicity which was at some future period to prevail among the amiable and innocent tenants we were to have at Clarendon, filled my whole soul."

Continuing her description of early conditions in the Cambridge District, Mrs. Grant notes that, "not the least distrusting each other, the primitive colonists got large grants from government to encourage their efforts in the early stages of cultivation; these lands being first purchased, for some petty consideration, from the Indians, who alone knew the landmarks of that illimitable forest.

"The boundaries of such large grants, when afterwards confirmed by government, were distinguished by the terms used by the Indians, who pointed them out; and very extraordinary marks they were. For instance, one that I recollect: 'We exchange with our brother, Cornelius Rensselaer, for so many strouds, guns, etc., the lands beginning at the beaver creek, going on northward to the great fallen plane-tree, where our tribe slept last Summer; then eastward, to the three great cedars on the hillock; then, westward, straight to the wild-duck swamp; and sraight on from the swamp to the turn in the beaver creek where the old dam was.'

"Such are the boundaries seriously described in this manner in one of the earliest patents. The only mode then existing of fixing those vague limits was to mark large trees which grew at the corners of the property, with the owner's name deeply cut, along with the date of the patent, etc., after blazing, that is to say, cutting deeply into the tree, for a plain space to hold this inscription. "In this primitive manner were all the estates in the province bounded. Towards the sea this did very well, as the patents, in a manner, bounded each other, and every one took care to prevent the encroachments of his neighbor. But in the interior people took great stretches of land here and there, where there were not patented lands adjoining; there being no continuity of fertile ground except on the banks of streams.

"The only security the public had against these trees being cut down, or others at a greater distance marked in their stead, was a law which made such attempts penal. This was a very nugatory threat, it being impossible to prove such an offense. Crimes of this nature encroaching on the property of individuals, I believe, rarely happened; but to enlarge one's boundary by taking in a little of King George's ground, to use a provincial phrase, was considered as no great harm."

Major MacVicar's contemplated happiness, however, was not to be. A spiteful fate had directed his location in the very midst of the night-riding terrorisms of the Bennington mob. No less than ten purchasers of pretended rights to his land, picked up by them for next to nothing from speculators who were not to be paid unless they could overthrow the New York title, had squatted on his property-a vulgar, insolent, malignant, envious, bumptious and enormously conceited nest of riffraff. With tears little Anne regretted that "the very spot which I had used fondly to contemplate as the future abode of peace, innocence and all the social virtues, should be singled out from all others as a refuge for the vagabonds and banditti of the continent." The settlers who owned the property, however, "were not equal in chicane to their adversaries, whose power lay in their cunning," and whose astonishing and violent usurpations "were so far beyond imagination that though there appeared not the smallest likelihood of their succeeding, as the plea must in the end be carried to Britain, people stood aghast, and saw no safety in living among those who were capable of making such daring strides over all established usage, and were ready on all occasions to confederate where any advantage was in view, though ever engaged in litigious contentions with each other in their original homes."

The end of it was that although Major MacVicar had won the esteem of all his worthwhile neighbors, and General Schuyler urged him to remain in America and would no doubt have made an adequate place for him here without much difficulty, his independent pride rebelled at receiving assistance, his low spirits seriously affected his health, and in 1768 he abandoned his lands and his dreams and returned with his family to Scotland. His property in Shaftsbury was eventually confiscated, under cover of the Revolution. In 1779, aged twenty-four, Anne was married to James Grant, an army chaplain who was also minister of the parish of Laggan, near Fort Augustus, Inverness, where her father was barrack-master — hence she is usually known as "Mrs. Grant of Laggan" — and on her husband's death in 1801, being left with a large family and a small income, she took to writing, in which field it is pleasant to record that she met with substantial success. Her reminiscenses of her childhood in the "Memoir of an American Lady" have been reprinted many times, and the earlier editions command a very substantial premium in the collector's market. She died in 1838.

CHAPTER THREE

THUNDER AND LIGHTNING

The Dispute With Vermont

No one can delve even lightly into the strange and devious processes by which the lovely region of Vermont - constituting the New York State Counties of Cumberland and Gloucester-was wrenched from its rightful place as an integral portion of New York, and still preserve the delusion that the Cambridge District's history has been dull, colorless, devoid of action, or lacking in vital ties with momentous and decisive events. Here is a story packed with melodrama, a tale of wild recklessness, greed, cruel suffering and bitter injustice, in all of which the Cambridge District was at the very heart and core. The Cambridge District's stake in the outcome was crucial, not less so than that of the State itself — which had already, as a province, been deprived of Dukes County (Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard and adjacent islands) and Cornwall County (a considerable portion of the coast of Maine; i.e. everything east from Casco Bay and the Kennebec river) - for while the State's loss was of territory and jurisdiction that of our District was also of the possessions and prosperity of its inhabitants, and we had, moreover, to endure the physical violence, the long drawn-out dreads of lawless terrorism, and the corrosions of personal animosity.

These words, it must be understood, are written without the slightest feeling against Vermont and the Vermonters of the present day. We are all of us truly proud of Vermont, and we are affectionately and admiringly fond of its people, eminent as they are for their intelligence, their charm and their virtues — the very salt of the earth. It would be particularly ungracious to wound their feelings gratuitously at the very time when Vermont's 150th anniversary of her admission into the Union as the fourteenth State is summoning from every quarter an unbroken chorus of eulogy, in which we have joined both gladly and sincerely. How could it be otherwise when they are not only our kind of people but they *are* our people — of exactly the same origins as are we of the Cambridge District, with common ancestry and innumerable blood relationships, whose fathers and mothers came over the mountains into these valleys with our fathers and mothers and took up land side by side with them, possessed of the same traditions, the same faith, the same traits, the same viewpoints in all respects?

The faithful historian, nevertheless, is compelled to tell the truth, and there are some singularly unlovely truths connected with the origin of our noble neighboring commonwealth. Surely it should be possible, after one hundred and eighty years, to offer dispassionately and without suspicion of malice an objective account of what actually happened. One's impression to that effect is strengthened by the fact that throughout these one hundred and eighty years the story has been told and retold, literally hundreds upon hundreds of times, exclusively from the Vermont standpoint. Early accounts were, not unnaturally but, rather, quite humanly, distorted to bolster Vermont's cause. The facts, consistently suppressed, were at length wholly lost to sight. Successive generations, in all innocence and good faith, have repeated these erroneous assertions until a huge body of legend and fable has supplanted the truth throughout the educational system of the United States and in the common understanding of virtually our entire population.

This writer, in the course of a good many years of study of this subject, has encountered whole libraries of books based on the Vermont mythology. Of late such volumes have been pouring from the presses at the rate of two or three a month. Their mere physical impact is overpowering. But he has never seen the story told from the standpoint of New York. Indeed, it was not until the opportunity came to him to examine the original documents for himself that he ever knew that New York had a standpoint. In contrast with Vermonters, some of whom seem rarely to be thinking of anything else, New Yorkers appear to have forgotten that such an issue ever existed. The situation is not unlike that between North and South in respect of the Civil War, as to which the South is still vehemently (and profitably) publicizing its own fallacious versions of the events of eighty years back, while the average Northerner, for whom the war was over long ago, knowing little indeed of what it was all about, much less what really

happened, good-naturedly absorbs the grossest libels in film and fiction without even realizing that he has been insulted.

In the case of Vermont, however, the Cambridge District had a vital concern — they once took us actually out of the United States! — and the historian of Cambridge cannot let the issues rest in silence. For the sake of our own children, who may never otherwise learn that their State and their ancestors were not only robbed in this matter but have also been basely slandered, it has therefore seemed worth while to set down here some of the salient facts. Naturally it is out of the question to cover the subject adequately within the limits of a single chapter of so brief an essay as this must necessarily be. A very big book — more than one of them, in fact — would be needed to set forth merely the available records which reveal the facts. No assertion will here be stated as a fact, however, which cannot be proved to be the truth.

Basis of New York's Title

The Dutch, who held New York from 1609 to 1664 (and again briefly in 1673 and 1674), claimed sovereignty and jurisdiction from Delaware Bay to Cape Cod, and by discovery and occupancy their claim was good, though they were not able to maintain it against military conquest by the English. They had a fortified settlement on the present site of Hartford, Conn., in 1624, and were not only possessed of the mouth of the Connecticut River, where they had another fort and garrison, but discovered the river for a hundred miles up, had their people trading there, and purchased of the Indians almost all the lands on both sides of that river. Under special circumstances, they agreed in 1650 to, very roughly, the now-existing boundary between New York and Connecticut, and by another compromise agreement, duly adjudicated, and approved by William and Mary in 1700, such boundary was again established. (In point of fact, the boundary between New York and Connecticut was never finally and actually settled until 1881.) However, in surrendering to the English in 1664, and again in 1674, the Dutch conveyed their undoubted rights as far as the Connecticut River, subject to the compromise referred to, and King Charles II, in his grant of New Netherlands to his brother, the Duke of York, in 1664 (confirmed in 1674), conveyed to him in fee "all the Land from the West side of Connecticut River to the East Side of Delaware Bay."

Northward from Connecticut there was endless intrusion upon New York's eastern borders by Massachusetts squatters (few, if any, of whom, however, crossed the Connecticut River before 1734 or 1735). This is in itself another long story, of which we can here say no more than that the incurable, hopeless sloth and negligence of New York's provincial governors permitted the country without a protest to be so filled up with settlers who had made improvements in good faith that when the matter was finally taken up by the royal ministers in London - themselves somewhat lackadaisical and incompetent - and later by the goverment of New York State, when the State came into existence, New York's case in equity was fatally weak. That Massachusetts rightfully extended to a line twenty miles east of the Hudson River, in accordance with the compromise duly reached with Connecticut under special circumstances, was an afterthought ---a hundred years after the fact, and never mentioned during all that time. The Lords of Trade did indeed suggest such a line as a compromise in 1757, but nothing came of the proposal. Massachusetts held out, then and later, for twelve, ten or eight miles from the Hudson, and might as justly have claimed Virginia or Kentucky. And as a matter of fact, the famous "twenty-mile line" which was the Connecticut boundary would, if extended northward, have crossed the Hudson at West Point and placed New York's eastern boundary in Herkimer and Otsego Counties. The wonder is it was not so placed, for Massachusetts was rich, populous, selfish and aggressive, and New York, weak and ill governed - distinctly one of the feebler colonies - was easy prev and had slept on its rights. (This dispute, also ran on for years, and was not finally concluded until 1855.)

Such — condensed to the last degree — was the background when on January 3, 1749, Governor Benning Wentworth of the Province of New Hampshire granted a patent for a township in New York, six miles square and twenty miles east of the Hudson River — the township named Bennington for him, and still known by that name. King George II's commission to Wentworth as governor, dated July 3, 1741, bounded his province as extending westerly "until it meets with our Other Governments." As Wentworth well knew, the Duke of York's grant extended on the east to the Connecticut River, and that was where his own jurisdiction ended. The Dutch had been on the land he was thus summarily disposing of for more than 130 years. The Duke's grant had fixed the boundary at the Connecticut River more than eighty years back. And a good part of Bennington township was in the King's grant of Walloomsac Patent of June 15, 1739, at which time, as we have noted in the previous chapter, there had already been permanent settlers on the ground, under New York authority and allegiance, for more than thirty years.

November 17, 1749, ten months after he had made the Bennington grant, Governor Wentworth wrote to Governor George Clinton of New York, most disingenuously stating that he was planning to grant lands in the western part of his government and asking what were New York's boundaries. Presently informed in that respect, he replied, April 25, 1750, that inasmuch as Massachusetts and Connecticut had extended their boundaries west of the Connecticut River he had seen no harm in doing likewise, and had unfortunately already granted one small lot, but, "very far from desiring to make the least incroachment, or Set on foot any dispute on these points, I shall desist from Making any further Grants that may have the least probability of Interfering with your Government."

Further correspondence resulted in a firm agreement, accepted by Wentworth under date of September 2, 1750, to submit the whole case to the King, with mutual promises to exchange copies of the arguments to be made, Wentworth asserting, unctuously but gratuitously, that if the King held his Bennington grant to fall within New York "it will be void, of course." July 28, 1753, Governor Clinton issued a proclamation warning all against taking possession of lands under color of a New Hampshire title, and there the matter rested, so far as the New York government knew. The incursions of the Indians into this region. immediately preceding the outbreak of the French and Indian War, put an entire stop to any new settlements, and the war itself drove all minor problems out of mind. New York was certainly justified in supposing that, after what had passed, Wentworth would not venture to make further grants until the King's determination of the jurisdictions had been obtained. But that perfidious rascal, less than three weeks after promising to desist from encroachments, had granted the township of Halifax, May 11, 1750. Six months after promising to exchange briefs on the dispute with New York before appealing to the King, he filed his side of the case with the Board of Trade in London without notice to New York, and, taking full advantage of the preoccupation of the King and ministry and of the New York government with the disastrous war, he granted two more townships in New York territory in 1751, two in 1752, eight in 1753, three in 1754. He issued no more patents then until 1761, in which year he granted *sixty*, including Pownal, January 8th; Arlington, July 28th; Manchester and Sandgate, August 11th, and Shaftsbury, August 20th. Of these, Sandgate, Arlington and most of Shaftsbury were within seventeen miles of the Hudson River, although it was notorious that very anciently, and long before New Hampshire reached even to the Connecticut River, patents had been granted by New York twenty-four, twenty-eight and even thirty miles eastward of the Hudson. In 1762 Wentworth granted nine more patents in New York, in 1763 thirty-seven, and five in 1764. Before he was caught up with, he had given away 128 townships, well over 3,000,000 acres, of New York's property, most of which was entirely uninhabited and remained so for many years, reserving to himself 500 acres of the best land in each township, earmarked in the grants, or 64,000 acres in all.

King George's Royal Decree

The first inkling that all this was going on came to Governor Colden of New York on March 15, 1763, when he learned that five or six New Hampshire men, including two who were principal men in the New Hampshire government, being representatives in the General Assembly and justices of the peace, were at Crown Point (now in Essex County, N. Y.), on the western side of Lake Champlain, laying out lands all the way down to Fort Edward, and offering them for sale under the claim that they belonged to New Hampshire. At about the same time, word came to Colden that men in appearance no better than peddlers were traveling through Connecticut, New York and New Jersey, hawking and selling the pretended rights to Wentworth's fraudulent grants at such trifling prices as proved that the claimants could have no intention of becoming settlers, either from inability or from awareness that they could get no title under such claims.

Realizing what this would mean to his Cambridge Patent, and especially to the reduced officers and disbanded soldiers who had staked their futures on this very soil in reliance on his Majesty's bounty, and now must face at best the chance of interminable and costly law suits, Colden issued a very widely disseminated proclamation, December 28, 1763, declaring the whole truth of the matter and leaving no excuse to anyone who should subsequently place reliance on a New Hampshire patent. He likewise protested indignantly to the Lords of Trade in London, which body, thoroughly shocked at what had been going on and deeming Wentworth's conduct "disreputable" and his "extraordinary irregularities" without question null and void, for once aroused itself, with the consequence that the Judicial Committee of the King's Privy Council, — then as now the highest judicial authority in the British Empire — on July 20, 1764, settled the whole controversy, so far as human law could do so, in the following decree:

"L. S.) At the Court at St. James the 20th Day of July, 1764.

Present:

The Kings most Excellent Majesty.

Lord Steward	Earl of Hilsborough
Earl of Sandwich	Mr. Vice Chamberlain
Earl of Halifax	Gilbert Elliot Esqr
Earl of Powis	James Oswald Esqr
Earl of	Harcourt

"Whereas there was this Day read at the Board, a Report made by the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation affairs dated the 17th of this Instant, upon Considering a Representation from the Lands Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, relative to the Disputes that have some years Subsisted between the Provinces of New Hampshire and New York concerning the Boundary line between those Provinces. His Majesty taking the same into consideration was pleased with the advice of his privy Council to approve of what is therein proposed, and doth accordingly hereby Order and Declare the Western Banks of the River Connecticut, from where it enters the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, as far North as the forty fifth Degree of Northern Latitude, to be the Boundary line between the said two Provinces of New Hampshire and New York. Whereof the respective Governors and Commanders in Chief of his Majesty's said Provinces of New Hampshire and New York for the time being and all others whom it may Concern are to take notice of his Majesty's Pleasure hereby signified and Govern themselves accordingly.

WM. BLAIR"

There was, of course, no other conclusion at which a competent lawyer could possibly arrive, with the true facts before him, but an indication of the haphazard communications of that day may be noted in the fact that this vitally important decision did not reach New York until April 10, 1765. It reduced Governor

Wentworth to a pretense of abject submission, which as we shall see was but the prelude to blacker knavery later on. To the bona fide settlers under grants by Wentworth it was naturally disturbing. Of these there were perhaps seventy families in towns along the Connecticut River, but elsewhere virtually none outside of Shaftsbury, Bennington and Pownal, into which towns immigration had begun in 1761 and 1762. The New York Provincial Council, aware of the justified anxieties of these people, promptly ordered confirmation of title to everybody actually settled in those three towns, and on May 22, 1765, Governor Colden and the Council, "taking into consideration the case of those persons who are actually settled" on lands under New Hampshire grants declared by the King's decree to be in New York, and that "dispossession might be ruinous to them," ordered "that the Surveyor General do not make return on any Warrant or Survey, already, or which may hereafter come into his Hands, of any Lands so actually possessed under such Grants, unless for the Persons in actual Possession thereof."

