

STONE HOUSE DAYS:
CONSTRUCTING CULTURAL HYBRIDITY IN THE HUDSON VALLEY

by

KENNETH SHEFSIEK

(Under the Direction of Allan Kulikoff)

ABSTRACT

In 1678, a small band of French-speaking Protestant Walloon refugees from the Rheinland Palatinate established a community upon a nearly 40,000-acre patent in Ulster County, New York, within the Hudson River Valley. As the village founders—the patentees—and their families established their village within a Dutch cultural region within an English colony, they and their descendants were required to adjust simultaneously to two foreign cultures. This particular multi-ethnic environment created a cultural frontier, where no one cultural group could establish cultural hegemony. As early as the late seventeenth century through the eighteenth century, the founders and their descendants willingly and proactively constructed a fluid and changing hybrid culture, using Walloon, Dutch and English cultures as source material. However, their Walloonness was lost relatively early, except in very limited ways, and they ultimately created a Dutch-Anglo culture. This cultural hybridity was seen through their language use, their construction of gender, and their architecture. The patentee descendant community members deemed this hybridity acceptable and even desirable because they felt culturally threatened by neither the local Dutch-American population nor the English colonial government. While English political and legal forms were unavoidable, the patentee

community chose who filled local offices, could manipulate English legal forms for their own cultural purposes, and could maintain economic power through extensive land ownership. Thus, power was divided between the local non-English and the English colonial government. While the majority of the members of the patentee descendant community accepted cultural hybridity, there were anomalous individuals who resisted such hybridity and fluidity. There were also those who actively anglicized in order to cross the cultural frontier, motivated by a resilient English and Anglo-American anti-Dutch bias. These three approaches—acceptance of hybridity and fluidity, cultural resistance, and active assimilation—existed simultaneously in New Paltz with little apparent stress until the 1760s. In that decade, conflict developed in the Dutch Reformed congregations in New York over the Americanization of the New World congregations. That conflict—the Coetus-Conferentie dispute—affected the cultural processes in New Paltz, which caused those following all three of the cultural approaches to come into open conflict.

INDEX WORDS: Walloons, Dutch-Americans, Hudson River Valley, Dutch Reformed Church, Coetus-Conferentie, cultural frontier, cultural hybridity, Colonial New York, Ulster County New York

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY, ETHNICITY AND THE COLONIAL FRONTIER

“I like middles. It is in middles that extremes clash, where ambiguity restlessly rules.”

-- John Updike¹

In the winter of 2002, a snowstorm blanketed the houses on Huguenot Street, the historic core of New Paltz, New York, a small and venerable town on the west side of the Hudson River, about halfway between New York City and Albany. The snow obscured the asphalt road and covered such modern accretions as fire hydrants in this picturesque village, established in 1678 by Walloon refugees from northern France. The snow was so wet that it clung to street signs and historic markers, making them almost invisible when seen from a distance. Sitting in my living room, I looked through the windows to see the nearly three-hundred-year-old Bevier-Elting and Dubois houses next door, and for a moment I could almost perceive the view that the ancient inhabitants of those houses had seen when they looked out onto a similar scene in winter. Of course, much was missing from the old farmsteads—most of the outbuildings, animals, kitchen gardens—but three hundred years ago much of that would have also been hidden or at least obscured during such a wintry slumber. I, as the educator for the Huguenot Historical Society, the institution that owned these aged stone buildings that now function as museums, could also sometimes experience a similar split second of time travel when I unlocked the houses on a morning during the season of house tours, when nearly 10,000 people would visit the old stone

¹ From a 1966 Life Magazine article by Jane Howard, (Jane Howard, “Can a Nice Novelist Finish First?” *Life Magazine*, November 4, 1966, 74).

houses annually to capture a glimpse of the past. I felt this particularly when I walked through the parlor, or the *grootekammer*, in the 1721 so-called Jean Hasbrouck House, with the golden sunlight slanting through the windows onto the *kas* (the Dutch-style cupboard) and across the falling leaf table covered with a “Turkey” carpet in typical Dutch fashion. Alone in the room, I could, at least to some extent, forget myself with my modern clothing and sensibilities and see what an eighteenth-century resident of the house would have viewed if he or she, too, had been alone in the room. In these moments, I could partially slip out of my own time as I experienced the physical environment of the past.

Sensing these flickers of the past that were captured in these spaces, I in no way felt even a hint of nostalgia or felt a romantic pull toward “days of yore.” I knew too much for that. The Colonial past and its houses call to me because they confirm that things were not always as they are now, while also physically revealing that the footprints of the past are never truly gone. The houses confirm both change through time and a feeling of timelessness, a paradox that offers, at least for me, both a sense of stability and a reminder of the malleability of human constructs. As such, the houses are not just material objects but also symbols. Those of both the past and present, including myself, who have been connected to these houses in their capacity as museums have transformed the original primary use value of these structures from a means of providing physical protection from the elements to a new use value as source material for the construction of other meanings. The meanings that I construct from historic houses may perhaps be peculiarly mine, but since the first Huguenot Street house ceased to function as a house and was transformed into a museum in 1894 by descendants of the New Paltz founders, the old stone houses have served for these museum-making families as physical representations of the contributions their ancestors made to American history and identity. The houses anchored, and

continue to anchor, a filiopietism that confirmed for the descendants their own patriotic identity grounded in their family history. This filiopietism was also at one time demonstrated in a public celebration commemorating those families through a festival dedicated to their ancestral homes, a celebration known as “Stone House Days.”

These descendants, however, were hardly the first to use these structures as elements of their cultural expression in the complex cultural environment of New Paltz. That the cultural environment in the region during the colonial era was indeed complex is demonstrated by the fact that the earliest New Paltz houses were built in the closing years of the seventeenth and early years of the eighteenth centuries by French-speaking Protestant Walloon refugees (and their children) from northern France and the Spanish Netherlands, who sought a new life in the Dutch cultural region of the central Hudson River Valley, in a colony under the political control of an English monarch. Even as the original owners were building their houses, they were self-consciously constructing their own ethnic culture through such structures, in a manner fundamentally dependent upon a cultural environment in which those of different ethnic origins lived in close proximity and regular, if not daily, contact. This contact was unavoidable because of the European settlement patterns in colonial New York, but it was made particularly meaningful because of the nature of ethnic power in colonial New York—the former Nieuw Nederland. How these houses were designed and built, and which ethnic culture (or cultures) they represented, would directly symbolize the ethnocultural orientation of those who built them or subsequently lived in them, although that culture perhaps was far more complex than a cursory examination might indicate.

The houses, of course, were not the only material the New Paltz residents used to construct their ethnicity; the construction of gender, language use and the church, which I will

explore below, were other primary ways individuals and groups expressed ethnic culture in colonial New York, but other means existed as well. Nevertheless, the stone houses have served as primary markers of a unique culture since their construction. The Stone House Days, whether those days were the days when the houses were used as homes or whether they were the days of public celebration, mark the core of the region's and a people's sense of who they were and are. It is these houses that provided an anchor in a culturally-malleable world of the past, and they also anchor my exploration of that past. Without the houses, I would never have been drawn to the story of New Paltz and the complex role that ethnicity played in its early development. Without the houses, I would not be offering my interpretation of that story today.

That story is one of ethnocultural contact, conflict and change, a story of changing ethnicity made convoluted by the ethnic complexity of New Paltz in particular and colonial New York in general. I will spin out that story throughout the following study, but in its very basic contours, the ethnocultural path of the French-speaking Protestant Walloon founders of New Paltz begins with their emigration to the New World in the 1660s and 1670s and their, and their children's, relatively quick and seemingly conflict-free assimilation into the broader Dutchness of the Hudson Valley region—a cultural force that remained relatively powerful for a long time after the English conquest of New Netherland. This “batavianization” of early New Netherland/New York and New Jersey residents of non-Dutch origins was a major development in the cultural history of the Dutch region of North America, as many historians have shown, rendering the New York “Dutch” a group of people of complex ethnic origins.¹ From being Dutch-identified, the non-English people of New Paltz slowly adapted to and assimilated into an

¹ Oliver Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); David Steven Cohen, "How Dutch Were the Dutch of New Netherland?" *New York History* 62 (January 1981): 43-60.

Anglo-American culture, a process of “anglicization” that proceeded in New York at different times, in different places, and in different ways. While this generalization does reflect the basic contours of cultural change, the two processes in reality overlapped. As these newcomers to New York arrived and settled a new town after the 1664 English conquest of New Netherland, it was necessary from the beginning to react simultaneously to both Dutch and English culture.

In its broadest contours, this story of batavianization, anglicization, diversity and assimilation in New York is hardly a new story. The mere fact that the Dutch language was thoroughly lost long before the close of the nineteenth century is testament to that fact, and of course French disappeared even earlier. That this overarching narrative is well-known in the literature does not render it a stale story, however, as the *process* of these changes over a long period of time has not been extensively explored or explained. This is particularly so for rural locations. It is true that historians have investigated, at least to some extent, such issues as rural architecture, gender construction and language, but various forms of cultural expression have generally been explored in isolation rather than collectively. Not only does such a collective analysis present a clearer picture of the ethnocultural texture of a non-English Hudson Valley community, but it also permits the comparing of relative status in one sphere of culture against change in another. The result of such a comparison is a clear picture of ethnocultural fluidity and a general absence of ethnocultural stress. While this does reflect the literature on the French experience on the colonial American seaboard, this is not how historians have generally interpreted the colonial Dutch-American experience, and thus this study helps to expand our understanding of early New York.

It may be worth noting at the outset that the manner in which I have approached this study may appear somewhat traditional or even old-fashioned, at least on the surface. In

particular, I have unabashedly embraced a community study framework through which I examine the progress of families in a single village through several generations. As such, one might very well see echoes of vintage community studies such as Philip Greven's study of Andover or Kenneth Lockridge's analysis of Dedham. Most importantly, I have embraced the principle that the microcosm may reveal much about the macrocosm, or at least that a close reading of microcosms is necessary before the macrocosm can come clearly into focus. These principles are particularly meaningful within a place as heterogeneous as the Hudson River Valley. However, the choice to provide an intensely-focused study of a community through several generations is the only primary aspect of the "new social history" approach employed in my investigation. What I have done is to expand the new social history approach to ask an essentially cultural question. Through the exploration of language, gender and architecture, set within the context of power, I ultimately reveal core issues of the ethnic experience of the multi-ethnic Hudson River Valley.

Indeed, it was that multi-ethnic environment that formed the core of the Colonial-era New Paltz experience. In that village, Frenchness, Dutchness and Englishness swirled together in a geographic region that can best be described as a "frontier" or "borderland," where many ethnicities came into contact and where, for many years, the cultural trajectory could not have been precisely foreseen. What exactly is a "frontier" and "borderland," however, is at best fuzzy and contested, so if I am going to employ such concepts, I need to define them. Both terms imply interaction between two or more geopolitical entities in a particular geographic zone or region that resulted in intercultural contact. From a cultural standpoint, varying degrees of fluidity or contestation exist in these geographic zones, depending upon the power dynamics between the various groups in the region. As Gregory Nobles defines the frontier, it "is a region

in which no culture, group, or government can claim effective control or hegemony over others. In that regard, contact often involves conflict”² Jeffrey Adelman and Stephen Aron are somewhat more precise in defining the cultural ambiguity and/or contestation of the “frontier,” providing a further delineation of one type of “frontier”—the “borderland.” According to Adelman and Aron, the “frontier” is characterized by ambiguity and fluidity both in terms of dominion and cultural formations, but the “frontier” could become a “borderland” when clear contestations of power between geopolitical entities became a central issue in the region. The “borderland” and the “frontier” in the Adelman/Aron definition are not separate categories, but rather the former is a subset of the latter. Adelman and Aron further suggest that when the contestation surrounding political control over a borderland frontier is resolved by the establishment of clearly defined borders, the cultural fluidity of the frontier that could be found in a borderland is lost.³

Before the 1664 English conquest of New Netherland, the zone of interaction in America between the English and the Dutch was clearly a contested “borderland” type of “frontier.” However, the establishment of clear boundaries after the conquest did not result in a complete eclipsing of a borderland type of political contestation, even after the Third Anglo-Dutch War. Because of the geographic distribution of the Dutch in the English colony of New York, ethnic-based contestation over power remained strong within New York after the conquest, particularly between Dutch-centered Albany and the English colonial government in New York City. This was particularly evident in issues surrounding the fur trade, dominated by the Albany Dutch Commissioners of Indian Affairs until the appointment of Sir William Johnson as Superintendent

² Gregory Nobles, *American Frontiers: Cultural Encounters and Continental Conquest* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1997), xii.

³ Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the People in Between in North American History,” *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 814-841.

of Indian Affairs in 1755.⁴ Political power dynamics in New York City and its environs were also at least colored by ethnic power struggles, as well.⁵ Such political contestation also implicated culture more broadly defined, since ethnic political resistance could motivate cultural resistance as well. Cultural characteristics of “borderland” strife thusly continued to apply past the construction of an English colonial border that embraced what was once New Netherland.

More important to this study, however, concerns the applicability of the “frontier” concept to the Hudson Valley even after the English conquest, since the cultural fluidity that characterized a “frontier” was evident in the region for more than a century after that political transition, at least in New Paltz. Theoretically, this should not have been the case according to Adelman and Aron, since the creation of a clear border should have resulted in the rigidification of culture. I will argue that culture remained fluid throughout the long eighteenth century due to the fact that while the colony was clearly controlled by England, thus allowing the English the prerogative of defining the political and legal construction of the colony, power—both political and economic—remained divided. More importantly, that division remained stable and controllable. Because of this stability, there was no open cultural contestation between the non-English and the English equivalent to that typically found when two or more geopolitical or ethnic groups struggle for control. English ways defined governmental and legal forms, but the non-English of New Paltz could choose who filled official local offices, could manipulate English legal forms for their own cultural purposes, and could maintain economic power through extensive land ownership. They also could control to a significant extent the in-migration of those not of the same ethnic background, as well as the incorporation of the newcomers into the

⁴ Thomas Elliot Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York 1686-1776* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).

⁵ Thomas J. Archdeacon, *New York City, 1664-1710: Conquest and Change* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell, 1976); Robert C. Ritchie, *The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Politics and Society, 1664-1691* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

political and social life of the community. The non-English of New Paltz also held power over a variety of forms of cultural expression that transcended English control, giving them a great deal of discretion in the construction of their own culture.

It is important to note that my use of the term “frontier” is essentially metaphoric, even if the location of the “frontier” I speak of does bear geographic overtones. I do use this term to suggest the cultural fluidity and ambiguity evident on or in a geographic frontier. However, my primary intention is not to suggest a physical place but rather a cultural experience where ethnicities can meet, share and clash, an experience generated when the geographic zones of people of different ethnicities (or, theoretically, races) abut one another. As such, I further suggest that a cultural frontier can be found in locations far removed from what is traditionally connoted as a frontier. As long as ethnic enclaves exist, cultural frontiers may remain, whether they be on the edges of settlement or even, theoretically, within cities. As such, even as the rural Hudson River Valley was integrated into the mainstream of colonial life, the cultural experience could nevertheless continue to reflect a “frontier” experience.

New Paltz, then, from a cultural standpoint, remained a “frontier” throughout the long eighteenth century, even though there was nothing ambiguous about political, legal or economic power within the community itself. While the local culture that the non-English residents of New Paltz created was a fluid one, involving creativity that resulted in a complex, hybrid culture, it was not a “middle ground,” in Richard White’s sense of the phrase.⁶ The creativity was not aimed at finding a means for two opposing power groups of different ethnicities or races to achieve a relationship in which both sides could meet, at least to some degree, their cultural needs and expectations. As power was balanced and stable, cultures generally did not collide,

⁶ Richard White, *The middle ground: Indians, empires, and republics in the Great Lakes region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

nor was cultural negotiation necessary. Rather the non-English of New Paltz felt comfortable constructing their own hybrid culture from the various cultural vocabularies available to them, meeting a variety of needs that might very well have been peculiar to a family or even an individual.

The two dominant cultural vocabularies available to New Yorkers were, of course, Dutch and English, but as New Paltz was founded by French-speaking Walloons, “Frenchness” was also an aspect of the cultural frontier as manifested in the community. With a few exceptions, the founders of New Paltz immigrated into New York soon after the English conquest, but they migrated to what was generally a Dutch cultural region. As a result of this timing, it was necessary for them to react simultaneously to Dutch and English culture. Because of the perceptions each of the groups had about each other, these reactions varied. While New Paltz was thusly a unique community culturally speaking, the very essence of the cultural life of New York was its culturally heterogeneity, not only because of the presence of multiple ethnicities in New Netherland and later New York, but because both timing and geography impacted how the culture would develop on a geographic frontier.

Even if the uniqueness of New Paltz might make it difficult to extrapolate from the study of one community to all of rural New York, or even to all of the Hudson Valley, the relationship between the long-term existence of a culturally hybrid community made possible by a stable and divided construction of power represents the manifestation of a type of cultural frontier not yet delineated in the region. This demonstration of the forces that allowed for the creation of cultural hybridity will provide a corrective to the argument of a number of Dutch-American material cultural historians who have seen the Hudson Valley as a place of cultural conservatism. This study can also serve to moderate the arguments of Donna Merwick who firmly argues that

the intense differences between Dutch and English culture almost precluded communication let alone the creation of a hybrid cultural environment.⁷ Finally, my argument for a consciously-constructed complex cultural frontier stands in stark contrast to Paula Wheeler Carlo's recent study of New Paltz, in which she contends that the founders of New Paltz and their eighteenth-century descendants isolated themselves for the preservation of their Frenchness.⁸

This is not to say that the cultural hybridity developed in New Paltz precluded cultural strife. Even within such a fluid environment, conflict did arise, but such conflict was not between culturally-distinct groups, but rather between groups within the non-English population who pursued different cultural strategies within the fluid stream of culture. In fact, one of the traditionally binding forces within the community—the church—would be the ground upon which the community would divide over ethnocultural issues. However, that such a division occurred was based entirely on a contingent event within the Dutch-identified community of New York and New Jersey that occurred in the religious sphere. It is difficult to determine whether the religious struggle brought latent ethnocultural tensions to the fore or was the means by which the tensions came into existence. Either way, however, the church dispute highlighted the various cultural strategies that individuals in the community had embraced within the fluid environment. That dispute also helps to bring into focus how individuals who pursued various strategies related to one another. That the community, in general, accepted cultural creativity and hybridity moderated the intensity of the conflict, and also enabled the non-English of New Paltz to perpetuate the fluid cultural environment for decades beyond the church conflict.

⁷ Donna Merwick, *Death of a notary: conquest and change in colonial New York* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1999) and Donna Merwick, *Possessing Albany, 1630-1740: an archaeology of interpretations* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁸ Paula Wheeler Carlo, *Huguenot refugees in colonial New York: Becoming American in the Hudson Valley* (Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

The three basic cultural strategies that the non-English individuals in New Paltz created on the cultural frontier, and which were central to the contours of intra-ethnic conflict, I will call in a metaphoric sense “frontier crossing,” “frontier resisting,” and “frontier dwelling.” On one side of the “frontier” stood the “frontier crosser,” who chose substantially to jettison his own ethnic background and accept and promote non-native ways. Such a strategy was dependent upon the “frontier crosser’s” goal to enter society the beyond the geographic zone of Dutch dominance in the mid-Hudson Valley. On the other side stood the “frontier resister,” who remained entrenched in his native, yet in this case ethnically complex, culture, and who perceived a cultural threat as manifested by the “frontier crosser.” As a “resister,” he resisted the cultural fluidity around which he was surrounded. As we shall see, the “frontier crosser” and “frontier resister” were relatively few in number, but nevertheless became influential anomalies on the cultural terrain. The bulk of the population remained “frontier dwellers,” who created and maintained a complex ethnic culture dependent upon the lack of cultural polarization engendered by the absence of a perceived cultural threat or animosity. In other words, they were comfortable “dwelling” in a changing, malleable cultural environment.

While I will begin with an investigation of the construction of stable divided power in New Paltz, I will then lead into a detailed exploration of all three cultural strategies through the long eighteenth century. Chapters Three, Four and Five will explore three areas that allowed for the creation of cultural hybridity by “frontier dwellers.” Chapter Six will offer an analysis of what “frontier crossers” faced when attempting to cross the cultural border, and Chapter Seven will explore how a “frontier resister” brought cultural conflict to the community through the religious sphere, which brought all three cultural strategies into open contestation. It is worth noting at the outset that the first five chapters individually explore New Paltz throughout the long

eighteenth century in a temporally parallel fashion, from the time of the founding of New Paltz through approximately 1800, although Chapter Two also provides some additional background to the founding of the town. I will bring all of these parallel explorations into better focus before I analyze in Chapters Six and Seven the open conflict over opposing, or at least different, cultural strategies involving ethnicity.

Before proceeding, I should offer a few words of explanation as to how I intend to approach the issue of “culture,” since this notoriously fuzzy term rests at the heart of this study. My analysis of culture and cultural interaction is intended by design to be both concrete and specific. In particular, I will be considering areas of cultural expression—*language, gender, and architecture*—that can clearly be shown to have varied between the ethnicities under investigation. Highlighting certain forms of cultural expression that were remarkably different amongst the peoples under scrutiny is necessary, as only in such instances will it be obvious when an individual closely adhered to one or another cultural practice, or creatively formed new approaches not directly grounded in any one single ethnic group. It should be noted at the outset that I do not intend to explore culture as *mentalité*, primarily because a monolithic Dutch, English, or French *mentalité* cannot be successfully delineated or demonstrated. To argue otherwise would require the stereotyping of culture based on limited segments of each cultural group’s society. This would deny the sociocultural complexity of each. I also do not intend to explore politics and the law in any other way than through institutionalized structures, as there is no evidence of cultural struggle in the political or legal spheres in early New Paltz. This is perhaps not surprising, since the town was founded only after the English control of New York had been firmly established.

A primary challenge in studying inter-ethnic contact and interaction, then, is to isolate forms of cultural expression that were clearly different between the various cultures. Those forms of expression would thusly need to apply, in general, to all members of a particular cultural group, regardless of their occupation and social location. For example, a Dutch person would speak Dutch whether he was an elite urban merchant, a middling farmer who produces only small surpluses for sale, a rural craftsmen, or a member of any number of occupations at whatever level of wealth, as would an Englishman speak English. (Such generalizations work, however, only when we remember that “cultural group” is not synonymous with “nation,” as there was considerable diversity of ethnicity within nation-states and empires in early modern Europe, as there would be in the New World.) In addition to language, I will be exploring the construction of gender and architecture, as these three forms of expression contrasted remarkably amongst the Walloons, Dutch, and English. While these categories of cultural expression that I will be analyzing are perhaps somewhat traditional, historiographically speaking, they are also more concrete and demonstrable and do not rely on stereotypes.

This exploration of the creation and contours of cultural hybridity will primarily help to increase the depth of the historiography of the Dutch in North America rather than to offer much that is novel about the French Protestant experience, although Frenchness is certainly part of the story as well. Except in certain circumscribed ways, which will be addressed below, the Walloon experience in New Paltz reflects the argument propounded by Jon Butler that “everywhere they [i.e., Huguenots] fled, everywhere they vanished.”⁹ Butler’s (and my) contention contrasts with the recent monograph on early New Paltz by Paula Wheeler Carlo,

⁹ Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America : a refugee people in new world society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 199; quoted in Carlo, *Huguenot refugees*, 2.

which is the only academic monograph on the community. She argues that New Paltz was a demonstration of a cohesively French community (or at least a decidedly distinct cultural community that incorporated an element of Frenchness) that lasted possibly until the 1770s. As we shall see, this argument is not supported by the evidence. Nevertheless, through the comparison between the Walloon/Dutch and Walloon/English interaction and the Dutch/English interaction in New Paltz, we can reveal aspects of several different inter-cultural experiences, which further enables us to consider why such experiences were different. The Walloon/Dutch and Walloon/English experiences thusly highlight aspects of the Dutch/English experience in clearer ways than if the latter is explored in isolation, as has generally been the case.

One final note of explanation concerning evidence is necessary before proceeding. For each category of cultural expression that helps to reveal the creation of cultural hybridity by “frontier dwellers,” the evidence is, not surprisingly, as voluminous as we would wish. As a result, each chapter may seem to have a difficult time standing on its own. However, the process and timing of change in each category seems to reflect very strongly the process and timing in every other, and thus to a significant extent the limitations of the evidence in each separate category is mitigated. Of particular note is that even though the culture of New Paltz was never characterized by a rigid monoculture from its founding through the eighteenth century, there was a cultural tipping point in the 1760s when the process of anglicization accelerated. When the timing of change is considered in the context of patterns of land ownership and political power, as well as the conflict in the church, all of which also reached a turning point in the 1760s, we will again see the formation of interrelated cultural patterns, both conceptually and temporally. In other words, when each area of investigation is considered in relation to each other topic of

analysis, they collectively form a clear and compelling story and add to our understanding of the rich complexity of early New York cultural frontiers.

CHAPTER 2

DIVIDED POWER

In 1677, a small band of Walloon emigrants from Northern France began the process of forming a new community on the banks of the little river that would come to be known as the Walkill. This meandering river stood under the watchful eye of Mohonk Mountain, a dramatic member of the Shawangunk Mountain range in Ulster County, New York. This little group of French-speaking Protestants had traveled far to get to what would sustain them and their descendants for generations to come, first leaving northern France for Mannheim in the Rheinland Palatinate, and hence to Kingston and nearby Hurley, New York. The cultural environment they entered was a complex one, as the local Dutch population, who formerly represented the dominant power in the area during the New Netherland period, was still adjusting to English rule. Even who comprised “the Dutch” was not singular, however, as individuals from many European cultural groups had come to New Netherland and had assimilated into the local Dutch. Many ethnicities met and interacted in this locale, together forming a complex cultural frontier.

The founders of New Paltz nevertheless did not choose to remain in Kingston or Hurley, leaving the growing towns where first they lived in the New World, settling in the unsettled space on the edge of European settlement. These Walloons thusly established a Hudson Valley community that was ethnically unique. However, from an institutional perspective, that uniqueness did not and could not result in the creation of a village that would perpetuate a

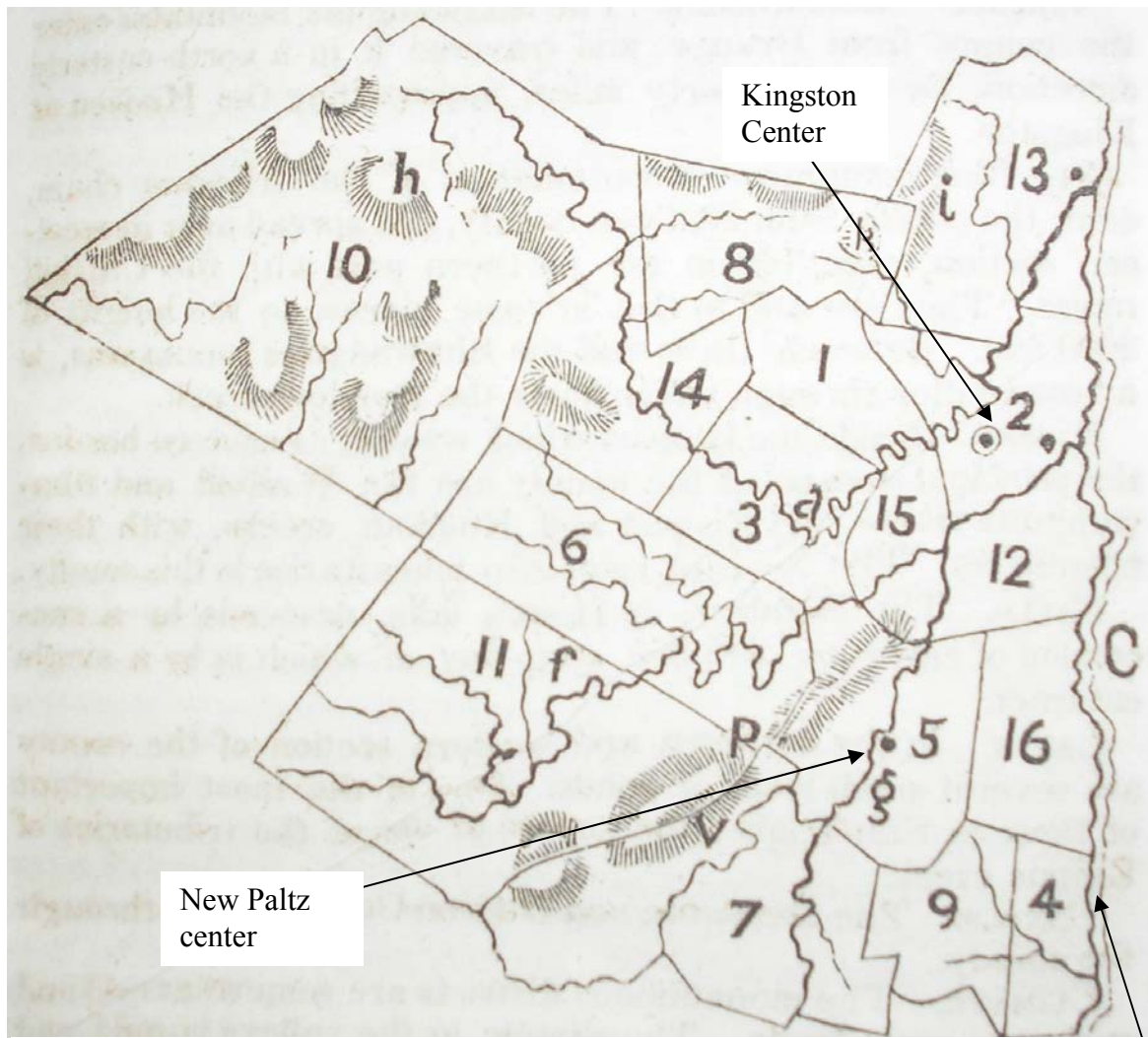


FIGURE 2.1
MAP – ULSTER COUNTY

Ulster County [from J. H. Mather and L.P. Brockett, *A Geographical History of the State of New York*, (Utica, NY: H. H. Hawley, 1842)].

In this map, #5 marks the town of New Paltz. The original patent for the town did not include what is the southern section of #5, which was comprised of smaller patents that were annexed to New Paltz in the eighteenth century. The original patent did include what is marked #16 on this map, which is now the town of Lloyd.

The distance between the center of New Paltz and the center of Kingston is 20 miles on modern roads. The distance between the center of New Paltz and the Hudson River (marked C) on this map, is about 9 miles on today's roads.

culturally distinctive community based on the founders' "Walloonness." Neither, however, is there evidence that they had any compelling desire to do so. Legally speaking, theirs was an English town, as it could not have been otherwise. The village did have an additional quasi-legal institution, "The Twelve Men," which concerned itself with the management of the collectively-held land patent, the geographic space of which was co-extensive with the village itself, at least initially. Again, however, while the members of "The Twelve Men" were descendants of the founders and thus at least partly of Walloon heritage, it was an institution constructed in accordance with laws passed by the English colonial government. There was one institution that did to some extent perpetuate Walloon culture—an independent Walloon Reformed Church—but as we shall see, the founders could not have foreseen the possibility of even forming such a congregation, since there were no French or Walloon ministers resident in North America at the time of the founding of the community. And even with this independent congregation, ties with the Dutch Reformed congregation of Kingston remained well into the eighteenth century.

Yet, that the founders shared a unified Walloon ethnic history profoundly impacted the construction of institutional power, as that unity enabled the founders and their descendants to control how and when those of different ethnicities would come to share in the structures of local power. That control was primarily predicated upon the fact that initially the founders collectively owned the full measure of the town lands. The Walloons of New Paltz created an ethnic island, but built multiple gated bridges onto and into the cultural mainland. Some of the bridges were unavoidable, being that the town was legally English. But being on such an ethnic island, they still retained considerable power to be the gatekeepers of both "foreign" people and culture, to the extent that they wished to guard the gates. Those gates were generally quite open, but they were nevertheless present, and the characteristics of their guardianship were not immutable on

the cultural frontier, wherein the Walloons met and mingled with both the Dutch and English throughout the long eighteenth century.

The village of New Paltz, New York, began its life on May 26, 1677, when nine Walloon heads-of-families and the two sons of their leader, Louis Dubois, joined together to purchase from Native Americans of the Esopus tribe nearly 40,000 acres of land on the west side of the Hudson River in Ulster County.¹ This considerable plot of land was located approximately halfway between New York City and Albany, about fifteen miles from what would become the county seat (Kingston), on the edges of European-settled territory. In the following September, Governor Edmund Andros granted a land patent to these “partners,” as they were so designated in the patent, which included not only the purchasers as stated in the “Indian Deed,” but the recently-arrived Louis Bevier as well.²

While the community was not founded until 1677, its institutional life was rooted in choices made several decades previously while the founders resided in Europe. For those families whose origins are known, all hailed from the ethnically Walloon borderlands in northern France and the Spanish Netherlands, from towns such as Wicres, Lille, Calais, and Herly.³ Beginning in the 1630s, this area was wracked by military conflicts between the Spanish and the French. Life in this place of conflict would have been difficult for the founding families not only due to ongoing warfare, but being Protestant, they would have been subject to religious

¹ A translation of the “Indian Deed” appears in Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz and its Old Families from 1678 to 1820*, 2nd edition (Albany, NY: Brandow, 1903), 12-13. The original manuscript is in the archives of the Huguenot Historical Society, New Paltz, New York [henceforth, HHS].

² Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 14-18.

³ Eric J. Roth, ““where ye walloens dwell”: Rethinking the Ethnic Identity of the Huguenots of New Paltz and Ulster County, New York,” *New York History* 89, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 351.

persecution from either the French or Spanish monarchies, depending upon which empire was in control in a given place at a given time. We do not know which of these forces served as the greatest “push” factor—religious pressure or wartime instability—but push they did, leading the founding families to seek refuge in an area that intentionally aimed to “pull” them, being the Rheinland Palatinate. At the conclusion of the Thirty Years’ War with the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, the Elector Palatine sought to repopulate his decimated lands with Protestants who possessed knowledge in the skilled crafts, offering them significant freedoms and exemptions if they chose to relocate. This was an opportunity of which a significant number of Walloons chose to partake, including the future New Paltz founding families, who emigrated to the Mannheim region beginning in the 1650s. In their new home, they were instrumental in creating French-speaking communities with their own independent Reformed congregations.⁴

For some of these refugees, however, the Palatinate would not become a permanent home, as some of the Mannheim Walloons chose to relocate to New York. However, the limited evidence suggests that it was not those who chose to leave France and the Spanish Netherlands that later came to America. Rather, it was their children. The father of the Hasbrouck brothers was taxed in Mutterstadt (near Mannheim) in 1655, indicating that it was the father that was head of family. As such, it would have been the father who chose to leave Calais for Mutterstadt. As for New Paltz founder Louis Bevier, he was likely born in the late 1640s, and as his family was in Mannheim by 1660, he must have been only a child when he became a refugee.⁵ All of the other founding men were likely young men or even children when they left their French homeland, as they first married in the Palatinate or even later after having moved to New York; two of the New Paltz founders (Abraham and Isaac Dubois) were not even born until their

⁴ A concise overview of the Huguenot diaspora is included in Carlo, *Huguenot refugees*, 5-17.

⁵ Dale André Bevier, *The Bevier Family: Its History and Genealogy* [N.p.: privately printed, n.d. (c. 2000)], 47.

parents settled and married in Mannheim. The only New Paltz founder that we can with any reasonable certainty assume made a choice to flee both the homeland and the Palatinate is Christian Deyo, as he was the only Deyo who was taxed in Mutterstadt in 1655; presumably he did not come as the son of another refugee.

The relocation to America by the children of the heads of families who took flight from the Walloon homeland is clearly an example of chain migration from the German refuge heavily influenced by connections of blood and marriage. Familial ties would be furthered solidified after emigration. Matthew Blanchan, his wife and four children, including his daughter Maria and her husband Antoine Crispell, sailed to the New World aboard “The Gilded Otter” on April 27, 1660.⁶ The Blanchan/Crispell group was soon followed by another of Matthew’s daughters, Catherine, who had married Louis Dubois in Mannheim in 1655. With them, Louis and Catherine brought their two young sons, Abraham and Isaac, and settled in Wiltwyck, later renamed Kingston by the English, as had the Blanchans and the Crispells. The Blanchan/Dubois/Crispell family group was soon followed by other interrelated Walloons from the Mannheim region. Jean Hasbrouck, a native of Calais, and his wife Anna Deyo arrived in the Kingston area in the spring of 1673.⁷ Jean’s brother Abraham and Anna’s sister Margaret would follow in 1675, having known each other prior to their traveling upon the same ship to the New World, and marry in 1681. Emigrating along with Abraham and Margaret (Deyo) Hasbrouck were her father Christian and her brother Pierre, both of whom would become New Paltz founders. Two more daughters of Christian Deyo joined the family on their journey, one of whom, Elizabeth, would also later marry a future New Paltz founder, Simon Lefevre. He had

⁶ Edward O’Callaghan, *The Documentary history of the State of New York* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parson, & Co., 1850) 3:37.

⁷ Kenneth E. Hasbrouck and Ruth P. Heidgerd *The Deyo (Deyoe) Family*, revised and edited by Carol Van Wagner, Esther Deyo Aldridge, and Nancy Gentile (New Paltz, NY: privately printed, 2003), x.

also left the Palatinate for Kingston along with his brother, the future patentee Andries, probably in the early 1660s.⁸ The union between the Deyos and other partners became even stronger after the settlement of New Paltz, with patentee Isaac Dubois marrying Jean and Anna (Deyo) Hasbrouck's daughter Maria.

The final two founding partners, Hugo Freer and Louis Bevier, emigrated to the Kingston area by 1677 and 1678 respectively. These men might also have been related by blood or marriage to others of the New Paltz partnership. Louis Bevier was possibly a cousin of the Hasbrouck brothers, and Hugo Freer's second wife, Jeanne Wibau, was quite possibly the niece of Christian Deyo's wife Jannetje Wibau (who had died in Europe), making Freer a first cousin by marriage to many of the founders and their wives (Table 2.1).⁹ Other French-speaking Protestant émigrés likewise established homes in the Kingston area, but these men and their families introduced above were those who were to later found their own town of New Paltz and are thus the most relevant to this story.¹⁰

The Dubois and Crispell families—the earliest émigrés—first located in Wiltwyck (later renamed Kingston) in Nieuw Nederland but in 1663 moved to Nieuw Dorp, later renamed Hurley, about three miles south, where they received grants of land.¹¹ The Deyos, Lefevres and Hasbroucks also settled in Hurley; it is unclear precisely where Hugo Freer and Louis Bevier and their families first settled when they came to the Kingston area.¹² It was basically in Hurley, then, that the founders made the decision to establish a new community, and it was from there that they moved when the settling of the new village came to fruition in 1678.

⁸ The Lefevre brothers united with the Dutch Reformed church in Kingston in 1665 (Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 409-410).

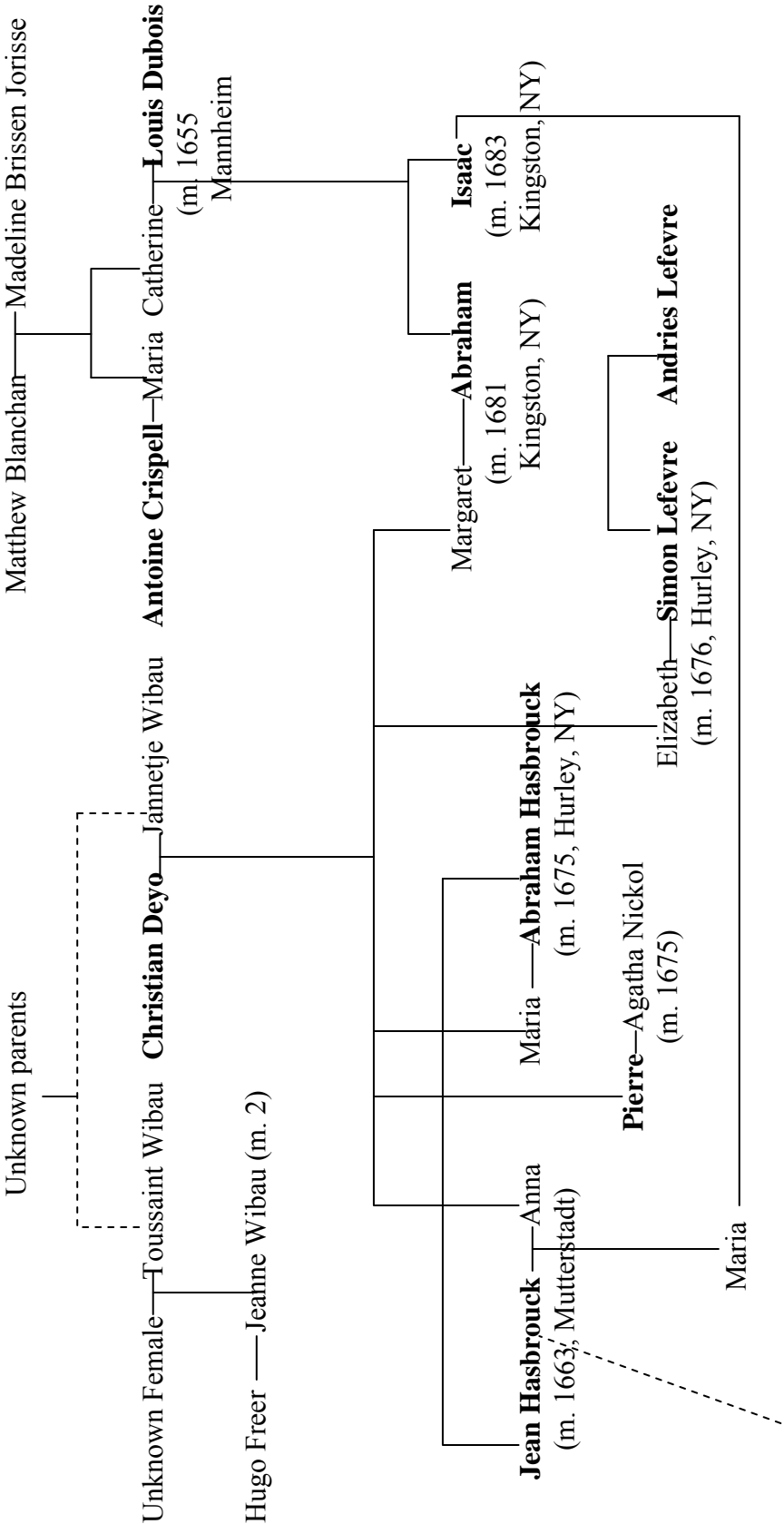
⁹ LeFevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 10.

¹⁰ Eric J. Roth, "where ye walloens dwell."

¹¹ Augustus H. Van Buren, *A History of Ulster County Under the Dominion of the Dutch* (Kingston, NY: n.p., 1923), 130-131.

¹² LeFevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 19.

Table 2.1
Genealogical Connections of New Paltz Patentees
(Patentees appear in bold; possible connections appear as dashed lines)



Louis Bevier, possibly a cousin of the Hasbrouck brothers

Commentators have often seen these three geographic movements—from northern France to Mannheim, from Mannheim to Kingston/Hurley, and from Kingston/Hurley to New Paltz—as motivated by the same desire: the migrants’ hope of acquiring the freedom to practice their ethnic version of Reformed Protestantism. This assumption is deeply flawed. While religious persecution possibly led, at least in part, to the refugees fleeing their Walloon homeland, certainly armed conflict and military violence could also have been motivating factors. The situation might have been similar in the Palatinate, both in terms of wartime violence and potential persecution, as Mannheim was not far from the French border, the domain of Louis XIV.¹³ The only sound piece of evidence concerning removal to America—a fragment of a 1676 letter passed down through the Hasbrouck family—refers to material concerns related to wartime violence, not religion. Sent from the town of Speyer in the Palatinate, the unidentified author comments that “As for us we have always great wars since your departure and we are staying in this town waiting for better things. We have constantly lost our cattle and our harvest these two years past . . . if peace is not made we have nothing to expect in this quarter but all sorts of misery and poverty. Write us as quickly as possibly how it goes in your country and what there is of it, for if it is good I am always of the same intention as when you left here, to come and find you; but if it does not suit you well, I hope that you would return here near us.”¹⁴ If indeed the persecution or the fear of persecution was so great as to force the Walloons from both their homeland and their German refuge, such a temporary emigration seems unlikely. Even if religious freedom had motivated that earlier generation to flee northern France and the Spanish Netherlands, and if such freedom had remained a compelling desire for their children,

¹³ Carlo, *Huguenot refugees*, 20.

¹⁴ “French Letter,” HHS. Translation in Dale Bevier, *The Bevier Family*, 54.

those children did not have to come to the New World to find that liberty. Thousands of contemporary French Protestants fled to Protestant England and the Netherlands.

Whatever the role religion played in the flight from Mannheim, it had little direct relevance to the founding of New Paltz, since the patentee families' religious lives changed little by the founding of New Paltz (a fact which will be explored in depth below). However, that the patentees were joined by family, ethnicity, and religion in their effort to acquire land that would facilitate the prosperity of not only themselves but their descendants for generations to come was certainly not meaningless, as their separate community was strengthened by their homogeneity. According to J. F. Bosher, the creation of linkages between economic relations, religion and family tended to create an "atmosphere of personal trust based on a common religion."¹⁵ Bosher has seen these connections amongst Huguenot merchants in the seventeenth century who were part of a "Protestant international," but the same level of trust could reasonably be seen as necessary amongst a group of families engaged in a landholding partnership. This attempt to integrate financial relations, family and religion was quite common among other early modern religious groups in Europe and North America. This is not to suggest the primacy of things of an economic nature in the worldview of either the Huguenot merchants or the Walloon founders of New Paltz, but to suggest, as Bosher does, that "trade," or in the case of New Paltz, land ownership, "family life, and religion were interdependent."¹⁶

A defining element of the New Paltz community, at least in the early years, was thusly its grounding in an extended family, and this fact would be essential to the creation of its social institutions. Two institutions they created, one by fiat and one by necessity, were the town government and the institution which addressed the issues that arose because the land was

¹⁵ J. F. Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 52, no. 1 (Jan. 1995): 77-102 (quote at 78).

¹⁶ Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International," 78, 80.

initially owned collectively (“The Twelve Men”). The institution of “The Twelve Men” was correspondingly affected by the family-oriented nature of the ownership of the patent. Because later commentators have confused this institution that regulated the land patent with the town government, we need to sort out both in order to understand how these institutions did or did not reflect ethnic culture. The institution of “The Twelve Men” did not govern the village, which was comprised of individuals elected to serve in official positions prescribed by New York English colonial statutes. “The Twelve Men” were nevertheless involved in issues of property and the law at the communal level, thus rendering the institution quasi-legal. Neither did “The Twelve Men” represent an expression of any Continental European ethnic culture, as some have claimed, as it was based on English colonial laws. In short, the founders of the village and their immediate descendants did not express their Walloon (or Dutch) culture through the community’s legal institutions. Neither could they have expressed their ethnic heritage through their legal institutions even if they had so desired.

Nevertheless, it is still necessary to explore the origins of both the village government and “The Twelve Men,” as both institutions would be important to the ethnic environment of the town over the course of the eighteenth century.¹⁷ Through these institutions, the descendants of the founders maintained power in the community, which thusly enabled them to keep ethnic “others” at the margins, at least to some extent. In the patent granting the land to the founders, Governor Edmund Andros stipulated “that the plantacons which shall bee settled upon the said piece of land bee a Township.”¹⁸ As a township, New Paltz had rights established in the Duke’s

¹⁷ Overviews of the development of New York town and county government can be found in the WPA’s *Transcriptions of early County Records of New York State: Minutes of the Board of Supervisors of Ulster County 1710/1 to 1730/1* (Albany, NY: The Historical Records Survey, 1939), x-xiv; and Nicholas Varga, “The Development and Structure of Local Government in Colonial New York,” in *Town and Country: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies*, ed. Bruce Daniels, 186-215 (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1978).

¹⁸ LeFevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 18.

Laws that were applied to the entire colony as of 1674, which included the right to elect four overseers and a constable.¹⁹ These officers possessed both judicial and legislative authority for “the well Ordering [of] their Affairs, as the disposing, Planting, Building and the like, of their owne Lands and woods, granting of Lotts, Election of Officers, Assessing of Rates with many other matters of a prudentiall Nature, tending to the Peace and geod Government.” They had the “power to Ordaine such or so many peculier Constitutions as are Necessary to the welfare and Improvement of their Towne; Provided they bee not of a Criminal Nature, And that the Penalties Exceed not Twenty Shillings for one Offence, and that they be not Repugnant to the publique Laws; And if any Inhabitant shall neglect or refuse to observe them. The Constable and Overseers shall have power to Levie such fines by distress.” The “Towne Court,” in which the constable and overseers would render judgment, also held limited civil jurisdiction as the lowest level of justice, meeting once every two, three, or four weeks, as they saw fit.²⁰ Unfortunately, no records have been uncovered that reveal if the New Paltz patentees elected constables and overseers in the first two decades of the town’s history, but if they did, such town officers would have been New Paltz patentees, as the patentee families comprised the entire town at the beginning.

Local government began to change in New York soon after the founding of New Paltz, beginning with legislation passed in 1683. Counties were created that year, placing New Paltz in Ulster County.²¹ That year also saw the passage of another law to “settle Courts of Justice,” which created county courts that would be administered by a minimum of three individuals commissioned as justices of the peace for that purpose, although town courts would be retained

¹⁹ The Duke’s Laws originally allowed for eight overseers, but that number were reduced to four in 1665.

²⁰ *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (Albany, NY: James B. Lyon, 1894) 1:74. This stipulation was provided for in 1665 addenda to the Duke’s Laws, so were thus in effect when New Paltz was founded.

²¹ *Colonial Laws*, 1:121-2.

at the lowest level of justice.²² Again, although patentees would have been elected to village office that enabled them to administer justice, the patentees as a group did not function in a judicial capacity.

At the same 1683 session, the legislators enacted a law “for the Defraying of the publique & necessary Charge of each respective Citty, towne and County throughout this Province & for maintaining the poore, & preventing vagabonds.” This law discontinued the use of overseers and allowed for the elections of a new spate of town officers to assess and collect rates—assessor and treasurer—as well as the appointent of a supervisor to manage “publique affairs.”²³ This legislation did not impact the office of constable, which continued uninterrupted throughout the eighteenth century. The 1683 legislation was revised in 1691, but was confusing and ambiguous, so that the assembly thusly passed a further revised statute in 1703.²⁴ That law, unchanged throughout the colonial period, allowed the “ffreeholders and Inhabitants” of towns such as New Paltz to elect a supervisor, two assessors and a collector on the first Tuesday of every April.²⁵ The supervisors within each county would meet annually on the first Tuesday in October to determine the proportion of the county expenses and colonial taxes for which each town or city was responsible. The assessors within each jurisdiction would then divide that assessment impartially amongst the residents and submit those assessments to the town’s or city’s collector, who would then collect the taxes and forward them to a county treasurer chosen by the supervisors.²⁶

²² *Colonial Laws*, 1:125-128.

²³ *Colonial Laws*, 1:131-133.

²⁴ *Colonial Laws*, 1:237-238; *Colonial Laws*, 1:539-542.

²⁵ The provisions concerning the election of officials and their responsibilities and duties were reinforced by an additional 1743 act, which exclusively addressed Ulster County (*Colonial Laws*, 3:320-325).

²⁶ For a brief time after October 18, 1701, the role of the elected supervisor was transferred to the justices of the peace (*Colonial Laws*, 1:459), although that law was repealed by the assembly on November 27, 1702 (*Colonial Laws*, 1:523-525), through an act that repealed all laws passed since August 1, 1701, thus apparently reverting to the

The positions of supervisor, assessor and collector did not exhaust the elected offices in colonial New York, as constables continued to be elected. The 1684 law that confirmed the continued election of constables also authorized towns to elect more than one constable if they deemed necessary.²⁷ In 1691, each town was also given the right to elect three surveyors empowered to “lay out sett forth, regulate and Amend all such highways and fences as shall be established in such manner form and way as shall be agreed upon and directed by the Majority of the ffreeholders of each of the respective Towns,” with such orders to be recorded in the “Towns book.” Such a law was passed to give jurisdiction to towns to regulate as best they saw fit, as they “Are soe Circumstanced as to have different and distinct wayes in their Improvements of Tillage and Pasturage.”²⁸ In later years, the assembly separated the issues of highways and fences from each other, passing legislation authorizing regulation and administration of such regulations between two different elected offices, being fenceviewers and overseers or surveyors of the highways.

In 1721, the assembly once again gave the “Free-holders and Tenants in Possession of every Town, Mannor and Precinct” the right to establish by majority vote rules for fences and to elect annually two persons to be fence “Viewers or Overseerers [sic].” The law was to be in force only for seven years and “from thence to the end of the next Sitting of the Generall Assembly,” but was continued by further legislation, including Chapter 528 in 1728, which

1691 legislation. (The November 27, 1702, law was itself repealed by the Queen on June 26, 1708, but by then, the 1703 law concerning the election of officials had already replaced by law of October 18, 1701.)

²⁷ *Colonial Laws*, 1:146-147. According to a 1743 act, the officials that New Paltz was allowed to elect included only one constable, but as we shall see, beginning in 1761, the townspeople began electing two. Legislation was passed allowing other towns [including Goshen, Orange County (1743), Rochester and Marblatown, Ulster County, two each (1753)] to elect two constables, but no similar legislation was passed for New Paltz (*Colonial Laws*, 3:326; *Colonial Laws*, 3:947-8).

²⁸ *Colonial Laws*, 1:225-226. Other legislation was passed affecting New Paltz, which allowed for the additional appointing of town surveyors of highways by the county justices of the peace (1701) [*Colonial Laws*, 1:471-2] or by the assembly, the latter of limited duration and thus often revived, sometimes with alterations [beginning in 1729 with *Colonial Laws*, 2:504-506].

allowed for the election of a many fenceviewers as deemed necessary.²⁹ The final elected position that New Paltzians were allowed to choose in the eighteenth century in accordance with colonial legislation was the overseer of the poor, although when precisely such officials were first chosen is not entirely clear. The first law that specifically denoted such a position by name dates from 1743, and the earliest New Paltz election records (1751) indicate that such overseers were being elected at that point.³⁰

Although the records of the late seventeenth century are quite sparse, it is nevertheless clear that New Paltz had established a functioning town government according to New York colonial legislation at least as early as 1702.³¹ As such, New Paltz was without a doubt an English town from its founding, at least from a legal perspective. The only area of municipal law that could possibly suggest any type of ethnic distinctiveness is that involving provisions for the poor. As noted above, a law that allowed for the election of overseers of the poor was not passed until 1743, although the poor had certainly been assisted before that date. In New Paltz, the deacons of their congregation were fulfilling this responsibility as early as 1698 if not earlier, in accordance with the ecclesiastical structure of the Walloon Reformed church. As such, this manner of providing for the poor without being required to do so by statute could have been an

²⁹ *Colonial Laws*, 2:64-67; *Colonial Laws*, 2:481-485.

³⁰ *Colonial Laws*, 3:320-325

³¹ County documents, indicate that New Paltz was electing assessors as early as 1701 and supervisors as early as 1702, if they had not been doing so earlier (*Transcriptions of early County Records of New York State: Minutes of the Board of Supervisors of Ulster County 1710/1 to 1730/1*). A 1702 tax receipt indicates that collectors were in place in New Paltz (Louis Bevier and John Evertson). By 1703 a constable had been elected, as indicated by a warrant from a justice of the peace to the unnamed constable commanding patentee Pierre Deyo to appear before a justice of the peace ["Charles Broadhead to Constable of New Paltz," March 3, 1703 (*Pierre Deyo Family Papers*, HHS). The earliest record indicating that New Paltz was following appropriate fence legislation is 1712, when the "inhabitants of ye Niew Pals" met to create fence rules, in response to an order of the constable. This agreement also indicated that fences would be inspected by "the Viewers of fences." (Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 66-68). Lefevre erroneously indicates that it was the Duzine who "made rules in regard to fence building," (Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 69), as the rules were created by all the inhabitants.

expression of their own ethnic culture.³² The lack of any mention prior to 1751 of elected overseers in New Paltz in any surviving records has led one historian to the conclusion that New Paltz did not elect overseers before that date (or perhaps, at the earliest, 1743), choosing to provide for the poor only within the congregation.³³ If this was indeed so, they apparently chose a more autonomous and independent means of following their Christian and social mission, rather than bending to English colonial legislation. However, that deacons alone were providing for the poor is highly unlikely, as by the opening years of the eighteenth century, the townspeople were electing officers whose role, in part, was aimed at the establishment of a government-sanctioned and government-organized means of “maintaining the poore.” There is also evidence that the nearby towns of Hurley and Marbletown—towns with which the New Paltz patentee families had close familial connections—elected overseers of the poor even before the 1743 enabling legislation, so it is quite possible that New Paltz residents did as well.

As the village government of New Paltz was of English construction, so too was the institution of “The Twelve Men,” or the “Duzine” as it has been sometimes denoted, the institution that was entrusted with the management of the collectively-owned New Paltz patent. In 1728, the second generation, as heirs of the New Paltz patentees, formally created an elected body of administrators of the patent referred to as “The Twelve Men,” or in traditional parlance (based on either the French or Dutch word for “dozen”), “The Duzine,” each member representing the real property interests of the heirs of one of the twelve patentees. The creation of this body did not occur until a full 50 years after the founding of the town, as previously issues

³² “Deacon’s Account, 1698-1712,” *New Paltz Reformed Church Records (1683-1892)*, HHS; “Ciphering Book, Abraham Hasbrouck (ca. 1730-1739),” *Ciphering Book Collection (ca. 1730-1849)*, HHS. The 1731-1736 records were included in a ciphering book contains deacons’ records from 1731-1736; however, such records reference poor relief for only one person, so it is possible that these records do not represent the complete efforts of the deacons. On the other hand, these could possibly be complete, as it was common in early New York for poor relief being provided both by church congregations and by the community at large.

³³ Eric J. Roth, “Being Poor in New Paltz,” *de Halve Maen* 79, no. 1, (Spring 2006).

regarding patent management could have been handled by the original patentees themselves, or presumably this would have been the case. As the patentees died off, however, the early system was no longer operable; by 1728, only one patentee was still alive, Abraham Dubois. The representatives chosen to serve as members of the “Twelve Men” were to be elected on the first Tuesday in April, which is the same day that town officials were to be elected, according to 1703 legislation.³⁴ The election of town officials was open to all “ffreeholders and Inhabitants,” although the election of the Duzine was open exclusively to those “owners and occupiers [who] hath a Right In each of the aforesaid Pattents [i.e., patentee’s] Shares.”³⁵ In 1728, when the Duzine was created, the number of those men unrelated to the patentee descendants by birth or marriage was small, but there were such men in the community as indicated by the tax lists.³⁶ Presumably their presence on the tax lists indicates that these unrelated men had the right to vote in town elections although unable to elect members of the Duzine. This fact rendered the electorship for both institutions similar but not coextensive, thus separating the institutions of the town government and the Twelve Men. As the town grew throughout the eighteenth century through in-migration of individuals unrelated to the patentee families, this disparity between the two institutions would continue to widen.

The threefold and limited purpose of the institution of the Twelve Men was 1) to protect the legal title to the full patent; 2) to confirm the divisions of the patent that had been previously made without legal deeds; and 3) to divide the undivided land when they deemed fit and necessary. While all three issues were of considerable import, the last is most significant in the context of this investigation. According to the contract, when the Duzine determined that it was desirable or necessary to divide previously undivided portions of the patent, such land was to be

³⁴ *Colonial Laws*, 1:539-542.

³⁵ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 72.

³⁶ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 92.

laid out and distributed “in Twelve Equal Shares and Devisions soe that the one is not of more Vallue than the other and Then the aforesaid Twelve Shares or Devisions shall be numbered and then the aforesaid Twelve men shall Draw Lotts for the same and such Share or Division as falls to the Lotts of the aforesaid Twelve men Respectively.”³⁷ How each of the Twelve Men subsequently distributed the one-twelfth portion amongst those who had inherited a legal right to segments of that allotment unfortunately is unknown.

This institution, which has been traditionally deemed unique to New Paltz, had origins in provincial legislation, so that it can easily be seen as having little to do with a desire for local autonomy or the patentees’ (or their heirs’) desire to organize their community according to an ethnic heritage unique to themselves. Simply put, the Duzine was not the brainchild of the New Paltz patentees or their immediate heirs, as the colonial legislature had previously provided guidance on how patents were to be divided once the patentees themselves had died. In 1708, the provincial legislature approved an act entitled “An Act for the easier Partition of Lands in Joint Tennancy or in Comon,” for the promotion of the improvement of land, which was facilitated by altering the means for the legal division of commonly-held land. Prior to the passage of the act, the heirs of those who received patents, were required, if following proper legal procedures, to present a Writ of Partition to the court. According to this legislation, however, this “Should Still leave them uncapable of reaping [for] themselves or procuring to her Majty or Other’s that Certain Advantage Accrueing by Settlements, and Improvements,” presumably because this action still did not legally divide the land. This 1708 law provided that those with rights to commonly-held undivided land would henceforth have the right to divide the land by majority vote into the appropriate proportions to which they were legally entitled and to

³⁷ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 73. Paula Carlo implies that the 1728 agreement, which was the founding document for the Twelve Men, provided for an immediate division of the then-undivided land, but the division she refers to was not accomplished until 1760 (Carlo, *Huguenot refugees*, 39).

draw lots for the land in the sight of three “Indifferent” persons. This law stood in effect only until 1715, but was continued on July 21, 1715, until September 1, 1718.³⁸ In October 1718, that law was again revived, with some modifications, which allowed for “Assignees of full shares of Patentees” (rather than all of those whom had a right to any part of the tract of land) to decide by majority vote how to divide commonly-held land equally; each assignee of a full patentee’s share could then divide that share amongst those with various rights to it. How these “assignees” were to be chosen was not made clear in the law.

This law lasted only until November 1, 1721, but in 1726 another similar “Act for the Easier partition of Lands held in Common and promoting the Settling and Improvement thereof & for Confirming the former Divisions of the Settled Townships of this Colony” was passed.³⁹ This law was necessary because for a variety of reasons (including the death of the original patentees), heirs remained unable to defend their rights to lands that were sometimes “Incroached upon by others,” nor were they able legally to divide the lands. This law allowed for those with rights to such tracts of land to elect by majority vote nine “Substantiall Freeholders & Inhabitants” of the county, who would be responsible for the dividing of commonly-held land when those with rights to such land desired to effect such divisions.

The 1726 law, however, was repealed by the king on February 15, 1728, leaving the heirs of the New Paltz patentees without a legal means of dividing the undivided land in the patent. Nevertheless, after that repeal, they determined their own means of dividing the land, which they approved on April 21, 1728, a means inspired by the earlier legislation. The institution they established was not precisely like that of the 1708, 1718 or 1726 laws but innovatively combined elements of all three. The agreement that created the Twelve Men allowed for elections (as in

³⁸ *Colonial Laws*, 1:882.

³⁹ *Colonial Laws*, 2:329-337.

the 1726 act), although not of indifferent persons but of representatives of those with a real interest in the land (thus more in tune with the both the 1708 and 1718 acts). It was somewhat akin to the 1718 law in that the elected individuals would each represent one of twelve patentees, similar to the “assignees of full shares” as in that law. The 1728 New Paltz contract, however, was innovative in that it established a permanent body unlike either act (although annually reconstituted by yearly elections), which would serve regularly rather than in an ad hoc fashion as provided for in the 1726 act. In any event, the establishment of the “Duzine” or “Twelve Men” certainly does not evidence a desire for autonomy, either cultural or legal, nor does it reflect a non-English culture. The descendants of the founders simply created an efficient means of managing the patent in a manner heavily influenced by the colonial legislature.

As the above legal establishment and development of a town government demonstrates, the New Paltz founders and their immediate descendants did not create their own framework for government. In fact, it is difficult to imagine how they could have since the township was part of a county, with both political divisions being creations of the government of the colony. As such, the village was subject to the judicial and fiscal aspects of both higher level political divisions, both unavoidably English. It was simply impossible to be strictly local. Neither did ethnic homogeneity result in a formal institution for managing and protecting the patent distinctive to the ethnocultural heritage of the town’s founders; in fact, the institution of the Twelve Men did not reflect any particular European culture, either French, Walloon, Dutch or English. In short, non-English ethnic homogeneity did not result in a non-English community in terms of its political and legal institutions, and neither was such non-Englishness possible. Not being possible, it could therefore not have motivated the founding of the town.

It is perhaps conceivable that, given their status as a minority, the founders' being ethnically different from the dominant strain in Kingston or Hurley may have suggested to them the possibility of a potential lack of influence in the town governments of those jurisdictions. This, however, is rather unlikely, as they had not lacked influence while living in Hurley. Prior to the English conquest, Louis Dubois and Antoine Crispell each had been able to acquire grants of land, Dubois receiving 20 morgens (a morgen is a little larger than two acres) and Crispell 8 morgens. Crispell's was admittedly relatively small, but Dubois' grant was similar in size to several Dutch recipients, such as Roeloff Swartwout (20 morgens) and Lambert Huyberts (21 morgens). The largest grant was only 34 morgens.⁴⁰ They do not seem to have been discriminated against by the Dutch in terms of property acquired through the government. After the English takeover, Louis Dubois was chosen as a magistrate, and Abraham Hasbrouck was as well in 1675, having only recently come to Hurley.⁴¹ As such, there does not seem to be a suggestion that the English marginalized Walloons either. The New Paltz patent itself indicates that the Walloons were not insignificant in the politics of colonial New York. The founding of New Paltz thusly does not suggest that the founders were motivated by a burning desire for ethnic homogeneity necessary to give Walloons a voice in their government, as they had that even before the community's creation.

Finally, a consideration of the relationship between the acquisition of the New Paltz patent and the founders' institutional religious life provides further evidence that the guiding force for the town's founding had little if anything to do with a desire to create an ethnically distinctive community and congregation. When the patentees and their families founded New Paltz, they simply could not have formed a legitimate Reformed congregation. The

⁴⁰Van Buren, *A History of Ulster County*, 130-131.

⁴¹ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 19.

establishment of an independent congregation would have required the services of a minister, who was essential to the creation of the church consistory (the congregational governing body). Ministers were not only necessary for the existence of a congregation and its consistory, but as preaching was central to Reformed services, the minister held a very important place in the congregants' spiritual life; the minister, of course, was also necessary for baptisms, a fundamental Reformed rite.⁴² However, the few Huguenot ministers that came to the American colonies did not do so until the early 1680s, several years after the founding of New Paltz, as persecution increased in France in the years immediately preceding the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1677, then, settlers could not have anticipated this eventual possibility of establishing a French-speaking congregation.

Without the possibility of forming a congregation, the founding of New Paltz merely perpetuated their founders' religious situation as it existed prior to the town's founding. Prior to 1677, the founders lived in Hurley. As there was no church in Hurley, the French-speaking residents of that village received the religious rites of baptism and marriage in the Dutch-speaking Reformed Dutch Church of Kingston. This would continue to be the case after the founding of New Paltz and before the creation of a New Paltz congregation in 1683. This founding of a local congregation was made possible by the success of the patentee families in obtaining the services of a minister, Pierre Daillé. Over the course of the next nine years, however, Rev. Daillé would only visit New Paltz two to three times of year, when he preached the Word and baptized children of the New Paltz families. Daillé only intermittently served the congregation until 1692, and after a gap, he was followed by David de Bonrepos who served in a similar fashion beginning in 1696, but only until 1700. These two ministers were the only French ministers the congregation ever had. The next minister that served in New Paltz,

⁴² Carlo, *Huguenot refugees*, 118.

Johannes Van Driessen, would not do so until 1731. Both during the times of the French ministers and after the departure of de Bonrepos, the New Paltz congregants continued to enjoy the sacramental services of the Kingston church, as they had when they lived in Hurley. In other words, at the time of the founding of New Paltz, the founders could never have imagined the possibility of remaining isolated from the Dutch church of Kingston, since there was no reasonable possibility that they could create an independent French-speaking congregation. While the founders did indeed take the opportunity to establish a Walloon congregation when it became possible, suggesting that ethnic preservation was not meaningless, it certainly could not have been the ground upon which the community was created, since initially the founding did not and could not fundamentally change the patterns of their religious life.

Even if the Walloons of New Paltz—previously of Hurley—had eagerly sought an independent congregation, they could have done so without relocating to new lands. The French-speaking community already existed in Hurley, and lacking a local religious establishment statute, nothing would have precluded the founding of an ethnic alternative to a Dutch congregation. Their experience in the Palatinate could also have served as a model for the existence of multiple ethnically-homogenous Protestant congregations within the same geographic space. In fact, a larger and perhaps more vital French-speaking congregation would have been more likely in Hurley or in nearby Kingston, as there were additional French-speaking Protestants in those places who were not involved in the New Paltz patent. Additionally, the founders and their families could and did have collective religious meetings outside of the bounds of a legitimate congregation even without a minister. These meetings could conceivably have served to anchor their ethnic identity, yet such meetings did not require the creation of a separate, ethnically homogenous town.

Curiously, the leader in the creation of New Paltz, Louis Dubois, did not even remain in New Paltz, as he returned to Hurley after he placed the town of New Paltz (and his sons) on sure footing. His brother-in-law, Antoine Crispell, never relocated to New Paltz at all. If the two patentees who had been the first of the twelve to come to Ulster County, one of whom was essentially the leader of the twelve “partners,” did not make a permanent home in New Paltz in order to establish an independent French-speaking community and church, the importance of ethnocultural preservation to the founding of New Paltz appears relatively weak indeed. In total, the founding of New Paltz did not immediately alter the founders’ religious life, nor could they have anticipated it ultimately doing so. It would be difficult to see how this would not have been obvious to them in 1677. Ethnic preservation was thusly not the central motivation for the creation of the town, nor could it have been.

Nevertheless, the manner in which the institutional life of the community was created did ultimately have a significant impact on ethnic relations within the community. Because the community was founded by those of a shared ethnicity, and because collectively the founders initially owned the entire community, the founders and their descendants were able to dominate local institutions at least until the time of the American Revolution and substantially even thereafter. This dominance occurred even though the town did not remain ethnically homogenous throughout the eighteenth century. Indeed, the ethnic profile broadened during that era through the entrance of many Dutch (and Dutch-identified) individuals and families, as well as a minority of those of a British background, and some of these non-Walloon individuals would ultimately impact the institutional life of the community.

In exploring the growing heterogeneity of the community, the most important primary sources are the tax lists from 1712, 1728 and 1765⁴³ (the immensely-valuable and complete 1798 U.S. Direct Tax schedules for New Paltz will be considered at a later point). The 1712 and 1765 tax lists are particularly revealing because taxes were assessed for all real and personal property, and thusly included virtually all the heads of household in the village. Although the 1728 tax does not specifically state that the tax would be based on both real and personal property, it nevertheless likely did so, as that was the general practice.⁴⁴ In 1712, the property of twenty-two individuals was assessed; of these property owners, sixteen members (73%) represented six of the seven New Paltz patentee families. The seventh patentee family, the Crispells, was represented by Elias Ean (Uin) who had married patentee Antoine Crispell's daughter Elizabeth. A few of Dutch ancestry had entered the community by that time as well, some marrying into the patentee families.⁴⁵ Men not from patentee families who married patentee family women, particularly in the early years, would have generally assumed a high socioeconomic position, regardless of what they brought to their marital unions, as daughters often received equal shares in their fathers' estates, as we shall see later in this study. These newcomers thusly were fully integrated into the existing community both genealogically and socioeconomically.⁴⁶ Two additional taxables (Hendrick Van Weye and Gerrit Lambertse) were present in the community apparently without any connections to the founding families, but both were of Dutch background, so they could have been integrated into the community, at least from an ethnic

⁴³ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 89, 92, 94-96.

⁴⁴ See, for example, *Colonial Laws*, 2:173-188 and *Colonial Laws*, 2:254-272.

⁴⁵ Father and son Tunis Jacobse and Jacob Clearwater (the father, Tunis, still using only his patronymic) were closely connected to the Deyo family: Jacob was married to Marie Deyo, daughter of patentee Pierre Deyo, and Jacob's sister Elsie had married Pierre's eldest son Abraham. Jan Terpenning, one of the remaining three on the list, was married to Esther Freer, granddaughter of Hugo Freer the patentee.

⁴⁶ This was at least so for the husbands of Elias Een and Jan Terpenning, as is clear from their father-in-laws' wills; it was likely similarly so for Jacob Clearwater, although his father-in-law's will does not survive or was never written.

standpoint. Thirty-four years after the establishment of the village, at least 91% of the New Paltz residents belonged to the founding families by birth or marriage; these twenty heads of household also held 99% of the wealth (£1875 out of £1895 of the assessed wealth).

Not much had changed by 1728; the founding families still essentially represented the village, and evidence of the growing integration of and into the New York Dutch is clearly evident. In that year thirty-three individuals (two being widows) were taxed; twenty-one men had patentee surnames (64%). Of the remaining twelve, six were of Dutch background who were or had been married to a person from a patentee family.⁴⁷ These six increased those of or in the orbit of the patentee families at that point in time to 82%. Three of the remaining five included one who may not have been connected to the founding families but was of Dutch descent (August Vandemark), and two whose families would only later be united with patentee families through marriage.⁴⁸ The remaining two taxables were a non-resident (Col. Jacob Rutson) and a freeholder on the Garland Patent that abutted New Paltz (Garret Keeteltas). Thus, thirty out thirty-three taxed individuals were members of the community established by the founding families (91%), and again they held virtually all of the community's wealth (£1133 of £1145 or 99%). Fifty years after the founding, the patentee families and a few Dutch families that were integrated through marriage still represented the village, both in numbers and in terms of socioeconomic position.

⁴⁷ Also included in this group are Peter Low, who was married to Catherine Dubois (granddaughter of patentee Louis); Roelif Elting, Esq., who was wed to Sara Dubois, daughter of patentee Abraham Dubois; and Mattys Slecht married another Crispell daughter, Maria Madaleen

⁴⁸ These two were Anthony Westbrook and Nicholas Roosa. Several Westbrooks would marry patentee women, and Nicholas Roosa's daughter would marry Abraham Hardenbergh, who lived on land that was ultimately annexed to New Paltz. Roosa was a Dutch surname, and Westbrooks were found in New York before 1675, and thus possibly had a Dutch identity as well. These marriages thusly soon served to integrate the Westbrooks and the Roosas into the community. Although no Hardenberghs were taxed as being from New Paltz in 1728, they would ultimately become very much part of the New Paltz community after the death of Abraham Hardenbergh's first wife; his second wife, whom he married in 1752, was Mary Hasbrouck, daughter of Hardenbergh's neighbor, Joseph Hasbrouck.

The next surviving tax list, that of 1765, however, reveals a pronounced change in the ethnic demographics of the village, but in a way that may not have had significant direct ethnocultural influence on the descendants of the founders and their mates. Of the 112 individuals taxed, 52 (46%) had patentee surnames. To this group, another thirteen men with Dutch surnames can be added who had married into patentee families, as they or their fathers had married patentee women.⁴⁹ Four more “Dutch” men with long New Paltz connections from the Vandermark and Schoonmaker families, can also be included in the patentee orbit, as well as three other “Dutch” newcomers without direct connections with the founding families.⁵⁰ These seven individuals, being ethnically but not genealogically connected nevertheless were likely integrated into the patentee circles. The patentee circle also embraced a few newcomers who were not of Walloon or Dutch ancestry, being Rev. John Mauritius Goetschuis, Joseph Coddington (the Anglo schoolmaster), and a set of brothers with a Scot surname (Christian and David Auchmoody). Goetschuis and Coddington became part of the local “Dutch,” as is evidenced by their service to that “Dutch” community, as such services were at least initially offered in the Dutch language. As for the Auchmoody brothers, they were the sons of Maria Deyo (and James Auchmoody). All told then, 76 of the 112 taxables (68%), at a minimum, were part of the non-British patentee circle of New Paltz, which also continued to dominate socioeconomically; this 68% of the population held 95% of the assessed wealth. The decline in the patentee circle as a proportion of the entire population between 1728 and 1765 was thusly over 20%, but the economic power of the group remained unchanged.

⁴⁹ These include Ean, Eltinge, Low, Hardenbergh, Terwilliger and Petrus Van Wagenen. Hardenbergh is more precisely German, but by 1765, the Hardenberghs had become part of the local “Dutch.”

⁵⁰ These three include another Van Wagenen (Abraham), the widow of a Dutch man (Marynus Van Aken) and a man likely of Huguenot or Walloon background (Michael De Vou).

The remaining 36 individuals enumerated in the 1765 tax list represented 34 different family names with no discernable connections to the patentee family group by birth or through marriage. The ethnic origin of all of the names is not entirely clear, but many were clearly of British extraction.⁵¹ Others suggest a Germanic background or French or Walloon ancestry.⁵² However, of these 34 names, at least 18 would not be found in New Paltz just over thirty years later, according to the 1798 Direct Tax schedules. Six of those 18 names cannot even be found in the county just over a decade later, as evidenced from the Revolutionary War militia lists for the county.⁵³ While some daughters of such families might have married into other families that persisted, clearly many of the families were rather transient.

The tax assessor traversed the town in 1765, recording households in geographic order, revealing that the newcomers lived in a clearly defined neighborhood, one only recently settled. For nearly the first hundred years, the patentee families and their descendants had congregated on the fertile flats along the western portion of the patent beyond the Wallkill River and just a bit inward on the eastern side. They continued to hold almost the whole eastern side of the patent from the Wallkill to the Hudson in common, not needing it for agriculture. In 1745, they divided the land directly along the Hudson River, but it does not appear that this land was settled until somewhat later. In 1763 they surveyed and divided the more swampy and hilly section of the patent between the older settlement and the lots abutting the Hudson River, in what they termed the “new division,” and the 1765 tax assessment shows that this “new division” was soon settled.⁵⁴ However, the tax assessments also reveal that members of the patentee families leased

⁵¹ Examples include Dean, Donaldson, Elsworth, Gray, Gilbert, Sergeant, Mackay, Wheeler and Woolsey. The surnames Dean, Elsworth, and Woolsey were found in New York before 1675, so it is conceivable that they had been impacted by Dutch culture or possessed a Dutch identity.

⁵² Germanic names includes Presslar, Hass and Wasemiller; French or Walloons names include such as Palmiter/Polmitier and Pontinear.

⁵³ These six were Hubble, Hurs, Hurta, Nap, Stover, and Wyard.

⁵⁴ Ralph Lefevre, *A History of New Paltz and its Old Families*, 3rd edition (Albany, NY: Brandow, 1909), 26-27.

or sold them to others. Apparently, then, the motivation to divide the commons was not land pressure that would have forced the descendants of the founders to farm the less desirable portion of their land but to make money off of the commons. It is on these lands that the newcomers settled, some apparently for a short time.

These 36 newcomers and their families were virtually all at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. Twenty-six were assessed £2 or less; eighteen of those twenty-six only £1 or less. Since the list includes many sons who had not yet come into their inheritance, an average assessment for the entire town would not be particularly revealing as to social structure. However, as a point of comparison, twenty-seven of the seventy-six taxables in the majority group were assessed between £10 and £30, four between £30 and £50, and eight between £50 and £71 3s. The 32% of the New Paltz householders in the “new” group were assessed for only 5.3% of the wealth, and if the one individual in this “new” group of significant wealth (Abraham Donaldson, assessed at £17 14s) is removed, that percentage is reduced to 4%.⁵⁵ Six individuals were each worth more than the “new” group combined (less Abraham Donaldson). Thus, given the newcomers’ overall transience, the geographic separation of their farms from the bulk of those traditionally tied to the community, and their low socioeconomic position, the fact that a not-insignificant number of such newcomers were of British backgrounds likely had little immediate impact on those village residents traditionally of a non-British orientation. Perhaps some of these newcomers portended the spread of English culture to the old village residents as “the way of the future,” but the village middling and elite certainly would not have felt pressured to conform culturally to those whom were rather marginal to the community.

⁵⁵ It is possible that Abraham Donaldson could be considered part of the patentee group, since at one point he served as a member of the Twelve Men for the share of Louis Dubois, but his ancestry is unclear. It is possible that he was a descendant of Catherine Dubois, the daughter of patentee Abraham Dubois, who married a William Donaldson in 1728 and later moved to Lancaster, PA, although the Dubois family genealogy provides no information as to whether they had any offspring and if so, if any returned to New Paltz.

The ethnic and socioeconomic makeup of the community would face even more dramatic changes over the course of the next thirty years. In 1798, when the U.S. Direct Tax schedules were prepared, the proportion of descendants of the founding families and those who had married into them in relation to “newcomers” completely reversed that proportion as it had been in 1765. Even if we include in the “patentee” group the few individuals living in New Paltz in 1798 who had located in the village as early as 1772 and integrated into the “Dutch” community (signified by their contribution to the construction of a new church structure in that year) without having married into a patentee family, the “patentee” group only accounted for 149 out of 407 taxables, or 37%. Of the 258 “newcomers” [only 36 (14%) of whom had last names that could be found in the 1765 tax list], a few were members of the Ulster County Dutch, but an impressive number had names of English origin. Even just considering those names that begin with B (Baker, Barber, Barns, Barret, Bedford, Benton, Bosworth, Brannen, Brown, Budd, Burnet, Bush) or S (Sammons, Seaman, Shearwood, Simmon, Sloan, Smith, Stanton, Star, Stephens, Stokes), the English influx is evident.⁵⁶ The sheer number of names in 1798 that had not been represented in New Paltz in 1765 was staggering—166—as compared to only 26 surnames in the patentee group.

Of the new names, 127 (77%) were represented only once in 1798, which suggests that many of the newcomers were unmarried, had relatively young families, or did not have sons who could or chose to settle in New Paltz. A few of the men that had been “new” in 1765 had established families by 1798, such as those of the Polmitier family, with six heads of household, and the Presler family with five. However, patentees had built large kin networks: twenty-two men had the last name of Deyo, eighteen each were named Freer and Lefevre, and fifteen

⁵⁶ Ulster County Dutch names include such as Dewitt, Decker, Dumont, Delemetre, Vanhoesen, Vanvliet, and Vanstienbergh. Dumont and Delemetre were of French heritage rather than Dutch, but by the end of the eighteenth century, any sense of Frenchness had been eclipsed years before, as will be seen.

possessed the Dubois surname. The social structure in 1798 was also different than it had been in 1765, as the newcomers were not universally at the bottom of the social ladder, as had been the case earlier. While 97 of the patentee group owned or leased houses valued at least at \$100 (66%), so too did 78 of the 259 (30%) of the newcomers. Twenty-five of the newcomers even owned or leased houses worth \$300 (10%), which is admittedly fewer than the 65 (44%) of the patentee group, but the newcomers were not by definition relatively poor, as had been the case in 1765.

This influx of newcomers, many of British background, suggests almost a flood that could have inundated the patentee group, but looks can be deceiving. First, the patentee group was so interrelated as to have been almost an extended family (at least in terms of being blood kin). Most of the newcomers, on the other hand, entered the community as part of unique households, at least initially. The patentee bloc likely would have had sufficient unity to resist the eclipsing of their traditional culture, if they had so wished. Nevertheless, the patentee group no longer served as a proxy for the town in 1798, as it had through at least the first half of the eighteenth century. Secondly, the sense of ethnic “neighborhood” as had been the case in 1765 still likely existed, at least to some extent, as blocks of patentee families could be seen in the 1790 census, which seems to have been recorded geographically. For example, while there were 335 heads of families recorded in that year, amongst those 45 listed between #253 and #297, there were only four families without patentee “group” or at least Dutch names (two Yorks, one McDonnel, one Cook), and even the Yorks had married into the Freer and Bevier families. Although somewhat less concentrated, of the 42 individuals listed between #66 and #107, all but eight had names that were part of the patentee group, but some of these eight might have

possessed essentially Dutch identities, given those with Germanic names might have been from families that had long been in New York.⁵⁷

Only the willingness of the landowners of the patentee group to lease and, even more significantly, to sell some of their lands to “strangers” made this ethnic diversification possible. Had they been resistant to “the English,” the process that began after the 1763 division of the eastern part of the patent of allowing newcomers into their midst quite possibly would not have been embraced so strongly. Granted, the patentee families might possibly have been pressured by outsiders needing land—in other words, the demand might have increased—but nothing suggests that the patentee families as a group needed to give in to any such pressure. One element that made this influx of newcomers acceptable was that it did not result in an eclipsing of the economic dominance of the patentee group, especially so as of 1765 although somewhat decreasingly by 1798. Nevertheless, even by 1798, the elite was still primarily composed of members of the patentee family group. As such, this ethnic diversification would not have appeared as a threat as it might have in places such as seventeenth-century New York City.

This ethnic demographic investigation leads us back to an investigation of the institutional life of the community, as the change in the ethnic profile did modestly impact institutional life, a fact which sheds light on how the New Paltz founding family group reacted to this ethnic diversification. The institution that was impacted in the most significant way was the town government. Election records are scant for the first half of the eighteenth century, but they are extant from 1751-1766 (with the exception of 1764). These records are particularly valuable because they span the period both before and after the 1763 “new division” of land to the east of

⁵⁷ These eight included one each with the surname of Gears, Roe, Griffin, Waldron, Hood, Wilklow, Keyser, and Himes.

the original core of the New Paltz settlement, as that pivotal division was what resulted in the creation of a substantially British neighborhood. From 1751 through 1759, virtually all elected officials, and even nominees, possessed patentee surnames or had intermarried with patentee families.⁵⁸ Only four were not of the patentee circles.⁵⁹

Beginning in 1760, however, some of the “new” group were nominated and elected to serve. Virtually all of them lived on “the river side,” as so indicated in the election records, and were elected to serve their official roles in that area, where many non-patentee and non-Dutch families resided.⁶⁰ (Those of the “river side” who were nominated or elected between 1760 and 1762 were living on lands along the river that had been divided in 1745, suggesting that it was not until about 1760 that those lands were settled.) However, elected newcomers served exclusively in offices of lower social status. No newcomer was elected to the positions of supervisor, collector, assessor or overseer of the poor, but rather fenceviewer, pound master, constable and surveyor of the highways, but only in the “river” neighborhood rather than for the entire community. In the older part of the village, patentee group individuals were chosen for both upper and lower status positions. Another way of looking at this issue is that those offices which served the entire community and which were restricted by law to a particular number each

⁵⁸Nominees and elected officials without patentee surnames whose families had intermarried with patentee families were from such families as Hardenbergh, Eltinge, Newkirk, Ean, Low, and later in the 1760s, Van Wagenen and Terwilliger.

⁵⁹ The four exceptions were Abraham Vandemerke (whose family had connections in New Paltz as early as 1728), who served as tax collector three times; Matthew Allen, who was nominated as assessor twice and served once; Johan Jury Rang, a “Belgian” who settled in nearby Shawangunk and was a member of the New Paltz church (LeFevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 500-501), although never elected; and Jonathan Tomkins, nominated once as surveyor of highways in 1758, but not elected.

⁶⁰ In 1761, William Elsworth and Israel Coolson were nominated as “Surveyor Highway River” (Elsworth was elected), and Leonard Lewis was elected constable “At River Side.” Peleg Ransom and Valentine Perkins (Parkin, Parkus) were elected as fenceviewers at the “river” in 1762, and Leonard Lewis was again elected as constable. Beginning in 1762, however, no geographic designations were indicated for the office of constable, although presumably constables were still chosen for particular areas, as several individuals were elected who lived near the river (Lewis, Andrew Mackey and Peleg Ransom). Fenceviewers, however, continued to be divided both in and after 1763 and between those at the river side (such as Peleg Ransom, James Tuttle and Eliazer Cole) and the “paltz” side, and a pound master was elected in 1763 and 1766 only for the river side of the community.

year (one supervisor, one collector and two assessors) were filled only by patentee group men, but those that the laws allowed for more positions at the discretion of the town (constable, fenceviewers, and surveyor of the highway) were filled by members of both the patentee and newcomer groups. This “ethno-political” and “ethno-geographic” division as evidenced in the election results further supports the contention that New Paltz became a divided community consisting of two neighborhoods after 1760, again suggesting that the newcomers likely impacted the ensconced families in a relatively minor fashion. Even the designation of neighborhoods for election purposes as “paltz” and “river” indicate that the longtime “paltz” residents, who still controlled the town government, conceived the old part of the settlement as coextensive with the village’s name.

The institution of town government thusly expanded at least in a partial way to include those of British ethnicities as a direct result of the ethnic diversification of the town, which the patentee families had initiated around 1760, when they began to allow settlement of the riverside lands. That diversity grew in strength after the 1763 division of the eastern side of the patent, which they began to rent and sell to British newcomers. If these British newcomers had been seen as a threat, the patentee families might have resisted the British influx into the community, which had necessitated the incorporation of newcomers into the government. Given that such offices were also the lowest elected offices, even relatively elevated newcomers would likely not have been seen as a threat in the 1760s, as the reins of economic and political power remained with the patentee families. As a result, they quite likely held the cultural power as well.

A snapshot view of a later period—the 1790s—reveals that the pool from which town officers were drawn had expanded to include more individuals from outside the patentee group,

and in higher capacities. Nevertheless, members of the patentee group still dominated, as they served as officers in numbers far outweighing their representation in the community. Thirty individuals were elected to fill 58 terms of high office (supervisor, assessor, collector, overseer of the poor, and clerk) between 1790-1795; twenty-three were from the patentee group (77%), while seven (23%) were newcomers. In terms of the total number of individual terms, 42 patentee group individuals were elected (72%), as compared to 16 (28%) newcomers. Importantly, the office of supervisor and clerk were still filled only by members of the patentee group.⁶¹ Of the seven newcomers who served, however, the highest office that five achieved was overseer of the poor, with only one of those five serving more than once.⁶² As for the other two, Peleg Ransom served four times as assessor and Jonathan Preslar as overseer of the poor (once), collector (twice) and assessor (twice). Ransom and Preslar were distinctive in serving so many times; from 1790-1795, no one else served in as many offices as Preslar and no one repeatedly served in the same office as did Ransom.⁶³ In other words, members of the patentee group seem almost to have been seen as interchangeable, but only a couple of newcomers reached the inner circles of power. In short, the patentee group continued to dominate village government in the 1790s, and only a few newcomers rose higher than in the 1760s. The power of the newcomers was clearly thin enough not to have been seen as a cultural threat.

The other two primary community institutions—"The Twelve Men" and the church—can both be explored through the lens of marriage patterns, since marriage was a rite of the church, but it was also the means by which individuals from non-patentee families could possibly gain

⁶¹ One of the clerks—George Wirtz—was a newcomer, but he had married a woman of the patentee group (Esther Hasbrouck). Wirtz was also related to several ministers of the Goetschius family who served in the town.

⁶² These overseers were Elisha Lister, Solomon Waring, Zopher Perkins, Isaac Bodine, and Benjamin Rasel; only Rasel served more than once.

⁶³ Of the other fifteen assessors who served alongside Ransom, one served thrice, five served twice, and the remaining nine served once.

rights and responsibilities related to the patent. As such, marriage could allow for the incorporation of those of non-patentee bloodlines, either Dutch or British, into elements of the institutional life of the community. Marriage patterns, however, do not reveal in and of themselves acceptance of those of non-Walloon ancestry into the patentee community, as it was not a communal decision to pursue exogamous unions but either a personal or, at the highest level, a family decision. Nevertheless, the clear trends over time do suggest that a stigma was not attached to exogamy, either between a Walloon and a person of Dutch ancestry, and steadily and increasingly so between a member of the patentee family group and a person of British descent. It is important to note that exogamy between Walloons and Dutch might have been influenced to some extent by the limited number of eligible Walloon spouses in the region. However, as the “Dutch” population of Ulster County remained numerous throughout the eighteenth century, later patentee descendants’ exogamous choices were likely not based on demographic limitations on endogamy. Thus, marriage between Walloon/Dutch and British was a choice on the part of the Walloon/Dutch person rather than a structural imperative.

As already suggested, the joining of the Dutch and the Walloons in New Paltz occurred very early in the history of the community, which is perhaps not surprising given that even with cousin marriages, which were not uncommon, the possibilities of endogamy had limitations. Theoretically, there were additional possibilities for endogamous marriages that might have been pursued, as the patentee families did not comprise the full extent of Walloon or French families in the region.⁶⁴ In fact, given the number of other Walloon surnames found in the region, it is surprising that non-patentee surnames that became prominent in New Paltz were Dutch rather than Walloon, indicating that endogamy was far from paramount. As early as the second

⁶⁴ Roth, “where ye walloens dwell,” 354, 356, 364.

generation, a web of ethnic intertwining began to develop that suggests a full incorporation, and practically an amalgamation, of the non-British ethnicities in New Paltz. For example, of the four children of patentee Pierre Deyo, three married “Dutch” individuals (two from the Clearwater family and one VanBommel). The remaining son was the only one who married someone of French ancestry, being Mary LeConte, but curiously she was also known through the Dutch translation of her name, deGraff, possibly suggesting a Dutch cultural identification. The children of Patentee Louis Dubois and Catherine who married numbered six, not including their eldest sons Abraham and Isaac who were themselves patentees, of which five married those of “Dutch” descent [Vernooy (2), Van Meteren, Foochen, Matthysen]; only one married a patentee family member (Hasbrouck). The children of other patentees did not contract marriages to those of pure “Dutch” descent to such a high degree; for example, two of Louis Bevier’s children married those of pure Walloon background (both to Hasbroucks), one of full Dutch ancestry (Vernooy), and two of mixed French/Walloon and Dutch heritage (Montany/de Hooges and Blanchan/Van Schoonhover). As for patentee Abraham Hasbrouck’s and his wife Maria Deyos’s children, one married a person of Walloon background (Dubois), two married within the “Dutch” families (Schoonmaker and Van Wagenen,) and two married individuals of mixed French/Walloon and Dutch blood (Deyo/Clearwater and DeLange/VanSchaick). Nevertheless, the incorporation of the “Dutch” occurred at such a generally high rate, that it is clear that the “Dutch” were certainly not shunned as marriage partners. This fact is perhaps not particularly surprising, as the New Netherland/New York Dutch generally accepted and incorporated into their society those of many continental ethnicities. Additionally, the Walloons and the Dutch shared the Reformed religion, which facilitated their joining together.

Because of these early intermarriages, it would not be meaningful to analyze the records too closely in terms of the exogamy/endogamy dichotomy, as it would be impossible to categorize marriages between individuals of mixed ancestry in any meaningful way. Such an analysis would be increasingly more problematic over time, as fewer and fewer members of the patentee community would have been of “pure” blood. Nevertheless, first the “Dutch” and less so but increasingly did the British become incorporated into the community through marriage, as a demographic analysis based on surnames reveals. It would be useful to begin at the year 1750, as it marks a time when the New Paltz congregation began having regular, uninterrupted involvement of a minister, which makes the marriage and baptismal records far more comprehensive than they had previously been. The year 1750 is also a good place to begin as it reflects the ethnic state of the community before the development of a substantially British neighborhood in the eastern portion of the patent as a result of the c. 1760 settlement of the river lands and 1763 “new division.” To uncover such marriage patterns, marriage dates themselves will of course be used. Additionally, the earliest year that a child of each union was baptized in the New Paltz church can also be used as a general proxy for the date of marriage, although such baptismal dates may certainly not reflect the baptism of a couple’s first child (and thus not relate directly to their marriage date).

For the purposes of analysis, only those marriages in which one of the partners possessed a patentee surname will be considered, as only in those cases can we be positive that the individual who married or had a child baptized in the New Paltz church had roots extending back to the founding of the community. Between 1750 and 1800, 216 such unions in which both of the spouses’ birth surnames are known were recorded in the church records either through a

marriage or the baptism of a child.⁶⁵ Two hundred and nine of these unions will be considered.⁶⁶ Over the course of the entire period, 27% of these marriages occurred between a man and woman both with patentee surnames, and 61% between a person with a patentee surname and a person with a non-British surname, which in general means someone who had likely assimilated into the New York “Dutch” population. Correspondingly, only 12% of the marriages involved one member with a British surname, basically divided between men and women (12 and 13 out of 25, respectively.)⁶⁷ Over the course of the period, however, the number of marriages between a person with a patentee surname and a person with a British surname noticeably increased, particularly in the last quarter of the century (See Table 2.2). This evidence reveals that as the community expanded to include those not strictly of “Dutch” blood, both through land rental/ownership and the election of local officials, descendants of the patentees certainly did not shun the British newcomers. Everyone in the community might not have been equally supportive of marrying outside of the traditional ethnic pool—the evidence is

⁶⁵ A further 18 marriages in which the wife’s maiden name is not indicated in the New Paltz church records also occurred.

⁶⁶ Seven of these 216 unions will be excluded, as these marriages included individuals in which the non-patentee partner possessed an English surname that could be found in New York before 1675, but as these were also common names, it is impossible to know if they descended from those immigrants who had arrived before 1675 or if they themselves or their forebears were more recent immigrants.

⁶⁷ The names in the “Dutch” or non-British category are, with the number of occurrences: Alsdorf (1), Blanchan (4), Bos (1), Bruyn (3), Burger (2), Cantine (1), Decker (3), Devaal (1), Dewitt (3), Eccert (1), Ein (5), Elmondorph (1), Eltinge (10), Evert (1), Goetschuis (2), Griffin (1), Hardenbergh (7), Helm (2), Hofman (1), Hog (1), Hoogland (1), Huey (1), Jansen (2), Jumens (1), Kool (1), Kritsinger (2), Krom (1), Lenjee (1), Low (3), Manny (1), Masten (1), Ostrander (2), Palmetier (1), Pawling (1), Perhemis (1), Relyea (2), Roosa (1), Rutsen (1), Sax (1), Schoonmaker (5), Schut (2), Sluyter (4), Smedes (1), Swart (2), Terbush (1), Terwilliger (14), Van Aaken (1), Vandermerken (1), Van Keuren (1), Van Vliet (2), Van Wagenen (8), Vernoy (3), Viele (1), Wirtz (1). Broadhead (3), an English name, is included in the “Dutch” group as the progenitor was in Kingston (Wildwyck) before the English takeover. The British names are (all occur only once except those noted): Ancton, Auchmoody, Bennet, Bodine (2), Clark, Donaldson, Elmore, Green, Harris, McDonald (2), McKinley, Mitchell, Parker, Perkins, Saxton, Tilson, Waring, Webb, Weller, Winfield, York (3). Four other British names [Cooper, Ketcham, Wolsey, Wood (3)] are not included in the statistical breakdown as such names were found in New York before 1675, and thus could represent individuals whose families had batavianized given their long tenure in the colony, but as they were also names that were likely not rare, those individuals in New Paltz with those names could have been or were descended from immigrants arriving much later. The name Emmanuel Consalis was also not used in the statistical breakdowns, as being of Spanish derivation, it would be difficult to classify in the other groupings.

silent on this point—but certainly many individuals felt comfortable expanding their ethnic horizons when it came to seeking out a marriage partner.

Table 2.2: Marriage Paterns 1750-1800

	1750-1800 (<i>n.</i> 209)	1750-1765 (<i>n.</i> 43)	1750-1775 (<i>n.</i> 82)	1776-1800 (<i>n.</i> 127))
Both Spouses with Patentee surname	27% (<i>n.</i> 57)	32% (<i>n.</i> 14)	29% (<i>n.</i> 24)	26% (<i>n.</i> 33)
One Spouse with Patentee surname, other with non-British surname	61% (<i>n.</i> 127)	63% (<i>n.</i> 27)	65% (<i>n.</i> 53)	58% (<i>n.</i> 74)
One Spouse with Patentee surname, other with British surname	12% (<i>n.</i> 25)	5% (<i>n.</i> 2)	6% (<i>n.</i> 5)	16% (<i>n.</i> 20)

It was not only those of non-British heritage who married individuals in the patentee orbit, however, that stepped across the threshold of the church. Again, while it would be impossible to determine the ethnic heritage of all who were married or had children baptized in the congregation, a host of surnames appeared in the records that suggest British ancestry.⁶⁸ Many of such men were married to women of non-British ancestry, such that the continental ethnic heritage of their spouses might have been led to the participation in the religious community. However, there were also marriages between individuals both with British surnames.⁶⁹ As such, the doors and the rites of the church were not closed even to those that did not necessarily have strong “Dutch” connections. This may not be a much of surprise, given that the English may have shared a Calvinistic faith with the non-British residents of New Paltz. It nevertheless indicates that even within their congregation, which was the primary institutional anchor of their ethnic heritage, patentee descendants did not follow ethnic exclusionary tactics.

⁶⁸ A list of fathers who had children baptized would include, but not be limited to, Allen, Barrett, Brannen, Bussy, Callahan, Canneway, Carney, Carson, Coleman, Demsy, Ellis, Elmore, Ferris, Flagler, Forgeson, Forman, Forster, Gallasbie, Gedney, Graham, Irwin, Jones, Kern, Kidney, Mackey, Mahony, Masters, McCaby, McClaghley, McNeel, Myer, Myers, Owens, Philips, Poor, Quick, Robertson, Rogers, Russel, Scott, Stevens, Tamkins, and Wells.

⁶⁹ Such unions include Allen/Donaldson (1753), Callahan/Johnson (1757); Whiller/Killy, [Wheeler/Kelly] (1769) Danelson[probably Donaldson]/Robertson (1786); Countryman/Conneway (1789) (the date in parenthesis indicates the earliest record of such unions).

Membership in a New Paltz Reformed Church (a second Reformed congregation was formed in the 1760s, which will be the topic of Chapter 7) was another means of joining in and being accepted into the religious institutional life of the community. Those who joined the church, however, formed a more exclusive subgroup than those that married or had a child baptized. Between 1750 and 1800, only 124 women and 125 men (total 249) became members, while 432 baptized a child and/or were married in the church. Of the 101 of the 124 female members for which maiden names can be determined with certainty, only seven had British birth names, but six of these seven all had strong non-British connections.⁷⁰ Only Elizabeth Wood, a young unmarried woman who became a member during the Great Awakening, lacked a solid non-British connection.⁷¹ Of the 125 male members, only eight clearly had British names, most of whom had patentee/Dutch connections.⁷² Again, only one man, Daniel Graham, did not have any clear Dutch connections that can be determined.⁷³ In short, only two British individuals lacking clear non-British connections did become institutionally connected to the community through church membership. It is impossible to say why the number of individuals with British surnames was so limited; regardless, the core of the church did not become an ethnically-diverse group, although the geographic community was diversifying both through land ownership/rental and marriage.

⁷⁰ [Elizabeth Wood (1752), Magdalena (Auchmoody) Low (1753), Cathrina (Broadhead) Dubois (1761), Rachel (Auchmoody) Bevier (1784), Maria (York) Bevier (1784) Maria (Wells) Lemonjon (1786), and Syntje (Strickland) Wesmuller (1792)]. Three of the six were married to men with patentee surnames; two of these three were themselves daughters of patentee women (Maria York Bevier and Rachel Auchmoody Bevier), and the third (Cathrina Broadhead Dubois) was from a family with Ulster county roots dating back to the New Netherland period. The fourth, Magdalena (Auchmoody) Low, also had a mother born with a patentee surname, and she was married to a man with a Germanic surname (Low) with strong connections to the patentees. The remaining two were also married to non-British men.

⁷¹ It is possible that Elizabeth Wood was Dutch-identified as well. As noted earlier, the surname Wood was found in New York before 1675, but as it was a not-uncommon name, it is not known if the Wood family in New Paltz is related to the early Wood immigrant(s) or possibly a family who arrived later.

⁷² These include James Auchmoody, husband of Maria Deyo, and Jacobus their son; Moses York, husband of Maria Freer, and their sons Johannes; and Wessel Broadhead. Pieter York was perhaps a brother of Moses, and William Jenkins, who became a member in 1800, had originally been a church member in Ramapo, New Jersey.

⁷³ Daniel Graham became a member in 1778.

Not surprisingly, holding an office in the church was an even more exclusive honor than membership. Of the 239 times New Paltz men were chosen to serve as elders and deacons between 1731 and 1800, 189 times (78%) men with patentee names were chosen (many such men served more than once). Other than Daniel Graham (deacon, 1778), Johannes York (deacon, 1797 and 1799), whose mother was a patentee descendant, and perhaps Hendric Smitt, (deacon, 1792 and 1794) whose ethnicity cannot be determined, the remainder of the church officers had non-British surnames, either Walloon, Dutch, German, Swiss (George Wirtz) or Belgian (Hans Yory Rang, a man trained to the ministry).

Without a doubt, the interrelated Walloon patentee families dominated New Paltz throughout the long eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the founding of their village had not been motivated by a desire to create an ethnically exclusive community nor a community designed strictly on ethnic lines in terms of its institutional life. The community's founding by Walloons neither allowed for nor motivated the establishment of a non-British style of town government nor an institution developed to manage the land patent, which fit into or at least was inspired by laws passed by an English government. While the "Twelve Men"/"Duzine" remained dominated by the patentee ethnic community, the town government nevertheless expanded to include those of British origin or descent, although the non-British maintained greater power. This expansion, however, would not have occurred unless the descendants of the patentees who possessed land rights were willing to lease and sell land to those of British descent, although keeping the British on the margins of political and economic power. Nevertheless, it was through non-British agency that the community diversified, although such diversification did not result in a full geographic integration of the town.

The church was, of course, ethnically distinctive, first as a Walloon Reformed and later as a Dutch Reformed church (this transition will be discussed in Chapter 7), but the doors of the church and the marriage bed were certainly not barred to those of British ancestry, increasingly so as the eighteenth century was coming to a close. Nevertheless, as the more exclusive subgroups within the congregations were formed, the place of the British further contracted, as had been the case with the town government. It is unclear whose choice this restricted nature of church membership was. However, while there were many individuals of the patentee group who were members and leaders of the church, many of the same group were not. In other words, being a patentee descendant did not, by definition, result in church membership, so those British individuals unconnected to patentee descendants might not necessarily have felt isolated from patentee descendants in general. Although Daniel Graham was only one man, he did become both a church member and a deacon, suggesting that the British were not unilaterally excluded from church office. As with town government, those of British ancestry were incorporated into religious life, but were not at the center of power and influence.

This lack of exclusionary tactics is quite possibly the result of New Paltz's traditional leaders retaining the reins of political and economic power. Even within a legal structure designed according to English colonial law, those with patentee roots maintained their position at the "core" of economic and political power in the village. They could lease or sell land to those of British descent because the newcomers' impact on the non-British community was minimal. Even the incorporation of some of the newcomers in the town government was made possible by the patentee community itself, which possessed the highest level of political agency in the community. Marriages were less controllable on a community level, since choices were much more individualized, but nevertheless unions between those of the patentee community and

British newcomers were made at the discretion of men and women who likely could have avoided such newcomers if they had so chosen. Life on this particular cultural frontier required that New Paltz patentee families adapt to certain English influences, but in spite of this pressure, they did not feel the need to further resist British people, as the patentee families retained a great deal of power themselves.

This analysis of institutions and participants in these institutions has been based primarily on the ethnicity of surnames, which is challenging itself, not being a straightforward process. But the ethnicity of surnames only indicates ancestry and not ethnic orientation, which were far from one of the same thing in either early New Paltz or New York as a whole, and they increasingly diverged as time went on. In the following three chapters, we will explore how the patentees and their descendants constructed their culture as both their community and the colony adapted to the British presence in colonial New York, a presence that, on the local level, had been directly furthered by the leading non-British families of the New Paltz community.

CHAPTER 3

“FRENCH, DUTCH AND TOLERABLE ENGLISH”: LANGUAGE USE IN EARLY NEW PALTZ

In 1806, nine-year-old Isabella, a slave girl born and living in central Ulster County, was sold, separating her from her mother Betsey, her father James, and her brother Peter. This tragic event occurred after the death of her and her family's owner, Charles Hardenbergh—a husband, a son and a grandson of women of New Paltz patentee ancestry. This was not the first time her family had been torn asunder. Two of her older siblings had also met such a fate after the death of Charles' father, Johannes Hardenbergh Jr., the first owner of this slave family. This earlier event was never far from Isabella's mind, as her mother frequently related the story of this fragmentation of her family. Such a terrifying transition in Isabella's life did not only result in her being stripped from the arms of her mother and father and her having to face the terror of the auction block. Upon entering the new household of Mr. and Mrs. Neely of Kingston, her new owners, she would also substantially lose the ability to communicate. Not being able to understand her new master and mistress resulted in repeated violent and dehumanizing beatings, which left her physically and emotionally scarred throughout her life. For Isabella's only language was Dutch, and while Mr. Neely could at least understand this tongue that was not his own, Mrs. Neely did not even possess that level of fluency, resulting in her becoming enraged with Isabella for the Afro-Dutch slave's lack of comprehension of the English language. Isabella did eventually begin to grasp some English during the few years she was owned by the Neelys.

However, due to the violence she often faced in that terrifying household, she eagerly accepted the opportunity to serve a new owner, Martinus Schryver, when it presented itself. Schryver owned Isabella only about two years; in 1810 she was once again sold, this time to John Dumont of New Paltz, in whose household she would continue her slow progress towards English fluency. She eventually did manage to master spoken English, but she never lost her Afro-Dutch roots, as her English would continue to be inflected by a Dutch accent throughout her long life as the great orator and anti-slavery advocate, Sojourner Truth.¹

How could it come to pass that one such as Sojourner Truth, born in the closing years of the eighteenth century in a town abutting New Paltz, would have learned only Dutch during her formative years in the households of one of the most illustrious families in Ulster County, a household led by a master and mistress of New Paltz patentee descent? Surely this was not because the Dutch language was only preserved amongst “some old people chiefly residing in retired and unfrequented places,” according to traveler William Strickland, who traveled through the region in 1794-5.² That would not describe the Hardenberghs, who were in no way isolated or marginal. Johannes Hardenbergh Jr., Isabella’s first owner and likewise the owner of Isabella’s parents, had been born in 1729 in the town of Rosendale into the highest elite in Ulster County, one of New York’s most important agricultural regions. His father, likewise named Johannes (b. 1706), was a colonel in the militia, a representative to the colonial assembly from 1743-1750, a member of the first Provincial Congress and a member of the state legislature in 1781-1782. The grandfather of Johannes Jr. had been a patentee in the approximately two-

¹ The phrase “French, Dutch and tolerable “English” was written by Abraham Hasbrouck in his diary in reference to his father’s linguistic abilities [“The Diary of Abraham Hasbrouck,” in *The Earliest Records of the Hasbrouck Family*, ed. Kenneth Hasbrouk (New Paltz, NY: privately printed, 1992)]. The date of the sale and Isabella’s age are both approximate, based on her own recollections: Olive Gilbert, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*, ed. Margaret Washington (New York, NY: Vintage, 1993), 3, 6-7; Carleton Mabree, with Susan Mabree Newhouse, *Sojourner Truth: slave, prophet, legend* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1993), 5.

² William Strickland, *Journal of a Tour in the United States of America, 1794-1795*, ed. J.E. Strickland (New York, NY: The New-York Historical Society, 1971), 102.

million-acre Hardenbergh Patent the Queen granted in 1708. This family was not inconsequential even on the provincial level. One of the most noted events in the life of this branch of the Hardenbergh family was a visit from Martha Washington, accompanied by Governor and Mrs. George Clinton, who were entertained in June 1783 in the home of Colonel and Mrs. Hardenbergh.³ Obviously, there is no transcript of the visit, but we can hardly imagine that Colonel Johannes, his 54-year-old son Johannes Jr., and their wives Maria Dubois and Maria Lefevre conversed with the future first lady in Dutch, which must have been their primary language.

The conversations that must have occurred during this visit would have brought an irregularly-heard language—English—into the domestic environment of the Hardenberghs, as Dutch must have been used regularly, perhaps almost exclusively, in the households of both Colonel Johannes and Marie (Dubois) Hardenbergh and Johannes and Marie (Lefevre) Hardenbergh Jr. If this had not been the case, Johannes Jr.’s slaves Betsey and Isabella would likely have picked up at least minimal English. They did not. Dutch would ever be Betsey’s only language, and although Isabella would eventually learn English, such education would not occur until her ownership by the Hardenberghs came to an end. If the Hardenberghs had spoken English regularly in the home, slaves such as the Afro-Dutch family of Isabella would likely have gained some fluency in the “foreign” English tongue, since slaves in Ulster County were generally domiciled in the houses of their masters and mistresses, rather than in a separate slave quarter. When Isabella was born, she lived a little more distantly than most slaves in the area, as

³ Lefevre (*History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 460) records that the 1783 visit also included George Washington, but this is perhaps erroneous. In a June 20, 1783, letter from Richard Varick to Colonel Hardenbergh, reprinted in Charles Elliott Fitch’s *Encyclopedia of Biography of New York* (New York: The American Historical Society, 1916, p. 134), Varick asked permission for Mrs. Washington and the Clintons to visit the Hardenberghs for breakfast on June 21, 1783; Mrs. Washington was on her way to rejoin her husband at Newburgh. Nevertheless, the same secondary source indicates that George Washington is also known to have visited the home of Colonel Hardenbergh.

Johannes Jr. had given her parents James and Betsey a separate cottage. Charles Hardenbergh, however, would move Isabella and her family into his house upon his inheriting them in 1799 when Isabella was about two years of age. The household of Charles Hardenbergh and his wife, Annetje Lefevre, also must have been Dutch-speaking, as it would be in that household that Isabella would have acquired her basic primary language skills. These did not include English.

The Dutch language thusly seems to have been rather resilient amongst descendants of the New Paltz founders such as the families of Johannes Jr. and Charles Hardenbergh. This resiliency had not been the case with the original language of the Walloon community, which was lost relatively early in the eighteenth century. But even as early as the seventeenth century, the English language was used in the community, and it became increasingly important through the eighteenth. For most of the eighteenth century, the patentee community was bilingual, and some members were even trilingual. It likely remained bilingual for decades into the nineteenth century. Ralph Lefevre, born in 1844, commented in 1903 that even as late as his childhood “[I]t was the custom for the old people to talk in Dutch when they did not want the children to understand what they were saying.”⁴ As we shall see, Dutch culture generally survived longer in language than in other forms of cultural expression. The loss of the Dutch language did nevertheless ultimately occur, just as the original language of the community—French—had disappeared as well. Investigating language choice in early New Paltz can thusly serve to contribute to an understanding of the ethnocultural texture of the community. Such an exploration is admittedly challenging because the evidence is often fragmentary in nature; it is often difficult to reconstruct an individual’s linguistic skills and choices. Nevertheless, the fragments of evidence are many, and a general picture of the New Paltz patentee and descendant community as a whole can be developed.

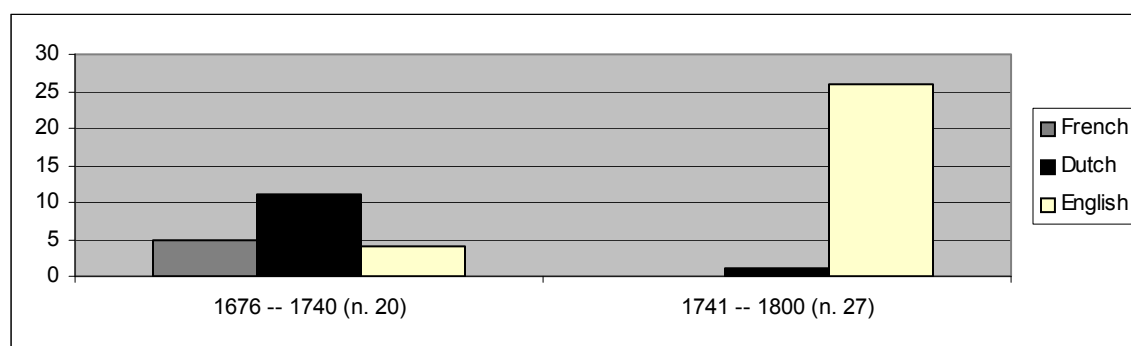
⁴ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 59.

The choice of language was both a corporate and an individual decision, although we will begin with an analysis of corporate language use. New Paltz, of course, was founded well after the English conquest, so it is not surprising that the language used in corporate documents of a legal nature was primarily English from the very beginning. The only use of Dutch was in the town's very first document—the so-called “Indian Deed”—which confirmed the exchange of Native lands for Euro-American material goods. A small number of legal or quasi-legal documents produced by the patentees primarily for their own use, however, were in French, including a contract with their schoolmaster (1707), two fence construction agreements (1708 and 1712), and a road construction agreement (1739). A handful of early, undated documents written in French also survive, including a land division agreement (c. 1710), an election list for the Twelve Men, and a contract to buy button and ladle molds. All other documents related to the management of the patent (including the papers of the Twelve Men) and the town government were recorded in English.