This meant that no patent or title could or would be issued for lands in those towns to anyone save the people actually on them. It was a policy of Vermont for the Vermonters (although "Vermont" was not yet in existence), from which the New York government, both before and after the Revolution, never varied. There was never at any time the slightest intention or even wish to deprive any settler of his land. Nor was it ever a question of fees, or of paying twice for their farms. These are falsehoods out of whole cloth, no matter what one may always have been taught about it.

The Truth About the Claims.

The case of Samuel Robinson, later eminent among the Bennington malcontents, is illuminating. In 1765 he came to the New York Council with a plea for protection on his lands against persons who claimed the property had been granted to them. His request was granted instantly, as the government was determined to protect all actual settlers. Robinson then asked as a further favor that he and eight others be excused from paying fees for a new title from New York, which also was granted, and for which his thanks were obsequious. He then asked for the confirmation to him and his associates of the whole Town of Bennington, but part of that Town being included in the Walloomsac Patent, long antedating any possible New Hampshire Grant, he was told that he could have other lands in lieu thereof, in response to which his request was for 1,000,000 acres, or forty-five townships, by which time the Governor perceived that Mr. Robinson was determined not to be satisfied.

From then on there was trouble with the Benningtonians. When the New York Surveyor General, in obedience to the proclamation of May 22, 1765, undertook to survey all the lands actually settled — not for the purpose of making new grants, which the proclamation forbade, but that the property might be granted to the persons then living on it regardless of their title — many of the Bennington people refused to allow their lands to be surveyed. Nevertheless, in every case in which the actual settlers would accept a New York grant it was given to them, even when they refused to disclose their actual possessions, and wherever the land was known to be settled, and its boundaries could be determined, a grant for it was made out to the occupant and placed on file, ready to be issued when applied for.

As to fees, they were not exorbitant, even at their maximum, and even if enforced, which they were not in these cases. Sir Henry Moore repeatedly waived his perquisites, and Cadwallader Colden, in these matters, invariably left it to the grantees to pay him if, as, when and what they pleased. It is believed that there cannot be adduced one single instance of a bona fide settler on these lands who was refused a New York Patent because of nonpayment of fees. According to a contemporary record, what they actually paid was from \pounds 20 to \pounds 40 per township, New York currency, which, at an average of \pounds 30, or say \pounds 17 sterling, would work out to five or six shillings each for the sixty or seventy proprietors. Governor Wentworth's charges certainly seemed more moderate, for he charged nothing at all. His means of collecting revenue was to reserve 500 acres in each town for himself, with other reservations in the names of members of his Council and other public officers, in some towns amounting to 5,000 or 6,000 acres. In the end, however, this would have proved an appaling burden, for the officials refused absolutely to contribute to any of the public works or other necessary expenses of the towns. and when the labor and sacrifices of the settlers had made their free land valuable the Governor and his friends would have sold out at an enormous profit without a penny invested. Happily, such dreams as theirs were doomed to non-fulfilment.

The truth about the bulk of the settlers on the Grants was that, well knowing the New York claims and the King's decree,

they had bought their rights from earlier claimants under the New Hampshire patents, many of which had been split up so many times and conveyed and reconveyed so often, without the least attention to settlement, that, although the charters were granted so lately and the lands were still uncultivated, it was already an utter impossibility to trace the titles. One need not be a lawyer to realize what a mess was thus created. It is no wonder that some of them ran away and hid in the woods when the New York surveyors asked them to point out their boundaries that a free deed might be given to them. Not one who had the lands from Wentworth at first hand was himself on the ground, and the real owners of even the transferred shares, could they have been traced, actually resided in Massachusetts or Connecticut. Far from being turned out of possession, the greater part of them were never on the land at all and had no intention of coming there, though they were invited with all the encouragement New York could give. As to the actual occupants, New York made grants to them freely, subject only, where there seemed to be no title at all, to their giving a nominal bond to reconvey to any true proprietor who might turn up. Those who were not yet occupants and had made no improvements were offered 500 acres free of any charge if only they would live on the land and cultivate it.

When to this situation was added the further complication that most of the actual occupants of the land had purchased on the condition that they need never pay the purchase money, trifling as it was, unless the New Hampshire title was made good, we begin to see the source, in part, of the ensuing troubles. No little responsibility for these, of course, attaches to the personality and characteristics of Ethan Allen, but there is ample reason to believe that at first, and until the approach of the Revolution developed an entirely different set of ideas, Allen was but the tool and catspaw of Benning Wentworth and of the latter's nephew, John Wentworth, who succeeded him as governor in 1766. The King's decree had ruined the Wentworths' dreams of fortune from their frauds, but if the decree could be reversed they would come automatically into possession of great riches from their reserved tracts in each township. Given a rapidly growing population, well aware of the precariousness of its right to the land it was tilling and had made its home, and apprehensive, however ignorantly and erroneously, that a recognition of New York's jurisdiction would somehow endanger that right; add an influential class of land speculators who would never gain a cent of the

profits they were counting unless New York's jurisdiction was overthrown; add still further a loud-mouthed, blustering bully who had been imported into the region for his talents as a mobmaster — and one can see the situation was by no means hopeless for the Wentworths. John Wentworth kept the trails from Portsmouth hot with emissaries to the Grants, urging the malcontents to new excesses, vowing he could easily get them back under New Hampshire's wing if they would only stick together and keep up their resistance. Lest their petitions to the King should not be strong enough, Wentworth drew them himself and his own agents collected all sorts of signatures for them. Samuel Robinson was often in Portsmouth, coming back in funds. Wherever a disposition to come to terms with New York was suspected, Wentworth redoubled his persuasions and his encouragements and Allen burst forth with new threats and menaces.

New York's Fatal Error.

There was much more of such a disposition than would be believed today if the records did not prove it. A very considerable number of the settlers — in some towns a clear majority — took the New York titles so freely offered and were completely satisfied. The people east of the mountains and along the Connecticut River were almost without exception well content. Pownal remained quiet and peaceable. Bennington was a center of disturbance, but there was trouble elsewhere only when Allen took it there, sometimes traveling a hundred miles or more to commit an outrage. Long after Vermont's independence had been declared by a rump convention, those who wished to remain New Yorkers were still in the majority in many of the towns, and in many more the division of sentiment was fairly even.

New York's great mistake at this point was a fatal lenience. In the face of riotous and disorderly conduct, the provincial government repeatedly withheld its hand lest action to suppress the guilty might injure others who were innocent and serve to perpetuate that ill-feeling which it was so anxiously hoped to dispel. For reasons utterly apart from this dispute there were signs of uneasiness and of coming trouble everywhere throughout the colonies, affecting not merely the criminal and rowdy element but substantial citizens, and thoughtful agents of the Crown were doing all they could to conciliate the people rather than to coerce them. As to the owners of land under the ancient patents, the last thing they wanted was to drive the settlers off. They sought merely to preserve their ownership, which would have been fatally endangered by their acquiescence in adverse claims. Consequently, when actions to test their titles were brought into court and decided in their favor, as they had to be in any civilized tribunal, they let the matter drop, for the most part, with the jury's verdict. In those instances where ejectment papers were actually served, the Sheriff was instructed to leave the people undisturbed in their possession. Not one soul was ever put in prison in any suit ever brought by any of the New York proprietors.

The results of this policy of appeasement were most unfortunate. The forbearance of the provincial government was taken for cowardice, and that of the New York proprietors was construed as proof that they doubted the validity of their titles and were consequently afraid to enforce them. After the first of the Albany trials Bliss Willoughby, agent for the Shaftsbury settlers, owned the invalidity of the New Hampshire titles and said his people had never suspected up to then that the New York claims were so well based. Many were then disposed to accept the court's decree and declare the whole controversy ended, but as time went on and no writs of ejectment were ever served they changed their minds, and under the constant incitements of John Wentworth, who assured them that very soon now the King would be induced to reverse himself and their land would be in New Hampshire, and the gentle influence of Ethan Allen, who promised them that if any man acknowledged a Yorker as his landlord his house should be burned over his head before the next morning and he also if he did not fly, they became defiant.

Every act of friendship on the part of the government of New York now seemed to raise their spirits, as showing the government was afraid of them. Every indulgence offered by the New York proprietors was rejected with disdain. Allen's mob began to assemble, masked, in the night time, and throw down fences, destroy crops, shoot or main horses and cattle, and utter weird threats. No man could speak a word in favor of New York without danger of both life and property. Every man that was a Yorker should be ruined and hove off the land. No man durst settle but a New England man. If the Yorkers got the upper hand the mob would come every year and destroy any and every person's substance that would offer to settle there. The news from New Hampshire was all that they would win if they would stick. The reduced soldiers must be driven off before they could get a chance to build. And from New Hampshire, the hypocrite John Wentworth wrote to Governor Tryon of New York of his pleasure at noting that there was no trouble on the banks of the Connecticut and of his sympathy with Tryon's difficulties with "that lawless and violent little group in Bennington, lately removed from Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay colonies."

The Bennington Mob at Play.

At this time and for some years thereafter there were so many threats of arson hereabouts that no man in the Cambridge District could safely leave his home, even for transaction of the most necessary business. August 17, 1764, Sheriff Harmanus Schuyler of Albany County arrested Samuel Ashley, who called himself a deputy sheriff; Samuel Robinson, justice of the peace self-styled, and John Horsfoot and Isaac Charles, all of Bennington, the two latter pretended owners of the lands of Peter Voss and Bastiane Deal, who had been turned out of possession of property on the Hoosick Patent, in the Cambridge District, which they had owned for more than thirty years and had occupied continuously except when driven off by enemy Indians in the last two wars. But matters soon got beyond the Sheriff's control. Samuel Gardenier of Kinderhook had bought 310 acres of land in the Walloomsac Patent, in the Cambridge District, from James De Lancey of New York, for £ 300. Finding one Ichabod Cross in possession, and being unwilling to take any advantage of Cross' improvements, Gardenier submitted the facts to arbitration. The ruling was that he should pay Cross \pounds 25 for his improvements and suffer him to occupy half of the improved land rent-free for five years. However, Gardenier's fences were pulled down three times a week; his neighbors told him he might as well quit, for he could never live there in peace; Cross said he would get the land again, for the Yorker had no right to it; and nobody would help the land-owner for fear of the Bennington mob. Threats were conveyed to him of burning all he had and killing him. Two hours before daybreak came a mob on horseback, some in blankets like Indians, others masked in handkerchiefs with women's caps on their heads, armed with sickles, clubs and pistols. They demanded that Gardenier give his land back to Cross, else the consequences to him would be terrible, such a day to him as he had never seen since he was born. Two weeks later a mob of 100 men returned. with faces blacked, wigs of horsetails and masks, armed with guns, swords, pistols and clubs. Searching the house for Gardenier in vain, they tore down all his fences, burned 200 panels of fencing with a large stack of hay, tipped over the rest of his hay and scattered and rolled it through mud and filth, and left word that he would be cropped, inhumanly mutilated, whipped and tied to a tree with a gag in his mouth until he starved to death.

October 19, 1769, and September 26, 1770, armed mobs prevented surveys on the Walloomsac Patent, declaring their certainty that the King's order would soon be rescinded. Cumberland County - southern Vermont, east of the Green Mountains -having been established in 1768 to relieve the settlers of the necessity of traveling to Albany to attend to legal business, rioters broke up the court at Charlestown, in that county, in May, 1770, and again in the following month. In a petition of 450 actual residents of Cumberland to the King, asking for protection against the Bennington mob. dated November 1, 1770, it was stated that these riotous outbreaks were certainly inspired by New Hampshire people to promote the traffickers in fraudulent titles and aggrandize the family of Wentworth. June 11, 1771, fifteen armed men actually came over into Argyle, north of Cambridge, and violently assaulted Donald McIntire and others and dispossessed them of lands granted them by the New York government. In July, 1771, Sheriff Ten Evck of Albany County was driven off by armed men while investigating. August 2, 1771, a mob led by Seth Warner, Elnathan Hubble and Amos Mateson came after midnight to the home of Justice of the Peace John Munro in Shaftsbury, turned him and his family out and pulled the house down, October 29, 1771, an armed mob calling themselves New Hampsire men came to the 200-acre farm granted by New York to Charles Hutchesson, late corporal in Colonel Montgomery's Highland Regiment of Foot, fifteen miles east of the Hudson River and four miles north of New Perth (Salem), tore down his house, burned it, damned the Governor, the laws, the King, the Council and the Assembly, and threatened Hutchesson with death. The same day they burned the house of John Reid and dispossessed nine other families on lands granted them by the New York government in accordance with the King's instructions. October 19, 1771, Governor Wentworth "positively disavows any connection with those people and utterly disclaims any such assurances to them," but he declined to make any public statement of such disavowal.

An Olive Branch, and Its Sequel.

May 19, 1772, the violence growing more and more barbar-

ous, Governor Tryon addressed the people of Bennington with a final offer of reconciliation. "That you may not be misled or deceived by a persuasion that that part of the country you inhabit will ever be annexed to the government of New Hampshire." he had authoritative assurances that the King would not change his mind. Nevertheless he wished to examine into their grievances and give them such relief as he could, and he promised safe conduct to New York and return for their representatives. Landlord Stephen Fay and Jonas Fay of Bennington were deputed to wait upon the Governor. July 1st the Council, noting that the only trouble in the region was in Bennington and its vicinity, resolved that "in great tenderness to a deluded people who are in danger of forfeiting the favour of the Crown by resisting the authority of the Laws," all prosecutions on account of their crimes should be suspended, all Civil suits concerning these lands dropped, and agreements reached for the purchase of the lands involved on moderate terms — this on condition settlers on both sides of the controversy shall be undisturbed and such as have been dispossessed or forced by threats or other means to desert their farms shall be unmolested.

That this was deemed a fair offer at the time may be judged from the following report of a public meeting at Bennington:

"At a public meeting held at the Meeting House

in Bennington on Wednesday 15th July A.D. 1772.

"Present of the Committee appointed to answer His Excellency William Tryon Esqr Governor of the province of New York to his Letter dated New York 19, May last, & directed to the Inhabitants of Bennington & the adjacent Country on the East side of Hudson's River.

Captain John Fassett)	
&)	for Bennington
Nathan Clark)	

Reuben Harmon for Rupert.

Daniel Comstock for Sunderland.

"We as Messengers laid before the above Committee an Extract of the Minutes of His Majesty's Council of the aforesaid Province of N. York the 2nd Instant together with his Excellency Govr Tryon's Letter of the same date directed to the Inhabitants of Bennington, &c and after reading the same to the above Committee & a numerous Concourse of the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country, & other Spectators, a full and unanimous vote was given in favor of the papers aforesaid, and the Thanks of the People returned to us for our Diligence in procuring those Papers. Peace was also recommended in the Whole of the New Hampshire Grants by all who were present; when the whole Artillery of Bennington with the small arms were several Times Discharged in Honor to the Govr & Councill of N. York. After which the following Healths were drank.

Health to the King.

Health to Govr Tryon.

Health to the Council of N. York.

Universal peace & Pelenty Liberty & Property, By sundry respectable Gentlemen some of Which were from the neighbouring Provinces.

STEPHEN FAY, JONAS FAY.

"The above is a true Copy

STEPHEN FAY."

Such wishy-washy truckling, holding out the prospect of amity and order, suited not at all the book of Ethan Allen. Obviously to wreck the negotiations, at the very time this was going on. Allen and others committed new outrages upon Colonel John Reid, late of the 42d Royal Highlanders, at Otter Creek. Colonel Reid was one who, finding squatters on his land when he came to take it up, had paid them for all the crops they had raised on his own property and had built them homes. When Allen and Seth Warner and Remember Baker came with their gang of gun men, the Colonel spoke to them of the government's intention, and his own, to be fair to all. They despised the New York Governor and Council, they informed him. They lived out of bounds of the law. Their guns were their law. They would never allow any person to settle east of the Hudson who claimed under New York, but if he would come with them he could have al lthe land for nothing. They had traveled 120 miles to perform this outrage, they said. Eight men lay in ambush to assassinate Colonel Reid and his whole party, at the mouth of Otto Creek, that none should be left to tell the tale, but the Colonel was a day late.

"We are a lawless mob," Allen ranted. "Our law is mob law. I have run these woods in the same manner for seven years and never was catched yet, and if any settlers offer to build any houses in the Grants we will burn their houses and whip them to the bargain."

According to a surgeon's report, their victims were most inhumanly beaten with hickory clubs. They burned the mill and all the houses, broke the millstones and threw them into the creek, and destroyed the crops.