The language of the law involving the colony through the mechanism of the county (created by colonial legislation in 1683) was also English, and that tongue was used in such documents as land deeds and court records. It is certainly conceivable that the language of spoken communication continued to be Dutch even within a legal setting well after 1683, given that Dutch remained an actively used language in Ulster County even into the early nineteenth century, but there is no evidence that French was ever used in such official environments. The one legal area where greater linguistic flexibility was possible was the last will and testament, as these were created by individuals or their agents and not necessarily entered into the official county records. Of the forty-seven wills composed before 1800, thirty were in English, twelve in Dutch, and five in French (Table 3.1). Not surprisingly, the five French wills were composed in

the early years of the community [1698, 1724 (2), 1729, and 1732]. Of the twelve Dutch wills, the bulk (eight) were written between 1676 and 1720; those eight also comprised the majority of wills before 1721, which number only eleven, such that townspeople preferred Dutch even in the early years. The remaining Dutch wills were composed in 1728, 1731, 1739 and 1768. If we set the anomalous 1768 Dutch will aside, it was in 1743 that English became the exclusive language for wills, although even one of the earliest wills, that of Louis Dubois (1686) had also been composed in English. The linguistic complexity of the community during its first 50 or so years as demonstrated by surviving wills is further revealed by the fact that of the five individuals who composed more than one will before 1750, only one testator was linguistically consistent. Also of import is that English had been adopted exclusively in the writing of wills before the mid-point of the century, even though not required by law. The meaning of this evidence is a bit ambiguous, since we do not know if the testators or their agents were the scribes. Nevertheless, when legal affairs were involved, English clearly became the primary language, even when flexibility remained possible, long before it became the dominant local language, as will be explored below.

TABLE 3.1: Language of wills, 1676-1800



It should not be surprising that, with the exception of wills, English was the primary legal language in New Paltz from its founding, as English was essentially forced upon the community

by the colonial rulers in that sphere. This was not the case, however, for the school and the church. Nevertheless, the three institutions were closely interrelated, as formal education was the fulcrum upon which the other institutions in some respects rested, since the school provided a service that had both temporal and sacred implications. It was there that students developed language skills necessary to function in the practical world of courts and commerce. Language skills taught in school also supported spiritual concerns, since in the Reformed tradition, ethnicity, language and religion were all interwoven.

Appreciating the importance of formal education, the New Paltz families founded a school as they were simultaneously establishing their town, building their domestic structures and developing their fields, creating such an institution as early as 1689. Not surprisingly, the school was not public nor was it free, but it seems the decision to create a school and hire schoolmasters was a communal act.⁵ Initially the community chose to hire French-speaking schoolmasters, presumably to perpetuate the language of the village's founders. The first schoolmaster, Jean Cottin, was hired at least as early as 1689, as in that year the proprietors of the patent gifted their schoolmaster a small "shack" and the right to harvest wood, as well as the rights of pasturage.⁶ Cottin was most certainly French-speaking, as he was a native of Bohain in the northern French province of Picardie.⁷ Cottin likely served as schoolmaster through 1695, as the community hired another teacher in that year, although Cottin continued to live in New Paltz at least as late as 1701.⁸ The second schoolmaster was another man of French or Walloon background, Jean Tebenin. It is unclear how long Tebenin served in that capacity, but he resided

⁵ Carlo, *Huguenot Refugees*, 103. Traditionally it has been said that the schoolmasters were hired by the New Paltz congregation and that the church building also served as the schoolhouse (Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 22-26; Carlo, *Huguenot Refugees*, 103).

⁶ Original deed, in French, in *Hugo Freer Family Papers, 1677-1721*, HHS.

⁷ Charles W. Baird, *History of The Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York, NY: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1885) 2:92-93.

⁸ Cottin sold his land in New Paltz in 1701, around the time he relocated to Kingston, where he became a merchant.

in New Paltz until his death in 1730, and there is no record of any other schoolmaster in the community between that year and 1696 when Tebenin first served as a teacher.⁹ References from the 1730s to two other New Paltz schoolmasters with French surnames have survived, Pierre Simon and Jean Meschines (the unique mention of the latter dates to 1739), but virtually nothing is known about these other early teachers.¹⁰

As for what language was used in the schools 1689 through 1739, there is no reason to suspect that the first two teachers, Cottin and Tebenin taught in any language but their native French. Cottin clearly considered French his primary language throughout his life, as he kept his account books dating from 1707 through his death in 1721 in that language.¹¹ Tebenin's origins are unknown, but again French was his first language. In both his 1719 and 1730 wills he indicated that if the New Paltz congregation no longer conducted their services in French in favor of Dutch, his French Bible should be sold and the proceeds used to support the poor. Too little is known about Simon and Meschines to suggest what their primary language was; in eighteenth-century New York, surname alone did not indicate ethnic orientation or primary language choice. A surviving ciphering book, however, does suggest that French was the language of the school at least into the early 1730s, and possibly throughout that decade. This ciphering book, written entirely in French, was that used by Abraham Hasbrouck, born in 1722.¹² The dates of the school exercises are not recorded, but the book was also used to keep poor relief records between 1731 and 1734 by his father, Solomon Hasbrouck, in his capacity as

⁹ Tebenin's 1719 and 1730 wills are in *Jean Tebanin Papers (1700-1730)*, HHS.

¹⁰ A reference to Simon appears in the New Paltz Church Records ["Promissory Note," April 19, 1736, *New Paltz Reformed Church Records (1683-1892)*, HHS]. Jean Meschines is mentioned in 1739 in the ciphering book kept first by Abraham Hasbrouck. When the book was subsequently by Jacob Hasbrouck for recording deacons' accounts, he noted that he paid tuition to Jean Meschines' school for his son Isaac.

¹¹ The account books are in the archives of the First Reformed Church of Kingston, New York.

¹² The book has been erroneously attributed to an Abraham who was a descendant of Jean Hasbrouck and who also had a son named Isaac. The ciphering book actually appears to be that of Abraham Hasbrouck, son of Solomon Hasbrouck and grandson of patentee Abraham Hasbrouck, as the book was also used by Solomon Hasbrouck in his capacity as deacon.

deacon. It is not clear whether Abraham and his father Solomon used the book simultaneously or consecutively, but it does suggest that French was still being used as the language of education into the 1730s. The Abraham Hasbrouck ciphering book also includes the only known reference to the school of Jean Meschines, as Jacob Hasbrouck (the deacon who received the book after Solomon Hasbrouck's term had ended) recorded in the book that he paid tuition to that school for his seventeen-year-old son Isaac in 1739. Although Meschines' name is certainly French in origin, we cannot be certain that the language of instruction was French, since by 1739 the ethnicity of a name alone does not indicate cultural identity and skills. Nevertheless, this piece of evidence strongly suggests the New Paltz schools taught in French throughout the 1730s.

The documentary record concerning the community school unfortunately becomes more ambiguous for the following few decades. At some point after 1739, however, Dutch was introduced into an educational setting. The evidence does not indicate exactly when this transition occurred, but the language certainly became the language of instruction by 1764, as evidenced by the ciphering book of Benjamin Hasbrouck (b. 1748), which he kept from 1764-1766. The schoolmaster at that time was Joseph Coddington, who was the first of that surname in the vicinity of New Paltz.¹³ Although he taught in Dutch in the 1760s, Coddington's native language was certainly English, which he learned in his native Anglo community in New Jersey.¹⁴ The future schoolmaster had relocated to nearby Rochester, Ulster County, before February 18, 1753, the date of his marriage to Catherine van der Marken. His wife's surname

¹³ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 102, 217. The earliest reference to Coddington that clearly indicates he was the schoolmaster is the will of Rev. Johannes Mauritius Goetschius, written July 4, 1770: "Joseph Coddington, school master" was one of the witnesses [Johannes Mauritius Goetschius, "Will," July 4, 1700, *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1898* (New York, NY: New-York Historical Society, 1899), 405].

¹⁴ Joseph Coddington was born in 1730 in Woodbridge, Middlesex County, New Jersey, a descendant of puritan founders of Massachusetts Bay. John Coddington, his great-grandfather, had settled in Woodbridge, an Anglo community not far from Staten Island, soon after King Philip's War (in which he took part).

was associated with New Paltz as early as 1728, when an August Vandemark was taxed.¹⁵

Coddington developed connections with New Paltz as early as November 1756, when he had a child baptized within the New Paltz congregation, and he was living in the town as early as 1765, when he was listed as a “freeholder or inhabitant.”¹⁶ By the mid-1760s, Coddington must have developed at least a certain level of proficiency in Dutch in order to teach in that language. That he had become proficient in Dutch is not surprising, since he had moved to a generally Dutch region, married a woman of Dutch descent and began participating in a Dutch-speaking congregation more than a decade previous to his beginning service as the New Paltz schoolmaster.

It is intriguing that a non-native speaker of Dutch had been hired to teach in that language when there certainly must have been other local men capable of instructing the community’s youth. Perhaps Coddington’s fluency in English created the possibility of bilingual education, or facilitated the transition to English that occurred soon after Benjamin Hasbrouck created his ciphering book. A short ciphering book (only fifteen pages) kept by Philip Deyo (b. 1752) survives from 1768, containing one page in Dutch with the remainder in English. The ciphering books of Peter Lefever Jr (b. 1759) from 1773-1775 and 1779-1781 confirm that Dutch had certainly been jettisoned as the language of instruction in the years preceding the Revolution. Whether Coddington was still the schoolmaster when Peter Lefever received his education is not known, but it is nevertheless clear that English became the primary language in school by the late 1760s.

¹⁵ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 92.

¹⁶ Dingman Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, vol. 3 in *Collections of the Holland Society of New York* (New York: Holland Society, 1894), 104; Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 96.

To summarize, French was the language of instruction from the hiring of the first schoolmaster in the 1680s through at least the early 1730s. Due to the limitations of the evidence, we can only be sure that French was replaced by Dutch by the mid 1760s, but by 1768, the transition to English was effected. It would seem highly probable, however, that Dutch would have been used in school for more than just a couple of years; as such, it would be quite plausible to interpolate the use of Dutch backwards in time perhaps into the mid-18th century. French thusly appears to have lasted for quite a long time in local education—perhaps fifty years or even longer—even though, as we shall see, French was waning much earlier in favor of Dutch as the language of general use. However, even if Dutch was first used in school as early as the 1740s, it seems to have had a comparatively short tenure in the New Paltz school, although it lasted much longer in other areas of community life, as will be explored below. As these transitions seem to correspond to issues related to the church, we will return to an interpretation of this evidence following a discussion of language use in religious services. However, it is worth noting that these transitions could not have been predicated by a dearth of potential teachers in a particular language. Although all of the known teachers in New Paltz were originally from outside the community, there is nothing to suggest that if the community believed that language preservation was desirable, they could not have tapped their own native sons to teach, since the level of literacy and numeracy were quite high amongst the patentee families.

Similar to its use in education, French was without a doubt the primary language in religious services at least until about 1730. The community founded a congregation in 1683, five years after the town was settled, when for the first time the New Paltz founders were able to secure the services of a French pastor, Pierre Daillé. Rev. Daillé served only until 1692, but

even during this period, his presence in New Paltz was only intermittent. He was succeeded as minister by another Frenchman, David de Bonrepos, but again his period of service was minimal and sporadic, extending only from 1696 to 1700. Subsequently, the congregation was without ministerial leadership until 1731. During the first three decades of the eighteenth century, however, members of the New Paltz founding families were not unchurched, as they traveled to the Kingston Dutch Reformed church to receive the rites of marriage, baptism, and, for church members, Holy Communion. Yet institutional religious life certainly continued in New Paltz, demonstrated strongly by the fact that the New Paltz congregants pooled their funds to enable the construction of a relatively imposing stone church (completed in 1718) during a time when they lacked a minister.¹⁷ This fact suggests that even though New Paltz congregants did make the trek to Kingston for important spiritual rituals when they were without their own minister, their religious life was still focused upon their own community.

Undoubtedly, that spiritual community was French-speaking. This is confirmed by a letter written to the (Dutch Reformed) Classis of Amsterdam in 1751, in which the New Paltz congregation remarked that in spite of their lack of pastoral leadership during the first decades of the eighteenth century, “besides maintaining Family Worship, they [had] in their midst public service of pure Religion . . . Whenever there was no minister a sermon was read in French.”¹⁸ Several of the patentees and their children owned French printed religious materials, which they passed down to their descendants, who continued to use them for a period of time. Jean Hasbrouck, for example, owned at least three French religious books, which he bequeathed to his

¹⁷ Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, 2.

¹⁸ Hugh Hastings, Edward Corwin, and James Holden, *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York* (Albany, NY: State of New York, 1901-196) 5:3209. While the letter does not stipulate when the church was led by lay readers who delivered printed sermons in French, one purpose of the letter was to explain to Classis how the church was organized before the arrival of Rev. Johannes Van Driessen in 1731. Thus the period referenced is the early decades of the eighteenth century.

daughter Elizabeth in 1714. These were a book of sermons, the Psalms, and a book entitled *La Pratique de Piété*.¹⁹ That these books were not merely tokens but subsequently used is evident by the fact that Elizabeth and her husband Louis Bevier II recorded family records in the *La Pratique de Piété* soon after Jean Hasbrouck's death. It is even possible that the book of sermons once owned by Jean Hasbrouck could have been that (or one of those) used in the New Paltz church into the 1720s.²⁰ Abraham Deyo, son of patentee Pierre Deyo, likewise bequeathed French religious texts to his daughters Marie and Wyntje, when he composed his will in 1724; the transfer of ownership occurred the following year after his death. Marie received a French Testament, and two other books she received—a book of sermons and book of Psalms—might have been in French as well.²¹ Wyntje received a French Testament and “le pratique de pieté” (possibly a copy of the same text that Jean Hasbrouck willed to his daughter), as well as “le vieux bible francoij” (“the old French Bible”).

By the end of the 1720s, however, French would not be the only language in church, as the community began to offer services in Dutch in the afternoon, which must also have been led by a lay person.²² Given that it was common that people of the time would attend services both in the morning and the afternoon, it is certainly possible that those attending the French services in the morning would have attended those in the Dutch language in the afternoon, as by the 1720s, there were likely few with Walloon ancestry in New Paltz who did not possess some

¹⁹ *Les Pseumes de David Mis en Rime Francoise*. (Paris: Antoine Cellier, 1667), *Bible and Religious Book Collection*, HHS.

²⁰ Although Elizabeth Hasbrouck Bevier (the subsequent owner of the book) and her husband Louis Bevier moved to nearby Marbletown in 1715, the family kept close connections with New Paltz as late as 1720, if not later [Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, 2-3; Katherine Bevier, *The Bevier Family, A History of the Descendants of Louis Bevier Who came from France to America in 1675 after a sojourn of ten years in the Palatinate and settled in New Paltz, New York* (New York, NY: Tobias A. Wright, 1916), 64-68.]

²¹ The original French notes that the testament was in French, but did not stipulate the language of the other two books (“un testament fancoij et on livre de sermon en un Livr a Saume”).

²² Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 5:3209.

fluency in at least spoken Dutch. A complete transition from the use of French, however, had not occurred even by 1730.²³

The transition to Dutch did finally occur when, in 1731, New Paltz secured the ministerial leadership by a member of the ordained clergy, Johannes van Driessen.²⁴ Several historians have claimed that van Driessen originally hailed from the region that is today Belgium, concluding that French was his native language and thusly the language of New Paltz church services during his tenure there. In fact, however, his place of birth is unknown, and further evidence suggests that his having been a French-speaking “Belgian” is highly doubtful.²⁵ Van Driessen claimed to have been educated at Momkendam and Hardenwyck (both near Amsterdam), Utrecht and Leyden, although he was not always truthful as to his education.²⁶ He was, nevertheless, certainly a student for a time at the University of Groningen.²⁷ Never did van Driessen claim to have been educated in any place where French was the spoken tongue. Even if he was originally from what would become Belgium, Flemish, French and German were

²³ See Jean Tebenin’s 1730 will, *Jean Tebanin Papers (1700-1730)*, HHS.

²⁴ Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, 3.

²⁵ Both Lefevre (*History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 141-142) and Carlo (*Huguenot refugees*, 50) claim that van Driessen was “Belgian.” The belief that he was Belgian seems to have been created by a New Paltz minister, who in 1860, misinterpreted van Driessen’s 1727 ordination certificate [Charles H. Stitt, “History of the Huguenot Church and Settlement at New Paltz,” in *Collections of The Ulster County Historical Society* 1, no. 3 (Kingston, NY: Hommel & Lounsbery, 1862), 196]. The certificate, provided by a group of Congregational ministers meeting at Yale, refers to “Johannem Van Driessen Belgicum Lug. Batavorum educatum.” “Belgium” refers to his ethnicity/origin. The term is a form of the place name “Belgica,” a general Latin term for the Netherlands, both northern and southern; thus, the certificate does not suggest that van Driessen was from what became the country of Belgium any more than it refers to another place in the United Provinces. “Lug. Batavorum educatum” refers to his place of education; the full place name, Lugdunum Batavorum, references Leyden. Other secondary publications of the American Dutch Reformed Church indicates that he was from Belgium, including that of Gabriel P. Disosway, in *The Earliest Churches of New York and its Vicinity* (New York, NY: James G. Gregory, 1865), 401, who indicated that he based his statement on that of Charles Stitt. Edward Tanjore Corwin [*A Manual of the Reformed Church in America, (formerly Ref. Prot. Dutch Church) 1628-1902* (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1902), 819] indicated that Van Driessen was educated in Belgium, but does not provide the source of this information. Another history reports that Van Driessen was “born in Holland in 1697” [*A History of the Classis of Paramus of the Reformed Church in America* (New York, NY: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1902), 174], although that is the only publication so far uncovered that indicates his place of birth, and as such, cannot be corroborated.

²⁶ Corwin, *Manual*, 820. Van Driessen had sought ordination from the Classis of Amsterdam in 1719 with forged certificates from his professors at Groningen.

²⁷ Corwin, *Manual*, 819.

spoken in different areas in that region; as such, being “Belgian” did not necessarily indicate a person was a French-speaker. In the New World, van Driessen preached in the Dutch language in the Dutch Reformed congregations of Kinderhook and Claverack, where he served between 1728 and 1735, which overlapped with his time in New Paltz. Later, he would serve an additional Dutch congregation in Aquackanonck (modern Passaic, New Jersey) between 1735 and 1748.²⁸ Johannes van Driessen’s brother, Petrus was also a Dutch-speaker, who served as the pastor of the Albany Dutch church from 1712 to 1738. Furthermore, Johannes van Driessen composed a letter in 1748 to Jacob Hasbrouck in Dutch, even though Jacob’s first language was French, a fact of which van Driessen would surely have been aware if he had primarily used French during his tenure in New Paltz.²⁹

The only suggestion that van Driessen might have used French in New Paltz is a couple of entries in the church records in French, and van Driessen’s 1734 reference to the New Paltz church as “our French Church.” However, that reference might have had nothing to do with the use of the French language in the church but a reference to its independence from the Dutch Reformed church (an issue that will be explored fully in Chapter 7). Overall, the weight of the evidence strongly favors Dutch as van Driessen’s primary language, and there is little to suggest that French was the language of religious services when he was employed in New Paltz beginning in the early 1730s.

Another indication that it was approximately in the 1730s that Dutch replaced French in church is that Dutch Bibles and other religious works first appeared in New Paltz in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The last French Bible that can be confirmed to have been used

²⁸ Corwin, *Manual*, 819.

²⁹ “Johannes van Driessen to Jacob Hasbrouck, April 9 1748,” *Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection*, HHS.

in New Paltz was printed in 1712.³⁰ The earliest print date for a Dutch Bible that can be verified as having been used in New Paltz was 1720, being that of Petrus Lefevre (1720-1806), although the dated records do not begin until c. 1760. The earliest known ownership of a Dutch Bible and other religious texts are those of Abraham Deyo, who bequeathed them to his daughters upon his death in 1725. In addition to receiving French texts, his daughter Wyntje inherited a Dutch prayer book (“un Livr de priere flament”) and Marie a Dutch Bible (“le bible flament”), revealing that a language transition was beginning to occur in the 1720s, at least in this family.³¹ That the transition was occurring is also suggested by the fact that the French Bible that Wyntje received was “old” (“vieux”), while the Dutch Bible Marie received had no similar adjectival modifier; as such, the Dutch Bible was normative while the French required greater description—a telling fact. Jan Ean (son of Elias Ean and Elizabeth Crispell, daughter of patentee Antoine Crispell) acquired a 1724 Dutch Bible in 1730.³² His and his wife Elizabeth’s daughter-in-law, Caty Van Wagenen (wife of their son Abraham Ean) had a 1737 prayer book that traditions states was used in the New Paltz church.³³ Other early Dutch religious works used in the community included the Bible of Evert Terwilliger and Sara Freer (printed in 1730, in use by c. 1737), a Dutch Bible first used in 1733 by Hendricus Dubois, and a book of Psalms owned

³⁰ The “Guimar Family Bible” [Bible. Proper title unknown. Published by, Utrecht, Netherlands: Pierre Mortier & Pierre Brunel, 1712) “Bible 169,” *Bible Collection*, HHS] printed in Utrecht in 1712 includes genealogical records of Esther Guimar, wife of Philip Dubois (b. 1690), who was the son of Isaac Dubois and Maria Hasbrouck. Philip Dubois and Esther Guimar lived most of their married life in Rochester, but Philip’s brother Daniel (b. 1684), a life-long New Paltz resident, also recorded his marriage in the Bible. Philip, Daniel and their brother Benjamin’s birth (1687) are also recorded in the Bible, obviously after the fact, but such records suggest the possibility that the Bible was originally owned by their mother Maria Hasbrouck Dubois.

³¹ Abraham Deyo’s wife and the mother of Wyntje and Marie was Elsje Clearwater (or Klaarwater), who was fully of Dutch descent.

³² Jan Ean writes “1730 mej de 9 heb yk det boockge kregen,” or “1730 may the 9th I received the book.” [*Het Nieuwe Testament ofte alle Boeken des Niewen Verbonts onzes Heeren Iesu Christi* (Amsterdam, Netherlands: B. Van Beaumond, I. Spanferder, and C. Oterlyk, 1724) “Bible 184,” HHS].

³³ Known as the “Elias Ean Prayer Book.” [Prayer Book. Proper Title unknown (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Jacob en Hendrik Keur, 1737)] “Bible 108,” HHS.]

by Josiah Eltinge and Magdalena Dubois Eltinge (printed and first used in 1734).³⁴ These survivals suggest that schoolmaster Jean Tebenin's prescience in 1719 (reiterated in 1730) that anticipated the replacement of French with Dutch indeed came to pass just before or soon after his death in c. 1733.³⁵

Subsequent to van Driessen's service, which possibly lasted through May 1736, the congregation lacked a regular pastor for more than a decade, although other ministers occasionally officiated at rituals.³⁶ In 1741, the New Paltz congregation, in conjunction with three other nearby churches, called Dominie Johannes Casparus Fryenmoet, but to no avail; the congregation at Minisink on the Delaware River, where Fryenmoet was the settled pastor, was able to thwart the New Paltz call.³⁷ In 1749, a new minister came to New Paltz who would visit the town sporadically until 1753. This man was the Rev. Johannes Henricus Goetschius, who would ultimately have a highly significant impact on the congregation and the town, which will be explored later.

Goetschius (originally Goetschi) was born in 1718 in Zurich, Switzerland and educated in his hometown, where the family of his father, Rev. Maurice Goetschi, had lived for generations.³⁸ The native language of the Goetschi family was German, yet at least Maurice might have been bilingual, with his other language possibly being Dutch.³⁹ The family migrated

³⁴ The books includes the following entry: "Josia Eltinge Syn Boeck Magdalena Eltinge haer Boeck 1734" [(Psalm Book (N.p.: n.p., 1734)] "Bible 017," HHS.

³⁵ The sale of Tebenin's effects occurred in November 1733. The vendue list appears in Abraham Hasbrouck, "CIPHERING BOOK," stored in the *Ciphering Book Collection*, HHS.

³⁶ A consistory was installed at that date, and another would not be installed until 1750 (Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz*, N.Y., 65).

³⁷ Stitt, "History," 197.

³⁸ The most complete history of the Goetschius family prior to their emigration to America is William John Hinke, *A History of the Goshenhoppen Reformed Charge, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania (1727-1819): Part XXIX of a Narrative and Critical History Prepared at the Request of The Pennsylvania-German Society* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania-German Society, 1920), 96-111.

³⁹ The Goetschi family, accompanied by several hundred followers, emigrated from Switzerland in 1734, originally intending to go to the Carolinas by way of Rotterdam. The plans to leave Europe to the American South never achieved fruition, but Rev. Goeschi received an appointment from the States General to superintend the German

to America in 1735 when Johannes Henricus was only 17 and soon after, he began preaching in German churches in Philadelphia and the surrounding area, even though he had not yet been ordained. He subsequently served Dutch-speaking Reformed congregations on Long Island (1741-1748) and New Jersey (Hackensack and Schraalenberg, 1748-1774). It is not clear when Goetschius attained fluency in Dutch, but it seems highly likely that he did, since there is little reason to suspect he could have preached in German to the Dutch churches.⁴⁰ Undoubtedly, when Goetschius served in New Paltz, he conducted services in Dutch, as the records of the congregation were being kept in that language during the time of his service there, and the pastor already had years of experience in Dutch congregations on Long Island. There is no suggestion anywhere in the record that Goetschius had any skills in French. Goetschius served only sporadically in New Paltz, but in 1753, the congregation installed Barent Vrooman, who without any doubt was fluent in Dutch, having been born in Schenectady (1725), educated in Utrecht (1750-1752) and ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam (1752).⁴¹

Dutch would remain the exclusive language of the New Paltz church through the tenure of Johannes Mauritius Goetschius (served 1760-1771), the brother of J. H. Goetschius, and into the early years of the pastorate of Rev. Stephen Goetschius, son of J. H. Goetschius, who served from 1775 to 1796. According to Charles Stitt, a nineteenth-century New Paltz pastor writing in 1860, "Toward the latter part of his ministry at the Paltz, in order to meet the wants of the younger portion of his audience, he [Stephen Goetschius] preached alternately in Dutch and English. As his congregation was nearly doubled when he preached in English, he used to vary

Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. He died soon after arriving in Pennsylvania (Hinke, *Goshenhoppen*, 97-109).

⁴⁰ J. H. Goetschius also likely acquired at least some proficiency in English soon after he immigrated into Pennsylvania, as he underwent an ordination examination by the English-speaking Presbytery of Philadelphia. He also had sufficient learning "in the learned languages," presumably Latin and Greek (Hinke, *Goshenhoppen*, 111-113).

⁴¹ Corwin, *Manual*, 887.

his services, so as always to secure a respectable house.”⁴² Nevertheless, Dutch likely remained the primary language of the church through the tenure of Stephen Goetschius as the church records were kept in Dutch throughout his time there. It would not be until 1800 that the church records were kept in English during the ministry of his successor, Rev. John H. Meyer, who was nevertheless required to preach one half of his services each in Dutch and English. That the transition from Dutch to English was progressing during the last quarter of the eighteenth century is also clear from the fact that Stephen Goetschius’ 1775 call was written in Dutch, as was a revised agreement for service written in 1784; however, Rev. Meyer’s 1799 call was made in English. Meyer served only until 1802, but his ultimate successor continued to alternate the use of Dutch and English in church services from 1808 through 1814 when he removed to New Jersey.⁴³ Beginning in 1817, at the commencement of the ministry of William R. Bogardus, English became the sole language of the church.

To summarize, French was institutionally the language of religion from the founding of the community through perhaps the early 1730s. Dutch was introduced in afternoon services some time earlier, perhaps the 1720s, but given that it was common to attend two services on a Sunday, those attending French services in the morning might very well have attended Dutch services as well. With the arrival of the Rev. Johannes Van Driessen in 1731, however, the congregation likely made the transition to the sole use of Dutch in religious services, as further attested to by the introduction of Dutch Bibles and prayer books into the formerly French-speaking congregation. English was introduced in some services probably by the 1780s,

⁴² Stitt, “History,” 205. Although Stitt may not always be trusted, as it was he that first recorded that van Driessen was “Belgian,” given that Stitt likely had been able to talk with some individuals who had firsthand knowledge of Stephen Goetschius’ service in New Paltz, this statement seems credible.

⁴³ Stitt, “History,” 206.

although ministers continued to alternate between the use of Dutch and English for several more decades. By 1817, Dutch was no longer heard from the pulpit.

The transition from French to Dutch in the school and the church thusly seem to correspond temporally, and it is likely that this fact is not mere coincidence. For the first half century, the community had difficulty obtaining the consistent services of a settled minister. Lacking clerical leadership from the first years of the eighteenth century through the 1720s, parents directed spiritual concerns at home and trusted men in the community led within the church. It would seem those that led spiritual concerns in the first decades of the eighteenth century would have almost by necessity perpetuated religious instruction in French, as that had been the language of religion and of the religious texts bequeathed to them by their parents. To perpetuate this way of managing their religious needs, sufficient written French language instruction would have been needed, and thus they continued to have it taught in the schools. This was the case in spite of the fact that, as will subsequently be explored, French seems to have been disappearing for quite some time before the transition from French to Dutch language instruction in the school. When the congregation was finally able to hire a minister after a gap of over three decades, that individual was a Dutch speaker, and his entrance into the community coincided with the appearance of Dutch religious texts. After decades of no leadership at all, the hiring of a Dutch-speaking dominie must have led to the realization that French ministerial leadership had without a doubt come to an end. Without a practical reason that would have grounded the perpetuation of French language instruction, the language of the founders was fully phased out in education.

Similarly, the transition to English in education in the mid-1760s also corresponds with a transition in the church, both for the New Paltz congregation and for the Dutch Reformed Church

in America as a whole. This transition, known as the Coetus-Conferentie controversy, did not directly and immediately impact the choice of language in education and the church in New Paltz, but it did involve the Americanization of the church and its ministers, which indirectly did affect language. This controversy will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7, but the controversy revolved around the relationship between the American Dutch Reformed congregations and the Classis of Amsterdam, the ecclesiastical body that possessed authority over the American congregations. One aspect of this controversy concerned the right to educate and ordain clergy. Those of the Conferentie party desired continued subordination to the Classis of Amsterdam, which thusly linked them strongly to the Dutch language and ministerial education and ordination in the fatherland. The Coetus party favored the independence of the American churches from Amsterdam, and correspondingly desired the formation of an American classis that could ordain ministers. Linked to this right would be the education of potential clergy in America, both by Dutch Reformed ministers and, being driven by a spirit of ecumenism, other Calvinists such as English-speaking Presbyterians. The anticipated result would be that most ministers would likely come from America rather than be sent from the fatherland.⁴⁴ As the Dutch in America were clearly making, or at least beginning to make, the transition to English, an additional impact would be that potential clergy would more and more likely be English speakers.

This controversy was several decades in the making, but when the American Dutch ministers and congregational elders met in 1764, it became clear that the two sides could not resolve their differences. It was at that point that Coetus ministers declared their independence from Amsterdam, and the smaller number of opposing ministers formed the Conferentie. The

⁴⁴ Balmer, *A Perfect babel of confusion: Dutch religion and English culture in the middle colonies* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989).

New Paltz congregation followed the Americanizing Coetus, but a splinter Conferentie congregation was formed in New Paltz in 1767. This division, both in the Dutch Reformed Church in America and the New Paltz congregation, occurred precisely at the time that education in New Paltz ceased to be offered in the Dutch language in favor of English. If the community realized or anticipated that ministers in the future would be more likely to speak and be educated in English, then they would need to train their youth for that eventuality. It was, however, an eventuality that the New Paltz congregation participated in creating. The minister who began to make the transition from Dutch to English, Stephen Goetschius, spoke Dutch as his first language, but probably by the 1780s, he learned English sufficiently to conduct some services in his second language when prompted by a group of “younger members.” These younger members had been those who had been educated in English, as a result of the linguistic transition in school in the late 1760s. If the transition to English in school was prompted by the anticipated spread of English use within the church, the result seems almost to have been a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The choices the community made concerning language use in the church and correspondingly in the school suggest a significant degree of pragmatism, rather than a strong commitment to any particular ethnic culture. Yet, had the community been ethnically rigid, they could have resisted change in both their school and church, as the preservation of their Frenchness, and later their Dutchness, was theoretically possible. The early model, which involved the community’s reliance on the recitation of printed French sermons in the village and the traveling to Kingston for religious rites in the Dutch church, could have been perpetuated if the will had existed. This original biculturalism in religion, however, was not preserved, although nothing would have precluded its possibility. The congregation chose to accept a

Dutch-speaking minister in the 1730s, even though that resulted in a language shift in the church, and likely in education as well. Yet even before Van Driessen came to New Paltz, the community had allowed Dutch services in the church in the afternoon, which the patentee descendants might also have attended. This acceptance of Dutchness proceeded even though the congregation perceived itself as an independent Walloon church for several decades longer. A similar cultural flexibility was still evident in the 1760s, when a significant majority of the congregation accepted and promoted the Americanizing of the Dutch Reformed church, followed soon after by the introduction, and the ultimate full acceptance, of the English language in the New Paltz church, which nevertheless remained a congregation of the Dutch Reformed denomination.

How the New Paltz patentee community made choices regarding language use in church and school, however, reflect only how they collectively and formally decided linguistic aspects of their ethnic identity. Language use, of course, was nevertheless subject to the choices of individuals every day in myriad ways. Unfortunately, we will never discover more than mere hints as to when French, and later Dutch, was last spoken aloud in New Paltz. Neither will we ever be able to unravel fully the linguistic complexity of street and home life in the years when languages intermingled. Nevertheless, evidence does survive that allows us to peer into the homes of the patentees and their descendants to at least glimpse the choices individuals made in circumstances less formal than the church or the school. Truly informal written communications such as personal letters and diaries are unfortunately few; these meager survivals will be explored later. We can, however, peer into the pages of the Bibles to glimpse family records and look into document boxes to read records of relatively casual business transactions, both of which are sources which hint at the language choices of everyday life.

The Bible obviously stood at the heart of New Paltz's religious life, and copies of the Holy Scriptures would likely have been found in each household of the patentees and their descendants. Psalm books and prayer books also were used by many in the community. Into these texts would often be recorded births and deaths, baptisms and marriages, all events infused with great spiritual meaning. As such, the records sometimes seem to have been entered in a formal and ritualistic manner; however, others seem oddly haphazard and thus rather casual. This heterogeneity in style thusly suggests that these genealogical records should perhaps be viewed as reflective not of the informality of everyday speech, but as being certainly suggestive of a level of formality far less intense than that of the church.

Not surprisingly, the language of the earliest family records of the community recorded in religious texts were in French; however, few Bibles or other religious works that were used by those in the first two generations have survived. Patentees Louis Bevier and Jean Hasbrouck recorded their family records in French in French Bibles, as did Jean's Hasbrouck's children Maria and Jacob; Jacob inscribed such records both in his father's Bible and in a book of martyrs (printed in French in 1582) and Maria in her 1712 French Bible. Maria's son Daniel also noted in his mother's Bible "moy Daniel du bois Je suis marrie le uien 18 lan 1713."⁴⁵ In spite of the dearth of records, we can safely assume that the other patentees also utilized French in their family records, that being their first language. It would not be unlikely that second generation members of the community who were patentee descendants used French as well, at least to some extent, given that that was the language of the church and the school through about 1730, and most had parents that were both native French speakers as well. However, without surviving records, the extent of French use by the second generation can only be speculated.

⁴⁵ "Guimar Family Bible," HHS.

By the beginning of the 1730s, if not before, however, Dutch had become the language of genealogical records. It would be the exclusive language until 1755, and remain common even into the early nineteenth century. The earliest Dutch records can be found in the Bible of Jan Ean, grandson of patentee Antoine Crispell, who acquired his 1724 Bible in 1730, an event noted in Dutch within. In 1733, Hendricus Dubois recorded in Dutch his marriage to Jannetje Houghtaling, and subsequently in the same language the births of his nine children (and the deaths of two of them). After Hendricus' death in 1780, which was noted in Dutch by his widow Jannetje, his widow continued to choose the Dutch language when she entered the deaths of two more of their children. Although Magdalena Dubois and her husband Josiah Eltinge (grandson of patentee Abraham Dubois) did not record family events in their 1734 book of Psalms, which they purchased or received the year of their marriage, they did indicate in Dutch their ownership of the book. Of these five individuals, four descended from one or more patentee families, and the other married a patentee.⁴⁶ The four patentee descendants were born between 1699 and 1713, and if their chosen language as young married people in the 1730s was Dutch, then it was likely their language of choice during their youth in the 1710s and 1720s.

In total, the surviving books indicate that 24 or 25 patentee descendants and two or three spouses of patentee descendants recorded births, marriages, baptisms and deaths in Dutch in their Bibles or other religious works between approximately 1730 and c. 1800.⁴⁷ The birth dates of the bulk of this group (19) were relatively evenly distributed between 1710 and 1755; the remaining six were divided evenly between those born before 1700 (1686-1699) and after 1755 (1768-1791). The last record in Dutch was written around 1800, when Abraham Ein, the great-great-great-grandchild of patentee Antoine Crispell, recorded his own 1791 birth. During the

⁴⁶ Three had one Walloon and one Dutch parent, and one (Jan Ean) was of full French-speaking ancestry.

⁴⁷ It is unclear if Evert Terwilliger or his wife Sara Freer made records in their family Bible.

same time period (1730-1800), however, another eighteen individuals chose to begin recording important family events in English. Their birth dates stretched between 1720 and 1782. Seven were born between 1720 and 1755, eight in the 1760s, two in the 1770s and one in 1782.

Admittedly, the number of records is smaller than we would wish, but nevertheless, the evidence is clear. While both Dutch and English were used for recording important family events in Bibles and religious books throughout most of the eighteenth century, if one was born before 1755, he or she was more likely to use Dutch in such records. If born after 1755, English would have been most often the language of choice for those who, not surprisingly, had been educated in that language. These latter individuals were also of the age of those who preferred it if their minister would conduct religious services at least sometimes in English beginning in the 1780s. Such English-users would also have been the same individuals that as young children had experienced the opening up of town lands that were settled by newcomers, many of whom were not of “Dutch” descent. Importantly, however, that there were those of their elders who began making English records in their Bible much earlier, such as Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. (1728-1806) who, in 1755, wrote “1755 March the 5th about Twelve a clock at night was my Son Josiah born at the New Paltz.”⁴⁸ In short, choosing English over Dutch began as a modest trickle amongst a few more culturally malleable individuals born between 1710 and 1755, and its use gained momentum amongst those born after that date, without completely overwhelming the Dutch language even by the end of the century.

Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. is not only relatively distinctive in his early use of English in vital records but also because he was one of the few who, over time, used both English and Dutch. In his short Bible record, he indicated his son Josiah’s birth in English, as noted above; in a separate family register he kept in his Bible he also recorded the 1767 birth of Josiah’s younger brother

⁴⁸ [Bible. (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Jacob en Hendrick Keur, 1741)] “BIB 006,” Jacob Hasbrouck Bible, HHS.

Jacob J. in English as well. Jacob, however, in that register recorded his marriage, the birth and childhood death of his son Louis, and the birth of Josiah (again) in Dutch. This Josiah would also use multiple languages in his family record, making a transition in the 1790s. He wrote in what had been his father-in-law's Dutch Bible, "In het yaer 1791 May 30th dan is m^eyn soon Levi Geboren Omthrent 9 Uren in de Avo[nd]," but at the top of the next page he recorded "1798 December 3rd then is my Daughter (Maria) Born about 11 A Clock at Night."⁴⁹ Caty Van Wagenen Ein (b. 1743) made a similar switch, recording the births of her first three children (1767, 1768 and 1770) in Dutch, and her youngest three children (1774, 1777, and 1781) in English.⁵⁰ Petrus Lefevre (1720-1806) interspersed Dutch and English. For the most part, however, patentee descendants in New Paltz used one language or another in such records, but a few were quite flexible.

Nevertheless the use of English in Bible records reflects the hybrid nature of culture in New Paltz in the second half of the eighteenth century since the language of the records and the Bibles almost never coincided. With the exception of the 1784 English Bible used by Jacob J. Hasbrouck, great-grandson of patentee Jean Hasbrouck, all records in English are found in Dutch texts. That Dutch was the language of the religious texts in the eighteenth century is not surprising, since English was not regularly heard in the church until the end of the century. Furthermore, Bibles and prayer books were often passed down from parent to child; for example, Jacob Lefevre (1760-1817) used his father Petrus' 1720 Dutch Bible and Josiah Hasbrouck used the 1690 Dutch Bible once owned by his father-in-law Cornelius. For the person writing in English in pages shared with the Scriptures in Dutch, however, this linguistic contrast could hardly have passed unnoticed.

⁴⁹ [Bible. *Biblia dat is de Gantliche H. Schrifture*... Dordrecht, Netherlands: Hendrick en Jacob Keur, 1690)] "BIB 359," HHS.

⁵⁰ "Elias Ean Prayer Book," "BIB 108," HHS.

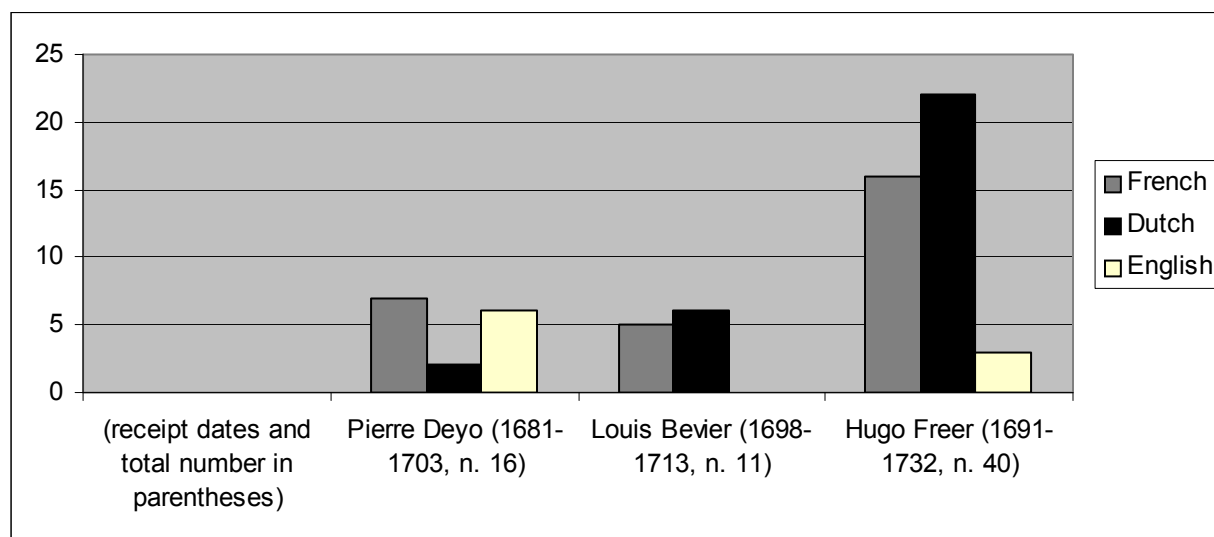
Another group of documents that can provide insight into language choice in day-to-day life are financial receipts. Like Bible records, financial receipts manifest to some extent the formal and institutional, as their language is generally quite rigid. It is also conceivable that they might someday have been used within the ritualistic environment of the court. Nevertheless, such receipts passed from hand to hand on a daily basis. Generally, they were literally written on scraps of paper, such that they suggest a relatively low level of formality, as compared to such things as deeds or even wills. Furthermore, the language used is so simple that it would not take much knowledge of the language to translate them, such that the issue of their being potential evidence did not necessarily require that they be written in the language of the court. If indeed they were ever brought into discussion at some point after they were written, it is likely that they would only have been used by the participants in the transaction, even if they might conceivably have been used as evidence in a court of law.

Receipts also reveal a great deal more about language within a community than Bible records, as the greatest extent of the audience for the Bible records was the family to which they referred. In contrast, the receipts held by an individual represent a whole network of financial relations of both creditors and debtors. Again, like Bible records, the receipts that survive surely reflect only a tiny segment of the financial exchanges that occurred in early New Paltz. Nevertheless, several groups of receipts do survive. The significance of several of these groups is enhanced because in several instances receipts of two or even more successive generations within a family have come down to us, revealing change over time within such a family.

One such group consists of the receipts of several generations of the family of patentee Pierre Deyo, which span four generations, from Pierre himself through the generation of his

great-grandson William (b. 1761).⁵¹ The earliest segment of this group is the small number of receipts (*n.* 16) received by Pierre Deyo dating from 1681-1703 (see Table 3.2).⁵² Even a group as small as this reveals the linguistic complexity of the founders' society, as three different languages were employed. Seven receipts are in French, each involving a different individual, all of whom were likely of French ancestry (except one that is anonymous).⁵³ Two transactions were recorded in Dutch, consisting of one with Jacob Decker and one with Robert Story, a “koopman” in New York City. The remaining six, in English, involve financial transactions with three New York City merchants, and apparently their agent in Kingston.⁵⁴ The ethnicity (or ethnic orientation) of all of these individuals with whom Pierre Deyo engaged in business is not precisely clear, but it is likely that it was not Pierre who dictated the language of the records but rather the other party, such that the receipts likely reflect the ethnicity or ethnic orientation of

Table 3.2: Language of Financial Receipts (I)



⁵¹ *Deyo Family Papers (1675-1870)*, HHS.

⁵² More precisely, this group of documents is comprised of twelve receipts, three short statements of obligations, and one short request for payment.

⁵³ These include Abraham Dubois, August Jay, James Barré, Pierre Vanbomollo, Rulland, Gacherie (no first names indicated for the last two).

⁵⁴ The merchants were Thomas Delanall, John Delanall, and John White, and their agent was William Haines.

that other party. As such, they do not indicate if Pierre was fluent in multiple languages, but he nevertheless interacted with others in languages other than his first.

The existence of such a complex linguistic environment in the early years of the community is also supported by receipts of patentee Louis Bevier and Hugo Freer, son of the patentee of the same name (Table 3.2). Louis's receipts, dating from 1698 through 1713, like Pierre Deyo's, are extremely limited in number, including six in Dutch and five in French.⁵⁵ Again, like Pierre, the language of the receipt generally reflects the ethnicity of the person with whom Louis transacted business. The receipts of Hugo Freer are more numerous (40) and cover a longer period (1691-1732). They also reflect the beginnings of a linguistic shift, in that while multiple languages continued to be used, including a small number in English (three), the ethnicity of the other individual involved in the transaction was becoming less determinative. The sixteen in French (dating 1691-1721) recorded business with 10 individuals, the New Paltz congregation, and two unidentified persons. Not surprisingly, the other parties in the transactions, when they are known, were of Walloon or French background. Intriguingly, seven of the receipts are also inscribed with short notes, generally identifying the documents as receipts, written in Dutch, presumably by Hugo Freer, revealing a linguistic shift. Similarly, in the 22 Dutch documents, which noted business affairs with 21 people between 1696 and 1732, the ethnicities of the other parties include Dutch, Walloon, German, French, and English, revealing a strong degree of batavianization in the community. But the beginnings of a switch to English is nevertheless beginning to be evident, as two of the three English receipts in which the name of the other party is noted indicate that such other parties were French.⁵⁶ The Hugo Freer

⁵⁵ *Louis Bevier Papers (1675-1719)*, HHS. Three additional receipts in French survive, but as they are for official payments of taxes, they have not been included in the count.

⁵⁶ Jean Cottin (1707) and Stephen DeLancey (1717).

receipts thusly reveal that by the second generation, the ethnic ancestry of the individual was becoming less reflective of the language of business.

Unfortunately, the archival record is somewhat sparse for the second quarter of the eighteenth century, so it is difficult to construct a clear picture during the later period covered by the Hugo Freer receipts. A total of only twelve receipts survive for Daniel Dubois Sr. (b. 1684), son of patentee Isaac Dubois, representing transactions with only six (or perhaps seven) individuals between 1718 and 1752—an admittedly very small number.⁵⁷ Again, the language use is diverse, including French, Dutch and English, with the ethnicity of the other party often, although not exclusively being determinative. Three receipts are in French with at least two individuals (Jacob Hasbrouck and Juryan Tappan; the third receipt is not signed), and six in Dutch with three men with Dutch surnames. In total, before 1750, given the limited evidence, it is difficult to offer a definitive statement about language use in business, other than that many languages were possible. However, the largest group of documents—those of Hugo Freer—do in general suggest batavianization with only the slightest hint of anglicization in the early decades of the eighteenth century, in a way similar to that revealed by Bible genealogical records.

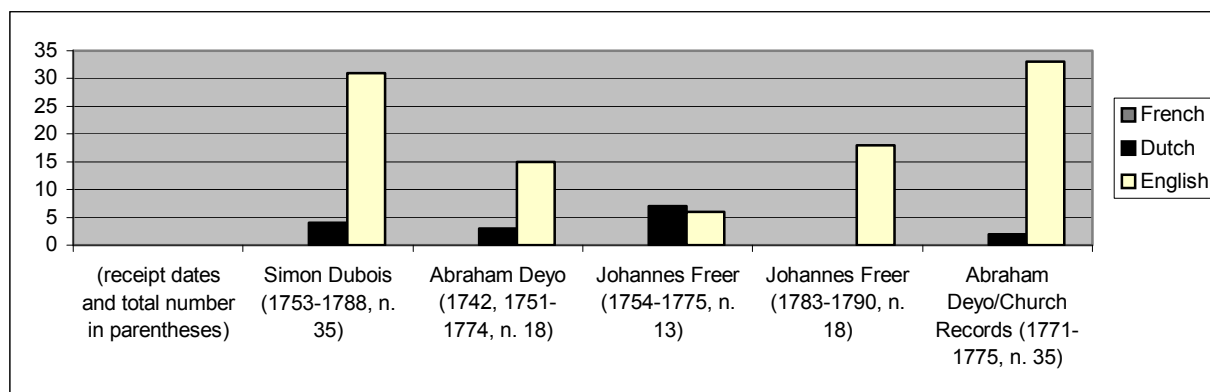
The records do become much more rich beginning with the third quarter of the century, revealing a strong linguistic shift. Because of the limitations of the evidence from 1725-1750, it is difficult to say if this shift was abrupt or gradual, but it was nevertheless strongly apparent after 1750. The language of financial exchange for Simon Dubois (b. 1718) was almost exclusively English, recorded in 35 exchanges effected between 1753-1788 with 27 to 29 individuals.⁵⁸ Dutch was a rare alternative and French nonexistent (Table 3.3). The four Dutch

⁵⁷ *Daniel and Simon DuBois Family Papers (1695-1864)*, HHS.

⁵⁸ One receipt is anonymous and one is illegible.

receipts include three Dutch surnames.⁵⁹ Although five of the English receipts involved transactions with men with Anglo surnames such as Green or Graham, the remaining participants who recorded their transactions in English had either Dutch or Walloon surnames, although some were of mixed Dutch and Walloon (and sometimes other non-Anglo) blood.

Table 3.3: Language of Financial Receipts (II)



Similar evidence can be found in the receipts of “Abraham Deyo” (probably both Abraham Deyo b. 1710 and his son Abraham b. 1734). Of these eighteen receipts dating from 1742 and 1751-1774, all but three are in English. The three Dutch receipts (1752, 1760, and 1762) were with individuals with Dutch surnames, as might be expected. The other fifteen were in English and were signed by eleven different individuals, only two of whom had Anglo names, again revealing the spread of Englishness in business.⁶⁰ A contemporaneous group of receipts are the 31 documents produced by and for Johannes Freer, dating from 1754-1790.⁶¹ Those from the third quarter of the eighteenth century are divided between English (six, with three individuals) and Dutch (seven, with five persons). The eighteen dating from 1783 to 1790, representing transactions with sixteen people, are all in English.

⁵⁹ Petrus Low, Cornelius Elmendorph, and Johannes Mauritius Goetschius (the batavianized minister in New Paltz from 1760-1771).

⁶⁰ McClaghry and Carman.

⁶¹ *Wilhelmus and Moses Hasbrouck Family Papers (1753-1897)*, HHS.

Another more focused group of 35 receipts (including several lists of goods purchased from a number of merchants) was kept by Abraham Deyo (b. 1710) in his capacity as manager of the construction of the New Paltz congregation's second stone church between 1771 and 1775. Only two are in Dutch, involving payments to Cornelius Beekman and Nicolas Vanderlyn. The remaining 33, which record payments involving 27 individuals, are in English, with such individuals possessing Anglo, Dutch and Walloon surnames. Clearly, by the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the language of business had become English. This conclusion is reinforced by the many receipts of William Deyo, great-grandson of patentee Pierre Deyo. Such receipts begin in 1786 and were exclusively composed in English. Likewise, those of Daniel Dubois Jr. (b. 1750), which record transactions beginning in about 1790, were composed only in English.

In general, the language of business from the founding of the town through the first quarter of the eighteenth century was French, Dutch and English. Often the language of choice depended upon the ethnicity of the other party or parties in the transaction, although this was becoming increasingly less relevant, as individuals even without Dutch surnames began to record business affairs in Dutch. English was rare through 1725, as were transactions with Englishmen. Unfortunately, the records for the second quarter of the eighteenth century are too few to draw strong conclusions, although those that do survive indicate the continued use of multiple languages. Given the overall ethnocultural texture of the community in the second quarter of the century, as revealed both in language use and in other areas of cultural expression that will be subsequently investigated, it would be plausible to theorize that French was declining in favor of Dutch, but without further evidence, it would be impossible to prove. It would also be impossible to even speculate whether the use of English was rising in that period. A substantial

shift nevertheless did occur by or in the period from 1750-1775. Of the 86 receipts referencing transactions in which 75 individuals were involved, less than one-fifth (*n.* 15) were recorded in Dutch. The records from the church construction reveal that by the end of the third quarter, Dutch was indeed rarely used; it was never used in the closing quarter of the eighteenth century. This is not to say, however, that when business was discussed verbally in the last half of the eighteenth century, Dutch was not commonly used; the records do not reveal anything one way or the other. However, by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, most patentee descendants and the individuals with whom they conducted business had left the Dutch language behind for recording common, relatively day-to-day financial transaction; by the last quarter of the century, all had.

Clearly, the language of business in the community was constantly in flux. Never was French the only language used, and while the batavianization of business transactions as revealed in the second quarter of the century may have not been complete, neither was it stable. Importantly, the transition to English in business modestly preceded that transition in education, but occurred substantially earlier than it did in family records and in the spiritual sphere. However, those children that were born and educated at the time English became the primary language of business would seek to unify these arenas of life, first through family (as seen in the Bible records) and then eventually in the church itself.

Although personal records such as letters and diaries are rare, as are financial records that appear to have been intended strictly for private use, those that do survive are worth mentioning. Given their rarity, however, such documents do not reveal general trends but simply reinforce the perception of cultural hybridity in language throughout the century. Personal French documents survive only for Louis Bevier (1717-1772, grandson of the patentee of the same name), who

moved as a young adult to nearby Marbletown, although maintaining close connections with New Paltz. Bevier, however, was trilingual, and even with only a handful of records surviving, the linguistic complexity of his environment is evident. The most significant records are two account books, one in French and one in English. His personal accounts he kept in English, yet accounts he kept for his brother Andries from 1742-1750 were in French (Andries had some type of mental disability).⁶² As Andries lived with his sister Esther and her husband Jacob Hasbrouck in New Paltz, it is possible that the accounts were in French to meet either Esther's or Jacob's needs, which were at variance with Louis' own linguistic desires, although this is not conclusive. Two French letters written by Louis Bevier also survive, both to his father-in-law Philip Dubois, (son of patentee Isaac Dubois), who lived in nearby Rochester; one letter was undated, but the other dates to 1763.⁶³ In contrast, he also composed a letter to his cousin Abraham Hasbrouck (1744) in English and one in 1761 to Moses Depuy, Esq. (also a Rochester resident) in Dutch.⁶⁴ These records suggest that Bevier's personal choice was English, but he could also record for and correspond with others in Dutch and French, with the language of choice presumably that of the intended reader. The suggestion is that the linguistic flexibility of personal communication in the mid-eighteenth century was a continuation of a similar flexibility in language in business transactions that had existed earlier in the century.

A small number of personal documents survive composed in Dutch. Jacob Hasbrouck Sr. received a Dutch letter from his former minister, Johannes van Driessen, in 1748, as previously noted. In 1760, Tryntje Low Bevier (b. 1727) wrote a letter to her uncle Cornelius Dubois (b.

⁶² *Louis Bevier Family Papers: The Elizabeth Wright Collection (1721-1929)*, HHS.

⁶³ These two letters and account book are contained in the *Louis Bevier Family Papers: The Rutgers Collection (1687-1921)*, a photocopied collection, HHS.

⁶⁴ "Louis Bevier to Abraham Hasbrouck, July 31, 1744," *Louis Bevier Family Papers: The Rutgers Collection*, HHS; "Louis Bevier to Moses Depue, November 16, 1761," *Louis Bevier Family Papers: The Rutgers Collection*, HHS.

1707) concerning a meeting of the heirs of her grandfather Solomon Dubois, indicating that her brother Isaac Low would be present in her stead.⁶⁵ Andries Lefevre kept an account book in Dutch from 1755 to 1791, as did Jannetje Dubois from 1773 to 1791. Her son, Hendricus, did so as well from 1768 to 1795. There exists also a reference to a 1752 letter in Dutch from Rachel Dubois of Perkiomen, Pennsylvania, to her grandfather Solomon Dubois of New Paltz, but the whereabouts of the document are currently unknown.⁶⁶

Two brothers in the Eltinge family, who were great-grandsons of patentees, represent an important transition point from the use of Dutch to the use of English for personal communication and records. Solomon Eltinge, the younger brother, was born in 1742. During the Revolutionary War, he was exiled to New York City as a loyalist. Six letters home during his years of exile (1776-1783) survive, four in Dutch and two in English. Intriguingly, all four of the Dutch letters were collectively written for his father, mother, brothers and sisters, as well as all his “Vrienden” [friends], while the two in English were addressed exclusively to his father, Josiah. Nothing was particularly private about the letters he directed just to his father, suggesting that they might have been for family and community consumption as well, but the possibility exists that the distinction in language use might indicate that his father’s preferred language was English, while the community as a whole would have been more likely to prefer Dutch. If these letters written essentially to the community were to be read aloud, quite likely to

⁶⁵ “Tryntje Bevier to Cornelius Dubois, January 31, 1760,” *Josiah Dubois Family Papers*, HHS.