This, as Allen undoubtedly designed, was enough to wreck the prospects of a friendly settlement. Governor Tryon considered it, under the circumstances, disingenuous, dishonorable, an insult to government and a violation of public faith. September 29, 1772, the New York Council, noting that "this is a very valuable country, and but for the disturbances in Bennington and the neighborhood of that town, is now in a peaceful and flourishing condition," formally declared that Allen's mob, "while they at first confined their claims to the lands they then possessed, now range all over Northern New York. Instead of gratitude for so very favorable terms, they perpetrate fresh acts of violence, still more obnoxious and inexcusable, and even have the insolence to claim that the Governor's offer was to stay all New York settlements while the New Hampshire settlements were to proceed." Far too late, as usual, the Council now resolved to appeal to the King for regular troops to put an end to the nonsense. On the very same day — September 29, 1772 — Remember Baker, Ira Allen and five others set upon three New York surveyors, stripped them of their property and effects, insulted and threatened them, bound one and threw him into a fire, and otherwise beat and abused them in a cruel manner. A little later - indicating the extent to which the successful defiance of the law attracts a criminal element — counterfeiting apparatus on a large scale was seized in Arlington and Shaftsbury. Prisoners arraigned before Justice of the Peace Munro confessed on oath, involving a gang of nineteen men. The constables taking the prisoners to jail let them go, and that night Squire Munro's potash works were burned - one of a long series of such losses he had sustained.

Certainly it was high time for firm measures. Captain David Wooster of New Haven, an officer in his Majesty's 51st Regiment of Foot, later a major-general in the American army in the Revolutionary War, killed in battle with the British at the Danbury raid of April 27, 1777, had his own ideas on this subject. Captain Wooster was one of those who had been given, by the King's bounty, 3,000 acres of land in Vermont. He found five families there, claiming under a grant from New Hampshire. Some admitted they were trespassers and moved on. To others he gave permission to stay on their acknowledging him as landlord. Later, hearing some new intruders had appeared, he went back and found thirteen of them confronting him with muskets. Covering them with his own pistol, he served notices of ejectment. They said they would attend no court, would hang any sheriff, and would defy the King's troops. They admitted they had no right to the land, but they insisted that no person should hold any land there under a New York title. One of them who was willing to take a lease was cowed by his companions' threats. Captain Wooster, swearing that with fifty men he could reduce such trash to due order all over the country, summarized the situation at this time most admirably in his report to the Governor, as follows:

"For some time past there has prevailed in that part of the country a spirit of disorder and licentiousness in opposition to the justice of this province, among numbers of people who have seated themselves on the lands granted by the province of New York to the reduced officers and others, some claiming the same lands under New Hampshire, and others without any such pretence of claim, who are supported in such proceedings by a combination formed for the support of themselves and every person indiscriminately who will settle any of those lands in opposition to the titles granted under the province of New York and for the prevention of any settlements to be made in that part of the province of New York under letters patent granted in the said province; that for this purpose they have formed themselves into small companies under leaders whom they call captains, who frequently make excursions in that country for discovery of settlers under his Majesty's grants issued under his great seal of New York and to dispossess such settlers."

Humoresque in the Wilderness.

We have seen how the Benningtonian position, which had begun as a claim of legal right under New Hampshire patents, as against rights claimed under prior New York patents, had deteriorated into a denial of the validity not only of New York titles but of New York sovereignty. This was a necessary evolution, since it was evident to any legal mind that not even the reversal of the King's decree as to the jurisdiction could affect private titles to land. These could not be disturbed, under English jurisprudence, by the King himself, but only by the King's courts of law. Consequently all that could be hoped for, even in the King reversed himself, would be the confirmation of such parcels of the New Hampshire grants as were not comprehended in any prior New York patent, and this — which New York had offered all the time, not only freely but humbly and pleadingly — was wholly insufficient to satiate the mob. It was necessary for their purposes to get the matter out of the hands of the courts entirely. To accomplish this it would be necessary to deny that New York had any authority whatsoever. This meant rebellion, and rebellion it was — never in open battle, but in outrages on picked victims, their helplessness first assured.

The provincial authorities appealed in vain for the help of troops. General Haldimand, in Canada, reminded them that he had no place to quarter troops except at Ticonderoga, and before the French abandoned that place to Lord Jeffrey Amherst's army, July 26, 1758, they had blown up all the fortifications, burned the buildings and left it a hopeless wreck. It might accommodate fifty soldiers, but he doubted it. General Gage, in Boston, had too many other troubles on his hands to spare troops for New York. And then the London ministry firmly vetoed any proposal to bring force to bear on the highly nervous and jumpy colonies, no matter what their sins.

The position of his Majesty's faithful subjects in the Northeast District of Albany County at that time was unfavorable. They were subject to daily outrages from the Bennington mob, which often assembled in large numbers and traveled armed from place to place, insulting and beating people, burning their houses and destroying their property. All who submitted to the authority of the New York government were marked as their victims, and they were especially brutal toward the magistrates appointed by the government for this district. Several of these they intimidated from qualifying. Two they seized and brought to trial in a kangaroo court, on charges of accepting offices when forbidden to do so by Ethan Allen. Their houses were "sentenced" to be burned, and they were compelled to renounce their commissions. The Coroner having made his escape, they sentenced his house to be burned to the ground, which was vigorously executed in open day, but not content with this revenge they hunted after him, proclaiming that if he should be discovered they would shoot him without mercy. They warned the undersheriff not to execute any process within their district, on pain of severe chastisement. They notified the commissioners of highways that they would oppose all their acts and proceedings by force of arms. They interposed in disputes respecting private contracts. rescuing prisoners for debt, threatening to beat the plaintiffs and demolish their houses unless they acquiesced, and fining the constable for executing the process. Many people were cruelly whipped and promised that a second visit would leave them corpses. Under these circumstances, many an honest farmer was reduced to the hard necessity of either associating with the rioters or abandoning his property and fleeing the country, to the ruin of himself and his family.

It is perhaps unprofitable to dwell upon these things at this late date. We have spared the reader, at any rate, all but a tiny fraction of the material that is available. One more incident, quite typical, is of special interest to the Cambridge District because it involves the pioneer Baptist minister in this region, the Rev. Benjamin Hough, who was the first pastor of the first Baptist Church in the Town of Shaftsbury, being settled there in 1768. (This was not the present Shaftsbury Baptist Church, which, when it was founded, about 1785, was the fourth church of that denomination in that Town.) Elder Hough, who was a justice of the peace as well as a preacher, was set upon at about 8 o'clock on the morning of January 26, 1775, when he was alone at his home except for a six year old child, by thirty men armed with firelocks, swords and hatchets. He was carried away and kept a prisoner for four days, while they awaited the arrival of Ethan Allen and Seth Warner. When the "court" was constituted, the prisoner, guarded by men with drawn swords, was informed by Allen that he was guilty, first, of complaining to the government of New York about the rioters mobbing and injuring people; second, of dissuading and discouraging the people from joining the mob; and third, of acting as a magistrate for Charlotte County when he well knew that the mob did not allow any New York magistrates there.

The clergyman demanded of his "judges" whether he had ever done injustice to any man in the execution of his office as magistrate. They answered that they could not charge him with any injustice, nor had they any complaint of that kind to make against him. Seth Warner in particular declared that they would as willingly have him for a magistrate as any man whatever, but that they would not under their present circumstances suffer any magistrate at all. Elder Hough then asked them whether they could accuse him of busying himself or intermeddling with respect to titles of lands, and Ethan Allen replied in the negative, that they had not heard of, nor did they pretend to charge him with anything of that kind. The Elder then said that, with respect to their three charges against him, he admitted them to be true — that he had complained to the government of the mob's brutal proceedings, that he had used his endeavors to dissuade people from joining the rioters, that he had accepted a commission as magistrate — and that all this he had a good right to do, and looked upon as his duty.

The sentence of the "court" was that the Elder should be tied to a tree and receive two hundred lashes on the naked back, and that as soon as he should be able he should depart the New Hampshire Grants and not return again on pain of receiving five hundred lashes. The minister was immediately stripped to the skin and lashed two hundred times with whips of cords. Four men, who were constantly urged to lay on their blows well and to strike harder, lashed him alternately, and at the close he received from each of them ten lashes. Bleeding and fainting from his wounds, he was then ordered to get directly out of the country, and though he pleaded that they had dragged him from his home without giving him time to provide himself for a journey or to settle his affairs, and that his little child would suffer, since his wife was absent on a distant visit to her parents, they would not allow him a moment's grace but drove him off on foot. Ethan Allen's last words to the man of God were that they would for the future be more severe with the damned Yorkers (meaning persons who would not join them in their riotous proceedings) and would whip them within an inch of their lives; that for the future they would not be at the trouble and expense of giving them a trial, but that the persons who met with them should punish them immediaely.

Allen Shows His Colors.

By this time the oncoming Revolution was clearly foreshadowed throughout the colonies. Governor Wentworth, fleeing in panic from his Portsmouth palace, dropped completely out of the Cambridge District's troubles. The Wentworth avarice, which had been responsible in the beginning for the whole unhappy gallimaufry, was swallowed up by an earthquake. Allen, with his

main backer a fugitive and all his foundations pulled out from under him, was at a loss. For a time he thought he saw his advantage in the cause of the colonies, and no one was then more sweet and pious in protestations of loyalty. Ticonderoga, blown up and abandoned by the French, was, as we have seen, in a state of ruin, and its handful of kitchen police in their remote outpost were as unaware of impending hostilities as so many hibernating woodchucks. Its capture by Allen on May 10, 1775, involved in the circumstances less risk than a raid on a chicken-house, but its 220 cannon, besides much needed stores, were of vast importance to the American forces, and Allen received due credit. He was lionized at Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress asked the New York Provincial Congress to first consult General Schuyler and with his approval to authorize the raising of a regiment of Green Mountain Boys in the New York State service. September 1, 1775, this was accordingly done by the New York Assembly, with Seth Warner, who was really a soldier elected by the men themselves as lieutenant-colonel. July 5, 1776, Warner was commissioned Colonel by the New York authorities. Allen, who was no soldier at all, and his own men knew it, had expected to be made Colonel, and, piqued at the failure, he joined Schuyler in an independent capacity. With a small command, but without rank, he accompanied General Richard Montgomery's expedition against Canada in the late Summer of 1775, where, as might have been expected, insubordinately violating all orders, he attempted to take Montreal by surprise, by himself, and was ignominiously captured September 24th.

More than two years later, May 3, 1778, having spent much of his captivity in England, Allen was brought to New York and exchanged, through General Washington's interest on his behalf, and he then visited Washington at Valley Forge and on his knees pledged undying gratitude and fealty to the American cause. Washington obtained for him a brevet commission as a Colonel in the Continental Army, and back pay as a lieutenant-colonel for the period of his captivity, and begged him to use his influence at home on behalf of the colonies, which Allen promised to do. What he did, however, on his return to Bennington, was to reopen all the old sores of the New York quarrel with every venom he could command. Not only did he never lift another finger in the cause of American independence; he did all he could to destroy and weaken the efforts of New York State in that cause, and he engaged in negotiations with the enemy which have reduced his warmest defenders to preposterous extenuations. If he did not actually take British gold, as the evidence indicates, he most certainly assured Governor Frederick Haldimand of Canada that "I shall do everything in my power to make this State a British province."

Excuses that are commonly made for Vermont's attitude prior to the Revolution, on the fallacious ground that it was merely resisting the tyranny of the British Crown, collapse completely when applied to the post-Revolutionary period. The infant State of New York was no tyrant. It was fair-minded, just, generous, conciliatory and endlessly patient in all its dealings with Vermont, and this at a time when it was enduring the acutest agonies in a war of dreadful harshness. We who have never known New York except as the greatest, richest and most powerful of the American commonwealth forget that this was not always so. At the time of the Revolution there were only 140,000 people in that part of New York State which was not occupied by the enemy. Massachusetts had 339,000, Pennsylvania 302,000, and Virginia 500,000. New York, almost the poorest, was the only State which fulfilled in full the nation's requisitions for men and supplies. Others contributed in small proportions; some were totally deliquent. New York sent 30 per cent of its population - 43,645 men - into the Revolutionary armies, Massachusetts 21 per cent, Pennsylvania 9 per cent, Virginia 6 per cent, There were 92 battles and bloody encounters on New York soil in the war. It was the only State in which there was fighting every year of the war. Massachusetts had 14 combats (none whatever after 1776), Pennsylvania 5 (all in the year 1778), Virginia 16 (nine of them in 1781). While making all these sacrifices, New York had rebellion and treason on its hands in its own northeastern region, and the rest of the States, especially New England, sat back and laughed at our misery. Perhaps it is as well to forget these things, but the historian has a duty.

A council of safety, meeting at Dorset January 16th, July 24th and September 25th, 1775, asserted Vermont to be a "free and independent jurisdiction of State." January 15, 1777, at Westminister, the State's independence was formally declared, under the name of New Connecticut — a title which was soon abandoned, in favor of Vermont, on hearing an erroneous rumor that a portion of Pennsylvania was to be so denominated. The new State's territory was declared to extend from the Hudson River to the Connecticut River, bounded by Canada on the north, and on the south by the north line of Massachusetts and by that

line extended to the Hudson River. This line would intersect the city of Troy at about the Green Island bridge, but they did not mean to claim anything south of Lansingburg. They did claim. however, the northern part of what is now Rensselaer County and all that is now included in Washington County. A contemporary record states that out of eighty members expected to have attended this convention only twenty appeared, and that not half the towns in Cumberland County, not many in Charlotte County, or Albany Couny, and none at all in Gloucester County were represented. In the Connecticut Courant of March 17, 1777, the Vermonters described and bounded the territory they claimed and published their declaration of independence under the name of New Connecticut. June 23, 1777, Dr. John Williams of Salem, the leading citizen of these parts, wrote to the New York convention that "this county (Charlotte) is in great confusion" over these events.

While many members of the Continental Congress had brazenly encouraged the attempted secession, New York's protests were so earnest and so well taken that on June 30, 1777, the Congress adopted a resolution repudiating the pretended State of Vermont and dismissing its petition for admission into the Union. July 2, 1777, a convention at Windsor adopted a Constitution and a bill of rights for the new State. August 10, 1777, men were arrested and imprisoned in Vermont for circulating the resolution of Congress.

So it went, getting worse and worse. The loyal inhabitants kept appealing to Governor Clinton for protection. They were, they said, being outraged, robbed and jailed for no other offense than wishing to be New Yorkers. The Governor sought again and again to get Congress to do something, but was always blocked by the New Englanders. There was always the fear in the offing that, if pressed too hard, Vermont would sell out to the British - which, barring Yorktown, there is every indication would have happened. In May, 1779, Ethan Allen marched into Brattleboro with a small army and made prisoners of all the local officers commissioned in the New York militia, as well as the officers of the government of Cumberland County, which county, it should be remembered, claimed persistently and in spite of everything to belong to New York State. Allen used as usual the most insulting language, wounded several people with his sword without provocation, and defied New York, the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress to do their damnedest. This was a man,

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bear in mind, who held the Continental Congress' commission as a Colonel in its army, June 7, 1779, Governor Clinton sent a bitter letter to Congress. He was astonished at their passing over in silence his remonstrance on this outrage, especially shocking since Ethan Allen was a commisioned officer in the United States service. This was not the first time the person mentioned and some others of their officers of high rank have aimed a bold stab at the honor and authority of this State. The revolters claim congressional encouragement, and they can see for themselves that the most flagrant insults against the authority of New York. even by officers of Congress, are totally disregarded by Congress. To General Washington the Governor wrote that these outrages would make it necessary for him to guit the field to attend to Allen's case. This would cut off the State's supplies of food and men for the Continental army, and would the General kindly return the six brass cannon he had borrowed. Washington's reply was an order directing General Schuyler to arrest and courtmarital the renegade — the last disgrace to a soldier and a man of honor.

June 15, 1779, Congress resolved that the Cumberland County prisoners ought to be liberated. They were not liberated. August 27th the New York Legislature instructed its delegates to withdraw from Congress if something was not done quickly. September 24, 1779, Congress proposed an arbitration, the Vermonters in the meantime to "abstain from any power over those who deny their pretensions," and no Town to be deemed part of said district unless it has actually seceded. Vermont never paid the slightest attention to this resolution. Allen carried things with a higher and higher hand. In March, 1781, he wrote to Congress, with characteristic bluster, "I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont as Congress that of the United States." In May of that year, deeming it high time for Cambridge and its neighboring towns to demonstrate their abandonment of the American cause and their adherence to Vermont for this was part of the territory he was bargaining to turn over to the British - he caused a resolution of secession to be adopted at a convention held in Cambridge, in the following terms:

"Articles of Union Agreed to at Cambridge, May 15, 1781

"Proposed by Convention composed of the Representatives from the several Districts of Hosick, Scaghtckocke, Cambridge, Saratoga, Upper White Creek, Black Creek, Granvil, Skeensborough, Kingsbury, Fort Edward, Little Hosick convened at Cambridge aforesaid this 9 May 1781 and by adjt to the 15 of the same Inclusive

"Article 1 That the District or Tract of Land lying north of a Line being extended from the North Line of the Massachusetts to Hudsons River and South of Latitude 45 as Comprehended in the late Jurisdictional Claim by the Legislature of the State of Vermont be Considered as part of the State & the Inhabitants as free Citizens Agreed to

"2 That the whole of the Military force of the State of Vermont (as occasion may require) shall be exerted in our defence as free Citizens against any Insurrection, Incursion whatsoever but especially against the Common Enemy Agreed to

"3 That application be made by the Legislature of the State of Vermont to the Congress to be admitted into Union with them as soon as Circumstances will admit Agreed to

"4 That as the People within the aforesaid late Claim have been called upon and paid a Considerable part of the Continental Taxes into the Treasury of New York shall have credit for the same in case Vermont at some future period should be called upon to pay their proportion of money emitted by Congress

"Agreed to provided the services done by Vermont in the present war be included

"Reply agreed to provided the expence of the said District in the present war be likewise included

"5 That all actions depending with the late Claim be transferred in the situation they shall be in at the Time of Completing the Union to Courts that may be then forthwith erected under the authority of Vermont without Costs to the parties other than would have accrued had they been Terminated in Courts under the Jurisdiction of New York Agreed to

"6 That the Change of Jurisdiction shall not be understood to affect or Aleaniate private property Agreed to

"Articles proposed by Legislatur

"1 That the Independence of Vermont be held Sacred and no member of the Legislature give his Vote or otherwise use his endeavours to obtain any act or Resolution of the Assembly that shall endanger the existence Independence or well being of said State by referring its Independence to the Arbitrament of any Power Agreed to

"2 That whensoever this State becomes United with the American States and there should be any dispute between this and any of the United States respecting Boundary Lines, the Legislature of Vermont will then (as they have ever proposed) submit to Congress or such other Tribunal as may be mutually agreed upon for the settlement of such disputes Agreed to

"The foregoing Articles severally mutually agreed to by the Convention and Committee at Cambridge 15th May 1781.

JOHN RODGERS Ch. of Convention MOSES ROBINSON Ch. Com.

"Attest.

Jonas Fay Clk Com"

This was, at last, too much. In August, 1781, Congress nullified Vermont's encroachments on New Hampshire and limited her claims on New York territory in terms so severe that she deemed it prudent to draw in her horns. Then, in October, came the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and with the prospect of the Continental Army moving into Vermont to enforce decency and order, there was a great change. No longer safe because New York and the other States were fighting for their lives, Vermont abandoned her flirtations with the British and concentrated on being neighborly. Here is an amusing aftermath of the Cambridge Ordinance of Secession.

"Submission of the People of Cambridge to New York

"To His Excellency the Governor, Senate, & Assembly now Conveened at Poughkeepsy in the State of New York.

"The Petition of the Subscribers most humbly sheweth.

"That Whereas a number of unhappy People Inhabiting a District of Land West of the New Hampshire Grants & East of Hudsons River which was Claimed by the State of Vermont last Winter. The said People having the greatest Apprehension of total Destruction having all their Forts burnt & Destroyed & no force on their Frontiers Adequate to withstand the Enemy from Canada there being an open road for them which they could easily occupy by having the Command of the Waters of Lake Champlain & many of said People's Dearest Relations being Al-

ready in Captivity without hope of present Redemption & having been once most Grievously Harrassed by flying before the Enemy in 1777 out of which Distress said People is not yet Recovered. So that they were not unacquainted with the Hardships of leaving their Habitations which they dreaded as they must suffer in their Persons & families as they had nothing to sustain them abroad. - In the midst of these Terrible Views & Apprehensions Vermont solicited to acced to their Jurisdiction & unite with them to which a great part of said District acceded as thinking it the only mean left for their preservation Considering their Local situation which Jurisdiction has for some time been Exercised by them over said People till the last Session of Assembly of said Vermont voted that the Resolves of Congress of the seventh & twenty first of August last had Eventually Established the bounds of Vermont & of Consequence the Unions were Disolved. - & as Congress in their great Wisdom have Determined that we must still Continue under the Government of New York we heartily acquiesce in their Determination & pray that we may be Restored to our former Allegiance under the State of New York (our Deception was great our Return is hearty.) -And as acts of Lenity & Mercy Dignifies the Human Nature more than strict Justice we doubt not but that you in Your Clemency & Goodness will Restore us to our former Situation that thereby we may be Rendered more Serviceable to the United States of America, and to the State of New York in Particular, & your Petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

"Signed,

JONATHN. WALDO, JOSIAH DEWEY, FORTUNATUS SHEARMAN, Comtee of Convention for said District.

"Cambridge 1st March 1782."

A similar petition from residents of "Grandvil," dated March 4, 1782, recites that they had been "Entirely Destitute of any Socor . . . So that there are Numbers of familys now among us who have scarce one Bushel of Grain to support them nor is their any to be Purchased within twenty miles Distance," and that "under these Distressing Circumstances and Insenuation of Artfull and Designing men your Petitioners were Seduced to Swerve from the allegiance, not from any Desire of Leaveing the State." But they hoped that the Governor and Legislature would "again Receive us, and over look what your Distressed Subjects have Done Hoping for the future we shall take Care how wee are Led by any Designing men and remain happy subjects under your Protection."

The people of White Creek (that is, the present Salem), under date of March 5, 1782, declared themselves "to Bee Truly penetant for their misconduct," and "hoped for Pity."

New York was weary of the contest, too. It continued to maintain its claim to jurisdiction to the Connecticut River, but as time wore on and other and greater problems and prospects came in sight — particularly the opening up of the great areas in Central and Western New York - Vermont seemed no longer worth the trouble. In 1786 the Legislature granted a whole township of sixty-four square miles, now Bainbridge, in Chenango County, to residents of Vermont who had suffered for their loyalty to New York and were anxious to get away. By 1790, with Kentucky about to be admitted as a new State, the politicians of the North began to urge Vermont's admission, and New York no longer objected. In consideration of Vermont's paying to the State of New York the sum of \$30,000, "which sum it is matter of notoriety bears no proportion to the value of private property so ceded," the New York Legislature in 1790 authorized commissioners to settle a boundary line with commissioners appointed on the part of Vermont. The present boundary was thereupon agreed to, and Congress admitted the new State into the Union on the 4th of March, 1791. October 25, 1814, commissioners appointed by the two States to designate the line by permanent monuments filed their report, finally establishing it as we have always known it.

In this settlement the Albany County Towns of Pownal, Bennington, Shaftsbury and that part of Arlington south of the Batten Kill were turned over to Vermont. The New York County of Washington surrendered the northern part of Arlington and the Towns of Sandgate, Rupert and Pawlet. The New York Counties of Cumberland and Gloucester, east of the mountains, were abandoned altogether. This took from the Cambridge District six miles off its eastern border, between the Walloomsac River and the Batten Kill. The New York patents in this area, including Major Duncan MacVicar's Manor of Clarendon in Shaftsbury Hollow, had long since been confiscated, and possession thereof was no longer contested. Where they belonged to British officers, as in MacVicar's case, there was no claimant in this country to make a contest. The Embury Patent and the Lake and Van Corlaer Patent were simply seized, with charges of Toryism cooked up to ease the process. An oddity of history records that in the case of the manor of Joseph Haviland in the eastern part of the Walloomsac Patent, the purchaser, Moses Robinson, having invited settlers, signed their deeds, "Robinson, Town of Bennington, Province of New York," until the State line was finally marked with monuments as late as 1814. This was surely an excess of caution.

Ethan Allen and his brothers had organized the Onion River Land Company, controlling eleven townships or more than 300,000 acres of the land. Suddenly they put it on the market. The fever for land speculation which had inspired Ethan's earlier activities in statecraft seemed at length about to bear fruit. But Fate's supreme ironies were still to fall. Ethan died in 1789, aged only fifty-two and reaping none of his anticipated profits. His brother Ira, his vast estates plundered and sold for taxes and he himself ejected from his home by land pirates, lived to flee to Philadelphia to escape imprisonment for debt at the hands of the State which he and Ethan had created. He died in the Philadelphia poorhouse in 1814 and was buried a pauper. This was all the more hideous because Ira - a far better man than his brother in every way - had served Vermont most generously. He gave the land on which the University of Vermont was built, with an endowment of £ 4,000. He mortgaged 45,000 acres of his huge property to buy arms for the new State in 1793, and it was while he was absent for eight years in France and England on this business, during which time he was robbed of \$120,000 in the deal, that his possessions at home were stolen from him by fellow Vermonters. Judicium Dei!

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LONG, LONG STORM

Cambridge District in the Revolution

The Revolutionary period, from early in the year 1775 until the end of 1781, was for the Cambridge District seven years of almost unbroken distress. Desperately hard work and painful thrift had given our men and women the right to expect some happiness and comfort - hopes which had been gravely interfered with by the riotous insurrectionists of Bennington - and now, while these troubles were at their height, came the utter disruption not only of government itself, but of lifelong lovalties and the dearest social and family ties, to which were added the woes of invasion, the terrors of Indian forays, the destruction of much they had toiled to accumulate, treachery, robbery, spoliation, hunger, and in many cases homelessness. The battle of Bennington, fought on our soil in 1777, dreadful as it was, offered in its excitement and grim exaltation an almost grateful contrast to the seemingly endless months and years of gloom and worry.

Nothing speaks more highly of the genuine manhood and womanhood of our fathers and mothers than their patient endurance, their zealous patriotism, their unconquerable spirit in the face of all these troubles. Steadfast in their frugality, simplicity, rectitude, fortitude and faith, they proved themselves rich beyond precedent in the solid virtues of enduring character. How sound they were at heart was demonstrated in the buoyance and resilience with which they speedily reestablished their well-being, substantially and effectively, once the dark days were over.

Here as elsewhere, some of the people, among them many by no means contemptible or irresponsible, sympathized with the enemy. Some of them had much to lose by an overthrow of government — though Schuyler, Hamilton, Jay and the Van Rensselaer's were typical of a host of less well-known New Yorkers of whom this was true, but who nevertheless risked all they had for the patriotic cause. Many were sincerely attached to the ties with England, and could not in good conscience make war against the Crown. Others were naturally conservative and antirevolutionary, and some few were simple ruffians, such as always crop up in times of disturbance to find in disorder the opportunity for gratifying their criminal instincts. Whatever the motives, neighbor suspected neighbor, friend distrusted friend; fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers, were ranged on opposite sides. Treachery, malice, hatred and cupidity had full sway. Trade and industry were paralyzed. The farmer hesitated to plant a crop, or if he did so he confined his labors to the production of only what was essential to the bare subsistence of his family. What little gold and silver there was vanished from the land, and the paper money was worth little more than the leaves of the forest. The plundering of horses and cattle entailed heavy losses. made worse because so much of it was inspired or conducted by Tories or returning fugitives who knew where to lay their hands on the most valuable and serviceable animals and who could thus wreak vengeance or gratify their malice against old neighbors and acquaintances. The destruction of property was another serious item. From some farms every fence rail and post was stolen, grain and hay carried off or burned, fruit trees and orchards hacked down, and thrifty places turned into desolation. Besides our open enemies, nests of spies were all around us, numerous gangs of burglars and highwavmen were on the roads, and the Cambridge District was constantly traversed by roving parties, enemy scouts, and messengers between New York and Canada. None knew whom to trust.

On May 10, 1775, the same day that Ticonderoga was captured, the Council of Safety of the Cambridge District sent John Younglove, Samuel Ashton, Simeon Covell (later went over to the enemy), Jeremiah Clarke and John Millington as delegates to the Albany Council of War. Mr. Younglove's name appears frequently in the records of the Albany County Commissioners for the Detection and Defeating of Conspiracies, whose representative he was in the Cambridge District. As a result of this Council, the Albany County Committee of Safety organized at once the Fourteenth New York Regiment under General Abraham Ten Broeck. Johannes Knickerbacker 2d was commissioned Colonel of the eastern division of this regiment, and his officers and soldiers —eight companies of them, one of minute men — were from the Schaghticoke and Cambridge Districts. As the Cambridge District was in Albany County, its troops were registered as Albany County militia, the records of which fail in most cases to specify the home addresses of the soldiers, so that except where we can identify a name their Towns lose credit for their enlistment. Colonel John Williams of New Perth (Salem) at the same time was raising a Charlotte County regiment, in the Salem company of which there were no doubt men from what was later the Town of Jackson, in the northern part of Cambridge.

It is a matter of utmost regret that only a fragmentary list of our Revolutionary soldiers seems obtainable. These few are but a fraction of the total:

From Cambridge			
Captain George Gilmore	Azor Bouton		
James McKie	Elisha Gifford		
Joseph Valentine	John Weir		
Jesse Averill	John Wait		
Earl Durfee			
From White Creek			
Colonel Tiffany	Amherst Dver		

Colonel Tiffany	Amherst Dyer
Captain Jonathan Gardner	William Gilmore
Captain Henry Herrington	Isaac Fowler
Captain Samuel Deming	Aaron Perry
Hiram Hathaway	Benjamin Joslin

The year 1775 went out with the death of Montgomery at Montreal and the defeat of Arnold at Quebec. In July of 1776 the British occupied Staten Island, and in late August and September they defeated Washington in the battle of Long Island and occupied New York City. October of that year found the Cambridge District in the throes of alarm over a reported British invasion by way of Lake Champlain, which, however, proved premature. October 28th, the British won the battle of White Plains. November 16th, they took Fort Washington, with 3,000 American prisoners, a most terrible blow to the patriot cause, and Washington began his retirement through New Jersey. The year closed with the American victory at Trenton on December 26th, scarcely sufficient to counterbalance the rapid and overwhelming disasters.

The gloom which hung over the country and which in a special degree enveloped this portion of New York State was now at its blackest. No ray of light penetrated the darkness. Burgoyne left Canada in June, 1777, and early in July seized Ticonderoga, destroying St. Clair's rear guard of 1,200 men at Hubbardton as the main body fled to Fort Edward. This loss filled hearts with despondency everywhere. In the Cambridge District it spread consternation. Our people were right in the track of the invading host and felt that it soon would be upon them. This was a time when farmers hereabouts made watch towers of their hav stacks, on which two men would station themselves, one on guard while the other slept. Schuyler did what he could to hamper Burgoyne's advance, and he had agreed to give timely notice of the enemy's approach to us, but Burgoyne's Indians slipped by on either side of the opposing armies and ranged all through this region. It was their appearance, not the nearness of Burgovne, which caused stampede. Seized with panic, many fled from their homes, abandoning valuable property which might have been saved. Cattle and sheep were turned into the woods and household goods were left for the looters. Those who remained at home and were unmolested by the enemy saved little by it, since quartermasters from the patriot army scoured the country, commandeering supplies of all sorts, which they paid for with orders on the Continental treasury which were never honored because our government had no money.

The Battle of Bennington

Burgoyne's threat to all New England in August, 1777, found John Stark, - who had been a commissioned officer in Rogers' Rangers during the French and Indian War, had served creditably as Colonel of militia at Bunker Hill, Trenton and Princeton, and was now a Brigadier under a New Hampshire commission organizing and drilling recruits in his home State. With a skeleton brigade of these, he marched to Manchester, Vt., and on August 8th reached Bennington, where a large amount of stores had been collected which it was shrewdly conjectured Burgoyne would seek to seize. In fact, at 5 a. m. on Tuesday, August 12th, Colonel Freidrich Baum marched from Old Saratoga (Schuylerville) for Bennington, with a force of about 1,000 men, of whom 150 were Indians, 200 Tories, 100 Fraser's marksmen and 100 Canadian rangers, while 370 were Riedesel's dragoons from Brunswick-Luneberg, acting as infantry. His two brass cannon were manned by gunners from Hesse-Hanau. This number is twice as large as that given by Burgoyne in his official report, but that General's veracity, when he had a purpose to serve, was somewhat elastic. The British dead in the ensuing battle were 207, the prisoners 700 aside from officers, surgeons and servants, and Buryogne's own order book gives the losses in the two engagements at 1,220 men. At the Batten Kill, moreover, Baum was further strengthened by fifty chasseurs or cavalrymen. Most of the way from Greenwich to Cambridge they hewed their path through the woods, making their own road, the curves of which have bothered all succeeding generations who have had to follow it.

Wednesday, August 13th, scouts Isaac Clark and Eleazar Eggerton brought word to Stark, then encamped south of Sodom, of the presence in the Cambridge District of a force of 150 Indians, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gregg with 200 sharpshooters was immediately sent out against them, but advanced no farther than North Hoosick. That night a courier (undoubtedly John Weir of Cambridge, a scout of high prowess in the French and Indian War who had been serving in the American forces in the Mohawk Valley and had just returned to his home - which, incidentally, was the house now owned and occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Atwood Allen) rode in with news that the party of Indians was but the advance guard of a large enemy detachment of regulars with artillery, upon receipt of which information, which was the first word he had had of the size and nature of the invading force, Stark sent couriers to Manchester, ordering Colonel Seth Warner's and Colonel Emerson's detachments stationed there to join him, and to Bennington desiring the rallying of all available militia.

Baum, however, had already arrived at 4 o'clock that afternoon at Lick's tavern (site of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Relihan's home, south of Waite's Corners) and encamped on the bank of the Owl Kill for the night. His outposts engaged in the early evening in a skirmish with local patriots in the meadow east of the highway and just north of Waite's Corners, in the course of which five or six Americans were taken prisoner, including Robert Lake, with a team and herd of cattle which he never saw again. Isaac Bull, the miller at Van Rensselaer's mills on the Owl Kill (now the Eddy property) ground wheat all night for the redcoats and received no pay. Baum furthermore sent forward a party of thirty Tories and fifty Indians to take Van Schaick's mills (the St. Croix or Sancoick mills on the Little White Creek, at the present bridge just north of North Hoosick), which they accomplished without interference from Gregg and his 200 Yankee sharpshooters. In the mills the British seized 1,000 bushels of wheat. seventy-eight barrels of very fine flour, twenty barrels of salt and £ 1.000 worth of pearl of potash.