⁶⁶ William E. Dubois, “Bringing the Tribe Together,” in *Bi-Centenary Reunion of the Descendants of Louis and Jacques Dubois (Emigrants to America, 1660 and 1675) at New Paltz, New York, 1875*, 82 (Philadelphia, PA: Rue & Jones, 1876) .

mixed-aged audience, this is not surprising, since English fluency might not have been prevalent in an older generation.⁶⁷

Solomon Eltinge's elder brother, Roelof Josiah (b. 1737), appears to have maintained all personal financial records in English in his capacity as the first resident merchant in New Paltz. The earliest records for his store date from 1768 and include an inventory of goods purchased and/or available for sale in his shop, the entire list of which was composed in English. R. J. Eltinge's extensive records from that earliest one from 1768 through those written in his death year of 1795 were kept universally in English. He, as well, began to keep a personal diary in English in 1776 in connection with his treatment by the Ulster County Committee as a loyalist and his later banishment to British-controlled New York City. His two surviving letters to his family written during his exile, one dated September 29, 1783, directed to a son (probably Ezekiel, the eldest) and the other to his wife Maria Low Eltinge (dated January 11, 1784), were again composed in English.

Similar to R. J. Eltinge, the preferred language of his elder kinsman Abraham Hasbrouck was English. Born in 1707, Hasbrouck began keeping a personal diary in approximately 1735, the year he relocated from his farm in Guilford (a separate patent abutting New Paltz) to Kingston to begin a second career as a merchant. As a man rising in social status (he would become the representative from Ulster County to the Assembly in 1739), he embraced the language of political power in the colony, choosing to compose his diary entirely in English—a diary that seems to have been written for both himself and his family. Recording both mundane facts such as weather, as well as family history and memorials to departed loved ones, he likely anticipated that English would be the primary language of the future. Likewise, all of the

⁶⁷ The Solomon Eltinge letters (dated December 24, 1776, February 22, 1777, August 29, 1778, December 8, 1778, January 25, 1779, and June 22, 1783) are in the *Cornelius Eltinge Family Papers, 1727-1820*, in the Haviland-Heidgard Historical Collection, New Paltz Public Library, New Paltz, NY (Collection: 13.ELT.2).

surviving documents that Abraham Hasbrouck produced, including a 1748 letter to a brother-in-law (a brother of his wife Catherine Bruyn), are in English.⁶⁸ However, his diary acknowledges the complex linguistic environment of both his father's generation and his children's. His father, Joseph Hasbrouck (1684-1724) "spake French, Dutch and tolerable English," while his niece Catharine Bruyn (1759-1776) "spoke Dutch, English and French tolerably well." Although not stipulated clearly, it is possible that Hasbrouck recorded these comments in a particular order of priority in terms of choice of and facility in language. If this is the case, Abraham Hasbrouck marked himself as an innovator since he chose English, while a member of the following generation still evinced a preference for Dutch, while also possessing a relatively strong facility in English. An historian seeking the survival of Frenchness might be tantalized by the comment for the continued use of the French language, but as Abraham's niece could only speak French, and even then only tolerably well, the suggestion is clear that French culture had survived in only an extremely weak way by the fourth generation.

There were a few other scattered letters in English possibly as early as 1753 written by and for patentee descendants, but given the limited examples of this type of evidence, and the fact that the analysis of each document requires a host of qualifications (author, audience, purpose, date/dates of composition), most conclusions would be a bit suspect.⁶⁹ However, if the full breadth of the evidence concerning language use is taken into consideration, a few conclusions do come into focus. The first is that the use of the French language lasted for about 50 years, but only in limited ways, that is, in the church and in the school. However, that French lasted so long in such institutions was directly influenced by necessity, as it was being

⁶⁸ "Abraham Hasbrouck to Brother Bruyn, March 11, 1748," *Joseph and Jacob J. Hasbrouck Family Papers*, HHS.

⁶⁹ "Noach Eltinge to Abraham Hasbrouck, Lewis Bevier Junior and Jacob Hasbrouck Junior, February 13, 1753 (or possibly 1763)," *Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection (1672-1968)*, HHS.

simultaneously curtailed in other spheres of life. Even as the institutional use of French continued into the first decades of the eighteenth century, Dutch and English were clearly making inroads into the community, although the early use of English was primarily restricted to legal affairs. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Dutch had become the language of the church, the school, business and genealogy, and remained alive in the community into the early nineteenth century. Nevertheless, its use was declining throughout the second half of the century, beginning with the choice to write wills in English becoming dominant in the 1740s. In (or by) the third quarter of the century, Dutch had become antiquated as a language of business, and soon after, its use was totally eliminated. When that elimination occurred, Dutch was also being diminished in the church with the introduction of occasional English services, followed by its alternating use for several decades. In 1817, English became the sole language used in the church. Importantly, however, as Dutch declined, so did English rise, with some more adaptable individuals incorporating it into their everyday lives as early as the second quarter of the eighteenth century. English nevertheless did not totally eclipse Dutch for about a hundred years.

It is perhaps not particularly surprising that the generations that followed the founders did not perpetuate French in a significant manner, given that the Walloon descendants lived in a sea of non-French speakers. It theoretically could have survived longer than it did, however, if the desire to perpetuate it existed. The descendants chose to let it go, and this was likely influenced by the fact that there was no basic cultural tension between the French and Dutch in New York, such that the relationship did not result in a conservative resistance. It is also not surprising that when the French language was abandoned, Dutch became the primary local language, given the regional ethnic environment. We also should not be shocked that some developed significant

English skills as early as they did, as some individuals had connections beyond the local, providing a necessary service to local farmers engaged in a provincial economy.

What is perhaps surprising, however, is in, or by, the third quarter of the eighteenth century, it was clear that the community accepted the English language in casual business transactions, regardless of one's ethnic heritage. This transition was neither necessary nor required. It was a question of choice, and as such, it shows a general lack of resistance to things English. Yet, that acceptance of English in business was coupled with the preservation of Dutch in church for a half a century, at least in some way, resulting in the continuation of a hybrid linguistic environment. That hybridity, however, was eventually lost, as the descendants ultimately did not feel the need to perpetuate Dutch in the church, even though its use could have theoretically continued.

The choice of language was thusly in a state of constant flux throughout the long eighteenth century. As such, the members of the New Paltz community intentionally created a linguistically hybrid environment that lasted for almost 150 years, even though doing so was required in only limited ways. Importantly, the decline of that same hybridity was not a necessity, and neither was it forced. From its founding through the early years of the new nation, never did the patentee descendant community, as a whole, represent a linguistically conservative environment.

CHAPTER 4

HALLS, WINDOWS, DOORS AND BARNs: ARCHITECTURE AND ETHNIC CULTURE

In 1799, Ezekiel Eltinge built a new house, a house unlike anything before seen in New Paltz. With the Georgian symmetry of its five-bay façade rising to a full two stories (Figure 4.1), it stood in shocking contrast to the village’s one-story Dutch-American style homes, with their organically placed doors and windows, that housed even the elite families of the community (Figure 4.2). The brick façade of the new structure also likely sparked discussion amongst the neighbors, as the town’s brick structures numbered only four at the time, as recorded in the 1798 Direct Tax assessment, stone having been the material of choice for the town’s elite throughout



Figure 4.1: Ezekiel Eltinge House, photo 2008

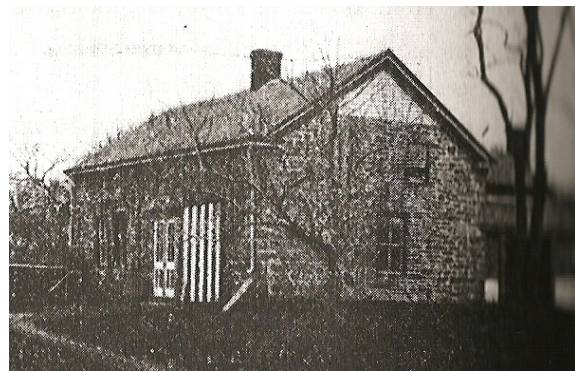


Figure 4.2: Deyo House, photo before 1894

the eighteenth century. The building’s original gambrel roof, a roof most commonly thought of as representative of the “Dutch Colonial” but in fact a form likely borrowed from New York’s Anglo-American neighbors in New England, was also a relatively novel addition to the

architectural landscape of the community. This roof enabled the spanning of a structure that was two-rooms deep, and while houses of such depth were not completely unheard of in New Paltz or in the region, a two-room-deep house would likely have been seen as rather remarkable amongst the townspeople given its extreme local rarity. Ezekiel was one of the town's elite, who aspired to even greater heights of wealth and status than his deceased father Roelof Josiah, a local merchant and farmer, and grandfather Josiah, a farmer and prominent lender of money in the town. Ezekiel built a home with an up-to-date English aspect as a statement of his position and his goals. It is perhaps not surprising that he built his new home only one year after he, his cousin Philip and their kinsman Peter Lefevre purchased the Dashville Falls a few miles to the north of the village center, where they would construct grist, fulling and woolen mills. How might have Ezekiel felt as he embarked on his new life in a dramatic new building with an exterior English styling that was different in almost every way from the stylistically antiquated home down the street in which he had risen to maturity, still occupied by his widowed mother and some of his younger siblings? For Ezekiel, this new house would stand as a public testament of a forward-looking anglicized man of Dutch descent who was participating in the economic and industrial development of his new nation.¹

Or would it? Entering the front door, a visitor or resident would come into a center hall flanked by a pair of rooms to the left and the right, a characteristic floorplan of most larger Anglo-American homes of the time. The center hall had not originally been an element in virtually any Dutch-style homes in the town—the anomalous center-hall 1721 Jacob Hasbrouck home being the exception, an exception which will be explored in depth below—although newer

¹ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 262. (The Deyo House was assessed in 1798 at \$500; only thirteen houses were worth more. The Ezekiel Eltinge House gambrel roof was destroyed in a storm in the late nineteenth century and was replaced with a pitched roof.) David Steven Cohen, *The Dutch-American Farm* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 34.

contemporary Dutch-American buildings were incorporating center halls and older ones were being modified to include center passages, they being *au courante*. But whereas the front rooms to the left and right would serve as a parlor and dining room in a comparable Anglo-American home, or possibly two parlors, a parlor stood to the right in Ezekiel's home, but to the left was a public room where he operated a store and from which he conducted his business affairs. To the rear of the parlor was a dining room, but to the rear of the store was a storeroom, making the northerly half a public space and the southerly half family space. His father's three-room Dutch-American house, with rooms laid end to end, had functioned similarly although in a smaller space, with a front room serving as store and inner second and third rooms as family living space. The store in his father's Dutch-style house was in the semi-public space at the front known as the *voorhuis*, and even though Ezekiel had adopted the gentility of the modern English Georgian house, with its interior hall that created a transitional space between public and private, he perpetuated the semi-public interior room usage similar to that of the house of his youth. Ezekiel's second story was equally divided, with storerooms above the store and bedrooms above the family rooms below, an even more unusual configuration. In short, the Eltinge home functioned internally in ways closely related to the manner of the homes of his Dutch and Dutch-identified forefathers and foremothers, yet his generally Dutch-American interior was masked by an envelope of Anglo-American Georgian symmetry.²

We should not, however, be misled by this poetic metaphor, and extrapolate in such a way as to suggest that such a division mimicked Ezekiel's own cultural identity, as the English

² Both Henry Glassie and Dell Upton explore a similar process of how modern design principles can be incorporated into a vernacular architectural paradigm, resulting in idiosyncratic combinations of tradition and modernity [Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," in *Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 394-425 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 1986), and Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, eds. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 315-336 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 1986)].

architectural envelope was in fact intentionally permeable. Visitors, shoppers, employees, and family flowed in, out and through both the English and the Dutch aspects of the house. We may wonder if this combining of an English exterior form with a Dutch functional interior was seen as awkward or incompatible to Ezekiel or his neighbors. Not surprisingly, the historical record is silent on this point, but considering how New Paltzians had been mingling the two cultures for almost a century, the cultural contrast was probably not particularly unsettling. We should also not be lured into thinking that because it was not until the closing year of the eighteenth-century that the first Anglo-American-style home—at least on the outside—was built in New Paltz, that it was not until that late date that strands of Englishness had been incorporated into the cultural expression of the village's residents. The preceding exploration of language proves this was not the case. English architectural elements had already found their way into many New Paltz domestic environments decades before Ezekiel built his new home. In both domestic and farm architecture, the English and Dutch had been amalgamating in New Paltz through a considerable stretch of the eighteenth-century.³

While architecture can thusly serve as an avenue to explore the ethnocultural expression of the New Paltz patentee families, it does present several limitations that must be kept in mind throughout such an investigation. The stone architecture that has survived was very likely the product of skilled builders rather than owners, and as such, cannot precisely indicate the ethnocultural orientation of such owners. Who these builders were and how and by whom the particularities of house design were chosen is simply unknown, but research into early New York

³ An alternative argument can be found in the unpublished Historic Structure Reports for the Abraham (Daniel) Hasbrouck House [Kenneth Hewes Barricklo and Neil Larson & Associates, "Historic Structure Report: The Abraham Hasbrouck House at the Huguenot Historical Society, New Paltz, NY," (unpublished report for the HHS, 2003)], and the Ezekiel Elting House [Larson, Fisher Associates and Crawford & Stearns, "Historic Structure Report for the Ezekiel Elting House, unpublished report for the HHS, 2007)], as well as Geoffrey Gross, Susan Piatt and Roderic H. Blackburn, *Dutch Colonial Homes in America* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002).

architecture suggests that at least on some occasions, precise contracts were made between the builder and the owner. The owner thusly had some input in terms of design, but such input must have been relatively restricted given that the builders likely built in particular ethnic traditions. That builders were the primary actors in the construction of buildings may have also influenced the relatively conservative nature of architecture through the long eighteenth century. Still, certain more progressive elements of later design were clearly possible even within a traditional overall building envelope, leaving owners at least some latitude. Furthermore, the architecture that has survived was clearly expensive (the size of the structures and high prevalence of glazed windows and heating devices attest to this fact), and thus would not quickly be replaced. Homeowners, however, would have had much greater freedom to direct the alteration of their houses, both in terms of design and because the resources involved were less than those required for new construction. These alterations and their timing reveal a great deal in terms of the creation of cultural hybridity through architecture.

It is also worth noting at the outset that the following discussion of New Paltz's surviving domestic architecture is based primarily on the housing of the elite, as it is their stone architecture that represents the bulk of the houses that have survived. Nevertheless, as the surviving stone architecture represents the domestic structures of many members of the patentee families, an exploration of such elite architecture in New Paltz does provide considerable insight into the patentee community as a whole, even if not every descendant of a patentee could afford such relatively grand accommodations. As the primary focus of this study is not all of New Paltz in the long eighteenth century, but merely that portion of the community that descended from the Walloon founders, such an exploration of elite housing is sufficient for these purposes, even if it does not exhaust the breadth of early New Paltz housing.

A discussion of the village's earliest domestic architecture obviously must begin with an exploration of its Old World roots. Possible Walloon roots of early New Paltz architecture, however, cannot be found, as the earliest structures that survive built by the children of the New Paltz founders in the early eighteenth century clearly reflect the regional Dutch-American architectural idiom. Whether the founders preserved any Walloon heritage in the domestic structures they built upon their move to New Paltz, we cannot say, as nothing survives except the two partial walls of a one-room house, and the remains of a basement kitchen below, which the son of the house's original owner later incorporated into a much larger structure.

Architectural historians have delineated two basic medieval architectural forms from which the early modern Dutch house developed, and it is these which the North American Dutch and Dutch-identified peoples used as the source material for their domestic architecture. These forms were the urban *rookhuis* ("smoke house") and the rural barn that housed both humans and their livestock.⁴ The *rookhuis* (Figure 4.3) was originally a single open room with a firepit that exhausted its smoke through a hole in the roof.⁵ The firepit was later moved to a sidewall, and later yet, a chimney was erected above it. Initially, the single room served all household functions, but with the moving of the fireplace, with its better means of exhaust, came the possibility of constructing a room around it. This new *binnenhaard* ("inner hearth") served as a cooking venue and more private family space, while the remaining *voorhuis* was a public space

⁴ This analysis is drawn primarily from the work of Henk D. Zantkuyl, "The New Netherlands Town House," *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776*, eds. Roderic H. Blackburn and Nancy A. Kelley, 143-160 (Albany, NY: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1987); John R. Stevens *Dutch Vernacular Architecture in North America: 1640-1830* (West Hurley, New York: The Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture, 2005); and Barricklo and Larson, "Historic Structure Report: The Abraham Hasbrouck House" and Larson, et al, "Historic Structure Report for the Ezekiel Elting House").

⁵ Zantkuyl, "The New Netherlands Town House," 143, 145.

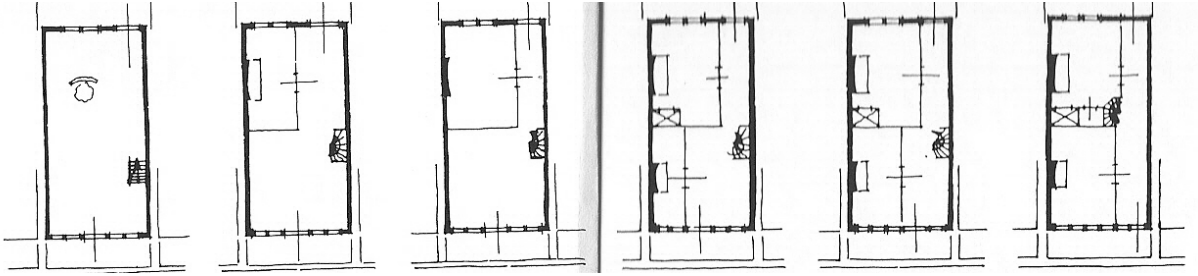


Figure 4.3: The progressive development of the rookhuis (the creation of the binnenhaard is depicted in the first three drawings, the development of the zijkamer on the right)

connected closely with the street. Towards the front of the house, a small sideroom (*de zijkamer*), equipped with its own hearth, would come to be partitioned off the *voorhuis*, which would allow the urban Dutch a comfortable place to watch passersby on the street, which they considered an enjoyable pastime. Over time the *zijkamer* was enlarged to create a more formal living and entertaining space, reducing the *voorhuis* essentially to an entrance passageway, although the nomenclature remained the same (see Figure 4.3). To use heat more effectively, the ceiling of the *binnenhaard* was sometimes lowered, thus allowing for the insertion of another room above, the *insteek* (Figure 4.4⁶). (In modern parlance, this addition created a form similar to a split-level.) The *binnenhaard* could then be reconceived primarily as the kitchen, while the *insteek* would be used as general family space and sleeping quarters, with its built-in enclosed bed boxes.

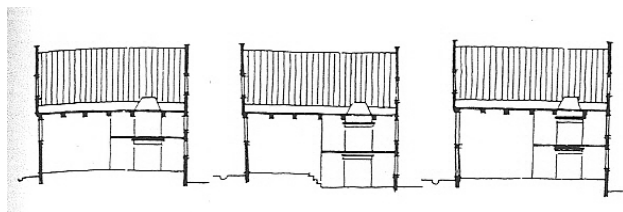


Figure 4.4: Three variations of a rookhuis with an insteek

⁶ Zantkuyl, "The New Netherlands Town House," 145.

While the urban house developed from the *rookhuis*, the rural house developed from a three-aisled combination house-barn (Figure 4.5) called a *los hoes* or, when the farm and living spaces were divided by a wall, a *hallenhuis*.⁷ The large center aisle in such a house-barn—the nave—was functionally divided into two sections. The front portion was dedicated to farm activities such as threshing and for housing farm animals in the side aisles, in Dutch known as *uitlaiten* (singular: *uitlait*). The rear area provided housing for humans, and sleeping boxes could be inserted through walls into the *uitlait* (side aisle) on each side of the nave. By about 1600,

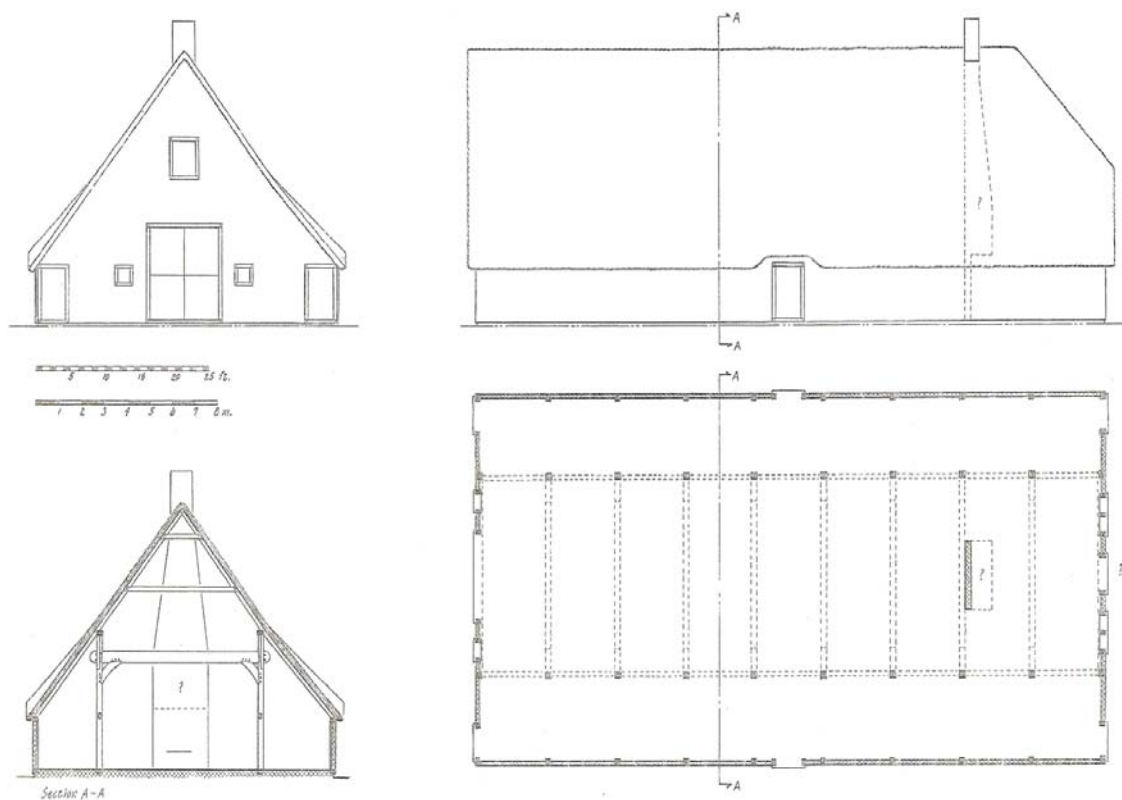


Figure 4.5: Plan for the 1642 Johannes Winckelman house, one of the few combination house-barns known to have been built in New Netherland

⁷ Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 16, 117, 178-9.

and more so over the next century, the two functions increasingly were being relegated to different structures, although such house-barns in the Old World continued to be used by some families for centuries.⁸ The newly independent house and barn nevertheless retained similar structural configurations and profiles (Figures 4.6 and 4.7), and the independent house continued to be functionally divided.⁹ The rear room, which could sometimes be simply called the *kamer*, was equipped with a fireplace and used as daily living space, while the front area, the

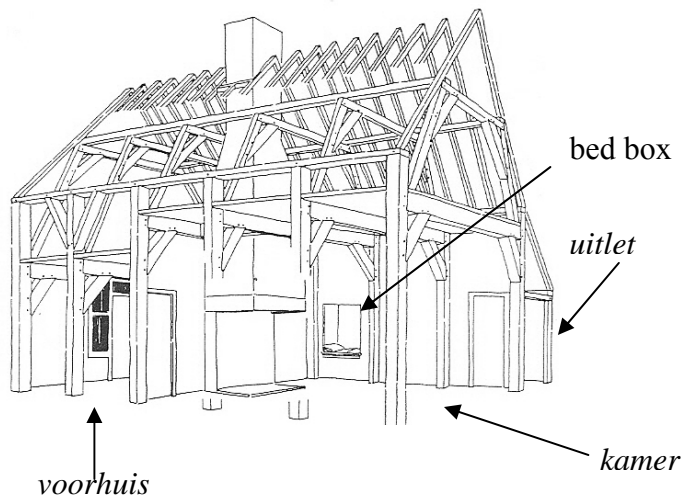


Figure 4.6: A schematic of a Dutch-American rural house; the rear *kamer* appears to the right and the *uitlait* (side aisle) is to the rear. A bed box inserted into the interior wall of the *uitlait* can be seen immediately to the right of the hearth.



Figure 4.7: A Dutch-American three-aisle barn, similar to Old World examples.

⁸ Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 16-17; Cohen, *The Dutch-American Farm*, 31.

⁹ Zantkuyl, "The New Netherlands Town House," 151-2. (This house reconstruction is based on a 1646 contract between Cornelis van Tienhovern and his housewright, Reynier Dominicus); John Fitchen, *The New World Dutch Barn*, ed. Gregory D. Huber (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001) 159, 180. The schematic is based on the Larger Wemp barn originally from Montgomery County, moved to Albany County in 1990.

voorhuis, was used strictly for special occasions.¹⁰ If a cellar existed below the *kamer* it was used for cooking, while the *kamer* above was sometimes known as the *opkamer* or *grote kamer*.¹¹ The front *voorhuis* might be divided into a primary area and a small entrance hall or vestibule. The *voorhuis* might contain a second hearth as well. Increasingly, side aisles (*uitlaiten*) were dispensed with, but when in earlier houses they were retained, bed boxes could be inserted into them, as they had been inserted into the aisles of the house-barn. An *uitlait* could also provide another access point between the front and rear rooms, as the rural house could contain sidewall doors into both rooms because it did not butt up against another house as in urban areas.¹²

With the growing elimination of the side aisles, and the interior partitioning of the *voorhuis*, the rural house that derived from a house-barn increasingly came to look and function much like the urban house. Both houses were similar in that the rear room, or rooms when one was set above each other, was dedicated to daily family activities, including sleeping and cooking. (Various nomenclature has been used for the rear room, but for ease, I will henceforth use the simple term *kamer*, with or without a modifier, for a single room; if one room was placed above another, I will refer to the upper room as an *opkamer* and the lower room as the *keuke*, a room used for multiple purposes including cooking). The front room was more publicly-oriented than the rear, functioning as an entrance area and/or a public entertaining space. (Again, the nomenclature is inconsistent, yet I will in general use the term *voorhuis* to refer to the front room.) As to which model—the urban or the rural or both—provided the original inspiration for

¹⁰ Room nomenclature is varied in both the primary and secondary literature. The room nomenclature employed here is based on a 1648 New Netherland building contract cited in Zantkuyl, “The New Netherlands Town House,” 153-4.

¹¹ Mark Wenger, “The Jean Hasbrouck House: A Social and Architectural Study” (unpublished report for the HHS, 2004), 12.

¹² Zantkuyl, “The New Netherlands Town House.”

New Paltz architecture, it is difficult to say, partially due to the fact that in many ways, the two different forms were becoming increasingly similar in the early modern period.

Since we ultimately will be exploring how and when English architectural principles affected the Dutch architecture in New Paltz, it should be noted at the outset that the socioeconomically-comparable English hall and parlor architectural plan of the seventeenth century was at variance with the Dutch plan on several accounts. English architecture was of course regionally distinctive, as it was when translated to the New World, so for purposes of comparison, we will limit ourselves to a discussion of the English architectural forms that influenced New Netherland/New York's neighbors in New England, which closely approximated particularly on Long Island and between the Hudson Valley and Connecticut. This comparison would also be appropriate as the diffusion of Anglo architectural forms into New York proceeded from New England.¹³ As we have been discussing the multi-room Dutch house, the form and function of the English house of multiple rooms will stand as a point of comparison, although the housing for many families in colonial America of whatever ethnic orientation was often restricted to one room. As the houses increased in size for both Dutch- and Anglo-Americans, so too did they increasingly diverge in both form and function; one-room houses in either culture likely functioned similarly, although not identically (the lower level in many Dutch-American houses served as a kitchen, which was not the case with New England Anglo-American houses).

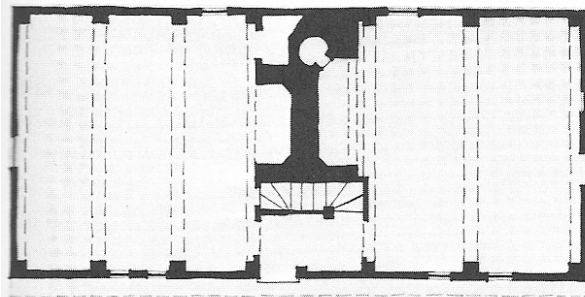
The differences are that, first, the gable-end of the English house was generally set perpendicular to the street (Figure 4.8), unlike the façade of the Dutch house, with its gable-end

¹³ Fred B. Kniffern, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," in *Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, eds. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 11-13 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 1986).

being parallel to the public thoroughfare.¹⁴ Secondly, the entrance into a late medieval English house as built in New England was not made into a room like the Dutch *voorhuis*, but merely a small space (known as a “porch” or simply “entry”) set in front of the massive center chimney stack; from this small space both the hall, being general family space, and the parlor, the more refined and special use space, would be accessed. The primary rooms did not flow into each other as did the Dutch rooms, the latter which were set directly end to end (particularly so in many of the rural farmhouses). Elite seventeenth-century English/New English house also might rise to two full and distinct stories, unlike either the socioeconomically-comparable Dutch and Dutch-American single- or multiple-level houses (the latter which included an *opkamer*).¹⁵



9. Parson Joseph Capen house, Topsfield, Massachusetts, 1683.



10. Parson Capen house, plan.

Figure 4.8: The Parson Capen House, Topsfield, Massachusetts

¹⁴ Leland M. Roth, *A Concise History of American Architecture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), 15.

¹⁵ Abbott Lowell Cummings, “Inside the Massachusetts House,” in *Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, eds. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 219-239 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 1986)]; William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and their Architects, The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles* (New York: Oxford, 1970), 1:48.

Another primary difference between English and Dutch architecture is the structural framing of houses. In Dutch domestic architecture, the load-bearing support is created by a series of anchor beams set upon posts (“H-bents”), such that the weight of the house is carried and spaced across the length of the house. In wood-framed houses, both the beams and the posts are wooden, while in a stone house, the work of the posts is performed by the stone walls themselves, upon which the beams sit. (The Dutch are also known for their use of bricks, but in the seventeenth century, bricks were often not structural but a veneer placed over a wooden structure.) In English architecture, the exterior walls, even in massive timber-framed houses, are the primary load-bearing elements, with further support provided by the “summer beam,” which stretches across the length of the house halfway between the front and rear walls. As the construction of houses in New Paltz throughout the eighteenth century utilized Dutch construction methods, these differences do not reveal cultural change through time, so the issue of framing methods in domestic architecture will not be explored further in this study. We will return to this point, however, when considering the architecture of barns, since the structural systems of houses and barns were similar.

In exploring the architecture of New Paltz, little can be said about the domestic structures built by the founders. Based on seventeenth-century comments by Cornelius Tienhoven (1650) and Jasper Dankers (1679-80), architectural historians have considered that initial settlement in areas of the Hudson Valley might have been facilitated by the construction of pit houses, which were essentially holes in the ground that were lined with wood on the walls and floor and then roofed. The physical evidence, however, does not provide incontrovertible proof of such

subterranean accommodations.¹⁶ (In 2006, archaeologists discovered evidence to suggest that pit houses might have been in use in early New Paltz, but the findings thus far are only considered preliminary.¹⁷) As for the first potentially permanent housing, the only (non-archeological) physical remains that have survived are portions of the west and south stone walls and basement kitchen of patentee Jean Hasbrouck's house, which were later incorporated into the 1721 stone house built by his son Jacob. A beam embedded in the wall of the basement kitchen that served as the lintel of the fireplace has been dated using dendrochronological methods as having been hewn from a tree felled in 1677, the very year the New Paltz patentees purchased the land from the Esopus Indians; presumably the house was built soon after. Jean Hasbrouck's house included one above-ground general purpose living room, capped by a garret for storage of grains, and supported by a basement kitchen below, where the cooking was performed and where slaves were housed. The attic and basement were likely accessed by what were essentially ladders. Documentary evidence that describes the earliest New Paltz houses is limited to one listing in the 1798 U.S. Direct Tax schedules—a listing that is crossed out, presumably by the surveyor, Josiah R. Eltinge, suggesting that it had been demolished since the schedule was prepared—indicating that Ezekiel Eltinge (the brother of the surveyor) owned a house on the main street that was 113 years old, or having been built in 1685, twenty years older than any surviving New Paltz house. If the dating is accurate, it would have been built by Ezekiel's great-great grandfather, New Paltz patentee Abraham Dubois. The house was described as being “of Stone and Frame,” and the dimensions were 35x24 and 25x20. Excavations of the site suggest that the stone portion was that portion with dimensions of 35x24, suggesting a two-room structure that presented its short

¹⁶ Barricklo and Larson, “Historic Structure Report: The Abraham Hasbrouck House,” 4.3; Sean E. Sawyer, “Constructing the Tradition of Dutch American Architecture, 1609-2009,” in *Dutch New York: The Roots of Hudson Valley Culture*, ed. Roger Panetta, 94 (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009).

¹⁷ Eric Roth, personal communication, 2008.

side, or gable-end, to the street; the wood frame section was likely comprised of one room, although the location of the framed room, as well as the sequence of construction, is unknown.

Given, however, that the stone-walled, two-room portion of Abraham Dubois' gable-fronted house was oriented toward the street like its near-neighbor, the Maria Dubois House, it is quite likely that the houses were similar.¹⁸ The Maria Dubois House, the house of Abraham's sister-in-law, was clearly based on a Dutch architectural model, revealing the "batavianization" of the Walloons of New Paltz. The Maria Dubois House (Figures 4.9 and 4.10) has long been thought to have been constructed in 1705, and recent dendrochronological analysis confirms that a primary beam in the house was fashioned from a tree felled in 1703.¹⁹ The two-room house presented its east gable end to the street, with the only door being on that elevation.

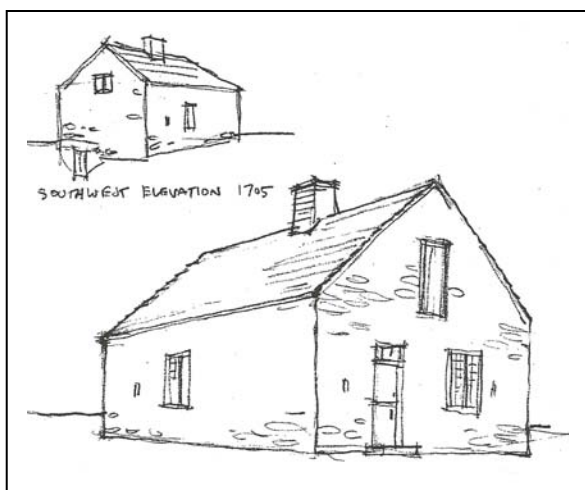


Figure 4.9: 1705 Maria Dubois House, probable original exterior (architect's rendering)

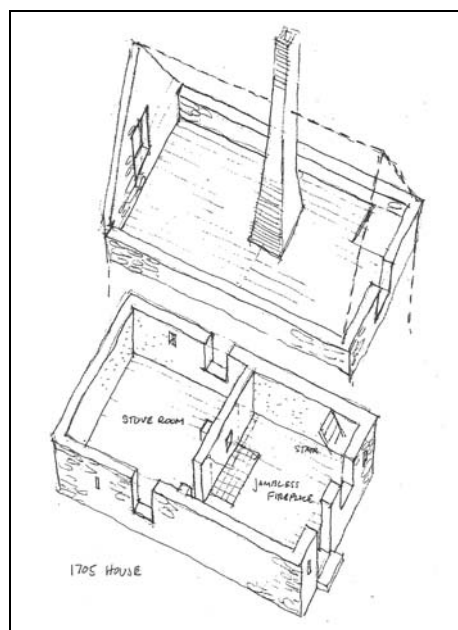


Figure 4.10: 1705 Maria Dubois House, probable interior layout (architect's rendering)

¹⁸ The Maria Dubois house is generally known today as the Dubois Fort and sometimes the Daniel Dubois House, but was actually built when the widow Maria, the mother of Daniel, had control of the family estate after the death of her husband, Isaac.

¹⁹ John G. Waite Associates, "Dubois Fort: Historic Structure Report," (unpublished report for the Huguenot Historical Society, 2002), 76 (sketch by Douglas Bucher).

The Maria Dubois House is of the two-room, unpartitioned Dutch form, either urban or rural (by “unpartitioned,” I mean that neither of the two primary rooms was further divided).²⁰ However, it offers a slight functional variation on the typical Dutch plan, made possible by the use of a heating device of German origin, which seems to have been quite popular amongst the early Ulster County elite although not used in the Netherlands. Instead of having either a fireplace exclusively in the back room, or in both rooms, the Maria Dubois House only had a fireplace exclusively in the back room, or in both rooms, the Maria Dubois House only had a fireplace in the *front* room; as such, what was normally the *voorhuis* became the multi-purpose *kamer*. The back room was heated by a five-plate jamb stove (Figure 4.11), which was



Figure 4.11: A Five-plate stove

essentially an open-backed iron box that was fed through a whole in the wall behind the fireplace and was vented into the chimney, making for an environmentally more pleasant space.²¹ If one room was generally held aside for special occasions and entertaining, it seems likely that the rear room would have held that function. In other words, the functioning of the house seems to have been reversed from the typical Dutch plan. The loft area stands beneath a sharply-pitched gable roof; such space was unfinished, being primarily for the storage of grain, which could be brought

²⁰ Waite, “Dubois Fort: Historic Structure Report,” 77. Sketch by Douglas Bucher.

²¹ Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 86. This stove is part of the collection of Old Salem, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.



Figure 4.12: Abraham Lefevre House (the front gable window was originally a mow door)

directly from the outside via a “mow” door on the front gable end. This feature was common, and would be included in the nearby and contemporary Samuel Bevier and Daniel Hasbrouck Houses, as well as others in New Paltz, such as the gable-fronted Abraham LeFevre House (Figure 4.12) and the 1763 Hugo Freer House on Huguenot Street.²² Internally, the attic would have been accessed by a steep ladder stair that intersected with a trap door, although tightly-wrapped enclosed stairs were also typically used. These original stairs were later removed in the Maria Dubois House, but both types of stairs survive in situ in the Bevier House across the street (Figure 4.13).



Figure 4.13: Stairs to the attic in the Samuel Bevier House

The Maria Dubois House was also relatively distinctive in New Paltz because it was constructed at one time, as it would become much more common for houses in the village to be

²² Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, *Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley before 1776* (New York, NY: Holland Society, 1929), 210, 262. Reynolds estimates the Abraham LeFevre house was built c. 1742, when Abraham moved to the Kettleboro section of New Paltz, now in the town of Gardiner. The photograph is unclear as to whether the mow door was still in place in the gable of this house, or whether it had been replaced with a window, a common nineteenth-century alteration.

built in phases, particularly in the early years. The phased house that has been the most thoroughly studied is the Abraham, more recently renamed the Daniel, Hasbrouck House (Figures 4.14 and 4.15) although the Samuel Bevier House (Figures 4.16 and 4.17) developed in very similar ways to the Daniel Hasbrouck House.²³ In terms of their essential Dutchness, then,

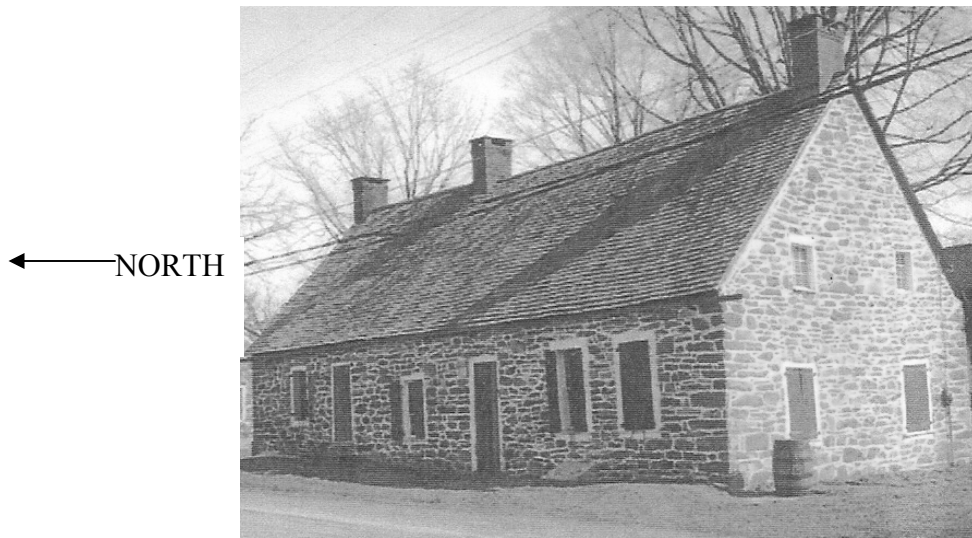


Figure 4.14: Daniel Hasbrouck House front elevation (west) in 2008

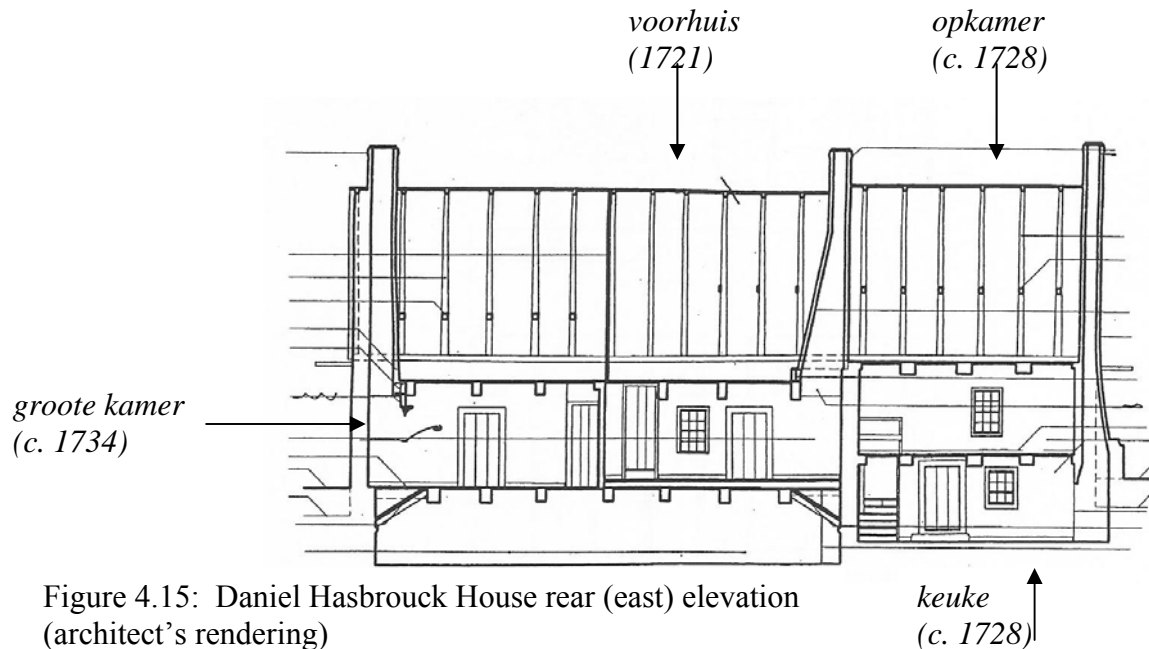


Figure 4.15: Daniel Hasbrouck House rear (east) elevation (architect's rendering)

²³ Barricklo and Larson, "Historic Structure Report: The Abraham Hasbrouck House"; Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 190, 191.

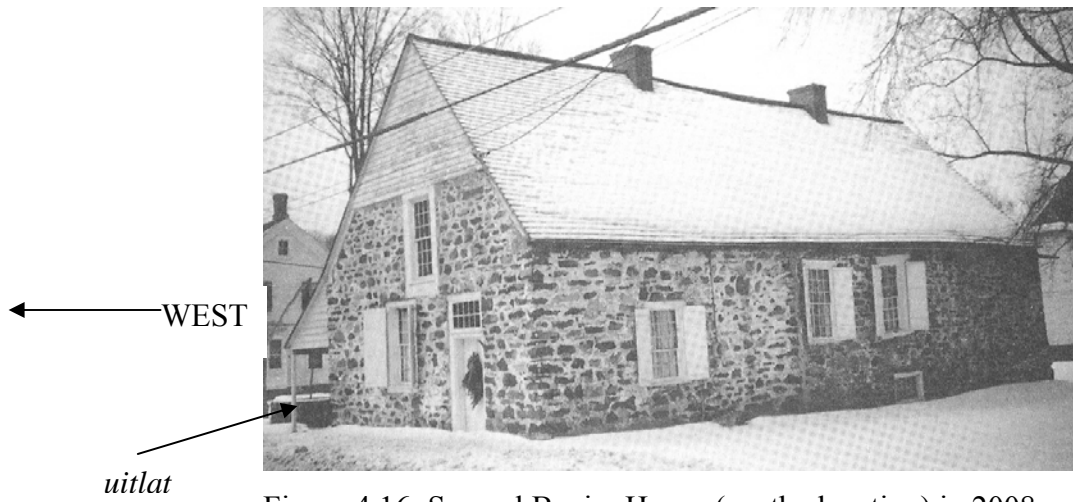


Figure 4.16: Samuel Bevier House (south elevation) in 2008

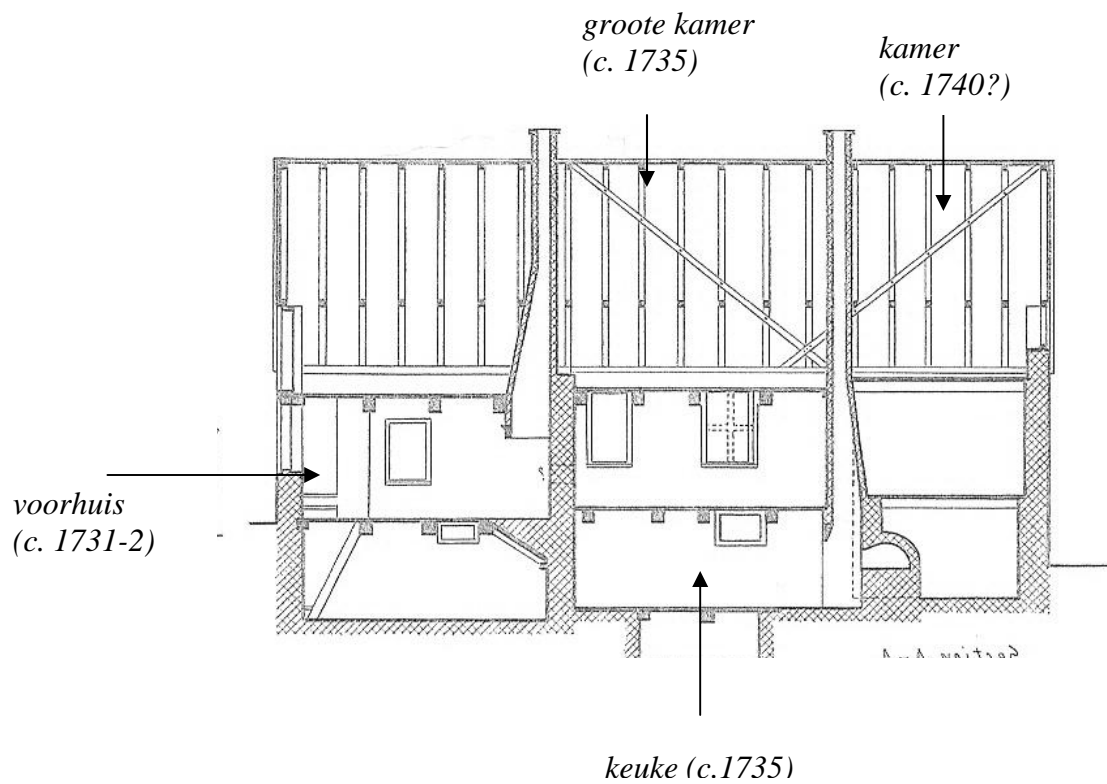


Figure 4.17: Samuel Bevier House (south elevation) (architect's rendering)

it is generally appropriate to speak of them as a piece, which again shows how the Walloons had assimilated into the culture of the New York “Dutch.” Both houses were first built as single-room houses, the Daniel Hasbrouck House in 1721 and the Samuel Bevier House c. 1731-2. Both had a general purpose room on the first floor, a garret for storage, and a basement below; slaves likely slept in either the garret or the basement. Unlike the one-room Jean Hasbrouck House, the basements did not have fireplaces, so cooking and heating was performed on the first floor. (The earliest room of the Bevier House is the west, being the left-most room in the schematic above. The first room of the D. Hasbrouck house is the center one.) The only major difference between the two houses is that the Bevier House presented its gable to the street, like the Maria Dubois House, while the gable of the Daniel Hasbrouck House was perpendicular to the street, which seems to have been a New World variation of the Dutch house.

The second phase of construction for both the Bevier and D. Hasbrouck Houses resulted in the creation of two more rooms, one set above the other, thus enabling the residents to redefine the original room more clearly as a *voorhuis*. The D. Hasbrouck was first enlarged in approximately 1728 with a room to the north (left); the date of the second construction phase of the Bevier House is c. 1735. From the *voorhuis*, a few steps would rise to an *opkamer* (Figure 4.18), heated by a five-plate jamb stove. Beneath the *opkamer* was a room partially depressed



Figure 4.18: Stairs to *opkamer* in Daniel Hasbrouck House

below ground level used primarily as a kitchen (a *keuke*). In an Old World Dutch house, the room below the *opkamer* was the *binnenhaard*, or general family living space *and* kitchen, but this might not have been the case in early New Paltz, as the kitchen likely also functioned as the living quarters for slaves.²⁴ The Bevier House also has an exterior door into the kitchen, and at some point an interior connection was created as well, but so far, a clear development as in the Daniel Hasbrouck House has not been determined. This tendency for separation of the kitchen, then, represents a New World, or Dutch-American, variation or adaptation, but the basic form and function of these houses still reveal an essential Dutchness.

Multiple exterior access points into the Bevier and D. Hasbrouck houses suggests a rural inspiration, as did their inclusion of another Dutch feature on the exterior, a side aisle or *uitlait* that functioned essentially as an exterior passageway between both above-ground and basement-level rooms.²⁵ If fully enclosed, the *uitlait* could also serve as an unheated room. Nothing substantial of the D. Hasbrouck outlet survives other than evidence of its early existence in the rear exterior wall; the outlet on the Bevier House is partially open like a porch, but originally it was possibly fully enclosed. An *uitlait*, later transformed to a porch or piazza, was also appended to the 1738 Terwilliger Hous. The earliest mid-eighteenth-century section of the [possibly Benjamin] Deyo House in the Bontecoe section of New Paltz also had an outlet, as seen in early photographs (Figure 4.19).²⁶

²⁴ That the kitchen space might not have been in general use by the family is strongly suggested by the fact that when the kitchen was constructed at the Daniel Hasbrouck House, there was no direct access from the *voorhuis* to the kitchen; one would have to exit from the *voorhuis* to the outside and then enter another exterior door into the kitchen. This situation seems to have been considered unworkable, in spite of its possible utility in separating the races, as an interior connection was soon constructed.

²⁵ Thomas R. Ryan, "Cultural Accommodations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Marbletown, New York," in *Shaping Communities*, vol. 6, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, (1997): 137-149 (see in particular, n. 24, p. 148); Barricklo and Larson, "Historic Structure Report: The Abraham Hasbrouck House," part 4.5-6.

²⁶ Lefevre *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 272-3; Reynolds, *Dutch Houses*, 198, 255; *Newsletter of the Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture* 8, no. 7 (July 2006): 3-5.



Figure 4.19: Deyo House at Bontecoe in New Paltz in 1903

Both the Bevier and D. Hasbrouck houses were enlarged in a third building campaign to increase the size to a total of four rooms (three fully above ground). We do not know exactly when this occurred in the Bevier House, but it certainly occurred fairly early on its history; the construction of the fourth room at the D. Hasbrouck House is estimated to have occurred around 1734.²⁷ Such linear houses were common in Ulster County, if not necessarily archetypal as some architectural historians have suggested.²⁸ The function of the third room in the Bevier and D. Hasbrouck houses was likely different, however, which to some extent possibly redefined the function of other rooms of the houses, even if *in toto* the houses continued to contain similar functional spaces. In the Bevier House, the third room was unheated, such that it was probably a children's sleeping chamber. However, the heated third room in the D. Hasbrouck House was the most up-to-date in that it used hung rather than casement windows, and as such, it probably housed the bed of Daniel Hasbrouck (the owner of the house) and his wife, Wyntje. Daniel's mother Maria, who as the widow of Daniel's father Abraham administered the estate, probably utilized the *opkamer*.

²⁷ The dendrochronological dating for structural members of the last-built room are not as definitive as those for the earlier two rooms. However, there is evidence to suggest that one of the smaller beams used in the house was formed from a tree felled in 1734. 1734 was also the same year the Daniel Hasbrouck married his wife Wynje Deyo, and marriages sometimes led to house construction or expansion, which may have been deemed desirable in this case as Daniel's mother was still alive and residing in the family home. (Barricklo and Larson, "Historic Structure Report: The Abraham Hasbrouck House," part 4.20.)

²⁸ See Reynolds, *Dutch Houses*, and Ryan, "Marbletown," 137-14.

In spite of their slight differences, these houses would have functioned similarly, given the Dutch cultural sources upon which they were based and the similarities without exact equivalencies in their layouts, as they reflected the particular demographics of the two families. It is worth noting that the Dubois House, the Daniel Hasbrouck House, and the Samuel Bevier House were not precisely the same. Neither were they identical in form to the Deyo House, another house in the village center. The Deyo House presented its long side to the street, and likely began as one room and first enlarged to two. The Deyo House was enlarged some time in the eighteenth century by a substantial stone wing off the back, although little is known about that because the wing was torn down in 1894. And as noted earlier, the non-extant Abraham Dubois house was enlarged probably with a perpendicular wood-frame wing; none of the other houses in the center of the village had such a frame addition in the eighteenth century. If the New Paltz village houses are considered as a group, then, what is found is a limited degree of typicality in the ultimate footprint of the house, which certainly affected how particular houses functioned. Nevertheless, they were all certainly built within the paradigm of an elite Ulster County Dutch-American house.²⁹

The only early New Paltz house that strayed from typical Dutch-American patterns was the Jacob (formerly known as the Jean) Hasbrouck House of 1721 (Figures 4.20 and 4.21³⁰). It consists of four rooms built in a square—a rare configuration—but it also includes a center hall, which is a unique feature amongst surviving structures. It is possible that similar structures were

²⁹ Thomas Ryan arrived at a similar conclusion in his exploration of the early architecture of the nearby town of Marbletown, also in Ulster County, a town with many close familial connections with New Paltz (Ryan, “Marbletown”).

³⁰Figure 4.20 taken 1940 by Stanley P. Mixon, [HABS NY,56-NEWP,3-3,” <http://memory.loc.gov> (accessed April 15, 2009)] and Figure 4.21 is an architectural plan drawn in 1940 for HABS [<http://memory.loc.govnp/habshaer/ny/ny0800/ny0882/sheet/00002r.tif> (accessed April 15, 2009)].

symmetrically-paired above-ground rooms set two-rooms deep, capped by a massive attic, so capacious that it includes two levels; nevertheless, the overall appearance of the house remains similar to the other one-story neighbors, as the finished rooms are contained only on one floor. The attic is so extensive because it was structurally necessary in order to cover the four-room structure.³³ The center hall, however, is the feature that is the most intriguing, as it is something not found in other regional Dutch-American architecture, and its ethnic origins are a bit perplexing. While more progressive houses in the Netherlands in the early eighteenth century incorporated center halls, it is unlikely that this innovation was transferred from Old World Dutch culture to the New, as almost sixty years after the English conquest of New Netherland, that stream of culture was extremely weak.³⁴ Progressive English houses also incorporated center halls—a design innovation that was clearly transferred to the New World. As such, it is possible that Jacob Hasbrouck had been influenced by contemporary English design, albeit unlikely.



Figure 4.22: Matthew Ten Eyck House, Hurley, NY in 2007

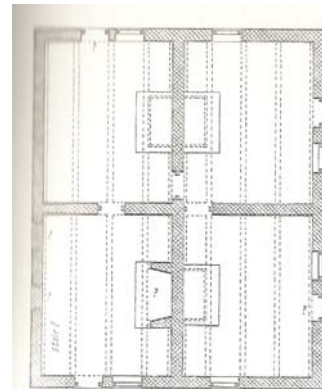


Figure 4.23:: Matthew Ten Eyck House in 2007 (architect's rendering)

In late seventeenth-century in England, and soon after in America, the central hall became a hallmark of modern English middle-class domestic architecture, as did the central door

³³ Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 226-227.

³⁴ Zantkuyl, "The New Netherlands Town House," 149-150

flanked by symmetrically paired windows all present within a singular rectangular block, which often rose to a full two stories, often referred to as “Georgian” (Figure 4.24).³⁵ What would have

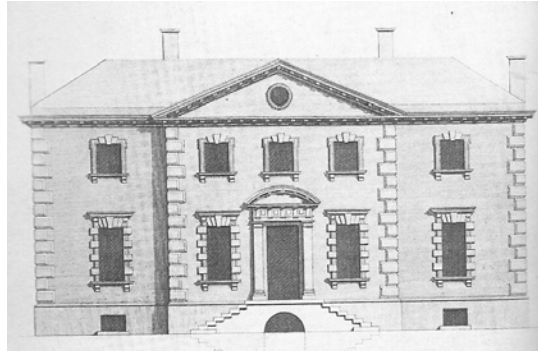


Figure 4.24: William Gibbs, plan for a house (1728)



Figure 4.25: Westover,
Charles City County, VA



Figure 4.26: MacPhaedris-Warner
House, Portsmouth, NH

been a middle-class house in England was equivalent to that which housed the elite in America, represented by such early and important examples of such a design approach as William Byrd II’s Virginia plantation “Westover” (c. 1730-1734) (Figure 4.25) and the MacPhaedris-Warner House (1718-23) in Portsmouth, New Hampshire (Figure 4.26³⁶). It is unlikely, however, that these cutting-edge American “Georgian” houses were the inspiration for the Jacob Hasbrouck House. While they were built contemporaneously with the Jacob Hasbrouck House, social and

³⁵ The architectural term “Georgian” is actually a misnomer, but will be employed here as a shorthand for the center-hall double-pile plan [For a more precise description of English architectural styles, see Pierson, *American Buildings* 61-156 and James D. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 2002) 2:513-525, 2:957-1008.]