At 8 o'clock on the morning of Thursday, August 14th, Baumn's main force arrived at the St. Croix bridge. Several Hoosick Falls skirmishers, headed by Joel Abbott and his father, had begun to break down the bridge. They fired from the bushes and ran, and Gregg's force likewise retreated toward Walloomsac. Two miles down the road. Stark and Baum for the first time came in sight of each other, and each was apparently impressed, for Stark retired a mile farther, abandoning a line of battle which he had formed, and Baum, hastily dispatching an appeal to Burgoyne for help, began to intrench himself on and about the famous battle hill. "Beg your Excellency to pardon the hurry of this letter," said Baum. "It is wrote on the head of a barrel." "The people are flocking in hourly," he reported, "but want to be armed. The savages cannot be controlled - they ruin and take everything they please." Those people who were flocking in were supposedly neighborhood Tories, but quite circumstantial gossip has it that they merely duped Baum in this manner into furnishing them with guns and ammunition which they meant to use against him. It is quite clear, in any event, that most of them quit the British lines in a hurry the moment the fighting started.

Baum was a skilful soldier as well as a brave one, and his dispositions have been praised by tactical experts. For his main redoubt trees were felled, and the logs, with timbers from six or eight small houses near the spot, were drawn by horses or carried by the men to the top of the hill and placed in position, with earth filling the interstices. Here were stationed some of Reidesel's dismounted dragoons and some of the Canadian rangers, with one cannon. Ten rods north of the bridge, then known as William Mellen's, was posted another party of dragoons, with the other cannon. On the brow of the steep bank above the stream were the fifty chasseurs. On both sides of the Cambridge road, east of the bridge, were slight earthworks to guard the bridge and protect the ascent on the south of the redoubt, and these were manned by rangers and grenadiers. The Tory redoubt stood on Van Pfister's hill (named after the Tory Colonel Francis J. Van Pfister of Nepimore, who commanded Peter's regiment of Loyalists and led a detachment of his Dutch neighbors in this battle, for Nepimore was at the western end of the long covered bridge at Hoosick, now replaced). This hill was seventy rods south of the bridge and directly south of the main redoubt. The Tory works consisted of entrenchments lined with trees set closely together at their base, slightly diverging at the top for firing. A platform

of logs and earth was built within, on which the men could stand to fire, stepping down to reload.

The morning of the 15th brought a terrible storm of wind and rain. Fighting was out of the question, since the flintlock muskets, with all care possible, were so drenched that few would explode. There were no tents, and scouts from both sides lurked in the wet brush most of the day, Baum's men working on their fortifications until far into the night. At midnight Baum received a dispatch from Colonel Breyman, promising help the next day. Saturday, August 16th, dawned very warm. The German officer Glick wrote afterward:

"The storm of the preceding day having expended itself, not a cloud was left to darken the heavens, while the very leaves hung motionless, and the long grass waved not, under the influence of perfect calm. Every object around appeared, too, to peculiar advantage; for the fields looked green and refreshed, the river was swollen and tumultous, and the branches of the forest trees were all loaded with dewdrops which glistened in the sun's early rays like so many diamonds. Nor would it be possible to imagine any scene more rife with peaceful and even pastoral beauty."

General Stark had about 1,750 men, of whom New Hampshire furnished about 1,000, Vermont 500 and Berkshire 250, A regiment from Worcester County, Mass., had reached Old Hadley when it heard of the victory and so turned back. Stark's tactics were superbly simple and effective. At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 16th he sent out Colonel Samuel Herrick's Vermont rangers with a detachment of Bennington militia, 300 strong in all, to encircle Baum's right and approach the enemy from the rear, while Colonel Nichol's New Hampshire regiment of 350 men was sent to the rear of the enemy's left. The two forces, when joined, were to make an attack. Two hundred men under the New Hampshire Colonels Hobart and Stickney, including part of the Bennington militia, were sent against the Tory works, with instructions to remain concealed in a cornfield until the action on the hill was under way. A small guard was posted near the bridge to prevent communication between the two wings of the enemy. Stark's reserve was then employed in marching slowly, with a variety of movements, around a small hill in full view of the enemy, who seemed greatly perplexed thereat.

It was 2:30 p.m. before the flanking parties completed their

wide circuits, which had taken them into Shaftsbury on one side and up the Little White Creek Valley to White Creek village on the other. Indian scouts retiring before them had fled to the redoubt, reporting that the forest was full of Yankees, and when the red men saw the columns closing with a tightening coil around the hill they dashed through the opening between the detachments in single file, yelling like demons, and made their escape in the direction of the Notch and Pumpkin Hook. They may be running yet, for all we know. At any rate, none of them was ever again seen hereabouts. Baum's men defended the redoubt with obstinate courage, and there was spirited fighting for more than an hour, when the explosion of a British ammunition wagon within the redoubt shook the hill with a terrific blast, upon which the Americans, cheering wildly, dashed over the breastworks and engaged the enemy in such savage hand to hand fighting as no troops could withstand. The broken British forces, fleeing down the south slope of the hill, met Stark's fresh reserves coming up, and all was soon over. On the plain below, the battle with Van Pfister's Lovalists had followed much the same course. The Tories fought desperately - there in many cases it was brother against brother in deathly earnest — and most of the American dead were on this spot. Van Pfister fell mortally wounded, as had Baum in the redoubt. The chasseurs and the Canadian rangers in the other earthworks, seeing themselves hemmed in, surrendered with little or no resistance.

Post Corners to the Rescue.

Thus the first fight was won, but the second, even fiercer, was yet to come, and had it not been for William Gilmore of Post Corners that glorious day might have had an ending tragic for the American cause. Uncontrollable after their victory, the Yankee soldiers, lost to all discipline, were engaged in a carnival of looting all the while that Colonel Breyman, with 1,000 fresh reinforcements and two more brass cannon, was steadily slogging down the road from Cambridge to North Hoosick. Breyman had received his marching orders at 8 p.m. Thursday the 14th. There was no road, only the traces of the trail which Baum's men had cut for themselves when they came that way, and Breyman, in the drenching downpour all day Friday, lost his way repeatedly, and his dismounted dragoons, each carrying more than sixty pounds of useless equipment, went wandering through the woods. On the night of the 15th he encamped seven miles above Cambridge, at a spot marked by a boulder and a tablet erected by the

Daughters of the American Revolution and familiar to many thousands who now are passing that way constantly. Here, at early dawn of the 16th, he received an urgent message from Baum, desiring him to come with utmost speed to his assistance. At 4:30 p. m. Saturday, the roaring cannon having spurred him onward for the last few miles, he reached the St. Croix bridge, where he found that futile fellow, Colonel Philip Skene of Skenesborough, assuring him, against the evidence of his own judgment and senses, that the day was won, but where he also found that skilful patriot axemen had made the bridge impassable.

This was the work of William Gilmore, who, employed that day on the Benjamin B. Kenvon farm near Post Corners(long owned and occupied by Mr. Charles Kenvon and now the property of Mr. John Nolan), had heard the cannon, unyoked his oxen, shouldered his musket, gathered up a few patriot friends, and started over the hills on foot in the direction of the firing. Learning as he reached St. Croix of Breyman's approach with reinforcements, Gilmore and his companions set to tearing up the bridge with axes. The last plank had barely been removed when the enemy came in sight. Gilmore and his friends escaped amid a shower of bullets, but Breyman was held up a full half hour --thirty minutes of priceless delay which made all the difference between victory and defeat in that day's fighting, and hence, perhaps, which indirectly saved the day at Saratoga, brought about the French alliance, and resulted in the creation of the United States.

There can be no question that Stark's forces were at this moment thoroughly disorganized. The "Fighting Parson" Allen of Pittsfield wrote that on the approach of Breyman's massed thousand of sturdy German regulars in solid ranks, glitteringly equipped and apparently indomitable, the exhausted General lost control of himself completely. William Carpenter of the Swansea company of the New Hampshire militia, according to his son, Judge Carpenter of Akron, O., reported that Stark actually ordered a retreat. However this may be, when Breyman halted, brought his cannon up to the front and deployed his whole force across the highway in line of battle, such Americans as had been rallied to meet him broke, and broke again. Pressed backward, and still backward, a rout seemed imminent when suddenly succor came.

It may be recalled that on the preceding Wednesday, August 13th, General Stark, on first learning from John Weir of the approach of Baum's force, had dispatched hurried orders to Seth Warner's detachment of Green Mountain Boys at Manchester to join him at once. If Breyman had been dilatory, the Green Mountain Boys were quite as slow, for it had taken them until this crucial moment of late Saturday to march the twenty miles from Manchester to Walloomsac. Warner himself could not possibly be blamed for this, as he was at Stark's side throughout the whole campaign of Bennington, and was indeed the General's sole staff officer. Nothing in modern moving pictures could be more dramatic than Warner on horseback at this moment, exhorting and entreating the drooping, sagging Americans to hold out "just five minutes more" for help was coming - keeping his seat and urging on the wavering line though a grapeshot tore the mouth of his steed and set the animal to plunging furiously - while just at that instant amid the crackle of musketry and the cannon's appalling thunder came the crashing staccato rattle and thud of the drums of Warner's regiment up the road, louder and louder and louder until with a wild yell the Green Mountain boys swung round the corner at the double-quick, already formed across the highway in stern, dark line of battle, with strong flank guards of skirmishers on either side and loaded muskets at the carry, bayonets fixed.

This was the needed nucleus for a rally. Re-formed, the Americans made a dash and captured one of Breyman's cannon. In a countercharge it was retaken, and the enemy pressed our forces back to within three-quarters of a mile of the redoubt, when Stark and Warner, bringing up Baum's captured cannon with more troops from the rear, were able to organize a brilliant. charge in which Breyman again lost a cannon and began to fall back inch by inch. In about a mile he deployed into a field on his left and made a desperate effort to use his remaining cannon, but the Americans filtered into the underbrush skirting the clearing and drove him out. This was the end. Fleeing helterskelter down the road and into the woods, the enemy, on their knees in the mud or tangled in the bushes, surrendered one by one and in whole groups with cries of "Kamerad!" as the darkness fell. The booty included four brass cannon, about 1,000 muskets, 250 sabres, eight loads of army supplies, four ammunition wagons, twenty horses, and the instruments of two drum corps. We have already noted the enemy's losses. Stark's report to the New Hampshire authorities states that his brigade, nearly twothirds of the fighting force, lost forty-two wounded and fourteen killed. If Vermont and Massachusetts lost in the same ratio, the total American casualties would be less than one hundred.

Colonel Baum and Colonel Van Pfister died in the Duer house, which stood until 1865 on the north side of the road opposite Clark's paper mill in Sodom. They were buried on the north bank of the Walloomsac beneath an elm tree in a meadow a few rods west of the paper mill. Their graves were never located or marked. Their swords, papers and other personal possessions were stolen. For that matter, General Stark, who was ill for several days after the battle, suffered the loss during the fighting of a valuable mare which some villain on the field must have valued more than decency. Even one of the captured cannon has been missing ever since. The Bennington Council of Safety sent out a hogshead of rum for the troops, with the consequence that many of them lay in the cornfields in a stupor for a day or two. Baum's dead were buried on William Mellen's farm at the battlefield bridge. In 1838 many of their bones were unearthed in a potato field. The dead of Breyman's forces were buried in two hollows east of the brick schoolhouse at Sickles Mills, now Walloomsac station. The prisoners who died of their wounds were buried in the Old First Church yard at Bennington Centre.

An almost invariable comment in connection with the battle of Bennington, made usually with an air of surprise, is that it was fought in New York and not in Vermont. The fact is that there was no Vermont at the time, nor for many a year thereafter. It was all, all New York, clear over to the Connecticut River, and the battle would still have been in the Cambridge District of Albany County,New York State, if it had happened well to the eastward of its actual location. When it comes to splitting hairs over arbitrary lines, laid down on a map years later, Washington County and the Town of White Creek should not be bashful, for a good part of the first engagement was on ground later placed within their limits.

Disasters and Alarms.

The campaign and victory of Saratoga followed promptly after Bennington. Washington, however, had in the meantime lost the battle of the Brandywine, September 11, 1777, and on September 26th the British entered Philadelphia, while the British General Clinton took Fort Montgomery on the Hudson October 7th. The year ended on as gloomy a prospect as had yet been seen. After Burgoyne's surrender many families returned to their homes in the Cambridge District. If they expected immediate peace they were disappointed, for while no considerable enemy force ever got this far again, small bands of malignant Tories, accompanied by Indians, made frequent forays, destroying property and seeking victims to kidnap into Canada. These periodic raids and alarms kept Cambridge people on the rack of apprehension until the end of the war. The strain of constant uncertainty and worry was as hard to endure as actual fighting could have been.

In the Spring of 1778 this fear of marauding parties was universal, well justified by raids on every hand, and a petition was sent from Cambridge District, asking the State and Continental authorities for protection. As we have noted, this was a period which Ethan Allen, just returned from captivity, chose to be as obnoxious and troublesome as he could make himself, regardless of the desperate nature of the nation's struggle for existence. In March, 1778, Colonel Van Schaick's regiment, which had been at Saratoga (Schuylerville) during the Winter, was ordered, with all the militia from this region, to the Highlands, for the defense of that important post. This left Cambridge more defenseless than ever, and Colonel Warner's militia from the Grants (New York State troops, nevertheless) was ordered to Schuvlerville to take Van Schaick's place, but it was April 22d before Warner reported, and then not at Schuylerville but at Albany. The delay was attributed to lack of arms, but it was shown that the regiment was fully armed and equipped when disbanded the previous October, so it was evident that many of the men had appropriated the guns, which were public property, and had sold them and pocketed the money. Early in May, Warner was sent to Fort Edward with his regiment, a move which in a measure allayed the apprehensions in this region. May 20th General Stark took command in Albany. He visited none of the exposed places and gave himself no concern about the assignment of troops. Governor Clinton and other public officials expressed dissatisfaction with his conduct of the department. In July and November of 1778 occurred the bloody massacres at Wyoming, Pa., and Cherry Valley, N. Y., the worst in all the incessant border warfare.

The year for which Warner's men had enlisted was up in May, 1779, and they left Fort Edward promptly. Captain Levi Stockwell had twenty-five men at Fort Edward and seventy-five at Skenesborough (Whitehall) during the greater part of this year. This was the Summer of the battle of Stony Point, of the Sullivan expedition to suppress the Indians of central and western New York, and of great British successes in the South. In September, 1779, the people of Cambridge petitioned for permission to trade wheat for salt with the New Englanders, an embargo having been placed on wheat, as needed for home consumption and the army, while, trade with the coast being demoralized and Syracuse still in the hands of the Indians, there was a scarcity of salt. There was, moreover, a great crop shortage hereabouts in 1779.

The question of America's ability to continue the war reached on acute stage in 1780. The government had no money, and its credit was exhausted. The Loyalists, somewhat subdued for a time after the overthrow of Burgoyne, were now very active. Having an intimate knowledge of the people and the country, they kept the enemy posted on the exact state of civil and military affairs. Their homes were used as places of refuge for bands of the enemy or for spies. Some of them acted as guides to lead raiding parties to their neighbor's homes. The Indians, moreover, had been made extremely revengeful by the Sullivan expedition of 1779, and there were raids all around us, an especially severe one at Skenesborough. Only thirteen soldiers were left there, and five at Fort Edward, out of the 100 sent up in 1779. Early in May well-founded rumors of a new invasion from Canada were spread and created the greatest possible alarm throughout this region. Appeals for aid were sent out; settlers on the remoter farms broke up and moved in, and the whole Cambridge District was on the verge of being abandoned. In the middle of May Sir John Johnson, with 400 whites and 200 Indians, did come up Lake Champlain, but they turned the other way and went to Fish House at Sacandaga instead of down the Hudson.

Four regiments of militia were sent to Schuylerville at this time. This was General Ten Broeck's command, in which Cambridge District soldiers were included. Conditions could not have been more forlorn and hopeless, as the soldiers, having left their families destitute, were themselves entirely without food or adequate clothing, the region was almost depopulated through fear of the savages, and there was nothing to be either shared or stolen. The men spread out through the countryside and gradually drifted home. Another alarm, on August 26th, led Ten Broeck to assemble his troops again, but once more the raiders went westward. In October 1,000 Canadians under Major Christopher Carleton, nephew of Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander in Canada, advanced in this direction and came as near as Fort George and Fort Ann, which they destroyed with all the buildings of the near-by settlements, while a detachment came down to Ballston and surprised and destroyed that village.

This year of 1780 was indeed one of defeat and disaster on all sides. Besides the destruction of frontier settlements, and the accompanying alarms everywhere, many in this region who had been well-to-do were brought to the verge of starvation, and valuable lives had been lost. In the South the nation had suffered heavy losses, and to cap it all, the treason of Benedict Arnold, made known the last of September, seemed a climax of despair. Seventeen eighty-one opened with the withdrawal of the Fort Edward garrison for lack of provisions. The small force at Schuylerville, our only protection, lived only by marauding the countryside. Then, in September, came word of another large scale invasion from the North. This was the final turning point. Colonel Marinus Willett defeated the British Major Ross' forces in the Mohawk Valley October 25th. The American Lord Stirling (William Alexander) had lined up his force of 4,000 men from Schuvlerville to Fort Edward to confront St. Leger with the other British detachment, and was ready for him, when, on October 29th, news arrived of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19th. On November 2nd St. Leger began to withdraw his army to Canada - and the war was over!

The Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies.

The Albany County Board of Commissioners for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies was one of seven such boards operating after April, 1778, in the seven counties of Albany, Charlotte, Dutchess, Orange, Tryon, Ulster and Westchester in which the authority of the State of New York was able to exert itself. The British held the counties of New York, Kings, Queens, Suffolk and Richmond, and the counties of Cumberland and Gloucester were during the Revolution so harassed by the authorities of the pretended State of Vermont that they were for the most part useless to the cause. These boards had the duty of ordering the arrest and examination of persons known or suspected to be guilty of disloyalty. Such persons when reported were speedily arrested, examined, confronted with their accusers (not infrequently of their own kin), and if not exonerated were, if specially malignant, confined in jail, or if repentant or their case was doubtful they were required to take an oath of allegiance and give bonds for good behavior. In numerous instances they and their families were sent into the lines of the enemy with whom they sympathized, and their property was confiscated or suffered to run to waste. Such procedure naturally afforded an outlet for revengeful spirits, and no few complaints were made for no other purpose than to facilitate the grabbing of the victims' possessions. But although occasionally an innocent man may have suffered through the accusations of vindictive or greedy personal enemies, in the main there was ample confirmation of the charges, and the accused were at least given a full and fair hearing before men who were carefully observant of the rights of others and of the forms and safeguards of law. Their decisions, indeed, appear to have been singularly dispassionate, deliberate and equitable.

The form of oath usually taken by those who were allowed to go on giving surety for their good conduct was as follows:

"I do solemnly swear and declare in the presence of Almighty God that I ought not and do not acknowledge any Allegiance to the King of Great Brittain, his Heirs or Successors or any power or Authority of the Parliament of the said Kingdom of Great Brittain, and that I will bear true faith and Allegiance to the State of New York as a free and Independent State, and that I will in all things to the best of my knowledge and Ability do my Duty as a good subject of the said State ought to do, So help me God."

Another form was thus worded:

"I do swear upon the holy Evangelist of Almighty god that I will be true to the State of New York and will Conduct myself as a good and faithful subject of the said State ought to do; that I will not aid, comfort, council with, or Assist in any way whatever any of the Enemies of the said State of New York or the United States of America and that I will immediately make known any Plots that may be intended against any of the said United States and discover that may come to my knowledge any of their Enemies whenever I know there are any lurking about in the Country to any Officer or to the Board of Commissioners — So help me God."

Still another bound the affiant "to be of good Behavior & not to aid, Comfort, Assist, Entertain, harbour or hold any Correspondence either by word or deed upon Political Matters with any Person or Persons inimical to the Liberties of Independence of this or the United States of America and that he do not depart the Limits & Bounds of the Farm he at present resides untill he comes to make his Appearance as aforesaid."

On the Albany County Board, which had jurisdiction over Cambridge district, there served at various times John M. Beeckman, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Isaac D. Fonda, Mathew Visscher, Hugh Mitchell, Cornelius Humfrey, John McClung, Peter Wynkoop, Jr., Samuel Stringer, Abraham Oothout, Reynier Mynderse, Stewart Dean and Pelatiah Fitch. Of these, John McClung and Pelatiah Fitch were also active on the Charlotte County Board which sat at New Perth (Salem). Other members of the Charlotte County Board were Alexander Webster, Alexander Mc-Nitt, Ebenezer Clark, Brinton Paine and Joseph McCracken. The fact that members of one board served also on the other indicates that the lines between the Cambridge District and the country north of the Batten Kill were not closely drawn. As we have already noted, John Younglove of Cambridge was the board's local representative in matters of disaffection.

Minutes of these boards' proceedings have been preserved only in the case of Albany County, and these end abruptly on August 30, 1781, thus covering only forty-one months of the board's existence. Unfortunately, too, none of the collateral papers referred to in these extant minutes as on file are known to have been preserved. They would have been valuable to the modern historical student. Such as they are, and by no means devoid of interest, the entries in the Albany County minutes which refer to the Cambridge District are presented herewith. It is worthy of note that in the more than three years of the board's existence covered by these minutes not many residents hereabouts seem to have been involved, and several of these were exonerated, while as to some others there is outside evidence that complaints were made against them by persons who had designs upon their property. Several of the names, moreover, are repeated, when the persons were called in, not upon new charges, but to give additional security on account of the depreciation of the currency.

Following are extracts from the minutes:

"April 16, 1778.

"Present

John M. Beeckman	Jer. Van Rensselaer
Isaac D. Fonda	Matthew Visscher

"William Moore and Christopher Lake were brought before

this Board on suspicion of having been with the Enemy and no Positive proof appearing either as their having been there, or that their going at large might be dangerous to the State — Therefore

"Resolved That they be permitted to return to their usual place of abode upon entring into Recognizance with Surety for their future good behavior and appearance Monthly before any of the Commissioners in this County or sooner if required —

"They were accordingly bound as follows-Vizt:

William Moorein	£	100
Christopher Lakein	£	100
John Johnson of Hoosick their Bail	£	100

" April 17, 1778.

"Archibald Campbell, William Blake, George Telford and William Robisson were brought before this Board for having remained on their Habitations, and going to the Enemy, and it appearing from their examinations as well as from the information of Capt. John McKellopp that they had previous to the Enemies penetrating the Country proved friends to the Country, and that their only inducement to go in was to save their Families from being Scalped by the Indians, and that they remained but a few days with the Enemy and bore no Arms, and it farther appearing from their examinations that they conceive themselves to owe allegiance to the State of New York, and declaring their readiness and willingness to do their duty as good and faithful Subjects of this State

"Ordered Therefore that they be permitted to return to their places of abode, on their entring into Recognizance with surety for their future good behavior as good and faithful Subjects and Monthly appearance before any one of the Commissioners —

"They were accordingly bound in \pm 100 each and Capt. John McKellopp their Bail in \pm 100 all live in Cambridge in this County —

"James Green the same in all respects himself was bound \pm 100 and Thomas Green his Bail in \pm 100 both of Cambridge

"April 18, 1778

"Henry Van Corlaer was brought before this Board for hav-

ing been with the Enemy and it appearing that he was a Young Man who had been seduced thereto by evil and designing Men —

"Ordered Thereupon That he be also discharged and permitted to return to his usual place of abode upon entering into Recognizance for his future good behavior and Monthly appearance before one of the Commissioners He was accordingly bound in \pm 100 —

"April 20, 1778

"Adam Vrooman Appearing before this board, & Charged with Going of to the Enemy, but no prof Appearing that he had taken an active part against the States & he being willing & offered to take the Oath of Alegiance, was thereupon permitted to Return upon Bail to his place of abode —

Adam Vrooman	£	200
Wouter Vrooman his Bail	£	200

"April 21, 1778

"Jonas Earle appearing before this Board and no Sufficient Cause produced to detain him any Longer in prison, thereupon Resolved that the Said Jonas Earle be permitted to Return to Cambridge upon Bail himself in \pounds 100 Samuel Hodge his Bail \pounds 100

Joshua Wrathbone, being called before this board for Being with the Enemy. — it appearing that he was taken prisoner and afterwards did duty with them. therefore agreed that the Sd Wrathbone be permitted to go at Large in Cambridge he appearing to the board to be an Ignorant man

Joshua V	Vrathbone		 £	100
Elisha Al	llen	his Bail	 £	100

"April 23, 1778

"Jonathan Chase, Daniel Chase, & James Lake were Liberated by this Board because no Material Crimes were aldged agt them.

Danl Chase in Recognizance	£	100
David Sprague his Bail	£	100
Jonathan Chase	£	100
David Sprague his Bail	£	100
James Lake	£	100
(Blank) his Bail	£	100

"April 24, 1778

"Gabriel Groat from the little White Creek was Librated on Condition of his going to Claverack District with his Son and engaged that his future Behaviour would be good and that he would appear on the last Day of every Month or sooner if required

> Gabriel Groat on Recognizance for $\dots \pm 100$ Nicholas Groat his Bail $\dots \pm 100$

> > "May 11, 1778

"Asa Flint of Cambridge District was eliberated on his entering into Recognizance for good Behaviour and Monthly Appearance

> Asa Flint on Recognizance in ______£ 200 Cornelius Doty his Bail ______in ____£ 200

"George Wilson of Cambridge District was permitted to return to his usual Place of Abode on his entering into Recognizance for good Behavior and Monthly Appearance —

George Wilson on Recognizance	in	 £	200
James Ashton his Bail	in	 £	200

"Thomas Lake of Cambridge District was eliberated on his entering into Recognizance for good Behaviour and Monthly Appearance

> Thomas Lake on Recognizance in \pounds 200 Benjamin Tiffany his Bail in \pounds 200

> > "May 14, 1778

"Arent Van Corlaer was brought before the Board and we having enquired into the Nature of his Commitment and finding no material Charge against him (save that of gowing to the Enemy last Summer) we have thought proper to set him at Liberty he behaving as becometh & conforming to the Laws & Customs of the State of New York & entering into Recognizance for good Behaviour & Monthly Appearance

Arent Van Corlaer on Recognizancein.... £ 100 Baltus Van Benthuysen his Bailin..... £ 100

"May 22, 1778

"Nicholas Lake was permitted to return to his usual Place of Abode on entering into Recognizance for good Behaviour and Monthly Appearance

Nicholas	Lake on	Reco	ogniza	nce	in	£	100
Abraham	Schuyler	his	Bail		in	£	100

"John Brock of Cinkaik (St. Croix, i. e. North Hoosick) was permitted to return Home on his entering into Recognizance for good Behaviour and Monthly Appearance

John	Brock on Recognizance	in	£	100
John	Forgason his Bail	in	£	100

"May 25, 1778

"Francis Brock of Cinkaick was brought before the Board and finding nothing very material against him we have thought proper to let him go at large on his entering into Recognizance for good Behaviour and Monthly Appearance

> > "May 26, 1778

"Peter Buchanan, Peter McDugall and James Blackley of Cambridge District confined in this Goal against whom we have no particular Charges — Ordered that Letters be wrote to the Chairman of the different Committees from whence those Persons are come, to send to us such Charges as they may have against them —

"May 27, 1778

"Patrick Buchanon of Cambridge District was eliberated on entering into Recognizance for Good Behavior and Monthly Appearance —

> > "May 29, 1778

"John Mills of Hosick who was confined was permitted to go at large on entering into Recognizance for good Behaviour and Monthly Appearance

> > "June 2, 1778

"Henry Groat of Cambridge District was permitted to go at

large on entering into Recognizance for good Behaviour and Monthly Appearance —

"June 18, 1778

"James Blakely was liberated on his entering into Recognizance for good Behaviour & Monthly Appearance —

James Blakely on	Recognizance	in	£	100
John Boyd his Bai	1	in	£	100

"June 22, 1778

"Abel Eastwood was brought before the Board for having been with the Enemy, and we having examined him and it appearing therefrom as also from the information of John Younglove Esqr. that he had been seduced to go to the Enemy by evil designing Persons —

"Ordered That he be Liberated from Confinement upon his entring into Recognizance for his good Behaviour and appearance when called for, and also not to depart the Limits of the District of Cambridge without leave in writing from one of the Commissioners or from the said John Younglove Esqr

"August 28, 1778

"Whereas it is Suspected that John Wood of St Coyck, Cambridge District with an apparent View absconds himself to avoid the force of the late Act therefore Ordered that the Said Jo. Wood be Summoned to Appair before this Board on 3d of Sepr

"Sept. 7, 1778

William Muer appeared before the Board and requested from us a Pass to White Creek which was granted him on his producing a Certificate from Capt. Jacob Lansing of his Attachment to the American Cause —

"Sept. 24, 1778

"Ordered that a Notice be sent down to Samuel Louden to be inserted in his next News Paper notifying Jacob Legrange of the Norman's Kill and John Wood and William Pendergrast of Cambridge District to appear before this Board on the Tenth Day of October next at the City Hall of the City of Albany for the Purpose of administring to them respectively the Oath as prescribed in the Act of Legislature entitled an Act more effectually to prevent the Mischiefs arising from the Influence and Example of Persons of equivocal and neutral Characters in this State

"Nov. 20, 1778

"Ordered that a Letter be wrote to John McClung Esqr requesting him to procure an Affidavit of the Service of the Citation on John Wood to appear and take the Oath as prescribed to be taken by Persons of neutral and equivocal Characters

"Ordered also that a Letter be wrote to Michael Van Der Cook requesting him to procure an Affidavit of the Service of the Citation on William Prendergast to appear and take the Oath prescribed for neutral and equivocal Characters

"Jan. 15, 1779

"John Wood who was by the Board adjudged to be a Person of a neutral and equivocal character and was in consequence thereof cited to appear to take the Oath prescribed by an Act of the Legislature of this State appearing laid before the Board a Certificate signed by Peter Cantine Junr Esqr setting forth that the said John Wood has in October 1777 taken before him the oath of Allegiance resolved in Consequence of the said Certificate that he be discharged.

"Aug. 3, 1779

"Received a letter from David Smith of Cambridge District dated the 5th Day of July 1779 respecting a certain Charles Church ordered that the said Letter be filed and that the subject Matter thereof betaken into Consideration at a future Day

"Sept. 22, 1779

"Information having been given to this Board that Blackman Browning who is now Cambridge District has been with Burgoyne & was sent for by Major Skeene as a Spy into General Stark's Army for which Piece of Service he received twenty Dollars & that he has from the Commencement of the present Contest been Disaffected to the American Cause

"Resolved in Consequence of the above Information that a Warrant for the immediate apprehension of the said Blackman Browning be made out & inclosed in a Letter to John Younglove Esqr requesting him to have it Served & desiring him to bind over such Witnesses as are able to prove the above Charges against the said Browning to appear at the next Supreme Court of Judicature —

"Sept. 30, 1779

"Blackman Browning having been Confined some Time ago on a Charge against him of his having been guilty of Several Misdemeanors & we having examined the Witnesses produced in Support of the above Charge —

"We do resolve that the said Blackman Browning be liberated from Confinement on his entering to a Recognizance with a Sufficient Surety for his good Behaviour & remaining within the Limits of this City & appearing before this Board when thereunto required —

> Blackman Browning on Recognizancein... £ 500 Cornelius Dotey his Bail £ 500

> > "Dec. 24, 1779

"Cornelius Doty who some time Since became Surety for the good Behaviour and Appearance of Blackman Browning when called upon appeared before the Board and requested to be discharged from the Recognizance by him entered into for the said Blackman Browning and we having considered the request and the Reasons in Support of the Same do thereupon resolve that the said Cornelius Doty be and is hereby discharged from the Recognizance entered into by him as Surety for the said Blackman Browning —

"October 7, 1780

"Nicholas Lake having been heretofore cited to appear before the Board appeared before us this day to enter into a new Recognizance resolved that he enter into the same with a sufficient surety and that he be bound for his good Behaviour, doing his duty, and appearing before any three of the Commissioners for Conspiracies whenever called upon during the continuance of the present war with Great Britain —

"A Return signed by John Younglove Esqr was laid before us wherein he specifies that he has agreeable to An Act of the Legislature for the Removal of the Families of Persons who have joined enemy order the following persons to depart this State or to remove to such parts of it as are in the power of the Enemy, to wit Elizabeth Hogle the wife of John Hogle, Jane Hogle wife of Francis Hogle and three Children of Simeon Covell ordered that the said return be filed

"Elizabeth Hogle one of the weomen named in the above return made by John Younglove Esqr appeared before the Board and requested Permission to remain at her Habitation assigning as a Reason that her Husband was killed at the Battle of Bennington and the same being cerfified to us by sundry well affected inhabitants of this County and that the said Elizabeth Hogle has since the going away of her Husband behaved herself in a becoming manner —

"It is therefore resolved that a permit be granted to the said Elizabeth Hogle for the above purpose —

"Resolved that Henry Van Corlaer who was heretofore bound in a recognizance for his good Behaviour and appearance before this Board when called be cited to appear forthwith with a sufficient surety to enter into Recognizance of anew —

"Oct. 21, 1780

"The Board having received information that there is at present in this City a certain Person whose conduct and Conversation renders him very suspicious therefore resolved that Jacob Kidney the Door Keeper be ordered to bring the said Person forthwith before the Board.