³⁶ Pierson, *American Buildings*, 80.

cultural connections between Hasbrouck (and his builder) and the elites who built such places as Westover and the MacPhaedris-Warner House do not seem to be sufficient enough to have brought about such a transfer of culture. Vernacular versions of the style also began to impact rural New England early in the eighteenth century, but again the connections between rural New England and New York do not seem to have been strong enough to influence each other.

If the center hall of the Jacob Hasbrouck had been inspired by English design, it was precocious almost to the point of being revolutionary. It would not be until fifty-one years later that a house would be built in the New Paltz region that was substantially Georgian in its overall form—the 1772 Cornelius Wynkoop House in nearby Marbletown (Figure 4.27). Clearly the massiveness of the Jacob Hasbrouck House suggests a desire on the part of the owner to mark himself as an important figure in the early New Paltz community, so it is perhaps possible that he was trying to assimilate in a manner similar to some of the provincial anglicized Dutch elite. However, to have adopted only certain elements of avant-garde English design, while retaining a host of characteristics that were essentially that of the regional Dutch architecture, particular the one-story profile, would seem rather odd. Perhaps, then, the center hall was only



Figure 4.27: Cornelius Wynkoop House, Marbletown, NY

coincidentally similar to elite progressive Anglo-American houses, being a result of Jacob's choice to build four above-ground rooms while still maintaining the functionality of the *uitlat* for

passing between rooms, which is essentially how the center hall functioned. If Jacob Hasbrouck had been influenced by contemporary elite Anglo-American design, which is unlikely, that influence clearly did not find fertile ground in the region.



Figure 4.28: Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. House (1786, with later gables)

Two other later structures built in New Paltz also suggest that the Jacob Hasbrouck House was seen as, and likely functioned as, a Dutch house, regardless of its central hall. One was the 1786 house eventually constructed by the builder's son, Jacob Hasbrouck Jr., who had inherited his father's house (Figure 4.28). Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. made the rather unusual decision to build himself a new home when he was in his fifties, leaving his father's home to his son Josiah. Jacob Jr., however, constructed a one-room-deep house much more in keeping with the linear plan seen in the typical Dutch-American houses in the community. The greatest nod to the modern English ideals was the inclusion of an internal passageway or hall, but it was not centered as in English design, but rather simply inserted between the south and center rooms. If he had seen his father's house as being more English than Dutch, then it would seem that Jacob Jr. was consciously reverting to a more Dutch style; this, however, would seem inconsistent with Jacob Jr.'s anglicizing tendencies and his participation in the Americanization of the Dutch Church, which will be discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter. Furthermore, in an 1806 inventory of his estate, one room was described as the "fore room," a word which may have been

used as an English equivalent of *voorhuis*, suggesting Jacob Jr.'s continued employment of a Dutch architectural paradigm.³⁷

The other structure that suggests that the Jacob Hasbrouck (Sr.) House was locally seen as essentially Dutch is the 1775 Hendricus Dubois House. Although no longer extant, evidence suggests that it was extremely similar to the 1721 Jacob Hasbrouck House, and as we shall later explore, Hendricus Dubois was an extreme Dutch conservative.³⁸ If Hendricus Dubois had understood the 1721 Jacob Hasbrouck House as having essential English characteristics, it is very unlikely that he would have emulated it. In total, however, the ethnic origins of Jacob Hasbrouck's house are difficult to pin down.

The Jacob Hasbrouck House is thusly a difficult-to-explain anomaly as compared to contemporary structures in the town. It also seems that the linear paradigm of two or three rooms *without* a central hall remained dominant for decades after the Jacob Hasbrouck House was built. For example, Daniel Deyo built a house in c. 1763 (Figure 4.29) that appears to have consisted of three rooms, including one room at grade-level, an *opkamer*, and a partially subterranean room, presumably a *keuke* (kitchen), the resulting house being similar to the Daniel Hasbrouck house in its second phase.³⁹ The façade appears to have had five openings: in the room to the left, a door near the left-hand side and a window; in the *opkamer*, a window and a door; and a door into the cellar kitchen. With the placement of the doors as they were, the 45x24 house (as recorded in the 1798 Direct Tax schedule) clearly did not have a central passageway.

³⁷ "Estate Inventory of Jacob Hasbrouck Jr.," *Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection (1672-1968)*, HHS. "Fore room" was also literally a translation of *voor ruym*, a term used by architectural historian Mark Wenger ["The Jean Hasbrouck House," (unpublished report for the HHS, 2006)]. The term "fore room" can also be found in a the 1759 Kingston, Ulster County, inventory of Dr. Luke Kiersted, in the archives of the Senate House, Kingston, New York (a copy of which can be found in the curator's files at the Huguenot Historical Society).

³⁸ The 1775 Hendricus Dubois house, which is no longer extant, likely had a very similar form, according to architectural historian Neil Larson, who has studied the nineteenth-century house built with some of the original building materials of the Hendricus Dubois house (Neil Larson, personal communication, 2007).

³⁹ The land on which Daniel Deyo built his house was acquired for him in 1763 (Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 266-7).

The Hugo Freer House in the village center, constructed in 1763, similarly consisted of two above-ground rooms not separated by a central hall. That house originally had four openings in the front, with two in each room, in the following order: window, door, window, window.⁴⁰ It would not be until 1800 or after that the house was reconfigured with a central entrance, with the original door becoming a window.



Figure 4.29: Daniel Deyo House in 1903

Two of Daniel Deyo's sons, Abraham D. (b. 1763) and Nathaniel (b. 1770) would later build their own frame houses on their father's land before 1798.⁴¹ Both of their houses were only 35 feet in length (Abraham's was 24 feet deep and Nathaniel's 25 feet). If these houses had central halls, the living spaces would have been much smaller than in the house of their youth, since their rooms would have been about nine feet shorter in width than the house of their father; such small rooms would have been extremely unusual in the town. The suggestion is thusly that neither of them was wide enough to contain a hall. As such, these houses built at the end of the century seem to suggest a persistent Dutch cultural inspiration, suggesting a continuity with those built in the first decades of the same century.

Although the overall form of eighteenth-century New Paltz housing reflects the local strength of Dutch culture as expressed in architecture, English architectural innovations did

⁴⁰ Edward R. Cook and William J. Callahan, "Dendrochronological Analysis of the Freer-Low House, New Paltz, New York," (unpublished report for the HHS, 2008).

⁴¹ Abraham D. Deyo was recorded as D. Abraham Deyo in the 1798 tax list.

begin to impact “secondary” characteristics, particularly windows and doors.⁴² Through most of the seventeenth century, when European-Americans fashioned moveable windows, they employed casement windows, which are hinged on the side and can swing in or out. If one had the financial resources, these windows included glass panes, connected by lead came. The Dutch had three distinctive and different window forms consisting of combinations of shutters, fixed

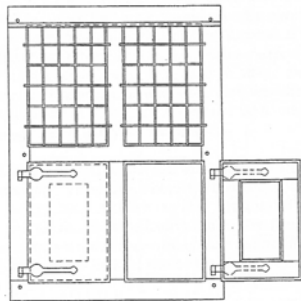


Figure 4.30: A *kruiskozijn* window

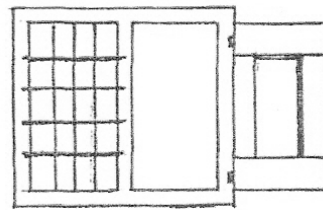


Figure 4.31: A *bolkoziijn* window

glazing, and moveable glazed casements, all forms that differed from the English-style casements used in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The most complex form was the four-part *kruiskozijn* (Figure 4.30), the center transom (horizontal cross piece) and mullion (vertical cross piece) of which formed a cross, and hence the name.⁴³ The two upper parts were formed with fixed windows of rectangular-shaped pieces secured together with leading and reinforced on the outside with metal bars. The bottom two parts could be comprised of exterior shutters and interior-swinging casement windows or simply of shutters, the latter being a simpler and less expensive form popular in Dutch-American houses even though that form was becoming antiquated in the Netherlands proper. The *kloosterkoziijn* was essentially a two-part half version of the *kruiskozijn*, as it appeared and functioned as being one side of the four-part cross window. The third window form was the *bolkoziijn* (Figure 4.31), which was also a two-

⁴² Cohen, *The Dutch-American Farm*, 37.

⁴³ Barricklo and Larson, “Historic Structure Report: The Abraham Hasbrouck House,” 4.11-4.12.

part form but only divided vertically by a mullion.⁴⁴ The *bolkozijn* could include fixed or movable windows in combination with shutters or merely shuttered.⁴⁵

Overall, evidence for the use of Dutch style windows in New York is scattered and fragmented, as by the middle of the eighteenth century, many houses were being retrofitted with more modern sash windows. Recent study of the Jacob Hasbrouck House (1721), however, has confirmed the original form of its windows. The east (primary) façade and the north and south walls contained a total of four *kruiskozijn* windows, while *bolkozijn* windows were utilized on the attic level, each consisting of a fixed window and a shutter (without a casement).⁴⁶ The first two rooms of the Bevier House, also each originally contained a *kruiskozijn* window, one in the front gable façade and one on the south wall of the middle room. Portions of the original frame of this latter window survive, which is quite rare.⁴⁷

Similarly, the Daniel Hasbrouck House includes *kruiskozijn* windows, but includes sash windows as well, thus revealing an important architectural transition. In the earliest-built (center) room, a *kruiskozijn* was placed in the front (west) façade when constructed in 1721, as would be expected given that it was built in the same year as the Jacob Hasbrouck House. In the second phase, another Dutch-style window was installed in the north room built in 1728, although in that case it was a two-part *bolkozijn*. However, when the final room was built in c. 1734, the new-style vertically-sliding and weighted sash windows were installed (Figure 4.32⁴⁸).

⁴⁴ “Newsletter,” *Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture*, 8, no. 8 (August 2006): 5.

⁴⁵ Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 69-73.

⁴⁶ John R. Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture* 71; “Newsletter,” *Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture*, 8, no. 9 (September 2006): 4. Neil Larson, in the Jean Hasbrouck House HSR, states that the first-floor windows were of the *bolkozijn* form.

⁴⁷ Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 70, 71, 314-317.

⁴⁸ Barricklo and Larson, “Historic Structure Report: The Abraham Hasbrouck House.” The window sashes pictured are early 19th-century replacement of 1734 sashes; the 1734 window frame is still in place beneath early 19th-century wood facing.



Figure 4.32: A sash window in the Daniel Hasbrouck House

The early history of this new form is not entirely clear, although evidence suggests that it was invented in England c. 1670, from whence it was transplanted to high-style architecture of the Netherlands in 1686.⁴⁹ They first came to be used in the English colonies of North America in the first decades of the eighteenth century, having been introduced from England into areas of Anglo-American settlement, from which they spread into New York.⁵⁰ These new windows had certain technical advantages, given that they could easily be raised to any height and held there, and the newlyweds Daniel and Wynje Deyo Hasbrouck must have embraced them. But they did not just represent a modern convenience, as they also express the incorporation of what was clearly an English design element (or if not originally English, it was nevertheless introduced into America by those of English extraction) into a house that in every other way was based on Dutch design. One important way that the use of the sash windows represented an acceptance of things English is that the Dutch did not even have a word for the sash window, whereas they had a very specific nomenclature for Dutch-style windows. Even if they accepted the windows merely for their superior technical performance, rather than for their Englishness, that they were an English innovation did not preclude their acceptance, revealing an element of accepted cultural hybridity.

⁴⁹ H. J. Louw, "The origin of the sash-window," *Architectural History*, 26 (1983): 47-72, 144-50.

⁵⁰ Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 73.

Even though the Daniel Hasbroucks utilized sash windows in their last room, another clearly Dutch architectural icon—the jambless fireplace—was installed in that room, as it had been in the room that had been built first. The jambless fireplace is a fireplace consisting of a hearth on a side wall above which is provided an extremely large (relatively speaking) smoke hood and chimney. By the seventeenth century, the English form of the fireplace had been given side supports (“jambs”) beneath the smoke hood, providing for a much-more enclosed and efficient heating space. Jambless fireplaces were presumably constructed in all of the early New Paltz houses, as surviving evidence is found in the 1705 Maria Dubois House, the 1721 Jacob Hasbrouck House, the c. 1731-2 Samuel Bevier House, the 1738 Evert Terwilliger House, and in all three rooms of the 1721/1728/c.1734 Daniel Hasbrouck House. Daniel Hasbrouck, then, chose to install extremely up-to-date windows which had been introduced by the English, but retained a Dutch-style fireplace. What this incongruity meant and what it says about Daniel’s ethnic identity cannot be precisely determined, but his continued use of a fireplace form that clearly was not English cannot represent any type of resistance to anglicization, as his English-influenced windows belie such an interpretation. His house suggests, then, and “reads” as essentially Dutch, with a touch of Englishness, a touch that he consciously chose to include.⁵¹

While Daniel Hasbrouck introduced English-inspired sash windows concurrently with the construction of a new room, other homeowners chose to update their existing houses through the removal of some tell-tale Dutch features and the installation of modern English ones in their place. This was particularly the case with windows and fireplaces. In the Bevier House, the *kruiskozijn* in the middle room was replaced with a double-hung sash window around the middle of the eighteenth century, quite possibly around 1760, when the house was acquired from the

⁵¹ Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 95, 176-177.

estate of Samuel Bevier by his neighbor Josiah Eltinge.⁵² It would seem plausible that the *kruiskozijn* in the front room was also replaced with a sash window at that time. The original jambless fireplace in the *voorhuis*, which was used as a store by Roelof Josiah Eltinge, was also updated to a jambed fireplace at some point during his occupancy from 1760 through his death in 1795. As for the 1721 Jacob Hasbrouck House down the street, it would be modernized by the builder's grandson Josiah Hasbrouck soon after his father Jacob Jr. built his new house in 1786, noted above. This modernization involved the replacement of the Dutch-style windows with sash windows and the demolition of the back-to-back double jambless fireplaces in the north rooms. In the front room, in which Josiah began operation of a store, he installed a simple firebox. In 1806, Josiah transferred the use of the house and the operation of the store to his daughter and son-in-law Josiah Dubois. When Josiah Dubois moved the store from the house in 1811, he made the former store room more elegant with a paneled chimney breast (Figure 4.33⁵³).



Figure 4.33: Jacob Hasbrouck house in c. 1930s, showing c. 1811 paneled chimney breast

The Dutch-style windows of the Daniel Hasbrouck House were also modernized with replacement sash windows between 1801 and 1830 when the widow Maria Bevier Hasbrouck (Daniel's daughter-in-law) managed the property; unfortunately, a more specific dating of this

⁵² Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 314-317. Stevens likely suggests the mid-18th century date based on the surviving original lower sash that remains *in situ*; Heirs of Samuel Bevier and Josiah Eltinge, "Indenture, May 12, 1760," *Roelof J. and Ezekiel Elting Family Papers*, HHS.

⁵³ Photo c. 1940 [HABS NY,56-NEWP,3-9, <http://memory.loc.gov> (accessed April 15, 2009)].

change cannot be determined.⁵⁴ These changes reflect attempts at modernization, but it was a modernization that could not have been seen as anything but English-inspired.

Around 1762, Jonathan Terwilliger would not be content merely to modernize his house through the replacement or modification of windows and fireplaces. Jonathan's house was originally built by his parents, Evert and Sarah Freer Terwilliger, who in 1738 built a new two-room stone house (Figure 4.34) on the Plattekill River, on a six-hundred-acre plot that abutted the New Paltz lands.⁵⁵ Evert had acquired the land from his father-in-law, New Paltz patentee Hugo Freer.⁵⁶ In many ways, the Terwilliger house was extremely conservative in terms of design, being similar to that constructed by Maria Dubois thirty-three years earlier. It was built



Figure 4.34: Evert Terwilliger House, Plattekill, New Paltz, after 1760s modernization; the original entrance was on the gable end, but it was relocated to the right side when modernized.

with its gable end to the street, an orientation which was fast becoming antiquated.⁵⁷ The Terwilligers' house consisted of two rooms, with the front *voorhuis* heated by a five-plate stove and the rear *kamer* with a jambless fireplace. The front façade had three openings, a door with a

⁵⁴ Barricklo and Larson, "Historic Structure Report: The Abraham Hasbrouck House," 25.

⁵⁵ Reynolds, *Dutch Houses*, 275.

⁵⁶ How this transaction transpired is unknown, but a 1759 deed references Evert Terwilliger's earlier acquisition of the land in fee simple (Ulster County Deeds, Book FF, Page 412, noted by Neil Larson in Crawford & Stearns and Neil Larson, "Historic Structure Report for the Evert Terwilliger House," unpublished report for the Huguenot Historical Society, 2005, 1.3).

⁵⁷ John Stevens compiled a list of front-gable houses in June 2006, totaling only twenty-two, only eight of which were built 1740 or after ["Newsletter," *Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture*, 9, no. 6-7 (June/July 2007): 7]. He does not include the Terwilliger House in this list, as he only included those "examples [which were] known to the preparer at the time of compilation (June 22, 2006); there are probably more."

leaded glass transom, a Dutch-window of either the *kruiskozijn* or *bolkozijn* form on the first floor, and a mow door under the eaves, providing exterior access to the loft for the storage of grain. Internally, the typically unfinished attic was likely accessed by way of a ladder stair. Access to the basement (exclusively for storage) and rear room was via an *uitlait*. There was also an interior opening between the primary rooms (Figure 4.35).⁵⁸

The Terwilliger House, however, only existed in this form for a short time—possibly less than twenty years.⁵⁹ In 1762 Evert conveyed his stone house to his son Jonathan as his inheritance, one year after Jonathan's marriage. Some time either shortly before or after Jonathan's acquisition of his parents' home, he embarked on a dramatic reconstruction of the house (Figure 4.36).⁶⁰ The primary entrance of the house was relocated into what had been a side door in the *uitlait*, which originally provided access to the back room, thus reorienting the front facade of the house from its gable end to the long side. With the new entrance being in what had once been contained in the *uitlait*, that space ceased to have its traditional Dutch function, and became more of a piazza (or porch). In the former *kamer* (originally the rear room), a new partition wall was built to the right of what was now the primary front door, creating a new center hall. This hall included a new, (relatively) elegant stairway, which provided access to the attic, although the attic still remained an unfinished space. These new stairs were a bit odd, as they seemed to be going nowhere just for show. To the right of the hall, what remained of the *kamer* was further divided into two unheated, small sleeping chambers. As the hall and sleeping chambers were made from a single room that matched in size the other

⁵⁸ Crawford & Stearns and Neil Larson, "Historic Structure Report for the Evert Terwilliger House," 1.4.

⁵⁹ When the house was reconfigured, a new beam from a tree felled in 1755 was inserted, so the structural work must have been performed after that date (Crawford & Stearns and Neil Larson, "Historic Structure Report for the Evert Terwilliger House," 1.13).

⁶⁰ Crawford & Stearns and Neil Larson, "Historic Structure Report for the Evert Terwilliger House," 1.13.

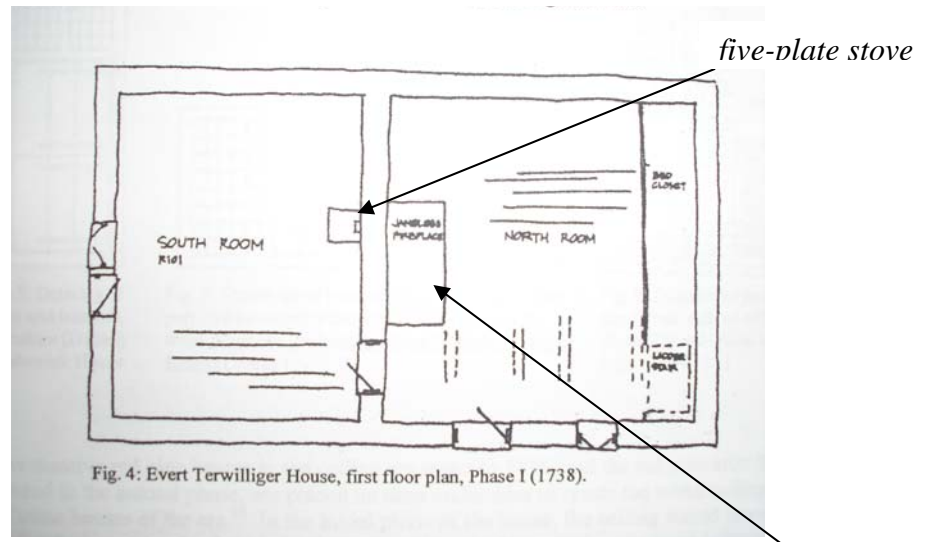


Figure 4.35: Terwilliger House c. 1738

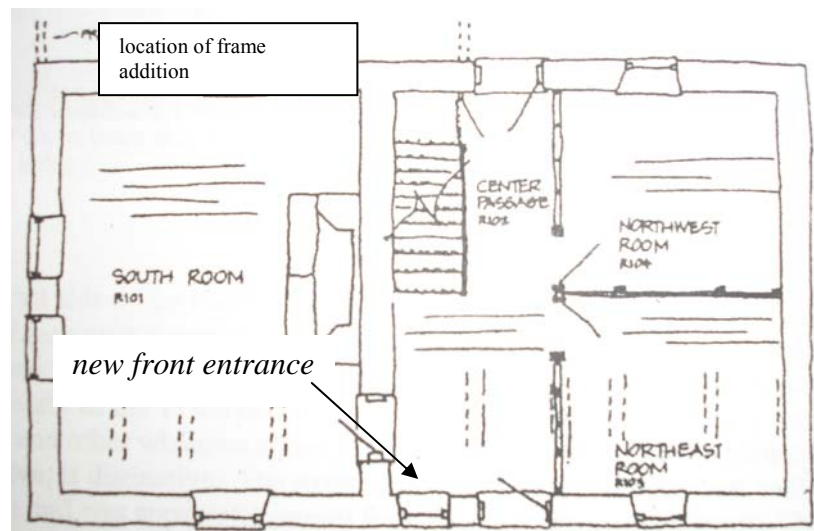


Figure 4.36: Terwilliger House after c. 1761 reconstruction

original room, the resulting new divisions created an internally unbalanced design. The original jambless fireplace in the former *kamer* was demolished and the five-plate stove in the *voorhuis* was dispensed with; a new jambed fireplace was constructed in this former front room, which now served as a parlor. The parlor intersected with a new frame kitchen addition to its rear.

The original front entrance into what was now the parlor was converted to a sash window, as was the room's original Dutch-style window.

The architectural historian for this house, Neil Larson, has argued that the purpose of this reconstruction was merely to provide private spaces for the newly-married Jonathan and his wife Mary, as his parents were still alive when the son married, rather than for purposes of anglicization. Private spaces, however, could have been provided without the labor-intensive reconstruction of the house. The two rooms of the house could have provided this, or the new (kitchen) addition could have served as a separate area for the newlyweds (and their forthcoming children), without having to reconfigure the original spaces. This is what occurred in the Daniel Hasbrouck House when the final room was constructed. Rather, the goal of the reconfiguration was much more likely to provide a center entrance on the long side of the house, which accessed a center hall with its genteel stairway (Figure 4.37) (that oddly went to an unfinished space)—clearly English features; this is especially clear given that the reconstruction also involved the installation of an English-style fireplace and sash windows. The result of this dramatic reconstruction was a center-entrance structure inspired by the new Georgian style, and the changes were not ones that would have been engaged in lightly. Not only was the destruction of the jambless fireplace highly invasive, but the reconstruction required the insertion of new support beams and the rotation of some of the original ones. The house nevertheless possessed an internal lack of balance that resulted in a rather awkward structure, at least in relation to mid-eighteenth-century English elite stylistic ideals, but the goal was nevertheless an attempt to integrate English design principles into a formerly Dutch house. Intriguingly, Evert and

Sara Freer Terwilliger's house had been rather conservative, with its front-gable entrance being relatively rare and becoming increasingly so when they built their house in 1738, while their son Jonathan's choices were quite progressive. (Could this have been a sign of youthful ethnic



Figure 4.37: Terwilliger House stairs

rebellion?) Jonathan and his wife Mary also did not cease the cultural transformation of their house in the first rebuilding campaign, as they would later create a sleeping chamber in the second floor over the parlor around 1787.⁶¹ This “homesteading” of the second floor through a bedroom conversion was clearly not a traditional Dutch approach, revealing that the Terwilligers would continue to bring elite Englishness into a house that originally expressed an overwhelming Dutchness. Little is known of Jonathan Terwilliger's biography to reveal where he acquired these non-Dutch ideas, but his acceptance of elite English design principles occurred decades before the construction of the earliest surviving central entrance Dutch-Anglo house near New

⁶¹ That date is marked on a date stone set between the windows that replaced the mow door at that time, a change which also distanced the Terwilligers from the traditional Dutch use of the attic for storage of grain.

Paltz with two complete floors (the second with bedrooms), being the grand 1772 house of Cornelis Wynkoop in Marbletown, (see Figure 4.27⁶²).

The Terwilliger House rebuilding, then, seems to have been relatively precocious, although more precise investigation (with accurate dendrochronological dating) would be necessary to determine how precocious he was within the New Paltz community. Other major, yet somewhat later, conversions include that of the early Hugo Freer House in the historic center of the village, which was reconfigured to create a center entrance (if not a center hall) probably around 1800 (Figure 4.38⁶³). Such redesigning continued into the 1830s, as it was then that Maria Dubois' 1705 house would be dramatically altered by a descendant to reorient the entrance to a long side of the house into a newly-created center hall (while also raising the height to a full two stories to create finished second-floor rooms) (Figure 4.39).

Others might attempt to bring in the modern English-inspired hallway, yet without even attempting to create a balanced façade, through the building of an addition. This would be the case with the Frederick Deyo House (Figure 4.40, today known as "Thornwood"). The house, likely built in the mid-eighteenth century, began as a one-room stone house that was soon



Figure 4.38: Hugo Freer House in c. 1930s, showing early 19th century window and door alterations



Figure 4.39: Maria Dubois House, with c. 1830s alterations

⁶² Blackburn, et al, *Dutch Colonial Homes*, 154-161; Reynolds, *Dutch Houses*, 287.

⁶³ Photograph taken April 20, 1934 by E. P. MacFarland [HABS NY,56-NEWP,5-3, <http://memory.loc.gov> (accessed April 15, 2009)].

expanded with another room built of stone. By 1798, however, a wood-frame addition had been added, which consisted of a room with a jambed fireplace, and a new passageway with a curving stairway into the attic. To create the passageway, the stone wall of the earlier part of the house



Figure 4.40: Frederick Deyo House, “Thornwood”

that the addition abutted was demolished and the earlier room decreased in width by about one-fourth.⁶⁴ This change was not quite as invasive as that which had been undertaken in the Terwilliger House, but nevertheless involved careful reconfiguring of space. It, too, was a bit awkward from a Georgian perspective, as it clearly presented an unbalanced aspect, with its joining together of frame and masonry rooms.

The construction of houses originally built with center halls, rather than a conversion in the case of the Terwilliger, Freer and Maria Dubois Houses, was something that would become relatively common around the turn of the nineteenth century in the region, even though the Dutch-American architectural profile was often maintained.⁶⁵ One of the more unusual houses is that of Abraham Hardenbergh (the grandson of the first Abraham Hardenbergh, one of the patentees of New York’s great Hardenbergh Patent) and Rachel Dubois (the daughter of

⁶⁴ “Newsletter,” *Society for the Preservation of Hudson Valley Vernacular Architecture* 4, no. 2 (March 2002), and 4, no. 5 (June 2002). The precise date of the construction of the stone portions is not known, but the presence of rose-headed nails in the frame addition suggest it was built “in the late 18th century.”

⁶⁵ Dell Upton explores how a modern center hall was incorporated into the two-room Anglo-Virginian house in a manner that paralleled the Dutch-American development, but the two forms developed independently [Dell Upton, “Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” in *Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, eds. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 315-336 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 1986)].

Hendricus Dubois), a family lineage that placed Abraham as a member of the town's highest elite.⁶⁶ As a member of the elite, it would not be surprising for him to have been most aware of current provincial fashions embraced by the well-to-do, which would have been essentially English by the closing years of the eighteenth century. His house (Figure 4.41) did reveal fashionable English tendencies, but it also still had much in common with older Dutch-American houses.⁶⁷ The brick house had a balanced façade, with a center entrance flanked by paired sash

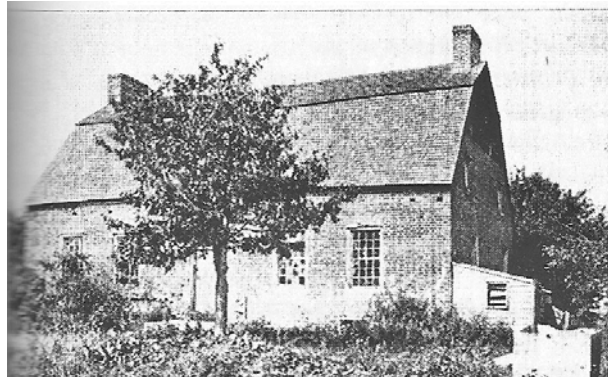


Figure 4.41: Abraham Hardenbergh House in 1903

windows. It had a gambrel roof, another stylish feature that came to New York via its New England neighbors, although the Dutch had made this type of roof their own by giving it a structural system different from the English.⁶⁸ This gambrel roof allowed for the spanning of a deeper house (thirty-three feet in this case), which suggests a row of rooms of lesser depth behind the principal rooms to the right and left, a depth that would have been very unusual in regional Dutch-American houses. The gambrel roof also expanded the depth of the loft, which might have allowed for finished spaces in the attic, which would not have been a common Dutch feature, as attics were generally used for storage. Yet, since the principal rooms would clearly

⁶⁶ Lefevre states that the house under discussion was built by Abraham Hardenbergh (*History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 457-9) who only would have been 21 at the time of the 1798 tax. Neil Larson estimates that the house was built c. 1790 (Larson Fisher Associates and Crawford & Stearns, "Historic Structure Report for the Ezekiel Elting House," 1.16). If either of these dates is accurate, the house was likely built by Abraham's father, John A. Hardenbergh.

⁶⁷ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 459.

⁶⁸ Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 56-7.

have been on one floor, and the house's façade included openings only on the first floor, the house would have been sufficiently similar to the stone Dutch-American houses that it would not have been seen as substantially different as a two-story Georgian style house would have been. That one of the largest houses in the town, built by one of the wealthiest, had retained a strong sense of Dutch character is illustrative of how powerful architectural Dutchness was at the end of the eighteenth century.

Similarly, the Rev. Stephen Goetschuis and his wife Elizabeth Dubois (great-granddaughter of patentee Louis Dubois) would build a stone house just down the street from that of Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. in 1791, which also clearly had a center hall flanked by a room on each side. Perhaps the oldest center-hall frame house in New Paltz is also in the old village center, that built by Lucas Van Wagenen in 1800.⁶⁹ The Solomon Eltinge House (Figure 4.42) was built probably around 1818 in the new village center with a center entrance and an appended kitchen wing that did not interfere with the symmetrical center block. All of these houses, though, given their commitment to the one-story plan, bore enough continuity with the town's architectural past that the result was essentially a joining of the traditional Dutch and modern English architectural styles in a way more powerful than the conversions discussed



Figure 4.42: Solomon Eltinge House in c. 1930s

⁶⁹ The Lucas Van Wagenen stands on the west side of Huguenot Street between the Maria Dubois House and the Dutch Reformed Church.

above. Only such few houses as Ezekiel Eltinge's 1799 house (discussed at the beginning of this chapter), and the grand Federal mansion that Congressman Josiah Hasbrouck, built in 1814 on the nearby Plattekill after he left his great-grandfather's 1721 home to his daughter and son-in-law, would bring a truly revolutionary architectural profile to the community. Congressman Josiah Hasbrouck's elegant, genteel, and imposing house—"Locust Lawn" (Figure 4.43) — based on a design in a noted architectural pattern book of Asher Benjamin, would have put the more traditionally-functioning 1799 house of Ezekiel Eltinge to shame.⁷⁰



Figure 4.43: Josiah Hasbrouck House, "Locust Lawn," photo c. 1930s.

The complete manuscript schedules for the 1798 U.S. Direct Tax that fortunately survive for New Paltz—the only complete set in New York—also indicate that the typical one-story profile remained dominant through the eighteenth century, even amongst the elite. Of the houses of 380 separate homeowners or tenants, only eight houses were listed as consisting of two floors, while three additional houses were one-and-one-half stories in height, for a total of only 3%. This is clearly less than that could be found in nearby New England in 1798, such as in Worcester County, where about one-third of the houses were two stories in height.⁷¹ As such,

⁷⁰ HABS NY,56-NEWP.V,1-1, <http://memory.loc.gov> (accessed April 15, 2009).

⁷¹ Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790-1840* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 112.

there is no evidence of any New Paltz house that overall would have been perceived as essentially English Georgian as of 1798, in either its elite or vernacular variations, as would have been seen across wide stretches of New England.

In total, even if we acknowledge the limitations of the evidence, we can still offer a general yet compelling description of the domestic architectural adaptation and change in New Paltz that reflects the ethnocultural contours of the community. Evidence as for the original dwellings is virtually non-existent, but when the founders and their children began constructing permanent houses, they generally built in the Dutch mode, in both form and function. The first houses that were constructed presented their gable to the street, and contained fireplaces and windows in a Dutch style. Soon, however, there were New World adaptations to essentially Dutch-style houses, with the employment of Germanic five-plate stoves, the use of stone as a building material (for the elite), and the use of the basement kitchen for slaves' quarters. Furthermore, although a gable-end house would be built as late as 1738, by 1721, it became common for the long axis of the house to be reoriented to be perpendicular with the street, without fundamentally altering the overall Dutchness of the house. By the 1730s, however, English elements would begin to be employed, most noticeably with sash windows, but somewhat later by the modern jambed fireplaces introduced into the colonies by Anglo-Americans. By the 1750s, some houses were being retrofitted with these English features, which also became standard in new houses, yet for many, this was the extent of the anglicization of domestic architecture through the remainder of the century. If the result was a Dutch-Anglo hybrid, the Dutch part of that combination remained dominant.

However, it was also in the 1760s that the stylish new English "Georgian" central hall and symmetrical arrangement would be introduced, the earliest dated example curiously

involving a heavy rebuilding of a traditional Dutch-American home rather than new construction. As the evidence stands to date, it appears that it would not be until after the Revolutionary War that newly-constructed houses would sometimes be built on balanced principles (such as the Hardenbergh House). Concurrently even then, however, a man at the pinnacle of local society, Jacob Hasbrouck Jr., would only anglicize to the point of incorporating the English-introduced internal passageway within a one-story Dutch profile, resulting in what was again essentially a blended English and Dutch form. It would not be until the very end of the century that a two-story symmetrical house with a central hall would be constructed on principles that had been brought to America through English agency, yet substantially still functioning in a traditional Dutch way (the Ezekiel Eltinge house, with which this chapter began). Even after such a house was constructed, the Dutchness still prevailed over the New Paltz ethno-architectural landscape—but not a “pure” Dutchness, as the English “Georgian” symmetry was incorporated into a Dutch profile. This continuity thusly would have made the first truly English house inside and out—the 1814 Josiah Hasbrouck mansion—seem almost “avant-garde,” in the words of architectural historian Neil Larson. It is possible that the new architectural elements and form were adopted simply for their modernity, providing greater privacy, differentiation of space, cleanliness, and convenience. However, it was a modernity introduced by the English, and as the such, the patentee descendants did not by definition resist such architectural Englishness, creating an ethnically hybrid architecture in the process. The slow architectural change over time, then, was relatively smooth, such that the process of architectural anglicization would have been far from unsettling. It was also a process in which the New Paltz builders were active agents, who accepted and incorporated change on their own terms and by their own volition. The English was blended into the Dutch, but only slowly.

The house was not the only commanding architectural form that demonstrated cultural orientation, as there was another structure on virtually every New Paltz property in the seventeenth, eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries which expressed Dutchness, Englishness, or a combination of both: the barn. Like the Dutch-American house, the Dutch-American barn (Figure 4.44) possessed a form and structural system that was significantly different from that of the barns of Great Britain.⁷² The Dutch-American barn generally was square or when slightly rectangular, wider than it was deep. It had its primary entrance on a gable end, had relatively low side walls, and generally consisted of three aisles. Like domestic architecture, the form developed from the Dutch *hallenhuis* tradition, and the structure of the building was based on the H-bent or anchorbeam system.⁷³ This structure consisted of a series of structural supports that extended parallel to the gable end; each of these “H-bent” supports consisted of two columns connected by a horizontal anchor beam. The vertical columns extended above the anchor beams and were joined by purlins to which was connected a relatively light roof structure. The space that was created above the anchor beams was used for storage of crops, the side aisles used for stabling of livestock, and the wide central nave used for threshing. The English barn, in contrast, was longer than wide, had a wagon entrance on the long side, lacked side aisles, and was framed with the primary structural supports being the four corners.

Unfortunately, virtually no early barns survive in New Paltz, so we cannot rely on physical evidence for analysis.⁷⁴ However, the 1798 U.S. Direct Tax schedules for New Paltz

⁷² Fitchen, *The New World Dutch Barn*, ed. Gregory S. Huber, 159, 180. The schematic is based on the Larger Wemp barn originally from Montgomery County, moved to Albany County in 1990.

⁷³ Cohen, *The Dutch-American Farm*, 28, 32, 90; Stevens, *Dutch Vernacular Architecture*, 117; Theodore H. J. Prudon, “The Dutch Barn in America: Survival of a Medieval Structural Frame,” in *Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, eds. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, 204-218 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 1986) 204-218.

⁷⁴ Neil Larson references one Dutch barn in New Paltz that might have been included in the 1798 tax list (Neil Larson, “An Inventory of Dutch Barns in the Town of New Paltz in 1798,” *Newsletter of the Dutch Barn Preservation Society* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1997), 1.

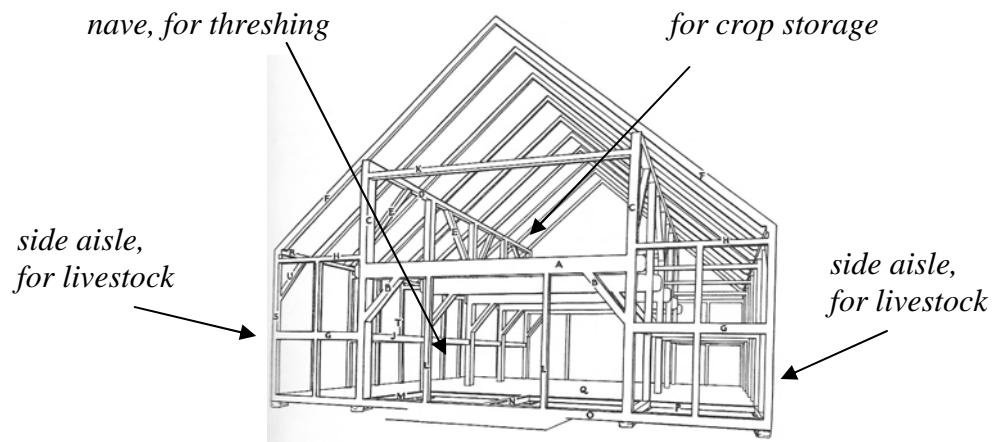


Figure 4.44: A Dutch-American three-aisle barn. The door would have been in the center front.

provides a record of all the barns in existence at that date, but even more importantly and perhaps uniquely, the assessor, Josiah R. Eltinge, clearly indicated which barns he perceived of as being “Dutch barns” as opposed to barns of another form, including “frame barns,” “log barns,” and simply “barns.” (Henceforth, barn terminology placed in quotes will be used to refer to structures as they were listed in the 1798 tax assessment.) This clearly reveals that by 1798, the barn form that many of the founders and their descendants were still using and even building anew had been “ethnicized,” and thus to some extent the population itself had been as well. The traditional Dutch-style barn was no longer normative but required an adjectival modifier. That the architecture of one cultural group or the other would at some point require such a designation, when their architecture was so clearly different, is not surprising. However, what is somewhat surprising is that one would expect that the culture that required the modifier would be essentially a sub-culture; however, in this case, the ethnicized group clearly remained the socially and economically dominant group in the community. The average assessment of the houses associated with “Dutch barns” (the barns themselves were not assessed a particular value)

was \$377, while the averages for those with “barns” (including “barns” and the two “crotch,” two “P. roof” and one stone “barns,” the latter five which will be henceforth included under the rubric “barn”) was \$183, or less than half, and with “log barns” only \$45. Additionally, nearly three-quarters of the “Dutch barns” appeared on farms with stone houses, such as the ones described earlier, which on average were assessed at 33% more than farms with frame houses.

The New Paltz “Dutch barn” literally dominated the physical landscape. Individually, they ranged from 60x50 feet (a 3000-square-foot footprint) to 30x29 (870 square feet), with an average footprint of 1935 square feet. This was more than twice the size of an average “barn,” being only 962 square feet, and about four times the average log barn, which was only 415 square feet. The “Dutch barns” also dominated “socially,” as it were, as at least sixty-four of the eighty-eight (73%) were owned or stood on land occupied by members of the New Paltz patentee families, such as the Deyo, Dubois and Hasbrouck families, or by men whose families had early on intermarried with the patentee families, including the Eltinges, Terwilligers, and Louws.⁷⁵ The proportion of “log barns” (four of twenty-two, or 18%) and “barns” (seventeen of ninety-four, or 18%) owned by patentee group families was much smaller, and of those seventeen “barns,” ten bore dimensions similar to Dutch barns yet not noted as such, suggesting that they were actually Dutch-Anglo hybrid barns (to be discussed below). In short, the larger and more valuable the barn, the more likely it was a “Dutch barn,” and the greater likelihood that it was owned by a member of the New Paltz elite of the patentee community (Table 4.1).

⁷⁵ The “Dutch barns” not owned or occupied by members of patentee families or families that had intermarried early on with those patentee families bore the following surnames: Adams, Burnet, Belue, Buchamon, Birdsall, Broadhead, Donaldson, Dublois, Dewitt, Ervin, Kellogg, Lewis, Merrit, Mullinex, Philips, Waring, Waldron, Wood, Jansen, Relye, Vandermerk, Vanhoesen, Vanwagenen, Wirtz, Wynkoop.

Table 4.1: Distribution of Barn types

Types of barns	"Dutch barns"	"barns"	"log barns"
Total Number	88	94	22
Number owned or used by patentee group families	64	17	4
Percentage of total	73%	18%	18%

Being as the “Dutch barns” were often associated with old New Paltz families, while this was generally not so for the “barns,” it is not surprising that the former were owned or occupied by those of Dutch-identified families, while the latter typically were not. Neither group of barns, however, was associated strictly with those of one ethnicity. “Dutch barns” appeared on farms owned by such as Thomas Wood, Jeremiah Merritt, and Abraham Donaldson, and on farms leased by Benjamin Adams, Thomas Burnet, William Ervin, and Josiah Kellogg, all names suggestive of English or non-Dutch origins; we do not know, however, whether these owners or lessees had built the barns on their property. As noted above, about 18% of the “barns” were associated with old New Paltz names, and a few with other Dutch and non-English names, but the remaining 82% were utilized by individuals whose ancestry would likely be traced back to Great Britain, such as Bush, Hunt, Turner, and Whitney, just to name a few.⁷⁶ Again, it was far more likely for a “Dutch barn” than it was for a “barn” to be associated with a Dutch-identified name, as it likewise was for a “barn” to be associated with a non-Dutch family, but usage overlapped ethnicity.

While the 1798 tax list offers compelling evidence for the continued commonness of Dutch barns in late eighteenth century New Paltz, while also suggesting an ethnicization of architecture and to a significant extent the people who used such material culture, the evidence is

⁷⁶ For example, othe Dutch and non-English names include Vanwagenen, Vanvliet, Dumont, Leroy, Polmitier, and Weismeller.

not without significant ambiguities. It is these ambiguities, however, which offer important insights into ways in which Dutch and English material culture blended, and how ethnic orientation developed in this liminal ethnocultural space. As previously discussed, a primary marker of a stereotypical (“classic or true form”) Dutch barn is its square to just slightly rectangular footprint; the average width to length ratio in the New Paltz “Dutch barns” was 1.13 to 1, as opposed to a 1 to 1.32 width to length ratio for “barns.”⁷⁷ Curiously, however, there were twenty-two “barns” the dimensions of which suggest footprints similar to those of “Dutch barns,” i.e., that they were square or only somewhat rectangular. Eight of these were extremely substantial in size and correspond to the size of the most substantial “Dutch barns.” Seven of this subgroup were within a foot of being square, which was simply not a characteristic of “English” barns, and the eighth was 45x50, very similar to eight of the “Dutch barns.” Importantly, seven of these eight largest almost-square “barns” were owned by old New Paltz families (Hasbrouck, Deyo, Terwilliger, and Eltinge), while the last was owned by Mary Broadhead (though rented by Nathaniel Bosworth and Israel Horton), of a family that had been in Ulster County since the mid-seventeenth century. These eight “barns” thusly were associated with families that had been traditionally of a Dutch cultural orientation, as was the norm for those that owned or used “Dutch barns.” The question, then, is what was different about these barns that suggested to the surveyor, Josiah R. Eltinge, that these barns did not warrant designation as “Dutch barns?”

One architectural historian suggests that these were possibly barns of a type that have been referred to as “true hybrid” or “original Dutch-Anglo” barns, representing one manner in

⁷⁷ It should be noted, however, that a very small number of “Dutch” barns, seven to be precise, had a side-to-side ratio that exceeded the average of the “barns” (four 40x30 at 1:1.33, one 48x36 at 1:1.33, one 48x35 at 1:1.37, and one 36x26 at 1:1.38).

which Dutch and English material culture could amalgamate.⁷⁸ (They have been referred to as “original,” since it was not unusual for classic Dutch barns to be modified into hybrid barns in the nineteenth century.⁷⁹) While the overall shape remained true to an original Dutch-Anglo barn, such a barn had an entrance on a side elevation rather than in a gable-end and the central area was not used for threshing, which thusly also provided much greater area for crop storage in the left and right bays, characteristics which were typical of “English” barns. The framing of such a barn, however, was based on the Dutch H-bent or anchorbeam system, although sometimes with modifications.⁸⁰ If these eight barns with Dutch footprints were indeed true hybrid Dutch-Anglo barns, the suggestion is that the surveyor viewed a barn as being Dutch or not Dutch in terms of its formal arrangement and function, but not from its structural system; in other words, it may have been that he was interpreting the structure from a farmer’s rather than a carpenter’s perspective. Additionally, it would likely not be surprising if some of the “Dutch barns” had been anglicized through the creation of a side entrance in a building that had originally contained only a gable entrance, thus extending the number of barn structures influenced by both Dutch and English ways beyond just those that were true hybrids.

The motivation for the construction of a hybrid barn is likely that they allowed for increased storage as compared to the classic Dutch barn; the English-style entrance on the long side allowed for storage directly in what had been the threshing floor of the Dutch barn. In the era when many farmers in the region were shifting from grain production to dairy, this added capacity would have facilitated the storage of increased amounts of hay for livestock fodder. As

⁷⁸ Larson “An Inventory of Dutch Barns in the Town of New Paltz in 1798.”

⁷⁹ Fitcher, *The New World Dutch Barn*, ed. Gregory s. Huber, xxvi.

⁸⁰ In some true hybrid Dutch-Anglo barns, the bents were oriented parallel to the side, rather than parallel to the gable as in the classic Dutch barn.

such, the adaptation of the Dutch barn along English lines by Dutch-identified people may not have represented a conscious choice to anglicize.

However, such hybridity in barn architecture does show the lack of resistance to Englishness, as there was a Dutch alternative to allow for increased hay storage for fodder. Of the eighty-eight “Dutch barns,” thirty of them were accompanied by “hay houses,” being rectangular structures, which quite often were as long as Dutch barns were deep; one each was 60-feet, 47-feet, and 45-feet long, eight 40-feet, and sixteen were between 30- and 39-feet long, with widths commonly of eighteen to twenty feet. An example in Woodstock in Ulster County, built circa 1820 (although there were other similar barns built before that date), was 50 feet 10 inches in length and 25 feet in width (the gable end).⁸¹ Thirty of the eighty-eight “Dutch barns” were coupled with hay houses (34%), while only four of the twenty-two possible hybrid barns (18%), had separate structures for hay storage, an almost two-to-one difference, which points to the purpose of the hybrid barns. Since the “hay houses” were most often coupled with “Dutch barns,” it is quite possible that these “hay houses,” were in fact built utilizing Dutch framing methods, resulting in what would be single-aisle Dutch barns. Such barns, which essentially consisted of the central nave of a Dutch barn without side aisles, generally served as “accessory buildings and are often adjacent to the main classic or true hybrid barns at particular homesteads.”⁸² Such single-aisle barns were “fairly often built” in the Dutch cultural region, yet oddly none were recorded in the 1798 tax list in New Paltz.⁸³ The likelihood is that the surveyor only noted the fully-developed three-aisle barn as a “Dutch barn,” since he was not basing his nomenclature on framing but form, and that some if not all of the hay houses were, in fact, Dutch-style single aisle barns.

⁸¹ Fitch, *The New World Dutch Barn*, ed. Gregory S. Huber, xxx-xxxi.

⁸² Fitch, *The New World Dutch Barn*, ed. Gregory S. Huber, xxx.

⁸³ Fitch, *The New World Dutch Barn*, ed. Gregory S. Huber, xxx.

If the “hay houses” were in fact one-aisle Dutch barns, and if the twenty-two “barns” that had Dutch barn-like footprints employed Dutch construction methods, these groups coupled with the “Dutch” barns suggests that Dutch-American barn architecture, like houses, remained substantially dominant in New Paltz up to the turn of the nineteenth century, if not beyond. However, we must acknowledge the presence of true hybrid barns, while also surmising that some of the 58 “Dutch barns” that were not accompanied by hay houses had been modified into a culturally hybrid structure, an approach that ultimately became rather common in the region. While the evidence is not entirely clear on this point, it is clear, however, that Dutch-Anglo hybridity developed in farm architecture over the course of the eighteenth century, as it had with domestic architecture.

Nevertheless, taken together, the sources strongly reveal a continued Dutchness of the architectural landscape well until the end of the eighteenth century, and most particularly so for the Dutch-identified descendants of the patentee families, who continued to dominate socioeconomically and politically. While elite English architectural design clearly had impacted local architecture of the patentee families as early as the second quarter of the eighteenth century, architectural Englishness had not overshadowed Dutchness by any means even until the end of the eighteenth century. Even if the bulk of the houses could be seen as Dutch-Anglo hybrids by 1798, the emphasis remained strongly on the Dutch side, and this was even more evident in barn architecture.

To some extent, that architecture did not change as rapidly as language is perhaps not surprising, given that buildings had a very strong staying power. In an age when tear-downs and new construction were not the norm, and some architectural modifications expensive (such as the replacement of glazed windows), the architectural landscape as a whole would have been more

static than some other forms of cultural expression. Furthermore, vernacular housing changes at a relatively slow pace, as it requires not only stylistic changes but alterations in domestic functioning and the social geography of domestic space.⁸⁴ However, we do see a similarity in how architecture and language both developed along hybrid lines not monolithically, but complexly. Just as the English language was accepted more quickly in business affairs than religious, so too were English architectural elements incorporated into Dutch architecture in houses before barns (although as noted above, more “Dutch barns” may have been modified along English lines in a manner not noted in the documentary record). The architectural landscape might have been slower to change because it often could involve significant expenditure of resources, as well as being dependent upon the availability of builders who worked in particular ethnic idioms. In other words, we might not take this to signify conservatism, particularly if we compare architecture to other forms of cultural expression. Language changed a bit more quickly, as we have seen, but as we turn our investigation of hybridity to the construction of gender through property rights, we will see an even earlier introduction of Englishness into the cultural mix.

⁸⁴Many essays in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia, 1986) attest to this theory.

CHAPTER 5

“I GIVE DEVISE AND BEQUEATH . . .”: GENDER, PROPERTY AND ETHNICITY

Together, husband and wife Louis DuBois and Catherine Blanchan composed a mutual will in Kingston, Ulster County, in 1676, one year before the establishment of their new town of New Paltz, only miles away. They would be one of the last couples in New York to do so. According to the Dubois' will, the surviving spouse would retain the whole estate unless he or she remarried, upon which half of the property would descend to the children. Such provisions were typical amongst Dutch people, in both Europe and America. Such a mutual will was provided for in Roman-Dutch law and was based on the concept of community property during marriage, a principle that ran counter to English common law. After the English conquest of 1664, the articles of capitulation preserved the right of the Dutch to continue to honor their traditional inheritance practices, yet the mutual will soon became a relic of the past. Louis Dubois would write a new will ten years after the first, but this time his last wishes were offered individually through his own will, according to English practice. His wife had lost her legal voice in these regards. Catherine could also potentially lose all rights to the family estate, which her husband formerly accepted as being mutually owned by both spouses. If she were to remarry, all of the estate—not just half of it as in 1676—would immediately descend to their heirs. Louis still could have given her half of the property upon her remarriage had he so chosen, yet he did not. Apparently, Louis had changed his conception of the ownership of family

property; now it was his alone, according to principles of English common law. The Dubois' Dutch community property had been transformed into that of the English patriarch.¹

Nevertheless, Catherine did not lose everything in this transition. Through both of these wills, Louis allowed his wife complete authority over the estate during her widowhood, provided she did not remarry. Again, this was a characteristic of most Dutch wills, as they were written in accordance with the principle of *boedelhouderschap*, which allowed for the surviving spouse to retain control of the entire estate if there were minor children. In practice, this principle was generally extended into widowhood even beyond the point that all children reached their majority, allowing widows a great deal over the family estate if the husband was first to die.² It was certainly common for English and Anglo-American men also to provide for their wives and children in a similar fashion, but generally only when children were minors; the age of the children was less relevant for the Dutch. Giving widows such authority was perhaps most notable in the Chesapeake, having been influenced by the limited life expectancy common in the early years of English settlement. The demographic situation in that region almost required that the surviving spouse, whether male or female, take charge of the family estate upon the death of the other spouse.³ As such, giving a widow authority is not an essentially Dutch nor English

¹ Louis Dubois and Catherine Blanchan, "Testamentary Disposition, October 13, 1676," in Gustave Anjou, *Ulster County, N.Y. probate records in the office of the surrogate, and in the county clerk's office at Kingston, N.Y. : a careful abstract and translation of the Dutch and English wills, letters of administration after intestates, and inventories from 1665, with genealogical and historical notes, and list of Dutch and Frisian baptismal names with their English equivalents* (New York, NY: Anjou, 1906), 1:34. Louis Dubois and Catherine Blanchan were the only couple associated with New Paltz that composed a mutual will. In Ulster County, the last mutual will that was probated was written in 1683, and in New York City 1693. Between 1690 and 1699, only 2 out of 29 New York City wills were written by a husband and wife together [David Narrett, "Men's Wills and Women's Property Rights in Colonial New York," in *Women in the age of the American Revolution*, eds. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, 103-4 (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1989)]; "Will of Louis Dubois, March 30, 1686," in Anjou, *Probate*, 1:46-47; "Will of Louis Dubois, March 27, 1694," in Anjou, *Probate*, 1:50-51.

² Narrett, *Inheritance and family life in Colonial New York City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 44-57; Narrett, "Men's Wills," 104-5, 108-9.

³ Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 34 (1977): 542-572; Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1986), 188-193.

cultural characteristic, but oftentimes related to the life cycle of the family and particular demographic circumstances.

However, a difference between the Dutch and English can be seen in how the widow acted and was acted upon after the passing of her husband. In the Chesapeake, widows that were given a great deal of power by their husband generally lost or gave away that authority as the children matured. In spite of the wills of many husbands, the English principle of female dependence nevertheless seems to have ultimately revealed itself. In other words, Anglo-American matriarchy, when it did exist, had limitations in practice.⁴ However, for many Dutch-oriented women who had been treated according to the principle of *boedelhouderschap*, their matriarchy was substantial and permanent. In Louis Dubois' first (joint) will, Catherine and he even said to one another, "If the survivor remains unmarried, he or she shall not be compelled to pay out anything more to the children than it may please the survivor, either as a marriage portion, or in some other way," although the children would eventually inherit the property in equal portions when the surviving spouse died. Such equal divisions remained a stipulation of the 1686 will as well, as did Catherine's rights and responsibilities as sole executor. Nothing suggests that the substantial maternal discretion in the administration of family property given in the first will did not continue to apply in the second, although that latter will did potentially restrict some of Catherine's long-term property rights. While Catherine Dubois would ultimately choose to remarry and thus give up her authority, had she not, there is every reason to expect that she would have been a powerful widow, a situation common in the area. In sum, Louis made the transition from Dutch concept of community property to a much more English approach which rendered the family estate now that of the patriarch, even though his ability to devise at least of

⁴ Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 192-193.

portion of the family estate to Catherine upon her remarriage remained unchanged. However, he also conceived of his wife as the Dutch matriarch rather than, eventually, the female English dependent. The result of Louis' adaptation of his gendered ideals in relation to property was therefore a Dutch-Anglo hybrid.

As this one example suggests, an analysis of ethnicity, gender and property can thusly serve to add an additional layer to our understanding of the complex ethnic environment of the New York cultural frontier as represented by New Paltz. Such an analysis, however, is not without certain ambiguities. In particular, while a "pure" Dutchness can basically be articulated—at least as it was practiced in New Netherland/New York—it is well nigh impossible to similarly articulate what comprised Englishness. Estate laws passed by Englishmen were not uniform in either the Old World nor the New. Furthermore, laws came into play only in cases intestacy, such that wills allowed individuals to circumvent such laws if they so desired. As such, law and practice in some colonial English environments may have been at odds with each other, thus making it difficult to pinpoint exactly what characterized a particular culture in these regards. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that the average man in rural New Paltz would have been aware of the practices of English people in other colonies. They might not even have been aware of practices in areas of New York that had higher concentrations of English people than in the New Paltz regional community, such as in eastern Long Island, given that the lives of most New Paltz people revolved around the local. Presumably, however, they would have been aware of New York's intestacy laws, which did represent English cultural thought in one form, even if it did not represent English culture in its totality. With this in mind, the following analysis is based on the premise that in New Paltz, Dutchness represented practices that developed out of earlier New Netherland law and local Dutch traditions, while English

colonial intestacy law as enacted in New York would have represented Englishness to those New Yorkers somewhat distant from centers of English occupation.