"Jacob Kidney having agreeable to order apprehended the above mentioned person and brought him before us On being examined he says that his Names is James Small and that he is resident in Cambridge District resolved that he be confined untill he produces a Certificate of his Character —

"Dec. 2, 1780

"A letter from Ebenezer Russell Esqr dated White Creek the 18th November last was laid before the Board wherein he sets forth the distressed Situation of the Family of Samuel Burns now a Prisoner confined in the Goal in this City and requesting that the said Burns may be admitted to Bail if it can be done consistently with the safety of the State which Letter being read ordered that the same be filed and the the Consideration thereof be postponed till a future Day -

"Feb. 2, 1781

"Archibald Campbell having been ordered to appear before this Board to enter into Recognizance of anew & he appearing this Day agreeable to the said order resolved that he be bound for his good Behaviour doing his duty & appearing before any three of the Commissioners for Conspiracies when thereunto required during the Continuance of the present war with Great Britain —

"Feb. 16, 1781

"George Tellford having been ordered to appear before this Board to enter into Recognizance of anew and appearing this Day agreeable to the said Order resolved that he be bound for his good Behaviour doing his duty and appearing before any three of the Commissioners for Conspiracies when thereunto required during the Continuance of the present war with Great Britain —

"William Blake having been ordered to appear before this Board to enter into Recognizance of anew appearing this day agreeable to the said Order resolved that he be bound for his good Behaviour doing his duty and appearing before any three of the Commissioners for Conspiracies when thereunto required during the Continuance of the Present War with Great Britain —

William Blake of the District of Cambridge

of Charlotte Esqr his Bail £ 100

"May 12, 1781

"A Certificate signed by sundry of the well affected Inhab-

itants of Arlington in the County of Charlotte was laid before the Board from which it appears that Stephen Fairchilds who was the other day taken at Jessup's Patent and sent down by Capt. Jansen has from the Commencement of the present Contest been esteemed a Friend to the American Cause resolved in Consequence of the said Certificate that the said Stephen Fairchilds be discharged on entering into a Recognizance for his future good Behaviour doing his duty and appearing before any three of the Commissioners for Conspiracies when called upon during the Continuance of the present war with Great Britain —

Stephen Fairchilds of Arlington in the County		
of Charlotte Farmer	£	100
Joseph Hall of the City of Albany, Silver-		
smith his Bailin	£	100

"May 16, 1781

"Resolved that Constant King be liberated from Confinement on entering into Recognizance for his good Behaviour doing his duty and appearing before any three of the Commissioners for Conspiracies when thereunto required during the Continuance of the present war with Great Britain and also for his appearing at the next Supream Court of Judicature to be held for the State of New York at the City Hall in the City of Albany on the last Tuesday in July next (or wheresoever the said Court shall then be held in the State aforesaid) and not to depart the Court without Leave —

Constant King of White Creek in the County		
of Albany Cordwainerin	£	100
John Fisher of Cambridge in the County		
aforesaid Millwright his bailin	£	100

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CHAPTER FIVE

INTERLUDE

A Word on How They Lived.

Settlers in good faith in this region tried to be on the land in March, or at latest in April, so as to be able to plant and harvest during that Summer garden vegetables, maize and beans, and moreover to employ the whole Summer in clearing land and preparing homes for their families.

The first permanent accomplishment which harassed them was to set about preparing the soil, so as to be able to plant some Winter grain, and to proceed the next Winter to cut and clear some of the timber. Trees were usually felled from the stump and cut up and burned in the field, except such as were suitable for posts and rails for the very necessary fencing to keep the cattle out of the new-sown crops. Early plowings were right around the stumps until time and circumstances allowed the removal of these obstacles. Having thus begun, the settler endeavored every year to clear as much new land as he could possibly use, and to sow it with such seed as he could obtain. Few of the first comers had much live stock, as clearing the land and other necessary labors did not permit them to save much hay or to build barns for stabling. One pair of draft horses, or more likely a yoke of oxen, to ride the logs to the saw mill and haul back the planks or rails, was the limit of their early capacity, but later on, when they had time for having and for building barns and houses, all sorts of cattle were quickly brought to the land.

Of all the animals the ox was doubtless the most helpful and most valuable to the farmer of early days. He cleared the forest lands, dragged out the boulders, broke the virgin soil, plowed the snowdrifts off the roads, moved houses and barns, and was really indispensable. For snagging logs in rough country he afforded ideal motive power. He could sled timber through mud and streams that would baffle even a modern tractor. He would pull loads that horses could never budge, and in close places the ox moved calmly always. Where horses would get nervous and lunge and jerk until something was broken, oxen would start the load out easily and gently, never making a false step and never wasting an ounce of their enormous strength. Whoever invented the expression "as clumsy as an ox" was ignorant indeed. In those days of rough roads speed was out of the question anyway, and the ox served every purpose. In 1791, it is said, the proportion of horses to cattle on our highways was as one to twenty, and in 1805 oxen were still more numerous than horses.

Sometimes at first the cow had to help out with the plowing, but mostly her contribution was in precious butter, milk and cheese, and later in meat, leather for leggings, jerkins, smallclothes, caps, shoes, saddles, harness and straps; grease for tallow candles, horns for powder, tough ligaments for thongs, and hides for trunks, knapsacks, chair bottoms, water bottles and many other things. The sheep supplied meat, mutton tallow for chapped hands and for preserving boots, and wool for articles of clothing of every description. The pig was not only useful for food but for its hide and bristles. Without geese the early settlers would have missed their greatest comfort - the feather bed. No historical sketch, moreover, should omit a mention of the wild (carrier) pigeons, which once came in millions but were slain so recklessly that they have long since been exterminated. Only the breastmeat was saved, and this was packed away by the barrel in many a country cellar.

Log cabins were not known in this region in the early days. Our ancestors hereabouts had saw mills almost as soon as they had anything, and built their houses, barns and other structures out of sawn planks, though beams, and sometimes planks too, were hewn with broad-axe and draw-shave long after saw mills were available. Log cabins came to America in the Swedish settlements in southern New Jersey and Delaware, and moved into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and farther west by way of Pennsylvania. Their use here, if at all, was post-Revolutionary, and representation of them hereabouts, whether pictorial or in reminiscence, at any earlier time is probably unhistorical. The same is true of houses built with "bricks brought from Holland" or from elsewhere overseas. At a time when the whole continent of America was almost desperate for every least article of domestic or agricultural usefulness that could be obtained from abroad, and when the capacity of the few ships that arrived was so painfully small,

it would have been ridiculous for such vessels to have burdened themselves with bricks. As a matter of fact, examination of the custom house records of Portland, Portsmouth, Salem, Marblehead, Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Baltimore, Charleston and Savannah, from 1642 to 1770, has not revealed a single manifest of the shipment of bricks, except from one American port to another in the coastwise trade. This could hardly be otherwise, since there was no portion of the American colonies which did not furnish excellent brick-making clay. The mistake may perhaps have arisen from misunderstanding of certain technical terms in bricklaying, by which certain patterns of laying up a wall are styled variously "Flemish bond," "English bond," "Dutch," etc.

The Day of Small Things

Returning to our early settlers, few of them had means at first to build farm houses according to their wishes. In some few cases, according to early recollections, the very first domestic shelters were made by digging pits in the ground, cellar fashion, six or seven feet deep, as long and broad as they thought proper, casing the earth with wood all round the wall and lining the wood with the bark of trees to prevent cave-ins. This cellar was floored with plank and partitioned according to the size of the family. Overhead it was roofed with poles which were covered with bark or green sods, and so they lived dry and warm until the yield of their husbandry enabled them to build as handsome houses as they pleased. It is doubtful, however, if this practice was ever common hereabouts, as within ten years after the Cambridge District was opened for settlement there was such a degree of comfort and so many conveniences in all this region as must be surprising even to this day. Once the days of dreadful trouble and distress were really over, good times quickly came to stay.

We must remember of course that as to wealth theirs was a day of small things, and that their possessions at best were largely composed of articles of little intrinsic value, which were precious, nevertheless, because they were all they had. A paper of pins, a delf bowl, or a pewter dish or platter was a prime necessity not easily replaced, and in our day of lavish comforts and cheap conveniences we can hardly estimate what they meant to them.

Furniture was not plentiful in early Cambridge households. Mahogany was the most costly and aristocratic material. Many families who had little else had one or two choice pieces of this, transported over the mountains when they moved here from Rhode Island or Connecticut. Ordinary furniture was of pine or oak, though some very good pieces were of maple or cherry. Few families were without a corner cupboard, and fewer still without the large and small wheels for spinning wool, linen, cotton and homespun, together with the loom for weaving cloth for the various needs of the household.

From the blacksmith's shop came iron rods from which nails were fashioned at the home forge, pot-hooks, andirons, firedogs, shovels, tongs, toasters, broilers, revolving spits, and of course the crane, as well as axes, hammers, frows, bettles, drawknives, jack - knives, kitchen knives, forks and spoons, fish - spears, chains, bands for wheels and hubs, plowshares, bog-hoes, stone-hooks, footscrapers, latches, hinges and candlesticks. It was the trees, however, which furnished most of the home equipment as well as the house itself. Most of the planks and boards were of pine. Locust, spruce, chestnut and ash were good for fences and posts, walnut for gunstocks and axe handles. Tubs, spikes, windlasses, wheels and blocks came from buttonwood, basswood, hornbeam, birch, alder and larch. Whittling in the kitchen, in the long Winter evenings, the men and boys made for the housewife wooden spoons and ladles, butter and lard paddles, pudding-sticks, bread troughs, churns, butter molds, cheese presses, pails and buckets, tubs, piggins, lye-casks, tables, chairs, stands, cupboards, bureaus, clothes-presses, linen chests, as well as bowls, trenchers, plates, mugs and baskets. Water troughs and water conduits were made of hollowed logs, and then there were wooden pegs, wooden buttons, flails, whiffletrees, vokes, pokes, sleds - an endless list.

Paint was a late-comer in these parts. Unquestionably the clapboards of the earlier houses were better seasoned than those in use today, for they lasted unpainted for generations. The first coloring applied to some houses was merely whitewash, and the first paint was merely clay mixed with linseed oil, generally a greenish gray, or, if colored with beet-juice, a sort of red. When the peddlers began to bring around Venetian red, powdered, at two cents a pound, it came into general use in paint-making, and its cheapness was doubtless the reason for the all but universal use of red paint. At that, some farmers substituted skimmed milk for linseed oil, though the latter was made from their own flax, and brick-dust and resin, with benzine, for red pigment. Coloring for beauty was apparently not considered at all. It was well along in the nineteenth century before white paint was generally used. White lead, however, was much too expensive for most farmers, and for a long time most of the white paint hereabouts was made of lime, water and linseed oil. One coat of red, on the back of the buildings, would outlast many coats of white on the side toward the road.

"Good Providers"

The men of the Cambridge District's beginnings were most certainly "good providers," to the limit of their resources. Though there were years of great privation, as soon as there was peace in the land every farmhouse had its barrels of pork and beef, sides of beef, flitches and sides of bacon, carcasses of venison and mutton, and gammons and shoulders in quantities of which we have no experience in these days of abundant shops and markets. Roasting pigs, fowls, turkeys and geese were lavishly available. They had also pickled and smoked beef and pork. veal, sausages, wild fowl in abundance, and luscious tidbits of raccoon and bear. Shad and herring were plentiful in their season, whole caravans of Cambridge District farmers going over to Old Saratoga (Schuvlerville) each Spring to bring back a year's supply in wagons, which was laid down by the barrel and even hogshead for Winter use. Every household was supplied with butter, lard, molasses, sugar and honey. Wheat, rye, buckwheat, Indian corn, potatoes, turnips and beans abounded, and there was a great wealth of apples, cherries, plums and pears. For beverages they had tea, coffee and chocolate; also cider and metheglin the former by the barrel, and even by one, two and ten hogsheads, and the latter, made of honey, water and yeast or malt, by the keg or barrel. There was also perry, made from pears, while for those who were not content with these there were brandy, applejack, gin, whiskey and rum in all their varieties, anise-seed cordial, and blackberry and cherry brandy. The exceptionally well off had in their cellars a liberal supply of wines. Tobacco and snuff were in general use, the latter being greatly affected by the gentry. Tobacco was smoked in pipes or chewed, but we do not find that cigars were ever known in the Cambridge District until long after the early times.

Our fathers were respectably clad. They had little money, it is true, but they did not go around like semi-savages, or like clods or bumpkins either. Indeed their store of clothing was abundant: through thrift and careful forethought many of the fabrics used were quite elegant, and the fashion of their dress was frequently very stately. Pantaloons were not yet in vogue, but instead there were breeches of leather, buckskin, worsted, homespun, stockinet, black and brown broadcloth, plush or velvet for Winter; and for Summer of linen, cotton, nankeen, white dimity and drilling — not all of these in any one man's wardrobe, to be sure, but the variety was available. Dress coats, surtouts and greatcoats were made of bearskin, buckskin, homespun, denim, wilton, broadcloth, velvet and sagathy (a kind of serge); and cloaks of camlet, broadcloth and kersey. Their vests were of linen, twilled cotton, diaper, white dimity, serge, broadcloth and velvet; their shirts of linen, cotton, homespun and tow; their stockings of woolen, cotton and linen. For boots and shoes almost every householder had in his house whole dressed calkskins and sides of sole and other leather. Certainly the men of those days were comfortable, and in most cases their appearance was also one of dignified respectability.

Gay Colors and Fine Fabrics

The apparel of the ladies was still more varied. In the face of all the difficulties - and they were many - they found means of expressing their love of gay colors and delicate fabrics. Every home had its blue dve-pot, and indigo blue, brought to the door by a peddler, was the favorite color. Brown might come from butternut or walnut shucks or bark, or red oak, hickory or maple bark. Alder gave a very deep brown. For yellow they used barberry root, sassafras bark, saffron, the petals of the Jerusalem artichoke or St. John's wort, and especially onion skins. Onion skins, or golden-rod blossoms, or laurel leaves and hickory bark were mixed with pale indigo to make green. Black was the hardest color to get right. Gall-berry leaves and sumach berries gave a good black, or field sorrel leaves boiled with logwood and copperas. Creeping ivy made a black for linens. Where cochineal was unobtainable, pokeberries boiled with alum gave a fine crimson. Without the alum, pokeberries made purple, as did elder berries and sumach berries and the petals of the purple flag. Girls of today, as a matter of fact, need waste little sympathy on their great-great-grandmothers in the early days of the Cambridge District as having, perhaps, been frumps.

To begin with, the ladies of those days must have considered caps and aprons indispensable to their toilets, the humblest among them having been possessed of an indefinite number of each. The caps were made for the most part of cambric, taffeta, millinet, gauze and linen, and the aprons of lawn, holland-linen, taffeta, muslin and millinet, down to check, homespun and tow. Their hats, bonnets and hoods were of beaver, satin and bright-colored silks and velvets; their cloaks of worsted, broadcloth, camlet, gaycolored silks, white and black satin, purple and black and blue velvet, and especially of brilliant scarlet flannel. Not every woman, of course, had all of these. We are merely listing what she had to choose from.

With the same qualification, it appears that their dresses were formed of a liberal variety of materials. The common short gown, which seems to have been generally affected when they were not in full toilet, was of kersey, holland-linen, worsted, wilton, calamanco (a stuff resembling prunella), check, homespun, or linsey-woolsey. Their long gowns were of check, striped cotton, worsted, striped homespun, calico, "boughten" calico, muslin, chintz, outside chintz lined with calico, white holland, blue and striped holland, black and blue durant (the fabric known as "everlasting"), groset, bombazine, blue and black russel (a species of linsey-woolsey), moreen, poplin, French tabby, velvet, lutestring, or white, crimson and other colored silks and satins. For the hands they wore gloves of thread, cotton, muslin, yarn, linen, worsted or silk; and their shoes were of cloth, prunella, calamanco, leather or silk. Shawls were of cloth, cashmere and taffeta; handkerchiefs and kerchiefs abounded in their wardrobes, and were of linen, cambric, taffeta, muslin, gauze, and Barcelona or other thin silks. Of shifts and petticoats their supply was nearly inexhaustible, some women having twelve, fifteen or twenty each. The shifts were sometimes of homespun or muslin, but chiefly of fine 500 and 600 linen, and the petticoats were of linsey, tow, flannel, kersey, dimity, bombazine or calamanco.

Equally abundant, various and serviceable were the articles of household wear. The bed and all that appertained to it were the pride of the mistress of the house. It was almost invariably of sweet, soft and downy feathers. The more feather beds a woman had, the better housewife she was deemed. The sheets were of fine homespun or of 500 or 600 linen; the bedspreads were mainly of calico, chintz or "blue-and-white" stuff, home-clipped, spun, dyed and woven; the quilts of calico, calamanco, black and white durant, "green and blue persian," or lutestring; the blankets and rugs of "spotted woolen" or flannel; and the posts at the corners of the bed were garnished with curtains of dimity, or with warmer colored ones of damask, calico, chintz, diaper, "blue-and-white stuff," homespun striped and woven with damask flowers, or silk. For table use they had linen napkins and tablecloths of diaper, diaper-wove huckaback, kersey, and damask plain or flowered.

China Rare as Gold

China, on the other hand, was as rare as gold, and as highly prized. Most commonly three china cups and saucers comprised the entire outfit of a respectable family, though the number sometimes rose to six, but seldom to a dozen. Cups and saucers and bowls were usually of delf or queen's-ware. Plates were seldom of china, but, together with servers, dishes, platters, spoons, tea and coffee pots, and tankards, were — at least before the Revolution - of pewter, brilliantly polished and rivaling the richest silver in lustre. Little of this pewter survived the need for bullets in the war. Some of the basins, ewers; mugs, porringers, ladles and kettles were also made of copper, and iron was the serviceable metal. There was little glassware, and the few jelly glasses, salt cellars, punch goblets and tumblers of glass which they had were considered unusual elegancies. Only the well-to-do had clocks and looking-glasses, the size of the latter corresponding with the degree of its owner's social standing. Time was generally told by the hour-glass and notched stick. Stoves were not in general use. Wood, charcoal and turf were the common fuel. Wood was just beginning to be burned in "franklins," but generally was used in fireplaces, which were provided with dogs and andirons, and in kitchens were huge caverns, garnished with a forest of chains, pot-hooks and trammels, swinging on iron cranes or smokepacks over fires that were fed by logs from four to six feet in length.