A further challenge is that testamentary choices were often not based strictly on cultural traditions as represented in law or practice but on issues of family relationships, the life cycle, amount of property, and demographics.⁵ In short, the ability to write a will was also the ability to manage the material needs of a particular family. Thus, because of the early colonial demographic conditions in the Chesapeake, for example, men often strayed from simply providing women their widows' "thirds." Furthermore, the availability of land might also impact a man's choices when distributing property, such that a small estate would be less likely to be divided into multiple portions amongst children than a large estate would be, as there would be limits to the fragmentation of landholdings. The availability of land in the New World as opposed to the Old might thusly have had a strong impact on the transmission of culture. For example, in the early history of Chester and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania, partible inheritance was common regardless of ethnicity, although impartible inheritance increasingly became the norm over the eighteenth century to prevent fragmentation beyond necessary levels.⁶ As cultural traditions, cultural innovations, the life cycle, mortality, and the availability of land all intersected when a colonial man constructed his final wishes, it is not always possible to transparently uncover his precise motivations in providing for his wife and children. Nevertheless, while culture may not have been the exclusive guide in early New Paltz, it was certainly important, particularly because Dutch law and local Dutch practices were sharply distinct from English intestacy law, which as noted earlier, would likely have represented

⁵ Carole Shammas, Marylynn Salmon, and Michel Dahlin, *Inheritance in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1987), 41-62.

⁶ James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (New York: Norton, 1972), 91-93.

“Englishness” in the locally-oriented environment of New Paltz. And as we shall see, the temporal trajectory of cultural establishment and change in terms of property and gender seems to coincide with the trajectories of other elements of community and culture discussed previously, thus lending a cultural analysis of property and gender greater verisimilitude than if it were to be explored in isolation. With gender and property as with architecture and language, New Paltz in the eighteenth-century was indeed a culturally hybrid community on the cultural frontier.

Before directly exploring the cultural processes of early New Paltz in terms of gender and property, we must first consider the cultural vocabularies open to the founders of the village and their descendants. The provisions of male testators could basically be divided into two categories, both with gendered implications: provisions for widows and provisions for children. Unfortunately, the literature on Walloon practices, which would have been the legacy that the founders would have brought with them, is rather limited. However, the literature suggests that Walloon husbands and wives did not hold property communally. Their distribution of property to children was also clearly gendered, as it was unequal. Through a clearly defined cultural region extending from Amiens to Liège, Walloon law and practices were based on the principle of “preference legacy,” which enabled parents to favor one child over another in both legacies and dowries. The generally guiding maxim was “to one more, to the other less.” In general, Walloon parents created inequality between sons, which would likely have been necessary when landholdings were at risk of over-fragmentation. But Walloon parents also favored gendered

inequalities, as parents generally gave less to their daughters than the male offspring of the family, thus generally keeping land in the patriline.⁷

In contrast, as discussed above, Dutch couples owned property jointly according to Roman-Dutch law as, according to one historian, marriage was akin “to a partnership in which both parties were at a similar risk.”⁸ In cases of intestacy, the surviving spouse retained ownership of half of the estate, with the remainder going to the children in equal portions, regardless of the age of the children. Husbands and wives could write separate wills to distribute their half of the communal estate, yet they commonly composed their wills jointly, dividing their property in a manner that reflected Dutch intestacy law that required equal divisions for spouses. In practice, the surviving spouse generally retained control of the estate throughout his or her widowed years, even as the children matured and established their own households. Even when writing wills, the Dutch also tended to be egalitarian in their distribution of both real and personal property to children, regardless of sex, while also taking into consideration the value of marriage portions, or *uitzet*. The fact that giving land to daughters alienated it from the patriline does not seem to have been a concern to Dutch fathers, nor did the possibility of estate fragmentation seem to have been a particular concern. This suggests a cultural ideal rather than a material imperative since land in Netherlands was always at a premium, a great deal of it having been laboriously wrested from the sea. If fragmentation had been a concern, the intestacy laws quite possibly would have been written differently.

The Dutch principles of greater egalitarianism and joint property therefore contrasted with Walloon practices, but they also contrasted with English law. English and Anglo-American

⁷ Emmaneul Le Roy Ladurie, “Inheritance Customs in 16th-Century France,” in *Family and Society: Selections from the Annales Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, eds. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, trans. Elborg Forster and Patricia M. Ranum, 99-103 (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1976).

⁸ Narrett, “Men’s Wills,” 102.

law favored varying degrees of inequality and female dependence, and thus English legal ways were more akin to those of the Walloons than the Dutch. A married English woman was a *feme covert*, whose personal property brought to a marriage became the property of her husband. If she held title to land, whether that land was acquired either before or after the marriage, usually by inheritance, she would retain legal ownership, but her husband had the right to administer and derive the profits from that land throughout the marriage. If the wife ever gave birth to a child during the marriage, even if the child did not survive, the husband retained control of the landed property even after his wife's decease according to the principle of the "curtesy." If the husband predeceased his wife, however, she held only the right of dower, which entitled her to the profits of one-third of her husband's real property during her lifetime. In New York, law dictated that a widowed woman also had the right to ownership of one-third of the personal property in cases of intestacy. A husband might give his widow greater rights to property than dictated by law, but as noted earlier, the dependence of women was ultimately greater amongst the English than the Dutch.

It is important to note that even though these varying cultural approaches would have been known by the founders of New Paltz and their eighteenth-century descendants, at least to some degree, and even though the 1664 articles of capitulation enabled the New York Dutch to maintain their inheritance customs, the English common law after the conquest did essentially apply to family relationships in New York. As such, the married female Walloons of New Paltz and their married female descendants would legally be *femes covert* whether they, or the men in their lives, liked it or not. Yet men could give greater property and power to their widows than the "thirds" that widows could claim regardless of the will, and thus men could preserve Dutch gender ideals if they so desired, at least during their wives' widowhood. Dutch-oriented men

could also be more or less egalitarian amongst their children. As a result, they could in a significant way perpetuate the Dutch gender relations that were not as unbalanced as amongst the English. This is not to say that the Dutch culture of the early modern period was not patriarchal, as Dutch husbands had control over the joint estate during marriage.⁹ Nevertheless, Dutch culture was less patriarchal than contemporary English culture, as evidenced by the English laws of coverture, which clearly presented women with fewer opportunities to be legal actors than within Dutch culture.

In general, as we have seen with language and architecture, New Paltz demonstrated a highly-fluid cultural hybridity in terms of property and gender, although there is little evidence that Walloon practices were ever part of the mix, even amongst the founding generation. Rather, Dutch ways found fertile ground in the early years of New Paltz, generally speaking, although even amongst the founders a limited degree of hybridity was present. Slowly over time would New Paltz men embrace English ways, but such acceptance was often not a simple and monolithic process. As a baseline for further comparison, it would be worthwhile first to consider in total how the founders approached the issues of gender and property. Later, however, provisions for wives and provisions for children will be explored separately, as cultural changes proceeded at different rates and in different ways for wives and children.

Unfortunately little can be said about the founders' provisions for their wives, since only one founder composed a will when his wife was alive. As noted earlier, Louis Dubois initially expressed his choice of gendered culture by initially adopting the Dutch mutual will even after the English conquest. Yet in his later English-inspired wills, written exclusively in his own name, he also reconceived of the family estate as his alone. Nevertheless, he did demonstrate

⁹ Narrett, "Men's Wills," 102.

Dutch principles by ensuring his wife's matriarchy during her widowhood. Louis Dubois also remained committed to Dutchness in his choices regarding property division amongst his children. In this way, he was similar to the other five of the ten first-generation male founders of New Paltz who left wills.¹⁰ In general, the New Paltz patentees embraced an egalitarianism towards both sons and daughters unheard of in the Walloon homeland by granting them equal portions of both real and personal property. Granted, the relatively immense availability of land in the New World could facilitate greater egalitarianism than had been the practice in many areas of Europe. Nevertheless, that the founders favored the absolute equality in both forms of property amongst children regardless of sex does suggest a cultural rather than material reason for adopting egalitarianism, as it coincided with the principles of their many Dutch neighbors.

This sense of gendered egalitarianism is further emphasized by the fact that the founding fathers who composed their wills while they had unmarried minor children at home stipulated that the unmarried would first receive their marriage portions (*uitzet*), before the remainder of the estate would be divided equally. Christian Deyo (1676) stipulated that regardless of their sex "the unmarried [were] to receive as much as the married children [had] received," noting the particular monetary portion to which each was entitled.¹¹ Similarly, Hugo Freer (1698) upon his death would provide each of his three unmarried children greater property than the married children, the latter already having received their marriage portions. Freer's two unmarried sons would each receive a horse and his daughter a feather bed, bolster, two blankets and a cow, which had approximately equivalent values.¹² Only after these additional bequests were

¹⁰ Two of the twelve patentees, Abraham and Isaac DuBois, were sons of patentee Louis DuBois, so they will be considered as members of the second generation

¹¹ "Testamentary Disposition of Christian Deyo, August 10, 1676," in Anjou, *Probate*, 1:31. Also see his later will, Christian Deyo, "Will, February 1, 1687/8," Hasbrouck and Heidgerd *The Deyo (Deyoe) Family*, 1.

¹² It is difficult to determine the exact value, particularly in the early eighteenth century, given the dearth of estate papers that contain values of goods. However, a 1774 vendue listing of the estate of Abraham Bevier, suggests similar values for the *uitzet* given to each child.

conferred would the estate be divided.¹³ There were obviously differently-gendered types of property in the eyes of Hugo Freer, but the gender of the child was not relevant to the value of the property received. However, this gender difference was only relevant in the context of marriage portions, not in terms of the whole the estate. Both Christian Deyo and Hugo Freer divided the bulk of the estate, both real and personal, into equal portions, yet as they did not indicate how the precise divisions would be made, they chose not to apply any further conception of gender differences to property.

Louis Dubois would ultimately be more exact, particularly in terms of real property.¹⁴ In his 1694 will (his third), he provided for an equal division of his real and personal estate amongst his eight children. Apparently, however, he started to distribute his real estate over the next couple of years, so he produced a 1696 codicil that directed some of his children to make various payments to the estate for certain lands they had already received.¹⁵ Such payments would be made directly to the estate before it was distributed into eight equal parts, effecting equality amongst his offspring. Antoine Crispell (1707) would specify the precise division of his real estate, and although the value of each portion is not known, both sons and daughters received significant segments of such real property.¹⁶ Although each of these four men chose a slightly different approach, their ultimate goals seem to have been egalitarian. Likewise, Louis Bevier, in 1720, would bestow his estate equally in terms of value, but his choice was at variance with many of the other founders, as only his sons would receive the real property. However, each son would have to make payments to their sister, presumably to make the cash value of each heir's

¹³“Will of Hugo Freer, September 4, 1697/8,” in Anjou, *Probate*, 1:77-8.

¹⁴“Will of Louis Dubois, March 27, 1694,” in Anjou, *Probate*, 1:50-51.

¹⁵For example, son Jacob was required to pay 1500 schepels of wheat for half of his father's farm in Hurley, and daughter Sara was to pay 700 schepels of wheat for another piece of land in Hurley. “Codicil of Louis Dubois, February 22, 1695/96,” in Anjou, *Probate*, 1:51-52.

¹⁶“Will of Antoine Crispell, 1707,” in Anjou, *Probate* 1:71-73.

legacy equal. Louis Bevier's choice still reflected a high degree of egalitarianism, although it does demonstrate a non-Dutch idea by intentionally keeping the land in the patriline.

The only one of the six who seems to have dramatically favored one child over the others is Jean Hasbrouck, whose son, Jacob, received all of the real estate, two male slaves and half of the personalty. Neither Elizabeth or Mary, his daughters, inherited any real property through the will. Mary, however, had previously received some real estate, and as such, it is possible that Elizabeth had received real property at some point as well.¹⁷ Even though all of Jean Hasbrouck's land thusly was not reserved for his son Jacob, the bulk of it was. Jean's other son, his eldest, who had previously left New Paltz for parts unknown, would also have been provided for if he returned. In such case, Jacob, the son who remained, would have to forfeit half of the land and one horse, as the eldest son's birthright.¹⁸ Ultimately, the son who never left would receive the greatest share, but the returning son would also get a substantial portion. As for the remaining personal property not given to Jacob, Elizabeth would inherit one female slave and the remaining half of the personal estate minus £57 to the other daughter, Mary. In total, unlike the other patentees, Jean did not chose a Dutch-style egalitarian distribution of his property amongst all of his children. He nevertheless gave significant portions to all of his children, regardless of sex. The sons would not be treated precisely equally, but at least Jean effected a fair distribution, favoring the son who remained at home. Jean's choices ambiguously reflect either Walloon or English practices—it is difficult to say—although as his eighteenth-century male descendants tended not to be traditionalists, perhaps he was not either. In spite of this ambiguity, it is clear that Jean Hasbrouck separated himself from the other New Paltz patentees. For the most part, they had profoundly strayed from the favoritism that had characterized their homeland,

¹⁷ The location of Mary Hasbrouck's property given by her father is mentioned in the will.

¹⁸ Jean Hasbrouck, "Will, August 26, 1712," trans. Berthold Fernow, in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America, with European Background*, 3rd edition (New Paltz, NY: privately printed, 1986), 30-32.

embracing an egalitarianism more akin to the Dutch cultural practices of their adopted land and neighbors.

Another aspect of Walloon testamentary practice, which according to Le Roy Ladurie was that culture's "acid test," was the "absence of representation," such that the children of deceased heirs did not inherit what was intended to go to their deceased parent.¹⁹ This practice was not the standard, however, for Dutch testators in the Hudson Valley, nor for the New Paltz founders who provided for this possibility in their wills.²⁰ In Louis DuBois' 1694 will, the children of his deceased son Isaac were to receive one-eighth of the estate, just as each of his other children did. Likewise, Jean Hasbrouck stipulated that in the case of his son Jacob's death, Jacob's children would receive his share. Hasbrouck, however, was inconsistent on this point as the son of his deceased daughter Esther only received £15. That comparatively small portion was presumably less than he would have given Esther had she been alive, since it was far less than that which he gave his other children.²¹ The evidence is somewhat weaker on this point, as DuBois and Jean Hasbrouck were the only testators of the six patentees who composed wills to mention the distribution of property in light of or in case of the death of a child who was an heir. Nevertheless, that they allowed for representation further supports the contention that the New Paltz founders employed non-Walloon cultural practices.

The evidence concerning the testamentary practices of the founding generation is indeed somewhat limited, and not without ambiguity, since culture was possibly not the only motivating force in their decisions. Nevertheless, their choices do seem, at least to some extent, to reflect a general desire amongst the founders to abandon their ancestral practices in favor of the

¹⁹ Le Roy Ladurie, *Inheritance Customs*, 101.

²⁰ Narrett, "Men's Wills," 130-131.

²¹ Jean Hasbrouck, "Will, August 26, 1712," trans. Berthold Fernow in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 30-32.

egalitarian ways of the Dutch—their new near neighbors. In general, they did not accept the less-balanced gender relations of the English, such as was practiced in New England or amongst the Anglo-Americans of Long Island. This strategy of adopting Dutch cultural practices is extremely significant because in no way was it forced upon the Walloon settlers of New Paltz. As they possessed wide legal discretion according to English law, more of the patentees could have chosen to follow Walloon preferential legacy practices or the unequal traditions of the English, but they did not. This fact further suggests that the patentees, in general, intentionally attempted to follow the ways of their Dutch neighbors.

Like the founders, some patentee sons and grandsons would also strongly embrace Dutchness as defining the male-female relationship in marriage. Others, however, while basically accepting Dutch ways, creatively incorporated English concepts, forming a cultural hybrid. Still others chose to distribute their property through their wills in ways that reflected New York's intestacy law, which, as noted earlier, may have represented "Englishness" for the non-English of New Paltz. For the sons and grandsons, cultural alternatives were available and creativity was permitted, rendering the community as a whole a decidedly hybrid one. In fact, as the freedom to write a will made creativity possible within any single culture, the fact that cultural alternatives were available might have even furthered the breadth of possibilities conceived of by the testator. This may have rendered the cultural environment further complex, influencing the development of a complex, fluid hybridity. To understand the hybridity that was created and perpetuated through much of the eighteenth century, we need to systematically explore several issues that reflected gendered ideals, as issues impacting wives did not change through time in the same way and at the same rate as issues affecting daughters, again pointing to the suggestion that cultural change was not monolithic.

The more balanced relationship between men and women in New York Dutch culture, which was both a cause and a result of their shared property rights during marriage, was profoundly affected by the English conquest, given that English law did not countenance community property between husbands and wives. There was simply nothing a Dutch-oriented man could do to preserve this cultural tradition legally, since under English law, nothing within a marriage was held jointly. However, a husband could perpetuate the Dutch tradition of *boedelhouderschap* by choosing to grant his widow control over his and her estate if he predeceased her, providing her with matriarchal status. Many male Dutch New Yorkers in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century did just that, provided that such widows chose not to remarry. Admittedly, those of English extraction also sometimes provided their wives with such authority, particularly when there were minor children. As such, that some New Paltz provided their wives with considerable power as widows is somewhat culturally ambiguous. However, there are several instances that seem to suggest that matriarchal status was conferred regardless of the life cycle of the family, suggesting that Dutch gender ideals were a motivating force, at least for some. Hendricus Deyo, for example, indicated in 1724 that his wife, Margriste, “will remain in full possession of all my worldly goods in order to enjoy them peacefully during her widowhood without having to give account for them to my children,” even though they had minor children when the will was composed, suggesting that Hendricus wanted his widow to be the head of the household in perpetuity.²²

In 1738, Andries Lefevre similarly gave his wife full authority of the estate, possibly because there were still minor children at home (the youngest being 10). Yet, the son who would inherit the family home was already 29 and had been married for 13 years, and as such, he could

²² Henry Deyo, “Will, December 4, 1724,” *Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection*, trans. David Wilkin, February 2003. The original French is “ma fame margriste demeurera en la plaine Posesiont de toute me bien pour en jouir paisiblement Durant sont veuage seant quel soit oublige de rendre Conte a me enfant. . .”)

have assumed the position of head of household had his father so wished. In 1747, Daniel Dubois made his wife Maria a powerful widow even without there being minor children, as the youngest child (a son) was already nineteen, although married and living at home. The eldest son, the 28-year-old Simon, was also still living at home, yet as it would be he that inherited the family home, his father could have made him head of household, had he desired to do so. Daniel Dubois' choices was thusly similar to those of Andries Lefevre, as they both provided for their wife's matriarchal status over adult male offspring, and it was not unusual for wives to be treated thusly throughout the eighteenth century. Hendricus Dubois acted in a similar fashion in 1774, when his youngest child (a male) was 23. In 1790, Abraham Lefevre dictated that his wife Maria, then 72, would have full use rights over his estate, even though their children ranged in age from 27 to 46. Such men represented a slight majority (16 out of 29) in the community during the eighteenth century, and many men established their widows as matriarchs throughout the century.²³

Admittedly, there is some cultural ambiguity in granting widows such authority, since some English men also granted their wives such power. In general, however, the Anglo-American matriarch was not nearly as common as a Dutch-American one. It is also evident that some elderly Dutch women were fully capable of managing their husbands' estates, such that the stereotypical "poor" English widow who had difficulty providing for herself did not apply in New Paltz, at least in some cases. A widowed Dutch matriarch could have been as economically powerful within the household as her husband had been. Elsie Hasbrouck managed the family farm between the ages of 39 and 69, and Petronella Lefevre was controlling the estate into her

²³ When a testator wrote more than one will, the final will that composed during his wife's lifetime is included in these figures.

sixties.²⁴ Margrietje Bevier only began managing her children's patrimony at the age of 53, and she kept very close reins on that estate, holding her eldest son strictly accountable for providing her with the necessities of life in exchange for allowing him to stay in his parents' home. She also wrote and rewrote her will four times to ensure that her financial wishes would be followed.²⁵

However, while it was common in eighteenth-century New Paltz for men to accept the Dutch principle of independence for widows, only a few attempted to create a form of community property akin to Dutch ways. Although English law made community property impossible in a legal sense, if individual men wanted to preserve the basic concept, they could have allowed their widows to assume ownership of half the estate even if they remarried, the other half, of course, going to the couple's heirs. Wealthy New Yorker Gulian Verplanck and his wife Henrica Wessels, for example, composed a mutual will in just that fashion in 1684, twenty years after the English conquest.²⁶ Only three New Paltz men, however, ever attempted to preserve such a tradition in any fashion. As noted earlier, the 1676 joint will of Louis and Catherine Dubois provided for each other like Verplanck and Wessels, but Louis abandoned this provision in his 1686 and 1694 wills, which commanded that his wife would lose all rights to any property upon remarriage. Hugo Freer Sr. in his 1707 will was very generous, giving his wife two-thirds of the property if she remarried, even though none of the children had received marriage portions, as the oldest was only 16 and unmarried. Henry Dubois (1784) gave a highly idiosyncratic portion to his wife if she chose to remarry—one-seventh of the real estate for life—

²⁴ Elsie Hasbrouck, "Deed, June 1, 1754," in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 37 (manuscript in private collection).

²⁵ Margrietje Eltinge Bevier, "Wills 1793, 1796, 1799 and 1805," and "Indenture," 1776, "as well as a June 6, 1787, document in which she indicated that her eldest son Solomon had not fulfilled his part of the contract with her. *Hendricus Dubois Family Papers*, HHS, New Paltz, New York.

²⁶ Narrett, "Men's Wills," 105.

the proportion of which was what each of the six children received as well.²⁷ They were the only three who preserved Dutchness in such a manner to any degree.

In most cases, however, wives did receive either personal property, cash, an annuity, or income from real property, which thusly remained theirs upon remarriage, yet such bequests were far less than half the estate and thus less than received by a typical Dutch widow (Table 5.1). Out of a total of 32 men before 1800 who composed wills when their wives were still living, 13 bequeathed their wives something, regardless of their wives' future marital choices. Additionally, seven more gave similar bequests upon remarriage, although they sometimes limited the bequests of personal property to life interest. Two others, Henry Deyo and Abraham Deyo, 1724, offered ambiguous remarriage terms, indicating only that if their widows remarried, they widows would have to "render an account" to the children. Four husbands did not stipulate any remarriage terms, likely because their wives were between 61 and 74 when they composed their wills. In total, a minimum of 20 out of 32 testators thusly believed that their wives were entitled to something, either at the death of the husband or upon the widow's remarriage. Since both Dutch and English law held that married women had stable rights to at least some property even upon remarriage, it is generally unclear if these men saw themselves as favoring an English or Dutch practice, although they were clearly not intentionally preserving a strict Dutchness.

A minority of New Paltz men, however, denied both cultures by abandoning the Dutch tradition of community property even in principle, but they also did not embrace English law either. This is reflected in the fact that some men gave their widows nothing outright and further denied them all property, either real or moveable, upon remarriage. Simon Dubois directed in 1756, when his wife Catharyntie was only 35, "in case she shall happen to marry again, Then

²⁷"Will of Henry Dubois, May 26, 1784," in Anjou, *Probate*, 2: 32.

Table 5.1: Bequests to widows (testators who wrote multiple wills with living wives in bold)

Last	First	Year	Age of testator	Age of spouse	Executor	Bequest to widow upon husband's decease (not including terms of estate administration and/or possession)	Remarriage Terms
Dubois	Louis	1676	50	47	Yes	nothing	receives one-half of estate
Dubois	Louis	1686	60	57	Yes	nothing	nothing
Dubois	Louis	1694	66	63	Yes	nothing	nothing
Hasbrouck	Jacob	1720	32	34	No	ownership of personal estate except 2 slaves	use of entire estate until children reach maturity; own- ership of personal estate except 2 slaves
Devo	Abraham	1724	44	41	Yes	Nothing	must give account to children
Devo	Henry	1724	34	31	Yes	Nothing	must give account to children
Hasbrouck	Joseph	1724	40	39	Yes	Nothing	use of property until youngest child 16
Dubois	Daniel	1729	45	40	No	Nothing	1/3 of profits from lands, one slave, 3 or 4 cows, 3 horses, all furniture (life interest)
Dubois	Abraham	1731	74	69	No	1/3 income from real estate	none stated
Hasbrouck	Jacob	1732	44	46	Yes	Nothing	interest from 500 pistoles
Lefevre	Andries	1738	59	55	No	a slave and a horse	none stated
Dubois	Jacob	1739	78	(2nd wife) 70	Yes	rental income from farm rented to son	none stated
Lefevre	Simon	1743	34	33	No	slave, livestock, household goods farm utensils and 1/4 proceeds from sale of estate after specified bequests	nothing
Eltinge	Roeloff	1745	67	63	No	Nothing	none stated
Dubois	Jonathan	1746	36	34	Yes	Nothing	one slave and dowry (household goods/cows)
Hasbrouck	Jacob	1747	59	61	Yes	2 slaves, furniture, 2 cows, £18 annuity	none stated
Dubois	Daniel	1747	63	58	Yes	Nothing	none stated
Bevier	Samuel	1750	70	(2nd wife) unk.	No	Nothing	none stated
Dubois	Simon	1756	37	35	Yes	Nothing	"utterly excluded and debarred from estate"
Hasbrouck	Daniel	1759	67	51	Yes	Nothing	nothing
Bevier	Abraham	1763	50	45	Yes	Nothing	a slave and a bed
Eltinge	Josiah	1767	55	54	No	slave, bed and £20 annually	none stated
Hasbrouck	John/Jan	1768	38	27	No	Nothing	bed, kas, various household goods
Dubois	Hendricus	1774	64	61	Yes	Nothing	none stated
Hasbrouck	Jacob Jr.	1776	49	45	No	Nothing	none stated
Dubois	Cornelius	1780	73	74	No	Nothing	none stated
Lefevre	Daniel	1784	59	58	Yes	slave	none stated
Dubois	Henry	1784	41	36	Yes	Nothing	1/7 of estate
Hasbrouck	Abraham	1785	78	65	No	Nothing	nothing
Lefevre	Abraham	1790	74	74	No	Nothing	none stated
Eltinge	Roeloff	1791	56	37	No	dowry and £50	none stated
Devo	Peter	1791	73	67	No	cow, bed and £15 annual annuity	none stated
Freer	Johannis	1796	71	67	No	Nothing	£10 annual annuity
Hasbrouck	Benjamin	1796	77	67	No	£21 annual annuity	none stated

and in Such case [she was] to be utterly Excluded and Debarred of and from my Estate.”²⁸

Similarly, according to a 1759 will, Daniel Hasbrouck’s wife, the 51-year-old Wyntje, if she was to marry again, would have to “deliver up the possession [of the entire estate] unto my Children,” even though in her widowhood she had been given full use rights.²⁹ Joseph Hasbrouck (1724) provided that if his 39-year-old wife Elsie should happen to marry again, “then she shall have the same [being the use and profits from the entire estate] untill my Youngest Child arrives or Comes to the age of Sixteen years,” but this was more than some husbands gave.³⁰ In addition to these three husbands, only three others out of a total of thirty-two excluded their wives from receiving anything if they were to wed again.

It may not be surprising that some widows were denied real estate in a way not typical of Dutch culture, as under English law, wives did not contribute their real property to a joint estate—and oftentimes women did bring real property to a marriage, as we shall see below. If a woman did not contribute her real property to a family estate, then perhaps a husband did not feel a need to give her any of “his” real property upon her remarriage. In terms of real property, what one brought to the marriage was what one retained, as provided for by common law. This position would only apply to real property, rather than personal property, of which a husband had sole ownership. As sole owner, husbands chose a variety of approaches, as noted above, but most gave something permanently to their widows. However, the minority of men who bequeathed neither real nor personal property to their widows in perpetuity regardless of their future marriage choices made decisions that were not reflective of either Dutch or English traditions. Why they made such choices, it is difficult to say. Perhaps the goal in certain

²⁸ Simon DuBois, “Will, July 24, 1756,” *Daniel and Simon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

²⁹ Daniel Hasbrouck, “Will, January 24, 1759,” in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 39 (original in Ulster County Surrogate, Liber 9, p. 201).

³⁰ Joseph Hasbrouck, “Will, January 23, 1723/24,” in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 35-36 (original document in private collection).

instances was to keep any of the estate from a new husband in order to protect it for the children, as remarriage for young widows was a real possibility. Again, however, this would assume that the mother held no stable rights to the estate, which is against both Dutch and English principles. Six men did not accept such principles, apparently assuming the estate was essentially “his,” regardless of the fact that a wife had likely brought a dowry to the marriage. For these men, what had once been a Dutch “family” estate had thoroughly become the estate of the most “patriarchal” of English men, at least in terms of the husband-wife relationship. Admittedly, if a widow was troubled by her potential loss of any property upon remarriage, she could have repudiated the will and claimed her widow’s thirds; however, if her husband had given her authority over the estate during her widowhood, she would lose that authority if she repudiated the will. In other words, she could either be the matriarch or gain permanent property rights, but she could not do both.

In becoming English patriarchs, however, some men did not fully appreciate certain English social principles that had impacted issues related to women’s property rights during and after marriage. Although the English did not accept the idea of community property, they did believe that limitations could be placed on wives’ property rights in favor of their husbands because husbands had a responsibility to maintain their wives during the marriage, as well as after his death.³¹ Whether she remarried or not, that loss of property rights would still be compensated after the death of her husband. In denying his widow any property rights if she remarried, some New Paltz men thusly creatively repudiated Dutchness, while not fully embracing English principles. The result was the creation of another form of the Dutch-Anglo hybrid, but one that seems to have favored English ways.

³¹ Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in early America* (Chapel Hill, NY: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 142.

Another example of cultural hybridity occurred when certain men placed their wives in a position of English dependence, although acknowledging that if their children did not provide for them appropriately, the widows could embrace at least a limited degree of independence. This stipulation might reflect a tinge of Dutchness. John Hasbrouck directed in 1768 that his children were to supply his “beloved Wife Rachel van Wagene during the Time she remains my Widow a Sufficient Support.” Yet, he also gave his wife the option to choose to live by herself, and if she chose that path,

then she shall have the Kachel (or Stove) to her Liberty fifteen in Money in the Year and each Year and her Bed with its Appurtenances the large Kas [a Dutch-style cupboard], three Dishes [etc.] free firewood, half of the Garden, Dine the Negro Woman she shall have at her Command as long as she is my Widow free Support and a free Cow for the Cow shall have free Pasture and free fodder But if she does not get a good Support, then my Children shall give their Mother ten Pounds a year and every year instead of Supporting her.³²

Similarly, Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. in 1776 indicated that

"It is my Will that my dearly beloved Wife Jannetje shall dwell and continue in my said Dwelling House, with the said Sons, . . .[and] out of my said Estate. . .a good and sufficient Maintenance, Suitable to her State and condition; But if in case it should happen that my said Wife Shall not agree or choose to live with my said Sons, in such case I do give unto my said Wife for and during the time She Shall remain my Widow, The Sum of Twenty five pounds for annum, out of my Estate, also one Room or apartment in my said Dwelling House,"

as well as a slave, kitchen equipment and furniture.³³ John Hasbrouck and Jacob Hasbrouck Jr.

would have preferred that their wives be provided for in English manner, but they perhaps believed that English ways might not have sufficiently protected the interests of women, and thus provided a more Dutch-like back-up plan.

Beginning in the 1730s, however, some New Paltz men clearly began to boldly adopt English cultural thought as evidenced in the law, as opposed to both Dutch and Dutch-Anglo

³² John Hasbrouck, “Will, May 7, 1768”(1770 fair copy), HHS.

³³ Jacob Hasbrouck Jr., “Will, August 3, 1776,” *Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers*, HHS.

hybrid ways, by placing their widows in uncompromising positions of dependence. That some men provided for their wives in ways that mimicked New York intestacy law—a law based on the English principle of the widow’s “third”—supports the theory offered earlier that that law represented Englishness. Intriguingly, the trailblazer in this regard was not one of the rising generations, but the second youngest of the patentees, Abraham Dubois, who was the last surviving patentee and oldest person in the community when he wrote his will in 1731. He stipulated that “my wife Margaret shall have one third of the income from my real estate during her natural life.”³⁴ Other younger townsmen chose to follow him in the adoption of this element of Englishness, as did his son-in-law Roelof Eltinge, who provided in 1745 that his son Noah was to furnish his wife [i.e., Roelof’s wife and Noah’s mother] Sarah an honorable maintainance.”³⁵ Similarly, Simon Lefevre ordered in 1743 that his wife, “If a widow, after the children attain the age of 21, they to give her 1/3 of the income from my lands, for her maintenance.”³⁶ In short, although the Dutch cultural tradition of providing for independent widowhood was still followed by a slight majority throughout the century, the differently gendered culture of the English was obviously conceived as being available and legitimate beginning with Abraham Dubois as early as 1731.

Another clear way in which a husband demonstrated his view concerning a woman’s cultural position was whether or not he made her an executor of his estate, either alone or with

³⁴“Will of Abraham Dubois, October 1, 1731,” in Anjou, *Probate*, 2:116-117. In the original Dutch, “Myn Huysvrouw Margaret durende Natruelick Leven de Derde van De Inkomste van myn Vaast Staat.”

³⁵“Will of Roeloff Eltinge, October 29, 1745,” in Anjou, *Probate*, 2:136-138.

³⁶ “Will of Simon Lefevre, September 6, 1743,” in Anjou, *Probate*, 2:140-141. This will also lends credence to an earlier contention that when husbands gave their wives full administration of the property during their widowhood they were motivated by a desire to favor Dutch ways, rather than choosing to do so merely because there were minor children. If the issue of children’s minority was central to a husband’s choices, rather than a desire to provide for his widow’s matriarchy in Dutch fashion, he could have limited her authority to the period of the children’s minority.

others. Only Louis Dubois ever made his wife sole executor.³⁷ Between 1724 and 1784, thirteen out of twenty-two women were given significant influence as executrices on the distribution of their deceased husbands' estates.^{38 39} The remaining widows in that period were not given such authority, a practice more akin to the position of English female dependence as prescribed by common law than to the tradition of Dutch female independence. Admittedly, it was not unheard of amongst Englishmen to give their widows powers as executrices, particularly in the Chesapeake, a choice which had originally been motivated by the particular demographics of that region. Furthermore, it is conceivable that a man could deny his wife the role of executrix because of her age and physical health. In other words, the choice to provide a wife with executorship was not necessarily cultural. However, that Simon Lefevre, whose wife was only 34 when he wrote his will, and Daniel Dubois, whose wife was 40 when he composed his first will, did not provide for their wives' executorship suggests a cultural motivation at least for some men. Importantly, when it came to the issue of executorship, both cultural vocabularies were drawn upon in relatively unchanging proportions through most of the century. It would not be until 1784 that wives were universally denied the power of executrix, which again seems to suggest a cultural shift.⁴⁰

Overall, in comparing the choices that New Paltz men made in regard to provisions for their widows, the earliest records indicate that to a significant extent, Dutch ways found a

³⁷ Louis Dubois' first will was a joint testament with his wife, while his second and third wills were his alone. According to the latter two wills, his wife was the sole executor.

³⁸ Wills prior to 1724 have not been included in any statistics, as of the eight testators who composed wills before that date, five were widowers when they composed their wills, one man (Hugo Freer the patentee) did not indicate executors, and one (Jacob Hasbrouck) did not provide for his wife's co-executorship but subsequently did in his second and third wills. The eighth man to write a will before 1724 was Louis Dubois, who made his wife sole executor, as noted above.

³⁹ During this period, two testators each wrote two wills, Daniel Dubois and Simon Dubois. Only in Daniel Dubois' second will did he make his wife co-executor, but she has been counted as an executor in this figure. Simon Dubois' wife was dead when he wrote his second will, but she is counted as one of the widows who would have received co-executorship had she been alive.

⁴⁰ Between 1785 and 1804, none of the eight testators who had living wives granted them executorship.

relatively stable foothold in New Paltz. This was most clearly seen through decision of husbands to allow their widows full control of the estate throughout their widowhood. However, in general, even though many men thusly perpetuated the Dutch tradition of *boedelhouderschap*, they did not necessarily continue to follow the Dutch principle of community property. Widows virtually never received anything close to the half-interest in the family estate provided for in Dutch law, although a majority of husbands did extend their widows some rights to property, regardless of the future marriage choices of such widows. Widows also increasingly began to lose power as executrices; after 1784, no widow was given such control. As such, Dutchness was not preserved intact even to the extent that it could have been, and thus Dutchness was transformed into a Dutch-Anglo hybrid. In concert with the development of a culturally hybrid gendered relationship between husband and wife, however, some husbands began in the 1730s to construct that relationship more in accordance with English traditions that placed women in positions of dependence. Curiously, once Englishness came to define some husband-wife relationships, that framework existed simultaneously with a more culturally hybrid approach throughout the eighteenth century. It would be worth noting, however, we cannot be positively assured in every instance that women who were given a high level of authority received such power in order to perpetuate Dutchness; such female authority may sometimes have been granted because of the age of the children. In other instances, however, we can be certain that the age of the children did not determine paternal choice. Yet, when husbands wrote wills that clearly reflected the concept of the “widow’s thirds,” he assuredly was embracing English intestacy law, since the idea could have come from nowhere else. As such, the desire to follow Dutch or English culture was certainly a motivating factor, at least in part.

If we are to speculate why one man chose to follow one practice or another, we are at a bit of loss, as there are no clear economic divides amongst these men, and they shared a similar complex Walloon/Dutch ethnic heritage. The age of the testator could conceivably have been a factor, as the older residents would likely have been more attuned to a Dutch culture even as anglicization spread, but surprisingly, the first man to write a will in English fashion, Abraham Dubois, was the oldest man in the community at the time. He, a Walloon born in exile in Mannheim in 1657, who came to New Netherland in 1661, who might have remembered the English conquest that occurred when he was seven years of age, composed a will at the age of 74 in a style that was on the cutting edge of ethnocultural change. This is in contrast to the more Dutch-style provisions of some members of the next generation. Yet some members of that generation chose English-style provisions like the trailblazer Abraham Dubois. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that the choices New Paltz men made were based on conditions more personal than standard categories of analysis can reveal. The suggestion, then, is that they determined for themselves how to construct their own culture, using two different cultural vocabularies as source material, at least when providing for their wives.

Not surprisingly, an exploration of gender relations through property rights must by necessity be offered primarily through the choices of men, as they produced most of the written sources. As a result, we cannot often see how women viewed the fact that both local Dutch-Anglo hybridity and Englishness offered them less authority and independence than what a “purer” Dutchness might have provided. There is some evidence, however, to suggest that women did not necessarily resist the dependence that characterized the English male-female relationship as codified in New York law. This is evidenced by the fact that some women did not choose to claim and/or retain authority they had been granted by their husbands who

gravitated towards Dutchness in issues of gender. Elsie Hasbrouck, for example, was given full administration of her husband's estate for life, although she eventually allowed her son Abraham to take his inheritance when she was 69.⁴¹ Jannetje Dubois immediately chose not to maintain control when her husband, Hendricus, died in 1774 when she was 67, releasing it to two sons. In exchange, she retained the right to three rooms in the house in which she was living and all the necessities of life including wheat, flaxseed, apples, pasturage, garden space, and "as much of the Dung as she may want to manure her Cabbage Garden."⁴² She was not content, however, with merely giving away her rights in exchange for her maintenance; her son Methusalem bound himself to her in the amount of £1000, which would be paid if he did not live up to the agreement. And even though Rebecca Van Wagenen Dubois did not choose to release control of the estate of her husband when he died in 1787 when she was likely in her forties, she did release her powers as executrix.⁴³ Unlike Rebecca Dubois, both Elsie Hasbrouck and Jannetje Dubois were admittedly rather old when they released control, but nevertheless they as conscious actors formally controlled the termination of their matriarchy, suggesting Dutch-style female authority. Yet, such women did not do everything they could to maintain Dutch-style independence, as even if age was a factor, they could have chosen a *de facto* rather than a *de jure* dependence, suggesting that female dependence more akin to English rather than Dutch ways was certainly not anathema. The result was nevertheless another example of Dutch-Anglo hybridity.

It may also be possible to glimpse how women determined, or were allowed to determine, their role within the family in cases of intestacy, as all men in colonial and early national New

⁴¹ Elsie Hasbrouck, "Deed, June 1, 1754," in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 37 (original document in private collection).

⁴² "Indenture, March 9, 1781," *Hendricus DuBois Papers*, HHS.

⁴³ When Mathusalem Dubois, Jacob Dubois, and John Van Wagenen were granted letters of administration during the minority of Garret and Methusalem Dubois Jr. (sons of Henry and Rebecca Dubois) on April 28, 1788, the surrogate noted that Rebecca Dubois had renounced her power of executrix on June 5, 1787; Anjou, *Probate*, 2:33.

York, as elsewhere, did not choose or failed to compose wills.⁴⁴ We could, however, only glimpse women's agency and intra-familial power in cases of intestacy if in such cases the courts did not play a role in determining how an estate would be managed in the long term. This appears to have been the case for several families in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New Paltz. Isaac Dubois, for one, appears to have died intestate. Isaac, son of Louis, was the youngest of the New Paltz patentees, having been born only in 1660. He died in 1693 at a young age, being only 33, leaving a young wife, the 29-year-old Maria Hasbrouck Dubois, and three young sons, ranging in age from four to nine.⁴⁵ Given that her sons were so young, it would not have been surprising for Maria to have taken control of the estate. But in 1713, Maria still paid taxes as head of household, when her eldest, Daniel, was 29 years old, and her youngest was 24.⁴⁶ She only released control of any interest in her husband's estate to her eldest in 1719 when she was 55 and he 35.⁴⁷ During her administration of the estate, she had not been idle. In 1705, she constructed a 40' by 22' two-room stone house, a relatively large house for her relatively very small family. She was also public-minded. In 1717, she donated funds for the building of the first church, receiving posthumously four seats in the church; only one other person received more seats (five).⁴⁸ Clearly, Isaac Dubois' estate was not strictly administered according to the laws of intestacy, and neither is there any record of Maria Dubois' being granted control of the estate by the court. It thusly appears that Maria took independent control of the estate and retained it far into her sons' adulthood, and apparently her sons accepted such female dominance. Such control allowed her to make a bold public statement through the dramatic construction of

⁴⁴One historian estimates that only about 15 to 25 percent of men in colonial rural New York did so (Narett, "Men's Wills," 97).

⁴⁵William Heidgerd, *The American Descendants of Chrétien Du Bois of Wicres France*, revised and edited by Du Bois Family Association, Inc. (New Paltz, NY: privately printed, 1998), n.p.

⁴⁶"List of New Paltz Taxpayers, 1712," reprinted in Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 89.

⁴⁷Mary DuBois, "Release, February 14, 1718/19," in Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 293-294.

⁴⁸Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, 2-3.

her impressive stone house, and making it possible for her to be a major benefactor to the town's religious life.

Maria Deyo Hasbrouck, the widow of Abraham Hasbrouck (d. 1717), and Lysbeth Crispell Een, the widow of Elias Een (d. before 1728) also obtained control of their husbands' estates, even though their husbands appear to have died intestate. This is particularly likely in the case of Abraham Hasbrouck, as he died unexpectedly from an "apoplectic fit," according to his grandson's diary. Maria Deyo Hasbrouck used her control of the estate to donate funds in 1717 for the building of the church; her 31-year-old second son Solomon, who remained living in his mother's home unlike his elder brother Joseph, did not likewise donate, suggesting her position as head of family. At the time, her youngest had already reached the age of 21.⁴⁹ In 1728, Lysbeth Crispell Een was taxed as head of family even though her eldest son Jan was 28 and her youngest surviving child was 23.⁵⁰

This evidence suggests that wives of men who died intestate at the end of the seventeenth century and into the first decades of the eighteenth had sufficient influence to act as if their husbands had granted them authority over the estate along Dutch lines. It also suggests that sons accepted their mothers' authority whether or not their fathers had specifically granted such women independent control of their estates. That such an expectation was reasonable is further supported by the fact that even when a man wrote a will that closely adhered to English law, Dutch ways might be followed. In 1743, the year of his death, 33-year-old Simon Lefevre composed a will, which stipulated that his wife, Petronella Hasbrouck Lefevre, was only to remain in control of the estate until the youngest child was 21. After that milestone, her children

⁴⁹ Her eldest son, Joseph, donated to the church, but he resided outside of the New Paltz patent on his own farm.

⁵⁰ "New Paltz Tax Payers in 1728," Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 92.

were to provide her a sufficient maintenance.⁵¹ Yet in 1771, 28 years after her husband's death, Petronella was still in control of his estate, even to the point of selling part of his land, something which she had no legal right to do. That year, the congregation of New Paltz acquired "a piece of ground bought of Petronella LaFevere located on the west side of the street," which either abutted or was part of the homestead lot of her husband.⁵² Surely Petronella's children knew the Anglo-style parameters of their father's will, as did the executors.⁵³ Not only did her children not challenge the sale of their father's property, but the congregation apparently deemed it was hers to sell, suggesting a broad acceptance of gendered rights that strayed far from Englishness.

To allow Petronella such authority in Dutch fashion as late as 1771, in spite of her legal position created by her husband's will, perhaps reflects the fact that her position as head of household had been in place for almost 30 years. But by the 1790s, a man's widow and family could, as could the man himself, expect that English common law practices would be followed. Maria Low Eltinge's husband, Roelof Josiah Eltinge, died intestate in 1795; it is clear that she was not seen as the head of household after that point, as her family's house was listed as being owned by her sons Roelof and John in the 1798 U.S. Direct Tax listing three years later. It was also presumed that she would receive her widow's thirds both in personalty and life interest in real estate.⁵⁴ Maria chose to increase her level of independence by releasing her dower rights in exchange for goods and the right to live in the family home and to use the barn, hay house, and lot. Maria might have been preserving a degree of Dutchness for herself through the careful bargaining for her independence, but the days of Dutch culture informing estate administration in cases of intestacy had passed, and in its place, English patriarchalism had found a foothold.

⁵¹"Will of Simon Lefevre, September 6, 1743," Anjou, *Probate*, 2:140.

⁵² Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Church of New Paltz*, 34. Petronella had not received any real property from her parents, Elsie and Joseph Hasbrouck.

⁵³ The executors of Simon Lefevre were Petronella's brother Abraham and brother-in-law Matthew Lefevre.

⁵⁴ Narrett, "Men's Wills," 106-7.

The changing contours of gender that are revealed in the rights widows gained or did not gain through the death of their husbands obviously impacted more than women as wives, but affected the whole family structure. Dutch-identified men could only provide women with authority during widowhood if they believed that the role of parent to a significant extent transcended gender, such that the family order were substantially unaffected by the father's death. This was not the case in an English-identified family, wherein traditionally a mother would become a dependent of her children, usually her son or sons, except perhaps in regions that experienced unusual demographic situations such as in the early Chesapeake. An independent Dutch widow likewise profoundly affected the lives of her children, particularly her sons, because a long-lived mother could keep her sons in a dependent position for a very long time. Fathers could as well.⁵⁵ However, the English would have likely seen an elderly widow controlling a dependent adult son to be a reversal of the natural order, a situation that might have been uncomfortable or possibly even demeaning for a Dutch man in New York if he was attempting to achieve acceptance amongst the English. Direct evidence for such a concern is admittedly slim. Nevertheless, given the extreme importance that patriarchy played in English culture, it is difficult to see how English-identified New York men would not have at least raised an eyebrow towards adult men who were dependent upon their Dutch-oriented mothers.

Children's lives were also obviously impacted by the manner in which their fathers ultimately distributed their estates, and like provisions for widows, how fathers accomplished this final task reveals aspects of their construction of the gendered familial orders. Overall, the relative equality of men and women evident in Dutch culture declined even more slowly in the community in terms of the relationship between brothers and sisters than it had been between

⁵⁵Philip J. Greven, *Four generations: population, land and family in colonial Andover Massachusetts* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1970).

husbands and wives. The Walloon founders of New Paltz generally had repudiated their native culture by refusing to favor one child over another, as noted earlier. They adopted the greater equality promoted by their Dutch neighbors, rather than the inequality institutionalized in New York's English laws.⁵⁶ From the founding through the eighteenth century, there was a continued commitment amongst New Paltz men to an equitable or balanced, if not strictly equal, division of the value of property distributed to their children. Thirty out of a total of thirty-six separate testators who composed wills between 1687 and 1804 attempted to achieve some balance in their legacies; only six allowed for clear inequalities.⁵⁷ Because we rarely know the value of an estate, both in terms of realty and personalty, we cannot determine if such estates were divided equally, but nevertheless, extreme inequalities were rare. There were indeed mightily few fathers such as Peter Deyo (1791) who would devise "Unto my five sons. . .and my five daughters. . .in fee simple all my Estate. . .to my land at Kinderhook," while his son Levi (the sixth living child out of nine, and the third eldest son) would receive the remainder of his real estate in New Paltz (in addition to his share of land at Kinderhook) comprising, in the father's estimation, 1200 acres, "and all my other Estate, both Real and personal."⁵⁸ Peter Deyo was truly an anomaly.

Some fathers achieved absolute equality by stipulating that their estates, both real and personal, would simply be divided in equal portions; it would be up to the executors to ensure that such portions were of equal value. Christian Deyo, in 1687, after providing a particular bequest to his son and his son's eldest son, dictated that "unto my five children all ye rest of my estate of lands, housings, chattels, and movable goods, to them."⁵⁹ Hendricus Deyo similarly in 1724 divided his real estate and personal property equally amongst his three children, with the

⁵⁶ Narrett, "Men's Wills," 119-120.

⁵⁷ For men who composed multiple wills, only their final will has been included in this figure. The total pool is actually thirty-eight, but two were not included in this figure because they had only one heir.

⁵⁸ "Will of Peter Deyo, June 16, 1791," in Anjou, *Probate*, 2:78-79.

⁵⁹ Christian Deyo, "Will, February 1, 1686/87," in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Deyo (Deyoe) Family*, 1.

exception of a horse going to his eldest son.⁶⁰ Simon Lefevre (1743) also divided his real estate amongst his three children, although his personal estate was to be sold after his wife received her portion and the money divided almost equally.⁶¹ His two female children would have to pay their brother £20, which was approximately the value of one good horse and a milch cow.⁶² Hugo Freer Senior (son of the patentee of the same name), writing in 1728 some time after his wife's death, even stipulated that if the "fruit of the flesh" ("de Vleeschlycke Vreught") of Tryntie Van Cleck, presumably Freer's bastard, lived to the age of 20, he or she would receive an equal portion of his estate along with his or her—presumably—half-siblings.⁶³ Tryntie's child would not even have been a legal heir, yet Hugo wished to provide for his bastard in a manner identical to that of his legitimate children.

Many fathers, however, created if not an equal at least a balanced division of property by making direct cash bequests to children in lieu of real property, or by requiring heirs who received more to make cash payments to siblings. In 1749, for example, Jonathan Dubois dictated that "To my [eldest] son Lewis all of land on the south east side of the Paltz river, he to pay to my sons Andries and Nathaniel, and to my three daughters, Rachel, Cornelia, and Maria, £250. After my wife's death or marriage, I leave to my youngest son Jonas all my farms. . . on the north west side of Paltz river, he to pay to my sons, Andries and Nathaniel, and to my daughters £450." Similarly, when Daniel Hasbrouck's six sons divided all of their father's real property in 1759, they had to pay their only sister £200.⁶⁴ Hendricus Dubois (1784) required his sons to make cash payments to some of their sisters, while these females also received direct

⁶⁰Daniel Dubois, "Will, September 12, 1747," *Daniel and Simon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

⁶¹"Will of Simon Lefevre, September 6, 1743," in Anjou, *Probate*, 2:140.

⁶²These values are based on the 1774 inventory of the estate of Abraham Bevier.

⁶³"Will of Hugo Freer, January 15, 1727/8," in Anjou, *Probate*, 1:113-114.

⁶⁴Daniel Hasbrouck, "Will, 1759," in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 39 .

monetary bequests from the estate. Of these three men, all three divided the personal property amongst the children as well.

Such payments perhaps represent some patriarchal gendered favoritism, yet such substantial payments do suggest that all children were treated relatively fairly in a way reflective of Dutch gender equity. These approaches stood in stark contrast to those Anglo-oriented male neighbors on Long Island whose cultural origins lay in New England. Even though such men were not supportive of primogeniture, they did not promote gender equality amongst sons and daughters. For example, such Anglo men sometimes required sons to compensate brothers for their inheritance, although rarely did they stipulate that sons had to make payments to sisters, which was not the case in more Dutch-oriented New Paltz.⁶⁵ This is not to say that New Paltzians were gender neutral, as evidenced by the fact that no daughters in New Paltz ever received land for which they had to compensate brothers who had not. Neither did all New Paltz daughters receive land as their brothers commonly did, although they did often receive portions of equivalent value to their brothers' portions, which is not reflected in Anglo culture, at least on New England-influenced Long Island.

As the eighteenth century progressed, however, English culture made further inroads into the community as the relationship between humans and land became increasingly gendered, even if a significant majority of New Paltz fathers still attempted an equitable division of the estate along Dutch lines. In English culture, sons and land went together, even if some Englishman accepted primogeniture while others allowed for partible inheritance.⁶⁶ As noted earlier, most of the patentees, with the exception of Louis Bevier, divided both their land and personal property equally amongst their children, male and female; gender was unrelated to presumed rights to

⁶⁵ Narrett, "Men's Wills," 128.

⁶⁶ Narrett, "Men's Wills," 127-128.

land. Bevier divided his land amongst his sons who had to make a cash payment to their only sister. As he had rights to one-twelfth of the patent, his denial of land to his daughter could not have been based on a desire to prevent fragmentation of his land holdings. As such, his goal was more a cultural choice than a material one. It is perhaps not coincidental that Bevier was the last of the older generation of patentees to compose a will, and the gendered way he provided for his children was also the most English.

Some of the patentee's children and grandchildren followed the path established Louis Bevier. In 1759, Daniel Hasbrouck directed that his six sons would equally divide all of his lands, although they would have to compensate their only sister Elsje in the amount of £200.⁶⁷ Again, like the choices of Louis Bevier, the purpose of this disparity was not based on Daniel's desire not to overly fragment his land holdings, because if his land could have been divided in five portions, it likely could have been divided into six. Similarly, Solomon Dubois in 1756 gave large farms to his three surviving sons, one receiving about 3000 acres, and the other two, who had remained living in New Paltz, received both farms and a share in their father's rights to undivided New Paltz lands. Each son had to pay the estate £100, divided equally between his three sisters, so again his choice would have had little to do with a fear a fragmentation considering the size of the estates he provided his son.⁶⁸ In 1774, Hendricus Dubois (Solomon's son), who also likely possessed a landed estate of about 3000 acres, likewise gave three sons land (and he helped the fourth purchase a farm), for which they would have to financially compensate their three sisters and the children of the deceased fourth daughter. (Oddly a fifth daughter, Rachel only received 1/5 of her father's right to certain church pews.)⁶⁹ This is not to say that daughters ceased inheriting land completely, but increasingly, if they did, the quantity tended to

⁶⁷ Daniel Hasbrouck, "Will, 1759," in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 39.

⁶⁸ Solomon DuBois, "Will, 1756," (1759 fair copy), *Daniel and Solomon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

⁶⁹ "Will of Hendricus Dubois, June 21, 1774," Anjou, *Probat.*, 1:158-159.

be smaller and seemingly undeveloped. These provisions suggest a continued commitment to equity along Dutch lines, coupled with a gendered perception of land more akin to English ways, the result being another example of cultural hybridity.

As to personal property, fathers tended to be less concerned about its distribution, although general equality was often attempted throughout the first 125 years of the community's history. Samuel Bevier willed in 1750 that all his personal estate was to go to his nine children; he does not mention anything specific about his moveable estate at all. Hendricus Dubois in 1774 stated simply that "all my personall Estate" would go to his children and grandchildren. The children of Benjamin Hasbrouck would receive according to his 1796 will, "after the said Specific Legacey [a horse] herein before given to my said son Benjamin [the eldest], is Satisfied and all my Just Debts and funeral expences discharged, then I Give and Bequeath the Rest, Residue and Remainder of my personal Estate to and among my said Sons. . . and my daughters."⁷⁰

When fathers did devise personal property more precisely, distinctions as to type of property were often made between male and female children, with sons getting farm equipment and daughters household goods. Perhaps even when fathers did not stipulate what types of property would go to children of which sex, the expectations would be that in practice, property would be apportioned by type, as the men and women had different daily relationships with different types of goods. Such a relationship is evidenced by the distinctions made between an *uitzet* (marriage portion) for a son and one for a daughter, as mentioned earlier. In other words, while fathers increasingly became more specific about the division of personal property, this may

⁷⁰ Benjamin Hasbrouck, "Will, November 23, 1762," in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 40-41 (original in New York Surrogate, Liber 26, p. 120).

not have indicated any change in the construction of gender per se, the reconceptualizing of which *had* undergirded the changes in presumed rights to land.

Occasionally the eldest son might be granted an inheritance in cash or personal property above his siblings because of his birth position, but such gifts were often small, being far less than what would have been provided by primogeniture or even a double portion. Examples of these bequests to eldest sons included a large Dutch Bible (Jonathan Dubois, 1746), the first choice of a horse (Daniel Dubois, 1747), a silver soup spoon (Abraham Hasbrouck, 1785)⁷¹ and “the Choice of my Heifers out of my Horn Cattle” (Abraham Lefevre, 1790). Curiously, on one occasion, such modest privileging of the eldest was not necessarily restricted to gender; when Solomon Dubois wrote his will in 1756, he directed that the portion that descended to four granddaughters in place of a deceased son who had no male heirs was to be divided equally amongst those granddaughters, although the younger three would have to pay to the eldest £10.⁷²

Occasionally, however, bequests to an eldest son were relatively substantial. For example, Christian Deyo would stipulate in his final 1687 will that all his real and personal property would be divided amongst his children regardless of gender, except that “I give to my [only] son Peter Douyou fifty rixdollars, that my son was indebted to me and then to share equally with the rest of my children of my estate, and further I do give to my son's son, Christian Doyou, forty pieces of eight and a small gun.”⁷³ Patentee Hugo Freer, according to his 1698 will, gave his firstborn male child ten pieces of eight. In 1731, Abraham Dubois was extremely generous in giving his eldest son £200 as his birthright, a gift far greater than most other first sons received, but Abraham also gave this amount in recognition of his son's “obedience”

⁷¹Daniel Dubois, “Will, September 12, 1747,” *Daniel and Simon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS; “Will of Abraham Hasbrouck, September 5, 1785,” in Anjou, *Probate*, 2:83-88.

⁷²Solomon DuBois, “Will, 1756,” (1759 fair copy), *Daniel and Solomon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

⁷³Christian Deyo, “Will, 1687,” in Hasbrouck, *The Deyo (Deyoe) Family*, 1.

(“Gehorsamhyt”). Not surprisingly, Abraham Dubois had also been the first man to write a will that provided for his widow in a way seemingly reflected of English intestacy law. In total, twenty-four of the thirty-six separate testators provided something particularly for a firstborn son at least in one of their wills, although most clearly did not overly-privileged the firstborn male. It is also worth noting that twelve did not give anything extra to an eldest son, suggesting that those individuals still were practicing gender equity along Dutch lines (Table 5.2).

The most privileged, and thus unusually-positioned, eldest son in eighteenth-century New Paltz was without a doubt Abraham Hasbrouck, son of Joseph Hasbrouck and grandson of Abraham Hasbrouck the patentee. In 1724, Joseph Hasbrouck ordered that “I give devise and bequeath unto my Eldest son Abraham Hasbrouck . . . all my Reale Estate of Lands pastures [etc.] . . . at Guilford . . . for which he shall pay or cause to be paid unto my other nine Children [male and female] the sum of five hundred pounds current money of New York.”⁷⁴ This could have been an example of the Dutch tradition of *uitboedeling*, a practice that allowed a privileged heir to buy out their siblings’ shares, a practice often followed in Europe in order to avoid the fragmentation of landholdings.⁷⁵ However, as the Guilford lands comprised 2000 acres, Joseph clearly could have created viable farms for at least some, if not all, of his six sons.⁷⁶ Joseph Hasbrouck’s choice suggests the flavor of English primogeniture combined with a Dutch commitment to equity, thus revealing ethnocultural hybridity on his part. That Abraham was so

⁷⁴ Joseph Hasbrouck, “Will, 1724,” in Kenneth, Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 35-36 (manuscript in private collection).

⁷⁵ Narrett, *Inheritance*, 145, 207-8.

⁷⁶ The Guilford patent was not directly in New Paltz, but abutted an additional patent that Louis Dubois the patentee had received bordering the New Paltz patent. For functional purposes, it was part of the town of New Paltz.

Table 5.2: Special Bequests to Eldest Sons

		# of will	Year	
Louis	Dubois	1 of 3	1676	
Christian	Deyo	1 of 2	1676	
Louis	Dubois	2 of 3	1686	
Christian	Deyo	2 of 2	1687	son: 50 rixdollars; eldest grandson: 40 pieces of eight and a pistol *
Louis	Dubois	3 of 3	1694	£6
Hugue	Freer		1698	10 pieces of eight
Hugo	Freer	1 of 2	1707	£5
Antoine	Crispell		1707	
Jean	Hasbrouck		1712	a horse
Louis	Bevier		1720	£1
Jacob	Hasbrouck	1 of 3	1720	£1
Abraham	Deyo		1724	
Henry	Deyo		1724	a horse
Joseph	Hasbrouck		1724	
Hugo	Freer	2 of 2	1728	a horse
Daniel	Dubois	1 of 2	1729	cavalry equipment
Abraham	Dubois		1731	£200
Jacob	Hasbrouck	2 of 3	1732	one pistole
Andries	Lefevre		1738	pistols and a holster
Jacob	Dubois		1739	
Simon	Lefevre		1743	The daughters pay the eldest son £20
Roeloff	Eltinge		1745	
Jonathan	Dubois		1746	the large Dutch Bible
Jacob	Hasbrouck	3 of 3	1747	
Daniel	Dubois	2 of 2	1747	The first choice of a horse
Samuel	Bevier		1750	
Simon	Dubois	1 of 2	1756	
Solomon	Dubois		1756	**
Daniel	Hasbrouck		1759	pistols and a holster
Abraham	Bevier		1763	a horse
Josiah	Eltinge		1767	a larger quantity of land
John	Hasbrouck		1768	eight shillings
Hendricus	Dubois		1774	
Jacob Jr.	Hasbrouck		1776	
Cornelius	Dubois		1780	
Henry	Dubois		1784	a horse
Daniel	Lefevre		1784	
Abraham	Hasbrouck		1785	silver soup spoon
Simon	Dubois	2 of 2	1787	a bed
Abraham	Lefevre		1790	Eight shillings
Peter	Deyo		1791	***
Roeloff	Eltinge		1791	
Johannis	Freer		1796	
Benjamin	Hasbrouck		1796	a horse

*50 rixdollars equivalent to one-half of marriage portions supplied by Christian Deyo to his children

**The daughters of deceased eldest son receive his portion, divided equally,
except younger sisters pay eldest sister £10

***Eldest grandson, son of eldest son (still living) saddle, bridle, and leather halter

privileged substantially impacted his eventual rise to the status of, in one historian's estimation, a local "chieftain."⁷⁷

Another way fathers sometimes recognized the higher status of male heirs, while still providing for either an equal or a balanced division of the estate, was by providing them with certain privileges. Such provisions were not seen in the early wills written more along Dutch lines, such that the granting of privileges to sons in later wills suggests the increasing influence of English gendered thinking. As noted earlier, Jonathan Dubois in 1746 left his land to two of his four sons, the eldest and the youngest, who were required to make cash payments to their other male and female siblings. As the youngest was only three and the oldest thirteen when Dubois composed his will, it is clear that he believed that his eldest and youngest sons held special privileged status, since it is highly unlikely he was rewarding them as individuals considering their age. Since this type of privileging is neither quite Dutch nor quite English, apparently he was constructing his own familial order. Later in the century in 1781, Cornelius Dubois privileged his only son by allowing him use of (although not ownership of) all the real estate, while also allowing him to purchase as many slaves from the estate as he so wished (with the exception of Rose, who was to go to daughter Seretie, although this daughter would also have to make a payment to the estate).

Occasionally fathers granted a child other than the eldest son something extra, but when doing so, noted that such child had provided his father with a particular service. Noting such perhaps emphasizes a belief in Dutch gender equity and a desire to provide fairly for all children regardless of birth position, as presumably without such an extra service on the part of the child, such favoritism was not deemed acceptable. Antoine Crispell in 1707 bequeathed his daughter

⁷⁷ Edward Countryman, *A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 1760-1790* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 245

Maria Magdalena the monies that were due to him from a mortgage “in recognition of her great services to me.” In his 1720 will, Louis Bevier allowed his third son, Samuel, to have first choice of for his portion of the estate, as Samuel had returned with his family to his father’s house, after his sister Esther married and moved out of the family home, which would have left his elderly father without support.⁷⁸ Hugo Freer Senior, in 1728, devised his weaver’s loom to his second son Isaac, “for his faithful service.”⁷⁹

A further trend that seems to suggest a growing Englishness is an increasing patriarchalism, or paternal control. At the same time as the rights and privileges of women to own and/or control property common in Dutch culture eroded in many (although certainly not all) families, fathers also increasingly controlled more precisely how their estates would be distributed, rather than leaving that task to the executors. Early New Paltz fathers had been generally rather laissez-faire about the division of property after their deaths. Even when they were elderly, fathers sometimes allowed executors and heirs to determine how both real and personal property was to be divided, such as Hugo Freer (the patentee), who was possibly as old as 60, the almost 80-year-old Christian Deyo (the patentee), and the 60-year-old Hugo Freer Sr. Why age matters is that as fathers reached their advanced years, they would also generally have settled their children on farms, if they intended to do so, even if such farms had not yet been deeded away.⁸⁰ If in their wills they did not specify that a child would receive a portion of land upon which he or she had already been settled, such child would have no legal right to that plot.

⁷⁸“Will of Louis Bevier, 1720,” in Anjou, *Probate*, 1:97-99.

⁷⁹“Will of Hugo Freer, 1728,” in Anjou, *Probate*, 1:113.

⁸⁰ For example, in 1731, Abraham Dubois at the age of 74, would dictate that “my daughter Sara and her present husband, Roeloff Eltinge, all my land on the north side of said Paltz Hill, now in their possession, and all the land on the south side of said hill. . .now in their possession.” Samuel Bevier’s 1750 will, written when he was 70, is similar: “To my son, Philip, a lot of land on Hudsons River, where he now lives.”

Granted, it would be plausible to speculate that heirs would likely receive the land where they had been living, but some early fathers nevertheless left this decision to the executors.

Some fathers in the mid-eighteenth century were also similarly imprecise, but most of such later men who chose imprecision were young, and thus their children had not been settled on particular plots of land. This imprecision was chosen by Simon Lefevre in 1743 when he was 33, Henry Dubois (who was 41 in 1784), and Simon Dubois who composed a will in 1756 when he was 37.⁸¹ Significantly, Simon Dubois devised his property much more specifically when he rewrote his will 31 years later when his children were grown.⁸² The last elderly father who chose a less controlling stance about the precise distribution of his real property was Daniel Dubois (1747) at the age of 63.⁸³

Increasingly, however, fathers wanted to control their families from beyond the grave. For example, in 1750 Samuel Bevier gave his dwelling house and homestead farm to six of his children collectively rather than choosing who would inherit the family home, the result being that they ultimately sold the house built by their grandfather in order to gain their inheritance. But Samuel Bevier also dictated that two of his sons and a son-in-law would serve as guardians over another son, Louis, who was only 10 months shy of his twenty-first birthday. He was not to sell any of his real or personal estate without his guardians' approval, and it is not clear if such approval was bounded temporally. He was the only son that had such restrictions, yet he had three younger siblings—two married brothers and one unmarried sister—who were not hampered by such post-mortem patriarchal control.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Simon DuBois, "Will, 1756," *Daniel and Simon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

⁸² Simon Dubois, "Will, April 16, 1787," (1799 fair copy), *Daniel and Simon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

⁸³ Daniel Dubois, "Will, September 12, 1747," *Daniel and Simon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

⁸⁴ "Will of Samuel Bevier, April 3, 1750," Anjou, *Probate*, 2:164.

The wealthy Josiah Eltinge, in 1767, willed to his children a host of different plots of land, choosing to carefully distribute them, but on what basis is impossible to say. A list of some of the lots given to his son Abraham exemplifies his father Josiah's patriarchal precision: "those two lots. . . of land commonly called. . . by the Bouwery and the Verkens Way," "that certain lot. . . known by lot Number ten in the first twelve lots of the new division called the first tier," "that certain lot. . . Known by lot number four in the second twelve lots of the new division called the second Tier," etc.⁸⁵ As many of these lots were most likely unimproved at the time and not contiguous, it is difficult to say why he so carefully distributed them, although it is possible that he was so precise as to balance out different quality or types of land. For whatever reason he divided his land thusly, however, it is clear that Josiah Eltinge was not leaving the distribution of his estate to his executors, and thus he preserved his control of the estate past his death.

The growing force of the father's will is also seen in comments not seen until the mid-eighteenth century that suggest husbands and fathers wanted to prevent familial disputes after their death. Solomon Dubois (1756) commanded that "if any of my said children or Grand Children shall hereafter happen to Commence any Lawsuit against the other of my children or Grand Children concerning any part of my said Estate Contrary to this my Will, Then and in such case, such of my said Children or Grand Children shall be utterly excluded and debarred from Inheritting any part of my Estate."⁸⁶ His will, both in the sense of the legal document and in the sense of his personal wishes, would define how his estate would be distributed. In 1767, Josiah Eltinge ordered that

"I give devise and bequeath to my dear wife Magdalena for and during the term of her natural life the annuity of twenty pounds per annum current money of New York to be paid unto her yearly and Every year during the said term by my five children . . . thereof and this being in full satisfaction and barr of her

⁸⁵ Josiah Eltinge, "Will, April 4, 1767," (1784 fair copy), *Roelof J. and Ezekiel Elting Family Papers*, HHS.

⁸⁶ Solomon DuBois, "Will, 1756," (1759 fair copy), *Daniel and Solomon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

dower or thirds But if in case she shall not be contented therewith but shall require and demand or sue for her dower or thirds which she may claim to have in any of my lands messuages or tenements then and from thence forth to be utterly debarred of and from the said annuity,”

her being his “dear wife” notwithstanding.⁸⁷

Benjamin Hasbrouck, in 1796, also attempted posthumously to control his sons: “And should my said Sons Disagree about the Division of my said Farm and Lands then it is my will that the same be Sold,” thus attempting to restrict familial controversy. Benjamin Hasbrouck also controlled his four married daughters’ (and sons’-in-law) access to their patrimony. He gave two daughters, Eve and Catherine, their money outright, but Else and Mary only received annual interest payments; all received equal bequests of £50.⁸⁸ Earlier, in 1739, Jacob Dubois dictated that the property given to his daughter Magdalena was to be sold, and she to be given annual interest payments on the resultant sum; after her death, the money would be equally divided amongst her children.⁸⁹ The purpose of this provision is somewhat ambiguous because it might have been to keep the property from a daughter’s husband, but it may have been to keep the principal from the daughter herself. Either way, Jacob Dubois was not necessarily willing to renounce control upon his death.

In order to control his estate past his death, Cornelius Dubois did a very unusual thing in 1780, giving his son all of his real estate, but only for life. After his son’s death, all of the real property would be divided amongst his son’s heirs, his living daughters, and the grandchildren of his deceased daughters. Cornelius was even controlling the division of property after his son’s death, essentially entailing it for one generation, although why is shrouded by time.⁹⁰ Whether it

⁸⁷ Josiah Eltinge, “Will, April 4, 1767,” (1784 fair copy), *Roelof J. and Ezekiel Elting Family Papers*, HHS.

⁸⁸ Benjamin Hasbrouck, “Will, 1762,” in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 40-41.

⁸⁹ “Will of Jacob Dubois, April 3, 1739,” Anjou, *Probate*, 1:123-124.

⁹⁰ Interestingly, in a May 9, 1781, document written by a Peter W. Yates, Albany, (attached to a copy of the will in the Surrogate’s office), this provision was essentially denied, noting “That the Testator’s Son may demise (sic) or

be son, daughter, son-in-law or wife, some fathers clearly intended to control someone in their families post-mortem, unlike their ancestors, the New Paltz founders.

In short, while Dutch egalitarianism or at least fairness remained strong in terms of property distribution to children throughout the eighteenth century, certain trends can be seen that suggest the influence of—and the acceptance of—elements of English culture. While fathers clearly did not accept primogeniture, some fathers' legacies to eldest sons sometimes suggests a sense of their privileged status—a non-Dutch perspective. Rights to land, particularly developed land, increasingly were gendered male, and a growing desire of fatherly control even after death suggests a strengthening of patriarchy, a force that was significantly tempered in Dutch culture. These trends, however, are in general rather subtle, suggesting that in general, New Paltz fathers felt it entirely acceptable to retain a Dutch-style fairness, while accepting English influences, ultimately often constructing a Dutch-English synthesis. We must remember that little of this Englishness as reflected in the distribution of property to children was forced upon them. A father had virtually unlimited power to distribute his property to his children as he saw fit, so if his choices had even touches of Englishness, he had made such choices willingly.

While this analysis reveals the many ways that a New Paltz father could devise his estate, which in turn implicates his construction of gender and his ethnocultural choices, if the goal is to determine whether and when these fathers followed one cultural norm or the other, the results are not so clear. Individual fathers did not even always clearly follow one culture wholesale. Joseph Hasbrouck in 1724 allowed one eldest son to purchase the rights to extremely large tract of patriarchal land, possibly suggesting an English-style privileged position of the eldest son,

even sell for & during the Term of his natural Life the Real Estate devised to him by his Father's Will" (Anjou, *Probate*, 2:161-162).

coupled with a Dutch desire for equity. But he also gave his wife Elsie full administration of the estate according to Dutch norms, which she possessed until she released her dower rights to her eldest son 30 years later, well after the youngest child reached maturity. The eldest son Abraham was only 17 when his father died, but he ultimately had to wait until he was 47 to claim what an English son would likely have obtained much earlier if his father was deceased, and even that was only possible because his mother chose to make it so.

In 1767, Josiah Eltinge made his wife dependent, bequeathing her an annuity of £20 annually to be paid by the children, along with a life interest in a slave and bed and bedding. The manner in which Josiah made his wife, Madgalena, dependent, though, was only quasi-English, as she had a guaranteed income over which she had all rights, unlike the more English-style “sufficient maintenance” that children were sometimes to provide for their widowed mother. She was thusly neither independent, as most Dutch widows were, nor dependent, as an English woman was conceived to be. Making Josiah’s cultural identity even more ambiguous, he acknowledged an authoritative role of women in Dutch fashion by making his daughter, Catharyntje, co-executor of his estate along with her four brothers. Even though she had not married as of the date of the will, as a married woman, she would lose the right to act as an executor independently from her husband. Josiah nevertheless never rewrote or composed a codicil to his will after Catharyntje’s 1772 marriage, even though he would live twelve years after that event. That Catharyntje had to pay an equal amount as her brothers for that annuity also reflects a non-English idea, given that Catharyntje could not do that if married, since a *feme covert* had no independent control of her family’s financial resources.⁹¹ Through these

⁹¹ Josiah Eltinge, “Will, April 4, 1767,” (1784 fair copy), *Roelof J. and Ezekiel Elting Family Papers*, HHS; Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property*, 14.

ethnically ambiguous provisions for wife and family, Josiah thusly constructed an idiosyncratic amalgamation of Dutch and English cultures.

Simon Dubois in 1787 acknowledged the privileged position of the firstborn son along English lines, granting him a bequest over and above his siblings, a practice long-followed in New Paltz. Yet, he gave his son Daniel “one Bedstead and Bed with the appurtenances,” something often given to a daughter as her marriage portion (*uitzet*), or to a widow, as Josiah Eltinge allowed for in his 1767 will, Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. in 1776, and Garret Freer in 1804.⁹² In other words Daniel honored his son in a fashion reflective of English culture, while equalizing him in a way more akin to Dutch culture by giving him something normally reserved for women. Ethnoculturally speaking, New Paltz was a very complicated place in the eighteenth century.

Another facet of eighteenth-century New Paltz culture is that the ethno-gendered identity of an individual was not necessarily fixed and unchanging. This issue, however, can only be seen in a few instances, as only a minority of men composed wills, and if they did, they generally did so only once. Jacob Hasbrouck Sr., however, was an anomaly in that he composed three, spanning nearly three decades (1720, 1732 and 1747). Through these wills, he revealed his changing assumptions concerning gender. In 1720, he directed that his wife Esther “will remain in full possession and ownership of my complete estate during the time of her widowhood without giving Any Account to [his] Heirs”; if she remarried, she remained in control only until the children reached maturity.⁹³ Further, upon Jacob’s death, Esther would acquire ownership of all his moveable property, except two slaves which went to their son Benjamin. But in 1732, while he still provided that his wife would be in full *possession* of the entire estate in her

⁹² Simon Dubois, “Will, 1787,” (1799 fair copy), *Daniel and Simon DuBois Family Papers*, HHS; Garret Freer, “Will, 20 July 1804,” (26 December 1804 fair copy), *Garret Freer Family Papers*, HHS.

⁹³ Jacob Hasbrouck, “Will, June 7, 1720,” *Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection*, HHS. The original Dutch is “sal in volle possessie en besitt van myn geheel[le] staat blyve gedurende de tut van haar weduwelyke staat sonder Eenige Rekenschap te sulle geven aan myn Erfgenamen.”

widowhood, she would not own it as in the first will. Upon her remarriage, she had to relinquish the entire estate immediately, retaining only a life interest in the interest on 500 pistoles, whereas the first will provided for her control until all of the children reached maturity.⁹⁴ Importantly, all children were minors when both wills were written (in 1732, they were from five to sixteen), so that the only thing that had changed between the two wills was the number of children. It is difficult to know what prompted Jacob Hasbrouck to change the provisions of his first will. Perhaps one motivating factor was that he was growing to distrust the possibility of his widow protecting his children's interests upon her remarriage. This suggests that the balance of power between men and women in marriage, at least in Jacob Hasbrouck's eyes, was tipping even further out of balance. He also increasingly wanted to prevent his wife from owning, and thus potentially alienating, any of his estate, which again suggests that he might have been questioning a woman's (or at least his wife's) ability to protect the property for their children.

In his last will, composed in 1747 when he was 59 and his wife 61, Jacob denied her the power to control the estate in her widowhood, which he had provided her in his earlier will. In his last will, Jacob bequeathed his wife only "the choice of a Negro man and women, all the furniture she choose and two cows. . . the choice of two rooms in the house. . . and my three sons shall each of them pay her £6. yearly." Perhaps she was not as dependent as some, in that she controlled her annuity, but his last will would make her much more dependent than his earlier ones. Granted, Esther was getting old and was conceivably not well, so perhaps such conditions affected his choices when writing his final will. Such female health concerns might have influenced other men who denied their wives authority over the estate as well. However, it is difficult to see how the health of a widow was determinative, since it rarely seemed to be a concern for men. Men virtually never relinquished control during their lives, although we can be

⁹⁴ Jacob Hasbrouck, "Will, March 2, 1732," *Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection*, HHS.

sufficiently certain that some men had health problems in their old age as well. Importantly, however, Esther remained one of his executors according to the 1747 will, as she had been in his 1732 will. Jacob thusly must have still seen Esther as capable of making financial decisions, but he also conceived of her as essentially dependent. Over the course of his life, Jacob reconceptualized the role and social position of his wife from an influential woman with significant authority, reflective of Dutch ideals, to a dependent person, although admittedly not as thoroughly dependent as some English women were.

Jacob's cultural transformation suggests certain trends that can clearly be demonstrated between the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The first is the forceful repudiation of Walloon traditions. Secondly is that the Dutch concept of property being commonly owned during marriage was only loosely established and quickly jettisoned. This is primarily evidenced through the loss of the joint will and secondarily through remarriage terms, which sometimes deprived women of all property if they chose to remarry. This latter stipulation appeared as early as in Louis Dubois' second (1686) will and as late as Daniel Hasbrouck's will of 1759. Depriving widows of rights to property upon remarriage was a provision that precisely reflected neither Dutch nor English cultural values, but was a Dutch-American innovation, likely influenced by, but not based precisely on, the English conception of common law property rights during marriage. Nevertheless, Dutch gendered practices were strongly stamped in eighteenth-century New Paltz culture. Beginning with the first generation and continuing as late as 1796, a wife might be given full control of her husband's estate after his death in typical Dutch fashion, with widows assuming a powerful matriarchal role even as their children reached maturity. However, provisions for wives that express English traditions more than Dutch were seen as early as 1729, however, as when Daniel Dubois in 1729 stipulated that if his widow remarried,

she would retain what was essentially her widow's "thirds," such "thirds" being an English concept. Through 1784, some husbands made their wives executors, suggesting a more powerful female position. Yet, the first New Paltz man to deprive his wife of the power of executrix did so in 1731 in English fashion, depriving her of influence that many Dutch women possessed.

Even as husbands were increasingly treating their widows according to English common law customs, some New Paltz women whose rights were contracting over the course of the century found ways to preserve the Dutch traditions of female influence by (illegally) alienating a deceased husband's land in the 1770s, carefully managing property and property rights in the 1790s, and even choosing not to exert extensive rights when given the opportunity to do so in the closing decades of the century. Women remained economic actors, preserving an element of Dutchness, even though for a significant number, they were increasingly acted upon by anglicizing husbands and sons.

Although the rights of widows of New Paltz patentee descendants were seriously contracting over the eighteenth century, fathers tended to devise to their children an equal, or at least equitable, division of property in accordance with Dutch fashion from 1676 to 1804. Nevertheless, in patriarchal fashion, no elderly father after 1747 simply directed that all of his real and personal property would be divided amongst his children, both male and female, without any stipulation as to how that division should proceed, as had been the case for more Dutch-oriented fathers. After that date, and in many cases before that date, daughters and sons were no longer seen as interchangeable in the division of property. Increasingly, daughters and sons would be seen as having different rights to different types of property, with rights to land becoming highly gendered in a fashion more reflective of English ideals. As early as 1720, and

increasingly after that date, would a father, Louis Bevier, deprive his daughter of land in favor of his sons, choosing to effect an equitable division through cash payments from the brothers to their sister. While this type of inequality could theoretically have been influenced by a desire not to overly fragment landholdings, there were many cases in New Paltz in which the landed estates of individual men were large enough to permit equal divisions of real property for many if not all children, yet some daughters were deprived of such land. A growing Englishness could also be seen through the choices of many New Paltz patriarchs not to allow their executors to effect the precise division of his estate, reflecting a stronger perception of the father's role than in the early years of New Paltz when Dutch culture was stronger.

If we are thusly to conceptualize the cultural orientation of the New Paltz patentees and their descendants in terms of gender of both individuals and the community as a whole throughout the first 125 years of its existence, its essence is a Dutch-Anglo hybridity, even if the overall cultural trajectory seems to be an anglicizing one. Importantly, as with language and architecture, the cultural trajectory of the community through the construction of gender did not proceed monolithically. The gendered relationship between men and women as husband and wives became less Dutch at a faster rate than the relationship between men and women as sons and daughters, at least when the community is considered as a totality. Yet, such generalizations are somewhat facile, as even with the limited number of wills available, the cultural permutations are almost endless, reflecting the fact that two cultural perspectives were available from which to choose, in a manner which permitted a free amalgamation of the two. The result was that each individual often constructed his (or her) own unique hybrid culture, and this complexity is present throughout the period under investigation. We may not be able to decipher what motivated a father to follow one cultural provision in one instance, while choosing the other

culture in another. Of course, testamentary practices were not only dictated by culture, yet the fact that two different gendered cultural strategies were known and available perhaps made it easier to find the right choice for a particular man and his family without having to innovate. Nevertheless, it is clear that the men of New Paltz had a varied cultural vocabulary that enabled them to apportion property in a way that suited both personal desires for their family and their own complex cultural sense as well.

An analysis of gender ideals as expressed through property rights again thusly suggests that the village of New Paltz began its existence in a state of cultural flux, and it remained that way for at least 125 years. The result was the collective creation of a culturally hybrid community, primarily built on the cultural vocabularies of the Dutch and the English. Walloonness had indeed served in a minor role, but as with architecture, little if any of the founders' European cultural heritage had stamped the gendered contours of the community. Importantly, the (Walloon)-Dutch-Anglo hybridity of the eighteenth century were never stable nor permanent, in either the expression of gender ideals or in any other way. Collectively, through an almost infinite number of cultural events and choices, both dramatic and public and intimate and private, the community created a culture that never found a resting point until the eighteenth century was a memory. Through architecture, language, and gender, the majority of the founders and their eighteenth-century descendants thusly chose to create and dwell in a sometimes ambiguous cultural space on a metaphoric cultural frontier, wherein they neither forced nor resisted adoption and adaptation of Dutch and English culture. Together, they chose a cultural fluidity that was accepted and expected. Together, they were "frontier dwellers."

Unfortunately, we cannot say precisely what they gained from creating a fluid culture, except that they gained a wide cultural space in which alternatives and creativity were possible.

Given the evidence, it would be also be difficult to know precisely how the New Paltz patentees and their descendants came into contact with cultures that were not their own in ways that would have affected the culture they created at home. This would have been particularly the case with Anglo culture, because the process of anglicization was initiated well before they opened their village lands to “outsiders” beginning in the 1760s. Nevertheless, we can clearly see that the patentee descendants of New Paltz were not isolated from nor resistant to the broader streams of New York colonial culture. Certainly the source of Dutchness was the regional community, as those in New Paltz were integrated into life in and around Kingston, which was the county seat and the center of local commerce and the courts. Close connections were also built with the Kingston Dutch Reformed congregation, upon which the New Paltz villagers intermittently relied. Inter-ethnic marriages would certainly also have influenced the incorporation of Dutchness into the cultural sense of early New Paltz, and the mere existence of these marriages reveals New Paltz’s lack of isolation from the regional community.

The source of English culture, however, is more obscure, since direct relations with centers of English culture, and thus English people, are even more mysterious. We can safely assume that law and the courts were important to the spread of Englishness in New Paltz, as the language of record and the language of the law were English. New Paltz may also have been connected to broader streams of culture through commerce, as New Paltz farmers were substantial ones, many of whom likely vented surpluses into the market. Unfortunately, the dearth of evidence of intra-colonial economic affairs makes it impossible to analyze the trading world of New Paltz. However, as other scholars have shown that Ulster County trade in the eighteenth century was conducted primarily through agents, it was likely so in New Paltz as well. Perhaps the Revolution would open New Paltz up to even broader currents of culture, yet even

before the advent of the war, English culture had certainly impacted the fluid culture of the village.

In short, the strong suggestion is that the New Paltz community was locally-oriented, as colonial American agricultural communities often were, as their lives revolved around their hearths and farms, their schools and village government, and their village congregation. Yet, the fact that they had access to varied cultural vocabularies, which they used to construct a hybrid culture, in and of itself confirms that they were not isolated. It was also their choice to create a hybridity that was essentially a Dutch-Anglo one by the 1730s at the latest, forming a complex culture that apparently was acceptable to the great majority of the community, and it remained so throughout the remainder of the century.

Yet not everyone relished the life of the “frontier dweller.” Some wanted to push anglicization further, and some resisted; some were “frontier crossers,” while some were “frontier resisters.” We will turn to the “frontier resisters” later when we explore how those that pursued different cultural strategies came into open conflict with each other, but we first must learn about the cultural world of the “frontier crossers.” Although we might not be able to argue precisely why cultural fluidity was desirable for the majority in New Paltz, we can at least theorize what the “frontier crossers” gained, particularly in relation to anglicization, as across the frontier in the zones of English dominance, both geographic and metaphoric, the view of the Dutch was not particularly favorable.

CHAPTER 6

“DUTCH VERMIN”: THE VIEW FROM ACROSS THE FRONTIER

Abraham Hasbrouck, one of the founders of New Paltz, was not content with his one-twelfth share of the approximately 40,000-acre New Paltz patent. Apparently 3,300 acres were insufficient to fulfill the socioeconomic expectations and goals he held for his family, and other New Paltz founders such as Hugo Freer and Louis Dubois felt the same way. Such men took advantage of the vast tracts still available for acquisition and settlement in Ulster County, and some New Paltz founders even acquired land in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Abraham Hasbrouck was able to acquire an additional 2,000 acres in an area called Guilford, abutting the New Paltz patent. He settled his eldest son Joseph, born in 1684, on that land, and it became Joseph's when Abraham died of a stroke in 1717. On that substantial farm, Joseph and his wife Elsje Schoonmaker, a woman of German and Dutch descent, would become the parents of 10 children. Most of the work of raising that family and managing that farm would be Elsje's, as Joseph met a somewhat untimely death in 1724 at the age 40, and he left his widow control of the estate, provided she did not remarry. Joseph indicated that after Elsje's death (or if she was to remarry, after the youngest child was 16), all of his lands would descend to their eldest son Abraham, born in 1707, although with restrictions. Abraham would one day have to pay his siblings a total of £500 for the honor, but that could have been years away, as his mother controlled the farm as long as she remained a widow, or at least as long as she desired such authority.

Perhaps as he reached adulthood the younger Abraham could not wait for his independence, so in 1735 he chose to relocate to Kingston to pursue a career as a merchant. Merchants such as Hasbrouck were members of a relatively restricted elite in Ulster County, and his social status could only have been strengthened by his participation in both trade and production. Local merchants in the countryside served important roles in their communities, as they were the conduit through which the local farmers got their surpluses to urban and even international markets through New York City.¹ A few might have consigned their produce to Hasbrouck, but most probably traded their surpluses to him for store credit. Hasbrouck exchanged these surpluses with urban merchants for manufactured goods, and the store credit he provided his customers could be redeemed for those products that were not or could not be produced on the farm. How often Hasbrouck accompanied his goods going back and forth between the Ulster County seat and New York's urban center is not known, but he certainly would have traveled to the urban center; at some point he even acquired a house in New York City on the dock at Pearl Street, bringing the number of his domiciles to three.

His trip to the city some time around March 1739 would have been a somewhat different from those in the past, however, as he would now be traveling to New York City to take his place in the Assembly as a representative from Ulster County, a position once held by his grandfather and namesake. Becoming one of the political elite in the colony, even if he was a lower-ranking member of that elite, would mean that he had no choice but to interact with British governors and Anglo-Americans who served in the provincial government. Abraham, unlike many of his family and friends, was intentionally crossing the cultural frontier, if not permanently, at least dramatically. While the elite New York Dutch would certainly have been

¹ Thomas S. Wermuth, *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors: The Transformation of Rural Society in the Hudson River Valley, 1720-1850* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001).

accepting of those of varied non-English ethnic heritage such as Hasbrouck, a man of Walloon-Dutch-German-American descent, those of British origin or descent might not have been so open-minded. Even if Hasbrouck had made it known to his new political colleagues that he possessed some non-“Dutch” heritage, possibly through his ability to speak French, as a merchant from Kingston, he clearly hailed from a noticeably Dutch cultural region. What Anglocentric chauvinism might Hasbrouck have encountered amongst the political elite with whom he now associated and would continue to do so on and off as an assemblyman through the late 1760s? How would the British governors interpret Hasbrouck’s “Dutch” background, or how might influential men such as Cadwallader Colden have thought about Hasbrouck or the other non-English men in their midst?

Certainly those of British roots would have seen “Dutch” men such as Hasbrouck as possessing a “national character” different from those of English (or Scottish) stock, as since the late medieval period, Europeans had contended that national characters existed. Indeed, it was in the eighteenth century that the discussion of national character had reached its zenith, which historians have argued was grounded in both political relations and traditions present in classical education. These forces resulted in “the emergence and dissemination of relatively stable clichés [concerning national character] in humanist and post-Renaissance Europe,” which also extended to the New World. The English, in particular, according to one historian, were considerably attached to national stereotypes. Even as such thinkers and commentators as David Hume questioned the propensity of “The vulgar. . .to carry all *national characters* to extremes; and having once established it as a principle, that any people are knavish, or cowardly, or ignorant, they will admit of no exception, but comprehend every individual under the same censure,” Hume nevertheless argued that national characters, in fact, were clearly demonstrable. This

reality was unavoidable because nations differed “in the nature of the government, the revolutions of public affairs, the plenty or penury in which the people live, the situation of the nation with regard to its neighbours, and such like circumstances.” Hume denotes these causes as “moral,” and argues for their primacy, but other thinkers contended that national character was heavily influenced by particular climates and topography.² While dispute over causation of national differences grew in the eighteenth century, the existence of such differences was generally not disputed amongst early modern English writers.³

Without a doubt, many elite English people recorded an anti-Dutch bias in propaganda, travel narrative, geography, philosophy, diary, letter, or other cultural commentary, and this bias was based on more than the obvious and relatively simple perception that the English and Dutch possessed cultural differences. Elite Englishmen and women constructed Dutchness in very particular ways, most notably in published libelous propaganda about Dutch culture and travel narratives, the latter which aimed at those who had never traveled to the Netherlands. -Although one historian perhaps extrapolates an all-encompassing English perspective from the writings of merely the traveling elite, he validly remarks that published travelers tended to monotonously offer “a common and conventional outlook on the panorama around them,” which is not surprising since “They saw the same things, learnt what to think of them from books and the local inhabitants.”⁴ Importantly, the validity of such literature amongst readers who had not experienced travel themselves seems to have been predicated on the congruence of

² David Hume, “Of National Characters,” in *Essays, Moral and Political*, 3rd edition (London, England: A Millar, 1748).

³ See Waldemar Zacharasiewicz “National Stereotypes in Literature in the English Language: A Review of Research,” in *REAL The Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature* 1 (1982): 75-120, for a historiographical overview of literary historians’ research on the subject of national character.

⁴ John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics*, revised edition (New Haven, CT: Yale, 1989), 186.

preconceptions and literary representations.⁵ Although particular evidence generated by Anglo-Americans that reveal perceptions of Dutchness is in relatively short supply, what does exist suggests that Americans understood Dutch ethnic culture through the lens of the traditional English stereotype.

How precisely the English constructed Dutchness in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, will be explored below, but in brief, the English viewed the Dutch as being a nation of greedy traders, possessing an avariciousness that rendered them different from the English, at least according to the stereotype. However, the stereotype likely had much more to do with international rivalry rather than being a realistic interpretation of Dutch culture and society. In the seventeenth century, the English possessed an inferior role in international trade and wanted to grow that sector of the economy, but they were forced to confront the superior Dutch, who from the English perspective, did not want to share. Although the English did eventually overtake the Dutch in global trade, the stereotypes that developed through that rivalry were amazingly resilient. Even if statements that suggest an anti-Dutch bias were sometimes offered as a form of propaganda, propagandists might very well construct their rhetoric in tones which they think will be effective simply because they believe that their ideas are congruent with their audience's preconceptions. Libelous literature can be both a cause of and effect on the culture out of which it arises.⁶

Even more important than that rivalry, however, is that the English constructed Dutchness in ways that likely had more to do with internal debates within England itself than with whom the Dutch actually were. Defining the other helped the English to define themselves.

⁵ Zacharasiewicz, "National Stereotypes," 82.

⁶ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991); Robert Darnton, *Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York, NY: Norton, 1995).

In an age when sociopolitical systems were being debated and challenged, and when the European economic structures were being rebuilt upon international trade and capitalism, the social and cultural role of the merchant was being seriously explored and questioned, as was a republican system of government. With Dutch merchants having such a primary role in the government of the United Provinces, Dutch society came to represent for many elite English something that should be held in distrust.⁷ Even if the Dutch stereotype constructed by the English developed as a result of internal English social, economic and political concerns that impacted the making of personal ethnic identity, Anglo/Dutch relations were nevertheless affected by those constructed stereotypes. Elite English people did indeed see the Dutch as suspect characters, and the Dutch in New York who interacted with the English colonial elite would have had to face this fact.

Admittedly, it is difficult to ascertain how far these stereotypes extended throughout the Anglo world, given that the literary evidence was produced primarily by and for the elite, and only a minutest fraction even of the elite left comments which reveal their perceptions of inter-ethnic differences. Furthermore, much of the printed literature was produced in England rather than the New World, and it would be impossible to determine how widely this literature circulated in America. Thus, an ideologic analysis of the Anglo/Dutch relationship places us on more tentative ground than the social, institutional and material analysis of the cultural response of non-Anglo New Yorkers that has dominated this study up to this point. Yet, if we fail to theorize concerning the experience of the rural “frontier crosser” in the provincial center, which plausibly had ideological influences, we would be left unable to conceptualize the breadth of cultural responses pursued in early New Paltz. The few rural men such as Hasbrouck from

⁷ Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978).

Dutch cultural centers who had a presence amongst the provincial elite would very likely have faced and been forced to respond to English anti-Dutch sentiment, if not to gain political power at least to avoid ridicule amongst their political and mercantile colleagues, and their response would likely have impacted relations with their family, friends and neighbors back home. It is indeed often difficult to connect this anti-Dutch message directly with the cultural strategies of such elite men as Hasbrouck, yet the few available close readings of the experience of elite non-Anglo men in the urban center after the English conquest tentatively suggest the power of the anti-Dutch bias.⁸ The fact that Hasbrouck would be one who did forcefully and precociously anglicize (which will be explored further in Chapter 7) strongly suggests a circumstantial yet plausible case for that anglicization. And what comprised that anti-Dutch message to which frontier crossers such as Hasbrouck needed to respond was not flattering in the least.

In exploring the English anti-Dutch bias, a good starting point would be the abridgement of New York colony's four-volume record of its official relations with the Iroquois between 1678 and 1751, composed by Peter Wraxall, an English emigrant to New York, in 1754, who promoted and held an almost impenetrable hatred of Dutch and Dutch-Americans. The purpose of this abridgement, which also contained Wraxall's copious annotations, was to encourage the English government to take control of Indian relations out of the purview of, according to Wraxall, incompetent and self-interested New York Indian commissioners and place them in the hands of Colonel William Johnson. To provide convincing evidence that this was necessary, Wraxall made the Albany Dutch his primary villains in colonial Anglo/Indian relations.

⁸ A historical analysis of the cultural response of Dutch-identified Americans to English anti-Dutch bias are few, but nevertheless quite telling, such as in Adrian Howe, "The Bayard Treason Trial: Dramatizing Anglo-Dutch Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century New York City," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 47, no. 1 (Jan. 1990): 57-89, and paper given by Joyce Goodfriend concerning New York City Domine Lambertus De Ronde at the Conference on New York State History, June 2007.

According to Wraxall, the Albanians “considered nothing but their present profit, & were animated by no Views to Posterity, wch is the genuine Character of true Dutchmen.”⁹ The consistent commitment of the Dutch to “immediate (sic) profits in Trade” demonstrated by “the Management of the Albany Commissioners who in general have ever been a set of Weak, Mercenary, mean Spirited People every way unfit for the Trust reposed in them,” seriously undermined the British desire to attach the Iroquois firmly to the British interest at the expense of the French.¹⁰ Wraxall consistently condemned the Albanian Dutch for unfair dealings with the Indians, commenting upon one instance of unjust dealings, that “Here is a Specimen of the Albanian Spirit & how little the true welfare of the publick is considered by that worthless Crew!”¹¹ According to Wraxall, the Albanian Dutch were nothing but “Ignorant Mercenary Pedlars,” who “being Traders neither their Reports or Behavior is to be depended on.”¹² Even more derogatorily, he vilified them as “Dutch reptiles” and “vermin.” This was hardly the first time that the Dutch had been condemned as a nation of self-interested traders. As one English critic had remarked almost a century prior to Wraxall, “a right Dutchman can never be a true friend, a loyal subject, or a good neighbor; for his trade carries away his heart; riches his allegiance, and thriving his soul.”¹³ Of course, Wraxall offered his comments in relation to the Albany management of the Indian trade, yet that he attempted to rely on anti-Dutch rhetoric to achieve his goal of removing trade from the purview of the Albany Dutch suggests that he, at

⁹ Peter Wraxall *An Abridgment of the Indian Affairs Continued in Four Folio Volumes, Transacted in the Colony of New York, from Abridgment in the year 1678 to the year 1751*, edited by Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1915), 180.

¹⁰ Wraxall, *Abridgment*, 58.

¹¹ Wraxall, *Abridgment*, 66.

¹² Wraxall, *Abridgment*, 7, 135, 180, 188.

¹³ Charles Molloy, *Holland's Ingratitude: Or, A Serious Expostulation with the Dutch* (London, 1666), 44, quoted in Steven C. A. Pincus *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the making of English foreign policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 306.

least, believed that his audience was sufficiently attuned to such rhetoric that his polemical use of it had a reasonable prospect of success.

While Wraxall's condemnation of the Dutch may sometimes have been more vociferous than most, and expressed an extremely harsh critique of Dutch/Indians relations that bore little resemblance to reality, his commentary represents a prominent strain of English ethnocultural thinking about the Dutch that dated back to the seventeenth century.¹⁴ While not universal, this strong anti-Dutch bias was repeatedly articulated by early modern elite English cultural commentators in the Old World, and by New York and New England Anglo-Americans in the New. It was not exclusively an Anglo bias, however, but one embraced by other elite Europeans, such as Scots, Swedes, French, and Irish who found a similar distaste for those of Dutch extraction they met with in the Dutch cultural regions of North America. It was a bias that was also amazingly resilient, surviving into the early years of the nineteenth century in the writings of the New Yorker Washington Irving, the New Englander Elkanah Watson, and the British traveler Fanny Wright.

The primary element of Dutchness in the eyes of the early modern English in both Europe and America was that the Dutch nation was a nation of traders. As William Coventry, the Duke of York's secretary, commented ever so simply, for the Dutch, "Their trade is their God."¹⁵ Even when the English noted the strong manufacturing, agricultural, and extractive (including fishing) sectors of the economy, they fixated on the trading activities in the coastal cities, which is no wonder given the immense wealth that trade generated and the exotic goods

¹⁴ Jon Parmenter argues that the Albany Commissioners were far more sensitive to the needs of the Iroquois than such as Wraxall would claim [Jon Parmenter, "Onenwahatirighi Sa Gentho Skaghnuhtudigh": Reassessing Haudenosaunee Relations with the Albany Commissions of Indian Affairs, 1723-1755," in Nancy Rhoden, editor: *English Atlantics Revisited: Essays Honouring Professor Ian K. Steele*, 235-283 (Montreal, Quebec, Canada: McGill-Queens University Press, 2007)].

¹⁵ William Coventry, "Discourse on the Dutch War," Longleat House, Cov. MSS, CII, f. 7, quoted in Pincus, *Protestantism and patriotism*, 204.

brought from distant climes, as well as the bustle of activity that trading activities created.¹⁶ Yet productive and extractive industries also made many individuals rich.¹⁷ This myopia was sometimes quite subtle, as in Edward Chamberlayne's analysis. On one page of a treatise on world trade, he noted that the Dutch "wholly rel[ied] upon the advantage that Accrues by Trading in forrain Countries, as wanting Land to improve their Stock at home."¹⁸ Yet he contradictorily notes that the Dutch actually did have the resources to produce foodstuffs and goods manufactured from agricultural projects, as well as engage in extractive industries: "the chief Commodities that the [Dutch] Country affords, which may properly be called the Growth or Manufacture, are Cattle, Butter, Cheese, Flax, Corn, Linnen Cloath, Coarse Woolen Cloaths, Tapestry, Pictures, and all sorts of Fish, but especially Herrings." By ignoring Dutch productive activities that obviously relied upon working the land, the artisan's shop, and the manufactory, he nevertheless maintains that the Dutch were essentially traders. Granted, many of the goods produced or extracted were indeed traded, often abroad, but production obviously required a host of individuals physically laboring, as well as a workforce to create the physical infrastructure for trading and production. To see the Dutch as a nation of traders overlooked very large segments of the population (unless we are to see Dutch culture as being the creation of only a small trading elite), an oversight that the English consistently made.

Dutch trading activities were linked in the eyes of elite Englishmen and Anglo-Americans as being fundamentally connected to a characteristically-Dutch striving for wealth. In 1659, according to John Evelyn, a Dutch ambassador to England did "in a manner acknowledge," Dutch greed, as the ambassador noted "that their Nation mind onley their profit,

¹⁶ Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford, England: Clarendonn Press, 1990).

¹⁷ C. D. Van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland During the Stuart Period* (Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1993), 191-195; Stoye *English Travellers*, 173-184.

¹⁸ Edward Chamberlayne, *The present state of England* (London, England: William Whirwood, 1683), 237-8.

do nothing out of Gratitude, but collateraly, as it relates to their gaine, or security,” although we can wonder if this is indeed what the ambassador was suggesting.¹⁹ The Reverend Samuel Seabury, an American, remarked aphoristically that “You never yet knew a Hollander who would with-hold any thing that would fetch him a good price.”²⁰ Joseph Marshall exclaimed in 1772 that the “true Dutch character” of the elite is characterized by being “attentive only to the raising [of] wealth; and it is astonishing to see the number of them that attain very great fortunes, and yet continue all their anxiety and eagerness to get more, without seeming to give the least attention to enjoying a very moderate competency.” Strangely enough, Marshall offers descriptions of many Dutch people who do not fit this stereotype, who insists must have been those “bastard Dutch” “who have travelled, or . . . who are idle” or who have been influenced by the many foreigners that lived in the United Provinces.²¹ Even when seeing something contrary to the stereotype, he nevertheless held the stereotype up as the “true” character of the Dutchman. Another commentator contended that the amongst the Dutch “a spirit of industry, joined to parsimony, reigns in every Hollander, young or old. It is seldom that children impair the patrimony of their ancestor; money is their idol, to obtain which nothing can refrain them in the power of industry or economy.”²²

A Scot, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, while traveling in New York in 1744, similarly remarked that the residents “live in their houses in Albany as if it were in prisons, all their doors and windows being perpetually shut. But the reason for this may be the little desire they have for conversation and society, their whole thoughts being turned upon profit and gain which

¹⁹ E. S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1955), 3:236.

²⁰ Samuel Seabury, *Letters of a Westchester Farmer* (New York, NY: Rivington, 1774), 29.

²¹ Joseph Marshall, *Travels through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Lapland, Russia, The Ukraine, and Poland in the Years 1768, 1769, and 1770* (London, England: J. Almon, 1772), 1:41-46, 1:347-348.

²² John Richard, *A Tour from London to Petersburg, from thence to Moscow, and return to London by way of Courland, Poland, Germany and Holland* (London, England: T. Evans, 1778), 204-5.

necessarily makes them live retired and frugall. Att least this is the common character of the Dutch every where.”²³ Likewise, Isaac Weld, apprently ignoring the many Anglo-Americans on Long Island, remarked that even at the end of the eighteenth century,

“The permanent residents on Long Island are chiefly of Dutch extraction, and they seem to have inherited all the coldness, reserve, and covetousness of their ancestors. It is a common saying in New York, that a Long Island man will conceal himself in his house on the approach of a stranger; and really the numberless instances of shyness I met with in the inhabitants seemed to argue, that there was some truth to the remark. If you do but ask any simple question relative to the neighbouring country, they will eye you with suspicion, and evidently strive to disengage themselves from; [which is] widely different from the Anglo-Americans.”

Weld did compliment Dutch New Yorkers as being excellent farmers, and noted that amongst them were “many very wealthy men,” but his was a backhanded compliment, as he also noted that their covetousness prevented them from enjoying or displaying their wealth. As such, “they live in a mean, penurious, and most uncomfortable manner.”²⁴ In other words, even if wealthy, the Dutch characteristically could not construct themselves as gentlepersons.

At least one critic’s remarks reflected her perception that a similar belief was commonplace amongst elite English people, surviving through the end of the eighteenth century. Ann Radcliffe commented that

“There can be no motive, but its truth, for repeating the trite opinion of the influence of avarice in Holland: we expected, perhaps, with some vanity, to have found an opportunity for contradicting it; but are able only to add another testimony of its truth. The infatuation of loving money not as a means, but as an end, is paramount in the mind of almost every Dutchman, whatever may be his other dispositions and qualities; the addiction to it is fervent, inveterate, invincible, and universal from youth to the feeblest old age.”²⁵

²³ Alexander Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, published as *Gentleman’s Progress; The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton 1744*,” edited by Carl Bridenbaugh (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1948), 73.

²⁴ Isaac Weld, Jr., *Travels Through the States of North American and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1795, and 1797* (London, England: John Stockdale, 1799), 465.

²⁵ Ann Radcliffe, *A Journey made in the Summer of 1794 through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany, with a return down the Rhine* (London, England: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1794), 98.

Mrs. Radcliffe's word's also found voice in New England, when a newspaperman reprinted this same quote in 1798. In the *New World*, Irishman Warren Johnson, the brother of Sir William Johnson, also noted the "Dutch of the Province of New york are out of the way, very mean People," even noting that he thought "the Indians preferable."²⁶

According to many of these commentators, however, the Dutch, were not just traders, but the greediest possible traders, possessed of a materialist culture obsessed with profitable commerce to the point of fraudulence and even sinfulness. As one particularly libelous critic remarked in a tract repeatedly published under a variety of titles, "their Riches shewes them to be *Pluto's Region*," and they revealed their materialism in that "Their houses they keep cleaner than their bodies; their bodies than their soules."²⁷ Even in extolling a virtue, that in "their Manufactures they hold a truth and constancy," this author suggested they demonstrated an "over-asking for commodities [which] proclaim to the world that they would cheat all if it were in their power."²⁸ William Aglionby, writing in 1669, while generally commending the Dutch for their success in trade, nevertheless suggested that "They are not so much upon the punctilio of honor, as the other Nations, but are rather given to Trade and getting, and they seem as if they had suck'd in with their milk the insatiable desire of acquiring."²⁹ A Mr. Sherlock, an English traveler, backhandedly noted that the Dutch, who unlike most Europeans, were not prone to "ruining" themselves, as they were "too phlegmatic to ruin themselves any way." But, "The few who *do* destroy themselves, do it by avarice, by lending money at exorbitant interest on bad

²⁶ Milton Hamilton, ed., "Warren Johnson's Journal 1760-1761," in *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press), 13:191.

²⁷ *A brief Character of the Low-Countries under the States Being three weeks observation of the Vices and Vertues of the Inhabitants* (London, England: n.p., 1652). Other editions were published in 1648, 1660, 1675 and 1677.

²⁸ *A brief Character of the Low-Countries*, 3, 23, 75.

²⁹ William Aglionby, *The Present State of the United Provinces of the Low-Countries; as to the Government, Laws, Forces, Riches, Manners, Customes, Revenue, and Territory, of the DUTCH* (London, England: John Starkey, 1669), 222-224.

securities.”³⁰ An American Quaker from Burlington, New Jersey, also remarked that “the Townsmen of Albany in general sustained the character of being close, mercenary and avaricious.” While Smith does not specifically note that the Albanians were Dutch, he does comment on the preserved Dutch character in the city, thus linking his perceptions of local character with the traditional Dutch stereotype.³¹

In his play *Amboyna*, John Dryden also condemned the Dutch for their lack of honor and their greed. According to Dryden, the Dutch, who through a 1619 treaty had agreed to permit the English a one-third share of the spice trade in the East Indies, with the Dutch being responsible for many of the costs related to securing the island of Amboyna as a shared trading post, were nevertheless unwilling to lose any trade to another nation. The Dutch Governor, Harmon, remarks that even within the bounds of the treaty, the Dutch were capable of fraudulently extracting greater payment from the English than was warranted. The Dutch Fiscal responds that “These, I confess are pretty tricks, but will not do our business; we must ourselves be ruined at long run, if they [the English] have any trade here; . . . I would not let these English from this isle have cloves enough to stick an orange with, not one to throw into their bottle-ale.” Harman also notes that for his superiors in the Dutch East India Company, “interest is their god as well as ours.” The English, from Dryden’s perspective, were of course far more honorable and fair. The Englishman Towerson transcends the greediness of the Dutch Governor Harman and the Fiscal, offering his belief that “What means these endless jars of trading nations? ‘Tis true, the world was never large enough for avarice or ambition; but those who can be pleased with moderate gain, may have the ends of nature, not to want.” As the play progresses, and as the actual 1623

³⁰ Reprinted in Rev. John Adams, *The Flowers of Modern Travels, Being Elegant, Entertaining and Instructive Extgracts, Selected from the Works of the Most Celebrated Travellers* (Boston, MA: John West, 1797), 93.

³¹ Francis W. Halsey, ed., *A Tour of the Hudson, the Mohawk, the Susquehanna, and the Delaware in 1769, being the Journal of Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey* (1906, reprint, Fleischmanns, New York: Purple Mountain Press, 1989), 82.

Amboyna massacre proved to the English, it is clear that the Dutch were not content with achieving moderate gain through a Dutch-English partnership, even if the Dutch establishment of a trade monopoly necessitated the dishonorable choice of choosing not to abide by a solemn treaty.

Cadwallader Colden, in New York, similarly denigrated the Dutch for their sinfulness, which was a result of their pursuit of profit. He pointed out that after Sir William Johnson began to supply Indians to the detriment of Albanian Dutch traders, such traders were severely inconvenienced, as “This touched a people in the most sensible part, who have no other view in life but that of getting money.”³² Colden also reported to Peter Collinson several “facts” concerning the “Scandalous attachment” of the New York Dutch to “the getting of money.” The most offensive instance of Dutch greed Colden noted was that “when an Indian came into some of their houses to trade rather than that he should go to try the market at a neighbours house they would suffer the Indian to turn into bed to their wives.”³³ Profit would even motivate Dutchmen to prostitute their wives, and considering that it was well known that Dutch women were involved in business, the wives might have even been seen as complicit.

Others were somewhat confounded by what they saw as the Dutch people’s willingness even to harm their own people out of their desire for money, which clearly reveals a lack of commitment to the common weal. John Richard noted in 1772 that “Generally speaking, most nations have a natural propensity to wish well to their respective countries, nay have an affection for it. This sympathy is not the marked character of the Dutch, they have been known to furnish power to those who were besieging their own towns, nay to have betrayed them.”³⁴ Another

³² Cadwallader Colden, “The present state of the Indian affairs, August 8, 1751,” in *Cadwallader Colden Papers, New-York Historical Society Collections* (New York, NY: New York Historical Society, 1918-36) 4:274.

³³ Colden, “Letter to Peter Collinson, May 1742,” *Colden Papers*, 2:259.

³⁴ Richard, *A Tour from London to Petersburg*, 205.

critic, however, discovered the root of this willingness of the Dutch to betray their own people. Noting “the interested character of the Dutch, who, [are] unable to resist the temptation of gain,” he commented that the Dutch sold gunpowder to England “during the last war” (presumably the Third Anglo-Dutch War) that was used against the Dutch people. However, a Dutch person explained this to him: “a sagacious driver observed with Dutch cunning; that it was true, they had sold us gunpowder, but it was equally true that it had lain in their warehouses so long a time, that it was good for nothing.”³⁵ No matter whether the powder was good or bad, Englishmen could condemn the Dutch for its sale.

In America, the sin of greed apparently so compelled the Dutch to seek profit that British colonists accused them of practically suborning the murder of their Christian brothers and sisters in New England. New Englanders had charged the New York Dutch of such a crime as far back as King Philip’s War, during which New Yorkers were condemned for setting profit above the lives of their white neighbors. New Englanders from both Connecticut and Massachusetts accused the Albany Dutch of supplying the Indian foes, which enabled them to continue their war efforts. Andros was also charged with abetting the New Yorkers of Dutch descent, a charge that was carried even back to England. Although the charges against Andros were ultimately dropped, New Englanders did not abandon their distrust of their neighbors of Dutch extraction.³⁶ Wraxall later ironically noted the “Antient” policy of neutrality upheld by the Albany Dutch traders during military conflict between the French, English and Indians, sarcastically remarking that “this may be good Policy if this Colony is to be considered as an Indept [independent]

³⁵ Samuel Ireland, *A Picturesque Tour Through Holland, Brabant, Part of France, Made in the Autumn of 1789* (London, England: n.p., 1796), 163.