These men and women had few books, but what they had they valued highly and mastered accordingly. A Bible was almost invariably found in every house, and, with a psalm-book, frequently constituted the entire library. The precious metals, and articles for use or adornment made of them, were as scarce as books. Silver tea spoons were very rare. Not more than three or six were possessed by substantial farmers or mechanics, and very commonly they could boast of one only. Silver tablespoons were yet rarer; it was seldom that even the wealthy owned them. On the other hand, silver knee-buckles, shoe-buckles and stockbuckles were largely worn by our male ancestors when arrayed in their best breeches of broadcloth, plush, nankeen or velvet, and some of them had silver vest and breeches buttons, or even sleeve buttons for their shirts, sometimes with lockets attached containing relice or minitures. These, however, were exceptional possessions in these parts, as were gold or silver watches and snuff-boxes, earrings, chains and necklaces. A plain gold ring was, on the other hand, quite common.

As to locomotion, there were of course no surfaced roads. Even the main highways were tedious to travel, rough and deep with dust in the Summer and full of mudholes in the Spring. Journeys were mostly undertaken on horseback, and it was thus the men and women went to church, to mill, to market and to town. Side-saddles and riding coats and habits for the women were, therefore, in universal use. Where the whole family had to be taken along, chairs were set in the bed of the lumbering farm wagon. For one or two passengers chaises and gigs were not uncommon, the bodies sunk down between high wheels and swung on wooden springs which were a prolongation of the shafts or thills. In the Winter bob-sleds were used, and nearly everyone had a family sleigh.

Of one thing there was no shortage in the early days of this region — guns and firearms. There was customarily an available weapon for every member of the household, including the servants, and they knew how to use them. The great abundance of deer, bears, foxes, wolves and other wild animals may partly account for this, but the long toll of Indian outrages and the incessant hostilities on this frontier were fresh in everyone's recollection. What ever the reason, the general supply was fortunate for the nation, since many of the soldiers in the Revolutionary armies were required to furnish their own weapons. New York State armed most of its troops as the war went on, but the original resolution of Congress was "that each of the privates be allowed, instead of a bounty, one felt hat, a pair of yarn stockings, and a pair of shoes, the men to find their own arms."

OLD CAMBRIDGE DISTRICT

Part II — The People

CHAPTER ONE

THE STUFF THAT WAS IN THEM

With the establishment of lasting peace and an independence then and long after held unashamedly to be "glorious," there came to the Cambridge District a time of confidence and of substantial material prosperity. After all the hardships, the worries, losses and despair, an age of progress dawned - not swift, but golden in promise. Interest in those days increases among us decade by decade. Now, in the long perspective and the garish light of today's brutalities, we are beginning to realize the tremendous impact of the American Revolution on the status of our fathers. Now, when millions of people have lost their liberties, and dark shadows cloud our prospects of being able to maintain our own, we begin to grasp what it meant to the men and women of eighteenth century America to be free, not merely to vote, but to express themselves and their individualities - free to make the most, be it great or small, of whatever was in them - free to invent, to manufacture, to buy and sell, to engage in business, to improve their condition under a free enterprise system which offered the soundest hope of getting on in the world.

Conspicuous among the many proofs of the intervention of Divine Providence in the creation and preservation of the American nation is the fact that our independence came to pass at the very moment when society was moving out of the age of handi-

crafts into an era in which water power and steam were to replace man in industry. Conceivably the release of American skill and energy had more than a little to do with the new age's dawning. However it came about, invention and the machine held the future, and it may perhaps be surprising to some to learn that the part played by the Cambridge District in setting the wheels in motion must be ranked well up with the first and highest. For a long moment, indeed, it was nip and tuck whether our placid region was not to become one of the chief industrial centers of the land. We had no coal, for one thing, and first the canals and then the railroads led commerce the other way. But we forget too easily that our own people hereabouts ranked with the pioneers who showed the rest of them how. Looking about us now in wellwarranted contentment, we do not grudge what we have missed - crowds, noise, grime and soot; hordes of toiling masses; hosts of social, economic and governmental problems, apparently insoluble. Lucky for us, we have kept some things worth saving, and we have made our contributions too. Through all the years the world outside has profited from the skill, the intelligence, the character bred in the sons and daughters of the Cambridge District who have gone out to build up other regions from coast to coast and around the globe. Wherever the best there is in the American dream has been best exemplified, the lessons learned at Cambridge hearthstones still bear fruit - the Cambridge heritage still honors Cambridge forebears.

After the first outburst of industrial energy following the Revolution, the Cambridge District settled down to an era of peaceful development roughly coincidental with the Age of Turnpikes - say from 1799 to 1824, when the canals came into the picture. During this period several important events occurred notably the introduction of merino sheep into this neighborhood in 1809 and the inception of flax-raising on a large scale in 1812. In August, 1814, the cry of invasion over the old warpath from Canada was again raised, and the Washington County militia was called out en masse and marched northward, but before they could reach Plattsburg Commodore McDonough's victory over the British on Lake Champlain, September 11th, led Prevost to withdraw his army of redcoats, and their services were not needed. March 12, 1813, Warren County was created out of territory taken from Washington County, and the latter, which had earlier lost so heavily to Vermont now was deprived of all its soil west of Lake George and the Hudson and of about 8,000 population. Charlotte County had had about 3,000 population in 1774, and Washington County had 14,000 in 1790, to which the annexation of Cambridge and Easton in 1791 added some 6,000 more, and it is curious to note that this figure of 20,000 made Washington County at that time the seventh in population in the State. Dutchess than led with 36,334 and New York County had in 1790 only 33,131 inhabitants.

Changes were obviously in the offing. It was already foreseen that a vast commerce was some day to come out of the great West, but it was supposed that the James and Potomac rivers in Virginia would be the outlets for this treasure of the future a hope from which the Hudson seemed forever cut off by the difficulties of transport from the Great Lakes to Albany. DeWitt Clinton had the answer to that in the canals on which were to be based the riches of the Empire State. It was a solution which passed our region by, while building New York City into colossal size and wealth, the seaboard terminus for the West and as such the natural port if immigration and the natural financial and commercial center of the United States. There was a time, all the same, when future greatness for the Cambridge District hung by a haïr in the hands of Fate.

Our people were naturally inventive. Both men and women were exceptionally skilful with their hands. Long before the Revolution they had turned to industry, though not forgetting potash and grain, this District's agricultural staples of that day. Almost everything they had was made at home. Almost everything but blacksmithing, tanning and saw-mill work was done at home. Hats, caps, shoes and wagons were manufactured in every village. Fulled cloth, flannel, tow cloth and linen were made in almost every farmhouse. Philip Schuyler had won high praise and honors for his linen mill at Schuylerville. When, soon after the Declaration of Independence, premiums were offered for the best woolen cloth manufactured in America, the first prize of \$40 was won by Scott Woodward of the Cambridge District, and the second prize of \$35 went to Adam Cleveland of Salem. What is almost incredible today had been the folly of the English government in attempting to suppress all manufacturing in the American colonies, for the benefit of producers in England. American factories were declared to be nuisances. No wool, or manufacture of wool, no hats, could be exported even to the next colony, and all important works in iron were absolutely prohibited. Carts, plows and hoes were made by the Cambridge District smith of such material as he could procure, little metal being used perforce. Strips of iron made by hammering out old horseshoes were the facings of the wooden mouldboards of plows. Machinery of any kind was virtually nonexistent. On July 4, 1776, there were just two steam engines in the United States.

It is little wonder that when the successful issue of the war rendered commercial and mechanical enterprise possible, a new era dawned. The industries which had been repressed by law to keep the colonies subordinate and dependent began to be developed. Hammers began to ring and sparks to fly on many an anvil as the native genius of American inventors and American machinists began to express itself, to conquer the soil and to produce commodities and contrivances of every sort in great abundance. One of the foremost among these, though you may look for his name in vain in the schoolbooks and the encyclopedias, was Leonard Darby; and Pumpkin Hook — now buried deep in a forest as dense as it was a thousand years ago — was the scene of his creative wonders.

Leonard Darby came from Salisbury, Conn., to establish a gun shop at Pumpkin Hook at about the time of the Revolution. He was a master machinist, with true inventive genius. Besides guns, he made axes, saws, scythes, hoes, steelyards, cow bells, sheep bells, and dozens of other products of the machinist's art. Long after his time, migratory settlers carried Darby products -true, clean, sweetly balanced, lovingly toiled over and impossible to wear out or to replace with anything so good - into Western New York, Ohio and Michigan, to serve there in opening up more and newer frontiers and to be handed down from son to grandson. This miracle, the miracle of Leonard Darby, the Cambridge District gunsmith who could create machines as fast as inventors could devise them, was typical of the ingenuity, the resourcefulness of the free men whose talents were released when American liberty was established. It contained the kernel of a vast industrial empire. Nor should it ever be forgotten that mechanical inventions and their operation are a development of liberty. They were never and they could not be devised under a State-controlled economy. Their origin is in freedom.

With Darby to make the machinery, and abundant water power at hand, the stage was set for manufacturing. Immediately after the Revolution five mill centers arose in this region, at Schaghticoke, at Pumpkin Hook, at Hoosick Falls, at Bennington and at Adams and North Adams, and Pumpkin Hook was by no means least in this company. Before its day was done and it became extinct, it had a chair factory, a clock factory, a comb factory, a fulling mill, a woolen factory, a grist mill, a saw mill, a distillery, a tavern, several blacksmith shops, and of course a machine shop, with pattern-makers and a trip hammer for steel forgings. It was an important center. Town meetings were held there.

As to the first cotton mills in America the information is not clear. Samuel Slater did not have a complete mill at Pawtucket before 1798, nor did he begin power loom manufacturing before 1814. Greenwich claims the first cotton mill in New York State, said to have been opened in 1804 by William Mowry, who had been instructed at Slater's mills. Schaghticoke advances the same claim for Congdon's mill, opened in 1810. Of one fact we are certain. Leonard Darby made in his shop at Pumpkin Hook in 1809 the complete machinery for Gordon's cotton mill on the upper falls of the Walloomsac, which opened in 1810. Gordon, the owner, was a pioneer in power looms from Glasgow, who found Darby able to grasp his ideas and produce the machines. This mill about 1869 was converted into the Stevens & Thompson wallpaper factory. Darby also equipped the mills at Pumpkin Hook. He fitted Edward Aiken's grist mill in White Creek village for the manufacture of cotton goods. His services, and those of men he had trained, were in wide demand. Mills in North Adams and North Bennington came in 1811, followed in 1823 by the great mills at Lowell, the machinery for which was made by the machinist Talbot, who had learned his trade with Darby and who later became lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts. Stephen Kellogg was still another Pumpkin Hook machinist who ranked among the ablest of his time.

It was not only in milling machinery that the Cambridge District led the way. The first side-hill plow was invented by John Rich, just south of the Checkered House. Jethro Wood, son of the Quaker Isaac Wood of White Creek village, one more who learned the machinist's trade at Pumpkin Hook, made the best and most popular plow of his day — a tremendous improvement over anything ever known before and the foundation of the agricultural machinery business, at one time the greatest in the world, developed at Hoosick Falls by his kinsman Walter Abbott Wood. The plow of 1776 was all of wood except the wrought iron share and some bolts and nuts whereby the parts were fastened together. The standard rose nearly vertically, having attached to it the beam and solepiece. On the nose of the beam hung the clevis: the mouldboard and share were attached to a frame braced between the beam and the sole. The wooden moulboard was sometimes plated with sheet iron, or, as we have noted, with strips made by hammering out old horseshoes. A clump of iron shaped like a half-spear formed the point. It was known as a bull plow, bull-tongue, or bar-share plow. Two pins in the standard formed the handles, and it required the whole strength of a man to handle it. Jethro Wood. in spite of the vast credit due him for his skill and enterprise, lost a fortune in developing his invention and defending his rights. The peculiar merit of Wood's plow consisted in the mode of securing the cast iron portions together by lugs and locking pieces, doing away with screw bolts and much weight, complexity and expense. Wood did more than any other person to drive out of use the cumbrous contrivances common throughout the country, giving a lighter, cheaper and more effective implement. His was the first plow in which the parts most exposed to wear could be renewed in the field by the substitution of cast pieces.

We have mentioned the introduction of the merino sheep into this region in 1809 and shall have some details to add. Wool growing soon became the leading industry in the county, a position it held for fifty years or more, and nowhere was it more widely and successfully followed than in the Cambridge District. In 1850 there were 30,000 sheep in the Town of White Creek alone. North White Creek became such a noted market for common and merino wool that large quantities were brought there from other New York counties and from Vermont for sale.

Flax was for a long time another bonanza crop. So many of our people came from the North of Ireland, and naturally knew all about flax, that it was early grown here. Every farmer up to the opening of the War of 1812 sowed a small flax field and produced his household linen. The flax was allowed to rot slightly in the field, after which it was prepared by a hand-break, or swingle-knife, for the hetchel. This rough machine separated the tow from the fine flax, the latter being wound on a distaff and spun into threads on the little wheel, while the former was spun into warp and tow on the large wheel and used for coarse garments and sacking for grain. In the War of 1812 James Whiteside of the Town of Cambridge experimented extensively with flax and found our soil exceptionally adapted to its growth. As a result a very large industry developed. The soil of the Jackson hills, especially the range west of the lakes, and on the western slopes of that range, was said to produce the best, but White Creek flax was a huge crop, and the Town of Cambridge produced more than any other town in the State except Pittstown, which has a much larger area. At one time there were six flax mills in Cambridge, three in Jackson, and seven or eight in White Creek. Factories for the making of rope, twine and canvas were also scattered through the District, while most of the linen cloth was made at home. Flaxseed, linseed oil and oil cake were also produced on a large scale and were shipped by way of Bennington or Troy for distribution in New England and the Middle States or to Boston and New York for export. Tons of the seed went to Ireland, where it had been found that the best Irish flax came from foreign seed.

Years ago dairy farming began to supplant sheep raising as a major farm activity in the Cambridge District, and even before flax lost its supremacy as the farmers' stand-by the raising of potatoes had become an important agricultural item, stimulated by the convenience of shipment to the primary markets by way of the Hudson River and the Champlain Canal. Our soil was, it seemed, especially adapted to potato-growing, and the crop, particularly in the Town of Jackson, was very large. Considerable business also developed in potato-buying and speculation on the yield. The growing of garden seeds and vegetable seeds, which was started in the Cambridge District by Simon Crosby as early as 1816, developed under Roswell Niles Rice and his son, the late Jerome B. Rice, into what was for a long time the world's largest seed business.

Enough, perhaps, has been said in this hasty summary to indicate the essential fitness of the fathers and mothers of the Cambridge District for the tasks which confronted them and for the creation of an eminently satisfactory civilization. This was in their blood and breeding. Whether they were from the North of Ireland, or descended as were a great proportion of our early settlers from the first arrivals in Rhode Island and Connecticut — who likewise had left pleasant homes, not in flight but only for the purpose of bettering themselves — they were not refugees. Of almost unmixed English or Scottish blood, they were intelligent, thrifty and staid. Though quite generally from rural districts, plain and strong, unmodified by court or fashion, neither were they a rude or uninstructed people. The lowest ranks of society were not represented among them at all, and idle, shiftless and disorderly elements were rigorously excluded from among them. Their characteristics were enterprise, sober intelligence, unflinching adherence to duty, and an earnestness of character which could constrain them to any sacrifices needful for realizing their high ideals of life.

Such men and women prized independence, and they recognized that hard work done with a will was the first principle of living. They had clear and strong traditions of decent, generous personal life, of fruitful industry on a fertile soil, and of a spirit both of progress and contentment. Though few of them had much education, theirs was a distinctive culture, involving intellectual integrity, respect for the respectable, civilized peacefulness, and a thoroughly comfortable way of living. The only social impediment New York had ever had was its colonial aristocracy, and Colden's wisdom and the sound common sense of the people who settled hereabouts preserved the Cambridge District from even that. Those early settlers were indeed elite - a chosen people in a certain sense — the sense that the pampered and subsidized toilers of today could not then have existed at all. The conditions which have made possible America's teeming population, which the oppressed of all nations have swarmed to our shores to enjoy. had first to be created. The modern worker, with his forty-hour week at a dollar an hour and time and one-half for overtime, could not have stood up for a single day under what our greatgrandparents had to deal with and subdue and conquer all their lives. For all that, their existence in the Cambridge District was a good life in a self-contained community, content to mind its own business and let the world jog on, and every family in the community was self-contained as well - a sound and solid civilization if there ever was one, and one that we here in the Cambridge District have by no means lost, for we have saved a great part of its values. With no submerged proletariat and no residential colony of millionaires; with a hard-working, God-fearing, truly intelligent people proud of their origins and traditions and faithful to high ideals, ours is still as near to being an integrated community, both socially and intellectually, as has ever existed or could exist. We hope to keep it so.