³⁶ Ronald C. Ritchie, *The Duke’s Province*, 148-9; Council minutes, 17 January 1676, *N.Y. Col. Docs.*, 14:711.

People but as a joint Interest with the rest of the British Colonies appears to me to be only reconcilable to Dutch Generosity and Patriotism.”³⁷

New Englanders’ hatred of the New York Dutch was reported again by Kalm, who remarked that “The behavior of the inhabitants of Albany during [King George’s War] contributed to make them the object of hatred in all the British colonies, but more especially in New England. . . . During this time the people of Albany remained neutral, and carried on a great trade with the very Indians who murdered the inhabitants of New England. Articles such as silver spoons, bowls, cups, etc. of which the Indians robbed the houses in New England, were carried to Albany, for sale.”³⁸ This might have been the source of the interregional ethnocultural tension William Smith Jr. witnessed when he remarked “that the New-England planters have always been disaffected to the Dutch . . .”³⁹ And while the greatest mistrust of the New York Dutch might have been seen amongst New Englanders, Wraxall and other New Yorkers shared such sentiments. Colden belatedly reported an even more grievous crime, noting that the Albany Dutch had even been willing to “destroy their own Countrymen” in Kingston, by supplying the Esopus Indians with ammunition during the mid-seventeenth century Esopus Wars.⁴⁰

The love of money apparently even motivated the famed religious tolerance of the Dutch, “for they admit persons of all countries and [religious] opinions amongst them, knowing well that this liberty draws people, numbers of people increase trade, and that trade brings money,”

³⁷ Wraxall, *Abridgement*, 175, 221.

³⁸ Adolph B. Benson, ed. and trans., *Peter Kalm’s Travels in North America: the English Version of 1770 Revised from the original Swedish and edited by Adolph B. Benson With A Translation of New Material from Kalm’s Diary Notes*, edited by Adolph B. Benson (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937), 345.

³⁹ William Smith, *A History of New-York*, 225-226.

⁴⁰ Colden, “Letter to Peter Collinson, May 1742,” *Colden Papers*, 2:259.

according to Sir John Reresby.⁴¹ Such tolerance was morally questionable in the eyes of some Englishmen. John Dryden even cast a harsher view on the Dutch willingness to compromise religious principles for financial gain. In the play *Amboyna*, Dryden has the English merchant Beaumont exclaim to the Dutch Fiscal that the religion of the Dutch “is only made up of interest: At home, you tolerate all worships in them who can pay for it; and abroad, you were lately so civil to the Emperor of Pegu, as to do open sacrifice to his idols.” The Fiscal responds by commenting that the English were fools to miss out on the opportunity, confirming Beaumont’s remarks.

Another poet, Oliver Goldsmith, extolled Dutch industriousness that led to trade but likewise condemned the Dutch for a covetousness that ultimately led to social decay. In his 1764 poem “The Traveller,” which was available in an American edition of 1768 (the precise location of publication is unknown), the Dutchman was impelled “to repeated toil, Industrious habits in each obtain and industry begets a love of gain.” But the wealth that the Dutch generated that “imparts Convenience, plenty, elegance and arts,” upon closer viewing also revealed “craft and fraud.” “Even liberty itself is barter’d here [in the Netherlands], At gold’s superior charms all freedom flies,” resulting in a nation of tyrants and slaves. For Goldsmith, the Dutch Golden Age might have been more of a gilded one, in which the Dutch were even willing to sacrifice their republican principles for their love of filthy lucre. The poet, nevertheless, also had unkind things to say about English avarice, which caused the “social bonds decay,” but such a critique does not negate his perception of Dutch culture and society.⁴² Perhaps the charge of a sinfulness that

⁴¹ John Reresby, *Memoirs & Travels of Sir John Reresby Bart.* (London, England: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co: 1904), 135.

⁴² Oliver Goldsmith, “The Traveller; or a Prospect of Society,” [N.p. (America): n.p., 1768].

resulted from prosperity could potentially be cast at the feet of any wealthy person or nation, but it was nevertheless clearly laid upon the Dutch.⁴³

Sometimes cultural commentators even constructed the heinous charge of avarice in blatantly anti-Semitic tones. Peter Kalm remarked “If anyone ever intends to go to Albany,” a city well-known as being primarily Dutch, “it is said in jest that he is about to go to the land of Canaan since Canaan and the land of the Jews mean one and the same thing and that Albany is a fatherland and proper home for arch-Jews, since the inhabitants of Albany are even worse. If a real Jew, who understands the art of getting forward perfectly well, should settle amongst them, they would not fail to ruin him.”⁴⁴ Peter Wraxall, not surprisingly, commented on the avaricious New York Dutch, which he, too, likens to stereotypical avaricious Jewish merchants. “[T]he Albany traders,” remarked Wraxall, “were “Christian Jews” who “preferred the Emolument of their private Fortunes by oppression & Injustice [of the Indians] to the Vital Interest of their Country.”⁴⁵ Thomas Jefferson also heard similar words from an Italian correspondent, Philip Mazzei, who exclaimed that the Dutch are “the most vile jews of Europe.”⁴⁶

Certain elements of the English critique of the Dutch might have been less derogatory than the sin of avarice but nevertheless troubling to the those English people who were status-minded. In The Netherlands, the greater equality of stations some critics perceived seemed to collapse the social distinctions to which they were accustomed, or even worse, expressed a downright disrespect of those of high rank. This situation obviously had not just status but political overtones as well, being that the United Provinces were a republic, but the two were

⁴³ Steven Pincus has argued that from the English perspective, trade amongst the Dutch led to covetousness, and such greed led in turn to a desire for greater commercial exchange, which merely supported and furthered their covetousness, such that the Protestant Republic “ceased to be a bulwark against irreligion and tyranny” (Pincus, *Protestantism and patriotism*, 93).

⁴⁴ Kalm, *Peter Kalm’s Travels in North America*, 343.

⁴⁵ Wraxall, *Abridgement*, 88.

⁴⁶ “Philip Mazzei to Thomas Jefferson, April 8, 1781,” in *The Papers of Jefferson*, edited by Julian P. Boyd, et al. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952 ff.) 5:376.

interlinked. With merchants, or merchants who had become rentiers, having such a central political role, although being by definition commoners, the whole political and social order of the Dutch provinces seemed to some to be at odds with the English sociopolitical hierarchy. “They all love their Liberties,” according to William Aglionby, writing soon after the Restoration, “even those that have made but a few years stay in the *Province*, as if the genius of it had a secret power over mens inclinations.” Such love of liberty motivated the Dutch to make it “not lawfull to beat nor strike any body. Servants have as great priviledges as their Masters. . . ,” a sentiment, if true, which would have been unsettling to more amongst the English than simply the elite.⁴⁷ Anyone who had the means to hire a servant or servants even temporarily might have been troubled by the perception of a reduced level of social authority in Dutch culture.

The English elite’s distaste with this equality was partly due to their perception that they did not feel they received the respect they deserved while traveling in the United Provinces, often feeling that they were intentionally cheated in accommodations and meals.⁴⁸ But it was more than just personal affronts that they deplored, but the Dutch social order in general with its blurred social hierarchy. In 1682, Richard Peers noted of the Dutch in the seventeenth century, “their prodigious love of freedom and equality, makes them exceedingly taken with those who being of higher rank will condescend to eat and drink, and converse familiarly with them.” Although this possibly suggests a relationship of paternalism and deference, Peers also adds that “From hence it has been concluded by some that if you would either humble a proud man, or make him stark mad, you must send him into Holland, for there he is sure to be despis’d and affronted, and no question but the consequence thereof must prove one of the two foresaid

⁴⁷ Aglionby, *The Present State of the United Provinces*, 223.

⁴⁸ C. D. Van Strien, *British Travellers*, 212-213.

effects.”⁴⁹ Joseph Marshall likewise commented that “you also find a rough boorishness in them, much beyond what is met with elsewhere; the very lowest of the people will not pay the least mark of personal respect to the great merchant in a town; this is the effect of that equality which flows through a republic, and not mere liberty.”⁵⁰ In general, Dutch culture was thusly not deferential as the English elite would have found desirable and familiar.

Much to his surprise, William Strickland, while traveling in the New York countryside at the end of the eighteenth century “where most of the people are Dutch, a race not thought to be very refined in their manners,” unexpectedly found “that the people in general whom I passed upon the road or had occasion to address, either nodded their heads as I passed or pulled off their hats, a proof of their perfect conviction of the inequality of rank,” actions which were at odds with his expectations.⁵¹ That Strickland was delightfully shocked was possibly due to his having anticipated social interactions as Peers and Aglionby had described more than a century earlier. It is quite possible that some Anglo-Americans particularly after the Revolution began to accept and respect this collapsing of social distinctions, but certainly not all did.⁵²

This equality might have been appealing to some non-noble Englishmen and Anglo-Americans, but such Dutch equality descended even into the family, by which all men within a patriarchal society such as that present in England and its colonies would have been disturbed. As already noted, the servant/master relationship was not a hierarchical one as in England, but commentators suggested that that collapse of hierarchy affected gendered relations as well; at least that is the way the English perceived Dutch society. The anonymous author of *A brief*

⁴⁹ Richard Peers, *The English Atlas. Volume IV. Containing the Description of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low-Countries, or Netherlands* (London, England: Moses Pitt, 1682), 44.

⁵⁰ Marshall, *Travels through Holland*, 45.

⁵¹ Strickland, *Journal of a Tour*, 74.

⁵² Zacharasiewicz (“National Stereotypes,” 108) suggests that perceptions of Dutchness in America might have been impacted by a changed political culture brought about by the Revolution.

Character of the Low-Countries also scurrilously remarked, “In their Families they all are equals, and you have no way to know the master and Mistress, but by taking them in bed together.”⁵³ Others offered similar, if less colorful, critiques of this greater balance between the familial roles of husband and wife, the latter who legally had the potential for greater independence than their English sisters.⁵⁴ Aglionby, who as noted above argued that Dutch servants were the equals of their masters, also noted that “The women do enjoy as much liberty as their Husbands; and it is an unpardonable fault to beat them.”⁵⁵ “[B]oth within doores and without, they governe all, which considering the natural desire of Women to bear Rule, maketh them too imperious and burthensome,” in the words of an anonymous critic, who otherwise had generally positive things to say about the Dutch.⁵⁶ William Mountague also noted the authority of women in Dutch culture through their management in business and their possession of community property. He noted that Dutch women had “an Education suitable [for business], and a Genius wholly adapted to it.” Mountague also remarked “That at her Death (if she drops before her Husband) she can give away half the Estate . . . making their Daughters and Nieces, or Grandchildren great Fortunes; they let the Boys shift for themselves.” He was not particularly critical of the women, per se, but was sincerely critical of the men who neither looked out for their wives or sons, but spent their time in dissipation.⁵⁷

Centuries later and an ocean away, Washington Irving would again offer comments that suggest the Anglo unease with the greater authority of Dutch women, a concern that might be accepted by all English men, not just of the elite. He noted that Willem Kieft, during his

⁵³ *A brief Character of the Low-Countries*, 48.

⁵⁴ C. D. Van Strien, *British Travellers*, 215-6.

⁵⁵ Aglionby, *The Present State of the United Provinces*, 229.

⁵⁶ *The Dutch Drawn to the Life*, 8.

⁵⁷ William Mountague, *The Delights of Holland: or, A Three Months Travel about that and the other Provinces* (London, England: John Sturton, 1696), 183-4.

administration of New Netherland, took “lessons in government . . . from the honoured wife of his bosom; who was one of that peculiar kind of females, sent upon earth . . . as a punishment . . . known by the appellation of *knowing women*. . . . in short, it partook of the nature of a pure, unmixed tyranny, and is familiarly denominated *petticoat government*.” But not just Mrs. Kieft, but many “old ladies had obtained considerable influence in public affairs, keeping the province under a kind of petticoat government.”⁵⁸ Granted, Irving’s work on the early New York Dutch was clearly satirical, but he brought forth a perspective of gendered relations that had earlier antecedents. In a further comment on familial relations, the author of *A brief Character* further added that “Had *Logicians* lived here first, Father and Son had never passed so long for Relatives. They are here Individuals, for no Demonstration of Duty or Authority can distinguish them, as if they were created together, and not successively,” expressing an equality which again an English or Anglo-American patriarch of any rank would likely have abhorred.⁵⁹

William Smith noted another less than positive aspect of the reputation of New York, being that New Yorkers, because they were primarily interested in trade, were not sufficiently interested in the pursuits of the mind, which in turn was linked to the city’s Dutchness. This critique may not have been as harsh as others, but it was nevertheless a perceived characteristic of New York culture that would have been somewhat troubling to those who were of, or strived to be, of gentlemanly rank. Smith, in fact, shared this critique and was one who intentionally tried to alter the culture of New Yorkers. He notes that in New York City, “The ladies . . . are comely and dress well, and scarce any of them have distorted shapes. Tinctured with a Dutch education, they manage their families with becoming parsimony, good providence, and singular neatness. . . . There is nothing they so generally neglect as reading, and indeed all the arts of the

⁵⁸ Washington Irving, *A History of New York, from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty*, by Diedrich Knickerbocker, revised edition (N.p.: A. L. Burt Company, n.d.), 137, 144.

⁵⁹ *A brief Character of the Low-Countries*, 48-9. See Philip Greven, *Four Generations*.

improvement of the mind, in which, I confess, we have set them the example.” “We” apparently referred to English people. Immediately after this comment on “the ladies,” he further contends that “Our schools are in the lowest order; the instructors want instruction, and through a long shameful neglect of all the arts and sciences, our common speech is extremely corrupt, and the evidences of a bad taste, both as to thought and language, are visible in all our proceedings, publick and private.” Smith did not overtly connect Dutch culture with inadequate education, but that he described both so closely together suggests that the two were associated with each other in his mind.⁶⁰

Smith’s friend, William Livingston, offered similar comments in 1749, remarking that “The want of a liberal Education has long been our [New York’s] Reproach and Misfortune. Our Neighbours have told us in an insulting Tone, that the Art of getting Money, is the highest Improvement we can pretend to: That the wisest Man among us, without a Fortune, is neglected and despised; and the greatest Blockhead with one, caress’d and honour’d: That, for this Reason, a poor Man of the most shining Accomplishments, can never emerge out of his Obscurity; while every wealthy Dunce is loaded with Honours. . .”⁶¹ Livingston does not explicitly reference the Dutch, but as New York and the Dutch had obvious associations, particularly amongst its “Neighbours,” and the Dutch were notoriously seen as dedicated to the “art of getting money,” he might have been connecting the reputed materialism of New York culture with its Dutch roots, both for himself and for his audience. In fact, it was elite Anglo-New Yorkers such as Smith and Livingston who were attempting to influence this reputation for the better. Later, English traveler Fanny Wright also denigrated the New York Dutch for their lack of interest in

⁶⁰ William Smith, *A History of New-York*, 226-227.

⁶¹ “William Livingston to Noah Welles, January 13, 1746,” Livingston-Welles Correspondence, Johnson Family Papers, Yale University, quoted in Milton M. Klein, *The politics of diversity: essays in the history of colonial New York* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1974), 75.

the improving of the mind. She argued that Dutch-Americans were “a primitive race” “in full possession of the temple of ignorance,” “having taken a century to learn half a dozen English words and to acquire the fifth part of a new idea.”⁶² She witnessed this situation particularly amongst the rural Dutch in the Mohawk Valley in the early nineteenth century, but she nevertheless applied such a derogatory estimation to the Dutch in general, which reveals how resilient the English anti-Dutch perspective was.

It is worth noting that it was not only the elite English who held a bias against the Dutch, but some elite Frenchmen did so as well, whose preconceived ideas were reinforced by their experiences gained from traveling in New York. These views were not published strictly for French consumption, either, as the writings of some French travelers were translated and printed in America.⁶³ “Americans descended from the Dutch,” according to Moreau de St. Mery, “combine to a pronounced degree the indolence of Americans with the avarice of the Dutch, thus emphasizing the eagerness for gain that is common to both. . . They carry niggardliness so far that it couldn’t possibly go farther. They almost starve themselves, and treat their slaves miserably.”⁶⁴ Chastellux also commented on the supposed self-interestedness of the Dutch, and Dutch-Americans, noting that they “are more economical than industrious, and seek rather to amass wealth than to add to their comfort,” and “concerned themselves much more with domestic economy than with public government.”⁶⁵ Brissot de Warville remarked that a society

⁶² Frances Wright, *Views of Society and Manners in America*, edited by Paul R. Baker (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), 93, 216.

⁶³ Brissot de Warville’s travel writings [Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville, *New travels in the United States of America, 1788*, edited by Durand Echeverria, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964)] were translated from the French and published in New York in 1792 by T. & J. Swords. Brissot de Warville’s critique of Chastellux was also printed in America (Philadelphia, PA: Joseph James, 1794), which suggests that an edition of Chastellux was published in America as well.

⁶⁴ Moreau de St. Mery, *Moreau de St. Mery’s American Journey 1793-1798*, translated and edited by Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1947), 272.

⁶⁵ Marquis de Chastellux, *Chastellux Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, revised translation by Howard C. Rice, Jr. (1963), 196, 436.

for the promotion of knowledge was “not likely to succeed here [in New York]; the Dutch are no lovers of letters,”⁶⁶ reflecting the perceptions of Smith and Livingston, and that Dutch-Americans “are secretive about their business and their profits and live for their own interests.” Although Brissot was not as critical of the Dutch as some, he also nevertheless condemned Chastellux for “sow[ing] the seeds of discord between the different citizens, by representing, that some of the Americans call the Dutch *thick-skulls*, and make them the butt of their ridicule.”⁶⁷ While Brissot may not have approved of Chastellux’s perpetuation of English insults directed at the Dutch, Brissot did not say that Chastellux was guilty of incorrect reporting.

Some writers offered more positive remarks concerning Dutch “industriousness,” but at best these were backhanded compliments, as that industriousness came with certain qualities that were less than positive. Sir William Temple, the English ambassador to The Hague from 1668 to 1670, was sometimes more generous than most, noting that the Dutch were successful because the difficulty in providing for themselves in the Low Countries forced them to work harder, with such extra effort contributing to their economic success. He noted that “the true original and ground of Trade, to be [the] great multitude of people crowded into small compass of Land, whereby all things necessary to life become dear, and all men who have possessions, are induced to Parsimony; but those who have none, are forced to industry and labour, or else to want.”⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Temple also noted that “Their Tempers are not aiery enough for Joy, or any unusual strains of pleasant Humour; nor warm enough for Love,” and “The same dulness of Air may dispose them to that strange assiduity and constant application of their minds.”⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Brissot, *New Travels*, 146.

⁶⁷ J. P. Brissot de Warville, *A Critical Examination of the Marquis de Chastellux’s Travels in North America* (Philadelphia, PA: Joseph James, 1788), 77.

⁶⁸ Sir William Temple, *Observations Upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, edited by George Clark (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1972), 109 (first published 1673).

⁶⁹ William Temple, *Observations*, 89-90.

Similarly, in the 1691 *A Late Voyage to Holland*, the author noted that “[the English] are in their own Natures more lively, brisk, and pert, having more Heat, more Fire within, are as Cholerick as t’other [i.e., the Dutch] Flegmatick, drudge not like them.”⁷⁰ Another author remarked that there were “some Customs, or Dispositions, that seem to run generally through all degrees of Men among them [the Dutch],” such as “great Frugality, and Order, in their Expences.”⁷¹ As late as 1800, the Dutch were described in *Universal Geography*, published in New York, as “robust, laborious, patient, phlegmatic, and taciturn; wary, frugal and eager after the acquisition of wealth.”⁷² As noted earlier, “The people, both in town and country” had some positive attributes according to William Smith, as they “are sober, industrious, and hospitable, though intent upon gain.”⁷³ Others, such as William Carr, also noticed the correlation between Dutch frugality and economic success, although he unfortunately bore witness in The Netherlands to a degeneracy that, to his mind, had developed as a result of prosperity.⁷⁴ Few were as insightful as John Evelyn, who remarked that the Third Anglo-Dutch War was motivated “for no provocation in the World but because the Hollander exceeded us in Industrie, & all things else but envy.”⁷⁵

Indeed, English elite commentators were not universal in their condemnation of the Dutch. Travelers were consistently impressed by Dutch provisions for the poor, their treatment of those in debt, and their admirable success in large public works projects.⁷⁶ Bias, however, does not have to be unanimous to be influential. In *The Dutch Drawn to the Life*, written in a

⁷⁰ *A Late Voyage to Holland* (n.p.: John Humphrey, 1691), 39-40.

⁷¹ *A Late Voyage to Holland*, 31.

⁷² John Payne, *New and Complete System of Universal Geography, Describing Asia, Africa, Europe and America* (New York, NY: n.p., 1800), 3:362.

⁷³ Smith, *A History of New-York*, 227.

⁷⁴ William Carr, *The Travellours Guide and Historians Faithful Companion* (London, England: Eben Tracy, 1695), 103-7.

⁷⁵ E. S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1955), 3:620.

⁷⁶ C. D. Van Strien, *British Travellers*, 191-197.

question-and-answer format, the interlocutor inquired “Would it be any advantage to us to observe their ways?” to which the response was “Yes, for we see where ever they settle in *England*, as in *Norwich*, &c. the Government of that place is most strict; the people within 20 mile most employed, our Manufacture best improved, and the poor best provided for: for where the Dutch are they relieve our poor, and we never are troubled by theirs.”⁷⁷ Anne Radcliffe, while generally constructing Dutchness in derogatory terms, more generously, but perhaps grudgingly, commented that “Some charitable institutions, for the instruction and employment of children, should be mentioned also, to assuage the general censure of a too great fondness for money.”⁷⁸ William Mountague noted that the Dutch were industrious “drudges,” which he positively compared to the English, who were often “lazy and idle People, chusing rather (some of ‘em) to starve than work.”⁷⁹ New Englander Elkanah Watson also recasts the Dutch in more positive terms, commenting that “A peculiarity of manner and feeling is said to characterize the middle classes of the Dutch. Their sensibilities are keen, their manners quiet and serious.”⁸⁰ Watson’s perspective of the Dutch might have been far less negative than most, although it was still not particularly generous. While there was obviously some dispute as to whether or not the Dutch served as good role models, there was no contention as to the frugality and industriousness of the Dutch, which seemed to have grounded their economic success. The question for many, then, was whether that industriousness had ultimately led to self-interest and avarice, detracting from a suitable concern for the public good, and on that point, many were in agreement that it had.

⁷⁷ *The Dutch Drawn to the Life*, 58.

⁷⁸ Radcliffe, *Journey*, 99.

⁷⁹ Mountague, *The Delights of Holland*, 38.

⁸⁰ Elkanah Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, including Journals of Travels in Europe and America, from 1777 to 1842, with his Correspondence with Public Men and Reminiscences and Incidents of the Revolution*, edited by Winslow C. Watson (New York, NY: Dana and Company, 1856), 212.

In confronting English anti-Dutch bias, we are compelled to ask the question, were the English correct in their assessment of Dutch culture? Were the Dutch as a whole truly profit-driven, avaricious, self-interested traders? Unfortunately, greed is something that is not particularly quantifiable, especially when assessing a group of over three million, as the Dutch were. Even if the English correctly interpreted the materialistic motivations of a whole nation of people, the concerns about merchants within England, which framed anti-Dutch discourse, reveals that at least some Englishmen suspected merchants of any ethnicity as prone to unfair or fraudulent practices in the interests of private gain. If a Dutch merchant could be greedy, so could an Englishman, and the English knew it, but they also thought they knew that if anyone was to sin thusly, it was likely to be the Dutchman. We simply cannot accept that, in the words of Daniel Defoe, that English traders were “honester” than those of other nations.⁸¹ In short, that the English ascribed a moral inferiority to the Dutch probably had little to do with reality, and more to do with the fact that their two nations were rivals.

A probable impact of this anti-Dutch stereotype of the English after the conquest of New Netherland would thusly have been that the New York Dutch, and those that the English saw as being Dutch, would not simply have had to adapt to a new culture, with its language, laws and political structure; they would also have had to overcome a stereotype if they were to find acceptance and respect among their English conquerors. Accomplishing that would be far more difficult than just adapting to new cultural behavior and goals, as the stereotype obviously did not accurately represent reality. A Dutchman was not by definition a greedy trader, any more than an Englishman was by definition committed to the public good. If the English perceived that the Dutch by their very nature were avaricious, self-interested traders, which they were not,

⁸¹ Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesmen in Familiar Letters*, reprint of 2nd edition of 1727 (New York, NY: August M. Kelley, 1969), 2:31.

unless a Dutchman could convince Englishmen that they were in error, which was highly unlikely, the only way to transcend that stereotype fully would be to cease being seen as Dutch. Also, given that both Dutch culture and English stereotypes of the Dutch were quite resilient through the eighteenth century and perhaps even beyond, at least in some areas of New York, the Dutch adjustment and response became a protracted process. This is not to say that all of the New York Dutch felt the achievement of such acceptance necessary or desirable; not all of them were “frontier crossers.” But for such “frontier crossers,” their Dutchness would have to be severely circumscribed if not eliminated, at least in the eyes of their English neighbors.

Within the New Paltz community, frontier crossers were admittedly rare. In fact, Abraham Hasbrouck (the grandson of the patentee of the same name), was the only person who unequivocally could be characterized as such, in his capacity as a Kingston and New York City merchant and a representative from Ulster County to the Assembly. There may have been others, such as others who served as Ulster County representatives as did Hasbrouck, men such as his kinsman Abraham Hardenbergh, but the surviving evidence is mute on this point. As for more “average” men, we can only wonder how closely they interacted with the English in a way that might have “encouraged” them to lean more toward Englishness. But as a political and economic leader, Abraham Hasbrouck was highly influential, even if he was *sui generis*. To be a frontier crosser, he would need to have been accepted on the English side of that frontier. For Hasbrouck, the most elite member of the New Paltz community, whose life choices took him to both urban wharves and the halls of the New York Assembly, acceptance would require the persona of an Englishman. As will be seen, this is what Hasbrouck aimed to construct, and that construction would have impacted his cultural performance not only in New York City, but

within his birth community as well. And his choices as a frontier crosser would bring him into conflict with frontier resisters at home, a conflict that would split the community apart.

CHAPTER 7

SCHISM: THE GREAT AWAKENING AND CONFLICT ON THE CULTURAL FRONTIER

In his final years, it is said that Hendricus DuBois (1710-1780) of New Paltz, New York, would worship alone on Sundays in an empty Dutch Reformed church that stood near his home. The church was not old, having been constructed only about fifteen years earlier to serve a small, newly-formed congregation in the community. This congregation, the Second Church of New Paltz, had seceded from the First Church (also Dutch Reformed) whose members were part of a movement to separate the New World Dutch Church from its subordination to the denomination's governing body in Amsterdam. After much internal strife, the Dutch Reformed Church in America did achieve its independence with the approval of the Amsterdam church polity in 1772, but it was several years before the New Paltz schismatics again found themselves in the bosom of their village's original congregation. Hendricus, however, never returned. Even after his death in 1780 his spirit supposedly haunted the church at night, and locals told neighborhood children that his ghost would throw unsuspecting passersby into the nearby Wallkill River. Of course the folk story was just that, a story, but it nevertheless tells of how Hendricus' refusal to accept cultural change made him a subject of community ridicule. Through his conservatism, one of the wealthiest members of the community became marginalized.

Why was this "pertinacious and bitter man" unable to find eternal rest, possibly raising his ethereal voice in communion with the mysterious calls of his neighbors, the owls, who were said to congregate around the forlorn structure? The reason: the cultural world of his youth was

fast slipping away. The use of Dutch, the language of his French-American father and Dutch-American mother, was fast declining in favor of English, and when it was preserved, it was being relegated only to certain, and increasingly-restricted, areas of life. Cultural change was not only evident in language, but in gender as well, as his male friends and family members were allowing women less and less authority and independence, far less than had been common amongst earlier generations of the Walloon-Dutch of the community. At least the characteristic Dutch architecture still survived, but increasingly embellished with English architectural elements. In church, a bastion of Dutchness during Hendricus' adulthood, the congregation's learned dominie had been replaced by an uneducated, American-trained evangelical trained in the ministry by his equally uneducated father. His colony's connections to the fatherland had been severed, and a new American nation had been formed. Most of the townspeople had embraced, some even having fought, for this radical transformation, but change was not something everyone favored, least of all Hendricus. He was a Rip Van Winkle of the Wallkill River Valley, but as his literary compatriot had had the pleasure of being asleep during the remaking of his culture and country, Hendricus had been wide awake, experiencing the hybrid cultural character of the community tip further and further toward Englishness. For a tradition-minded man like Hendricus, a "frontier resister" who could not accept the Dutch-Anglo hybridity and cultural fluidity of his local community, it is no wonder that his soul was not "In Den Heeren Ontslapen," as he might have said – "In the Lord Asleep."¹

Hendricus DuBois and a minority of the other members of the New Paltz church had formed their own congregation in 1767 when it became clear that the town's only congregation and its dominie had sided with the Coetus, a group of Dutch Reformed congregations in America

¹ The folktale of Hendricus DuBois is recorded in Benjamin Myer Brink's, "The Coetus and Conferentie Controversy," *Olde Ulster: An Historical & Genealogical Magazine* (February 1905): 38. "IDHOS," or "In Den Heeren Ontslapen," appears on two graves in the old New Paltz Cemetery on Huguenot Street.

that had declared its independence from the authority of the Classis of Amsterdam, the regional church body that had overseen the Dutch Reformed congregations in America since 1636. The origins of the Coetus dated back to the first decades of the eighteenth century, when several dominies urged the creation of some type of ecclesiastical body that could provide institutional support to the colonial congregations. Amsterdam refused to countenance the idea at first because of the potential loss of its authority, but in 1735, Classis finally suggested that some sort of colonial church organization be established, albeit with limited powers. Meeting in 1737 and 1738, colonial dominies and elders met to discuss the formation of a local collective church body, although such meetings were not attended by all of the Dutch Reformed clergy. Some dominies refused to support the concept because they believed that many promoters did not intend for the organization to remain inferior to Amsterdam. Classis grudgingly approved the formation of the Coetus on August 20, 1739, but pointedly stressed the limitations imposed on the body; it would remain subordinate to Amsterdam, could not comment on doctrine, and did not possess the right to examine and ordain candidates for the ministry – the primary duties of a classis.

The Classis of Amsterdam eventually conceded to the establishment of the Coetus primarily because the American churches' subordination to an authority so far removed geographically posed logistical problems. In addition to the above-named duties, an essential function of a classis was to resolve disputes within and between individual congregations. But for Amsterdam to serve such a role for the American churches was problematic, as difficulties in communication led to great delays. Furthermore, the Classis' knowledge of the colonial churches was usually based "on written reports that were often tardily received and frequently

biased and incomplete,” obviously challenging its ability to provide an appropriate response.²

For example, in the early 1750s, Classis had to resolve a conflict between the New Paltz church and that of nearby Kingston as to whether or not the two congregations were independent of each other, as Kingston contended that they were not. The Coetus was involved in the dispute as well, but because Kingston refused to subordinate itself to the Coetus and appealed directly to Classis, the process was more convoluted than it needed have been. Eventually, Classis confirmed the independence of New Paltz, but the process was prolonged, lasting all told five years. Had the Coetus had the authority that Classis intended, such disputes would have been solved more expeditiously.

Classis was legitimately wary of authorizing the creation of the Coetus, as were some colonial ministers, because there were indeed American dominies who desired greater authority than Classis was willing to support. Such a desire was not unique to the American Dutch Reformed, as after the middle of the eighteenth century, many American religious groups shared a similarly independent mindset. A principal concern was to gain the right to educate and ordain new pastors in order to overcome the dearth of clergy willing and able to serve in the colonies, given the reluctance of Old World ministers to migrate to the New. Sending colonials to the mother countries for training and education was also problematic in light of both costs and the danger of transatlantic voyages. Many also thought that it would be advantageous to have native sons as preachers, since they would share the same languages and would possess a better understanding of the New World’s natural, social, cultural and political environment. The issue of language became particularly problematic for Dutch speakers, as New World and Old World Dutch were diverging. According to those that promoted greater American ecclesiastical

² Gerald F. De Jong, *The Dutch Reformed Church in the American Colonies* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978), 185.

independence, without a strong and numerous American clergy, the pluralist and competitive religious environment of New York and New Jersey would “spell certain decline” for those denominations that were unable or unwilling to meet the unique demands of their churches abroad.³

It was not that opponents of the Coetus, both in Amsterdam and in the colonies, were unaware of these issues, but they believed that the solution was greater dependence on Amsterdam rather than lesser. They held that a unifying spiritual and cultural leadership from the Old World was necessary as a countervailing force to the ethnic and religious pluralism in the colonies. Furthermore, Dutch Reformed traditionalists were concerned that an independent American-trained clergy would be less learned and less orthodox than those trained in The Netherlands.⁴ In particular, conservatives feared that those of an evangelical bent might gain greater ground if the American congregations gained independence. In fact, the contest between Coetus and anti-Coetus dominies was strongly if not fundamentally motivated by the conflict between pietism and orthodoxy, as indeed many Coetus ministers were of a pietistic mindset.

The progress of pietism within the Dutch Reformed began in New York and New Jersey dated to the late seventeenth century, although it received a considerable boost with the arrival of Rev. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen. This influential minister was instrumental in ushering in the Great Awakening in the middle colonies with his arrival in the Raritan Valley of New Jersey in the 1720s. A proponent of the Coetus and a close friend and associate of the Presbyterian revivalist Gilbert Tennent, other evangelicals including George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards and Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg alike saw Frelinghuysen as a great influence in the struggle for regeneration amongst the Dutch. Feeling that he possessed the authority to spread his version

³ Richard Pointer, *Protestant Pluralism and the New York experience: a study of eighteenth-century religious diversity* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1988), 11-28.

⁴ Pointer, *Protestant Pluralism*, 24.

of Dutch Reformed pietism, Frelinghuysen arrogated to himself the right to train and ordain new ministers without the approval of Classis, a move that independent-minded dominies supported.

One whom Frelinghuysen ordained in 1741, with the assistance of Tennent and Dominie Peter Henry Dorsius of Bucks County, was the firebrand John Henry Goetschuis, son of a Swiss Reformed minister who came to the Philadelphia region in 1735. Having studied theology in Zurich only briefly, Goetschuis had been turned down for ordination by the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1737. He subsequently studied in Dorsius' "kitchen seminary," followed by his ordination. Although Classis had occasionally permitted ordination abroad under specific circumstances, such an ordination, completely beyond the pale of accepted church polity, was a severe test to the traditional church structure. Goetschuis, who was "certainly more than a charlatan than his pietistic forerunners . . . shared with them a disregard for denominational boundaries, a fondness for experiential religion, a suspicion of high-church authority and traditions, and a disposition to take ecclesiastical matters into his own hands." Goetschuis in turn felt he, too, possessed the authority to educate candidates for the ministry, and his students included his brother John Mauritius and his son Stephen, both of whom would one day serve in New Paltz.⁵ Goetschuis' story thusly revealed to orthodox dominies that if Classis gave the right of training and ordination to the Coetus, given that it was dominated by pietists, nonorthodox clergy in America could increase their numbers with less institutional controversy and quite possibly dominate the colonial Dutch Reformed church.

After its founding in 1739, the Coetus languished for several years. Its activity was revived in 1747, although traditionalists continued to refuse to participate because they saw the spirit of independence written on the walls. Not to disappoint them, the Coetus essentially did declare itself an independent American Classis on October 14, 1755, although Amsterdam

⁵ De Jong, *The Dutch Reformed Church*, 172-184; Balmer, *A Perfect babel*, 72-98, 103-127.

refused to sanction this development. Soon after, those ministers who refused to support the new American authority formed the Conferentie (or “little conference”).⁶ Henceforth, Dutch Reformed congregations and their ministers would have to take sides, which resulted in a high level of contention in many congregations and communities, including New Paltz.

One historian has argued that amongst the laity, the division between Coetus and Conferentie was also based on the conflict between pietism and orthodoxy, as it had been for the dominies, or at least that was the case in New Jersey. According to Randall Balmer, the middling and lower class Dutch of New Jersey, many of whom who had earlier migrated out of New York City due to cultural change brought about by the English conquest, had experienced a history of social and cultural dislocation and alienation that made them prone to accept the anti-establishment and anti-authoritarian stance of pietistic ministers. However, in New Paltz, where the Dutch Reformed congregation had also accepted pietistic ministers, the congregation nevertheless would ultimately split between Coetus and Conferentie parties without accompanying internal social conflict, revealing that more was at stake within the community than religious belief and principles as they intersected with the socioeconomic and sociocultural environment. In fact, the overt conflict between the two parties was substantially between people of the same social location, as we shall later explore. The patentee community, while certainly not of equal wealth by the time of the Coetus-Conferentie dispute, represented the elites of the community, and the church division was between such local elites.

That the Coetus-Conferentie dispute as it transpired in New Paltz was not caused by the conflict between pietism and orthodoxy is made clear by the fact that when the pietistic minister

⁶ The Conferentie was formally organized on June 20, 1764, (Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 6:3926) but an April 11, 1763, letter from the Classis refers to the organization being already in existence at that time (Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 6:3868-3869). De Jong states that the Conferentie “met more or less annually” after 1754 (De Jong, *The Dutch Reformed Church* 202-203). For a discussion of this dispute, see Balmer, *A Perfect babel*, 129-148, and De Jong, *The Dutch Reformed Church*, 200-206, 232.

Johannes Henricus Goetschuis came to New Paltz, he ushered in a spirit of rebirth that was overtly accepted by the congregation. Although the exact date that Goetschius' pietistic preaching first graced the New Paltz pulpit is unknown, he did serve the congregation in April 1751, during which time he accepted eighteen new members (seventeen by confession) into the New Paltz congregation.⁷ Such a large number of new members might reflect a backlog, as no one had joined the church since 1736. However, a spirit of revival seems to have persisted in the community, as eight more individuals joined on December 8, 1751, eleven (seven by confession, four by certificate) on May 30-31, 1752, and a great harvest of souls occurred on November 25, 1752, when the church received twenty-one new members (sixteen by confession and five by transfer). On July 1, 1753, three additional individuals joined upon confession of faith and twelve by transfer. (Those that transferred had previously been members of the Kingston Dutch Reformed congregation.) Again on April 3, 1754, twenty-three more individuals joined the church upon confession, bringing the grand total of new members in the years 1751-1754 to an astounding ninety-six, seventy-four of whom had become church members for the first time.⁸ This is a highly significant number given that there were only seventy-six households in the patentee group over ten years later, according to a surviving 1765 tax list. Clearly, the Great Awakening had reached New Paltz.

Unfortunately, there is no record of what inspired any of these new members to either confess their faith or transfer their membership to the New Paltz church during this era of revival. Nevertheless, given that Goetschius strongly believed that a Christian should know the

⁷ The visit lasted at least from April 12 through April 21. He performed marriages on April 12, 14, 16, and 21, and accepted new members on April 19.

⁸ While J. H. Goetschuis was not the only minister who served from time to time in New Paltz in the early 1750s, it is quite likely that he was the minister who accepted all of these individuals as members of the congregation. (Theodorus Frelinghuysen visited in January 1751 and February 1753; Benjamin Meinema, pastor in Poughkeepsie, served in New Paltz in September 1752 and May 1753; and Johannes Fryenmoet visited in October 1750, January 1752 and November 1753.)

“time and hour and place of his regeneration,” it is highly unlikely that he would have admitted any of the new members unless he was convinced of their true belief and commitment to the new birth.⁹ Goetschuis’ pietism, however, did not impact New Paltz because it represented a socially dislocated or alienated community that might accept the anti-authoritarian stance of a pietist, as has been argued for New Jersey. New Paltz was possibly drawn to the vitality of the preaching offered by Goetschius because rarely throughout its history had the community had the opportunity to experience the preaching of any members of the ordained clergy, except during their infrequent visits to Kingston. Lay reading of printed sermons, as was the weekly norm, could hardly have been as inspirational as those of the enthusiastic Goetschius. The congregation was excited by the presence of Goetschuis as they had been in the 1730s, when they accepted the services of the controversial Rev. Johannes Van Driessen simply because “[they] lacked the living voice of preaching.”¹⁰ Goetschius must have represented a profound new experience within the walls of the church, an experience that was deemed highly desirable.

Not only did Goetschuis bring the New Paltz congregation into the heart of the Great Awakening, he also was instrumental in bringing in what was previously an independent Walloon Reformed congregation into the fold of the Dutch Reformed Church, and thus into the center of the Coetus-Conferentie struggle. How this transpired is somewhat convoluted. As noted earlier, the independent Walloon Reformed congregation was established in 1683, and between that date and 1702, the congregation received only occasional visits from two French Reformed ministers, Pierre Daillé and Daniel de Bonrepos. After 1702, the congregation could not secure French ministerial leadership, as so few such ministers were available. However, they were yet unwilling to affiliate with the Dutch Reformed church as a means of possibly acquiring

⁹ Balmer, *A Perfect babel*, 125.

¹⁰ Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 5:3209.

a dominie to lead the congregation, a move that may not have been successful even if taken, given the dearth of ministers interested in serving in the New World. As a result, the congregation would remain without a fully-functioning church for decades. During this era, printed sermons were read during Sunday worship, as had been done even during the brief period of occasional French clerical leadership.¹¹ For sacramental observances, some New Paltz residents traveled to Kingston, where some also chose to be received as members.

While in the early years of the New Paltz community the relationship between the religious community of Kingston and New Paltz was very strong, that relationship would become severely strained beginning in 1731. In that year, New Paltz secured the services of the controversial minister Johannes Van Driessen, a man who, based on a forged a certificate from the University of Groningen, fraudulently sought and received his ordination from the Presbytery of New Haven after being examined by a group of Congregational ministers at Yale. (Van Driessen had previously pursued ordination from the Classis of Amsterdam in 1719, but had been denied based on that forged certificate.)¹² Van Driessen was deeply suspect in the region, particularly amongst the Kingston Consistory and minister Rev. Peter Vas, because Van Driessen was prone to itinerate in an unorthodox fashion and because he had been forced to leave his pulpit in Claverack because of unspecified “unchristian life and behavior.” Furthermore, the Kingston congregation denied New Paltz’s authority to call Van Driessen, as Kingston claimed New Paltz was a part of the Kingston congregation. To make their point, the Kingston church placed New Paltz congregants who adhered to Van Driessen under the ban. Considering themselves independent, the New Paltz congregation interpreted this act of discipline as illegitimate, as was Kingston’s attempt to bar Van Driessen from the New Paltz pulpit. This

¹¹ According to a 1751 letter from New Paltz to the Classis (Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 5:3209.

¹² De Jong, *The Dutch Reformed Church*, 180-181, 185.

contentiousness became so ugly that in a meeting between the Kingston Consistory and Johannis Van Driessen, his brother Rev. Peter Van Driessen and their supporters, Van Driessen partisans “even threatened to drag certain members of the Consistory through the church by their hair,” at least according to their opponents.¹³

The New Paltz congregation denied Kingston’s pretended authority, maintaining that the New Paltz congregation represented an independent “Reformed Walloon Church” not “under the jurisdiction of any other Dutch Church.” As such, they had the authority to accept the advice of any Protestant pastor, including that of Van Driessen’s brother (the pastor in Albany) who claimed that Johannes Van Driessen’s ordination was legitimate. They even later “assert[ed] that they were ignorant of the fact that John Van Driessen was not a lawful minister,” nor were they aware of any unacceptable personal behavior on his part because his “conduct in these regions had not yet then become open to remarks.” New Paltz stated simply that they accepted Van Driessen because they “were desirous of having services at the Paltz.”¹⁴

Van Driessen departed New Paltz in 1736, and Rev. Vas then removed the ban on all those who would repudiate Van Driessen, thus allowing such congregants back into the life of the Kingston church. However, the Van Driessen affair would not end when Van Driessen left the area. In October 1749, Rev. Goetschuis advised the New Paltz congregation to place themselves under the authority of the Coetus, thus ending their ecclesiastical independence as a Walloon Reformed congregation and their becoming part of the Dutch Reformed Church. However, New Paltz’s experience with Van Driessen stood in the way of this process, at least to some extent. Goetschius informed Rev. Mancius of Kingston that he intended to preach and administer the sacraments in New Paltz and remove the ban on all those New Paltz congregants

¹³ Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 4:2572.

¹⁴ Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 5:3208-3211.

who had not repudiated Van Driessen. He also told Kingston that he accepted the consistory installed by Van Driessen, which would have been unacceptable if Van Driessen was not a legitimate minister and if New Paltz was not independent of Kingston. Furious, Rev. Mancius wrote to Amsterdam, once again arguing that New Paltz was not independent of Kingston, suggesting that the “unrighteous” acts of the New Paltz church represented a schism. At that point, the Coetus sent Dominie Johannes Fryenmoet to New Paltz in October 1750 to decide whether it was independent or not, and concluding in the affirmative, he installed a new consistory, much to the chagrin of Kingston. Later, in 1752, Classis commented to the Coetus that New Paltz’s “obstinate adherence to John Van Driessen . . . was not done for the purpose of embracing or defending some heresy, but rather from a conviction that New Paltz [be] recognized as independent (of Kingston;) . . .”¹⁵ Although Classis officially accepted the status of New Paltz as independent of Kingston, it would take three more years for Kingston to finally acquiesce in the dispute.¹⁶

On December 10, 1751, during the time when Classis, the Coetus, Kingston and New Paltz were sorting out New Paltz’s place in the ecclesiastical structure of the region, the New Paltz congregation informed Classis by letter that “We, the undersigned, consistory of the Reformed Walloon church at New Paltz, having a short time ago placed ourselves under the direction of the Rev. Coetus” “upon the advice of Rev. Goetschius,” and that “we have now gone over to you [The Classis of Amsterdam].”¹⁷ They subsequently called Barent Vrooman as their pastor. Classis ordained Vrooman and accepted his call to New Paltz, provided that those who called him “were qualified legally to do so.” To prove their qualification, they had to

¹⁵ Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 4:3116-3117, 5:3208-3209, 5:3269

¹⁶ Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 4:3116-3118, 4:3133, 4:3141-3143, 5:3251-3254, 5:3561.

¹⁷ Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 5:3208-3211. The exact date New Paltz received Goetschius’ advice and when they were accepted by Coetus are unclear. Goetschius’ first recorded visit to New Paltz was April 1751.

confess that they adhered to “pure Reformed Doctrine embraced in the Heidelberg Catechism, and to the thirty-seven articles of the Netherlands Confession of Faith, and place themselves in subjection to the Church Order.” They did so in August 1753.¹⁸

Soon after the New Paltz congregation had experienced their Great Awakening and had joined with the Dutch Reformed Church, the congregation was free from overt contention for several years, even as the controversy over the Coetus heated up at home and abroad. Yet, the grounds for conflict became even stronger, as pietism became even further entrenched in New Paltz, when in 1760 the congregation, in conjunction with that of the nearby village of Shawangunk, called to be their pastor John Mauritius Goetschius, the younger brother and student of John Henry Goetschuis.¹⁹ But peace would not remain. On June 19 and 20, 1764, Dominie Goetshius and Elder Jonas Freer attended a meeting of both Coetus and anti-Coetus parties in New York, at the end of which those that opposed the Coetus, “organized themselves anew” into “AN ASSEMBLY, SUBORDINATE TO THE REV. CLASSIS,” (what would be called the Conferentie) so as to be distinct from the Coetus which no longer accepted such subordination.²⁰ The division between the two parties was now crystal clear, and led by John Mauritius Goetschius, the majority of the New Paltz congregation took the side of the American contingent that no longer held itself subject to the will of the Classis of Amsterdam.

Support for independence was not universal in New Paltz. In July 1765, Hendricus DuBois, the 55-year-old son of New Paltz patentee Solomon DuBois and grandson of patentee Louis DuBois, was called before the consistory on the charge of a “complaint of discomfort by a

¹⁸ Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 5:3264-3271; Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, 4.

¹⁹ Previously serving in Schoharie, John Mauritius had been ordained by the Coetus in October 1757 in direct breach of a directive of Classis, a move which American anti-Coetus dominies repudiated (Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 5:3689, 5:3708-3710, 5:3713-3715).

²⁰ Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 6:3925-3928.

few members against you.” Refusing to respond, he was again asked on August 3, 1765, to appear “to answer to and about the vexation of strife and schism which you have caused in your community.” The consistory was also displeased because DuBois had uttered “scornful remarks” against them and had “defamed” and “slandered” them. Apparently, DuBois felt no compulsion to answer these claims, ignoring a final request to come before the consistory on August 31, whereafter the church council was forced “to deal with [him], following God’s Word and Rules of the Church.”²¹ On that day, the membership of the church “[took] note of him and declare[d] him censured; [they] refuse[d] to admit him to the seal of the covenant at the Supper of the Lord and declare[d] him unworthy to receive it.”²²

This application of discipline in the New Paltz church appears to have been a unique occurrence in the community; at least no other record of discipline in either the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries has survived. To impose discipline on one of the town’s wealthiest, the grandson of Louis DuBois (a leader in the founding of the town and the church’s first elder), must have been an affront to the social hierarchy that Hendricus could not countenance; he simply refused to meet with the consistory, even though they claimed to “remain [his] soul loving friends.”²³ After his censure, DuBois followed through with his schismatic tendencies, and a minority of his fellow townspeople joined him.

On August 29, 1766, he and twelve others came together to pledge funds for the construction of a new church building near his home on the land of Noach (or Noah) Eltinge. (As a point of comparison, when the First Church decided to build a new building in 1772, 86

²¹ “New Paltz Consistory to Hendricus DuBois, July 25, 1765, August 3, 1765, and August 19, 1765,” *Hendricus DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

²² “Membership of the New Paltz Church to Hendricus DuBois, August 31, 1765,” *Records of Reformed Church of New Paltz*, trans. Berthold Fernow, New York Historical and Genealogical Society, New York, NY.

²³ Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, 2; “New Paltz Consistory to Hendricus DuBois, Aug. 19, 1765,” *Hendricus DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

individuals donated to its construction). The construction of the church began in September 1766 and was substantially completed by December.²⁴ On August 29, 1767, Dominie Isaak Rysdyk, Conferentie pastor of Poughkeepsie and Fishkill, New York, met with the schismatics at the home of Hendricus DuBois to bless and approve the establishment of the Second Church of New Paltz.

The new congregation's stated reasons were that the "congregation of the New Paltz . . . ha[d] separated from the orderly subordination to the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam under which the Nether Dutch Reformed congregations in this province have belonged from olden times and still ought to belong," and that as of June 3, 1765, such a congregation "cannot be recognized as lawful," according to the Classis of Amsterdam. Furthermore, "the afore mentioned subordination [was] lawful, beneficial and necessary for the maintenance of the pure doctrine and discipline of our Reformed Nether Dutch Church."²⁵ The founders of the Second church believed the independence of the American church—an independence pietistic ministers had spearheaded in order to promote their brand of religion—undermined doctrine, yet these founders themselves had previously accepted the pietism of Goetschuis. The leader of the schismatics himself, Hendricus Dubois had confessed his faith on July 1, 1753, while Goetschuis was serving in the New Paltz pulpit, as had Hendricus' fellow schismatics and kin Jannetje Houghtaling (his wife) and Petrus Low and his wife Debora Van Vliet (Low's first wife was Hendricus' sister Catherine). Fifteen individuals joined the Second Church on the day that Dominie Rysdyk blessed the congregation, all of whom were New Paltz residents that had previously been members of the New Paltz or Kingston congregations. On May 2, 1768, sixteen more joined, and only three more became members through September 28, 1776. Although

²⁴ Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, 6, 20-34.

²⁵ Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz N.Y.*, 7-9.

many family names were represented in the congregation, the core membership centered around closely related branches of three families: DuBois, Eltinge and Low.

This Second Church established by the local Conferentie supporters was short-lived, although it survived even after the June 12, 1772, decision of Classis to accept the independence of the American Dutch Reformed Church as advocated by the Coetus. The Second Church stubbornly resisted that decision even two years later, when in 1774, in conjunction with the church at Shawangunk, they called the Rev. Rynier Van Nest as their first and only resident minister.²⁶ Van Nest arrived on November 13, 1774, although over the coming years, some of those involved in the Second Church began to drift back to the original congregation. The resistance had come to an end—almost. Hendricus chose never to return. Finally, On May 25, 1783, “The Second Church of the Paltz after preliminary deliberation and discharge by the Reverend particular assembly held at Mormelton [Marbletown, NY], the second Tuesday of May in the year 1783, was in the fear of god in love and mutual friendship united to the old congregation of the New Paltz.”²⁷

Given the seeming ease with which the original New Paltz congregation accepted the position of the Coetus, as well as the spirit of regeneration promoted by Goetschuis, why then did some members of the community take the dramatic step of seceding, establishing their own congregation and constructing their own church, seventeen years after Goetshius and revivalism first entered the church? In other words, why did a minority take a radically conservative position? Of course, in the schismatics’ terms, it was their opposition that were the radical ones, but the fact remains that establishing and/or joining a new congregation would have represented a more forceful public statement than remaining within the existing 83-year-old church

²⁶ Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, 13-15.

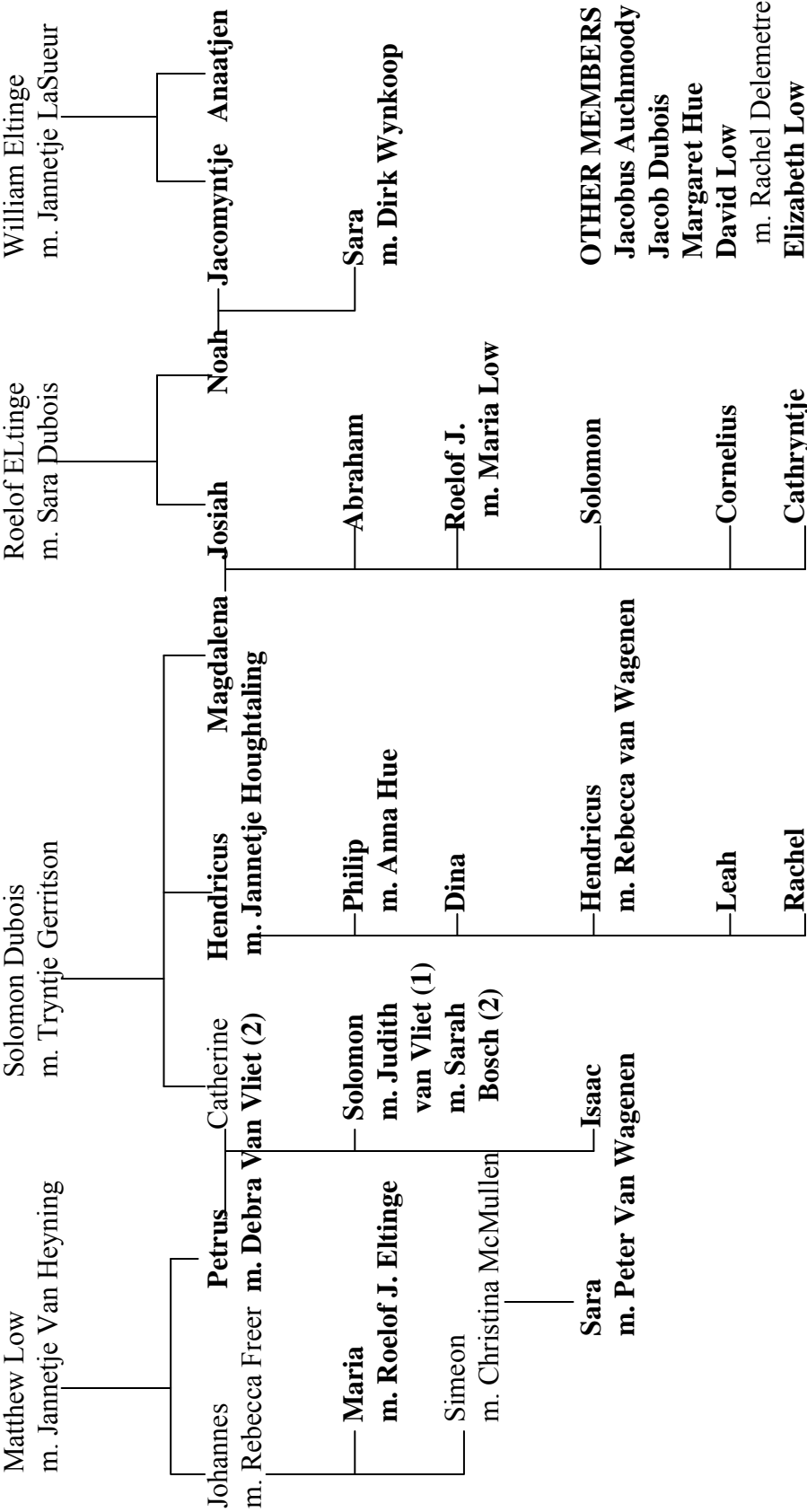
²⁷ Versteeg, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, N.Y.*, 76.

community. To answer this question, it is first important to note that motivations behind party affiliation were likely not monolithic, and thus to generalize about the motivating factors across class and gender lines, for example, might be inappropriate. Furthermore, the archival record is, as is not unusual, weighted towards the elite, so an analysis is possible only for those of the highest status in New Paltz. Nevertheless, such a comparison is particularly revealing because the schism would clearly not have occurred without elite leadership within both parties.

As mentioned, the core membership of the Conferentie church centered upon closely related branches of the DuBois, Eltinge and Low families (Table 7.1). The leading members of the church were Hendricus DuBois and wife Jannetje Houghtaling, Hendricus' sister Magdalena and her husband Josiah Eltinge (grandson of Abraham DuBois), and Josiah's brother Noah and his wife Jacomyntje Eltinge. Hendricus' former brother-in-law Petrus Low (whose first wife was Hendricus' deceased sister Catherine) and his wife Deborah Van Vliet also joined. As for the younger generation, five of Hendricus and Jannetje DuBois's eight children became members (and an additional son, Mathuselem, participated but did not join), and five of Magdalena and Josiah Eltinge's six surviving children joined (the sixth was probably too young). Noah and Jacomyntje Eltinge's only child, Sara, joined, as did her husband Dirk Wynkoop. The Low family was not so thoroughly represented in the younger generation. Clearly, family was a defining factor in the Second Church, and since the adult children were possibly following the lead of their parents, it is the elder generation's motivations which possibly reveal most about the meaning behind the ecclesiastical dispute.

That Josiah Eltinge, Hendricus DuBois, and Noah Eltinge were members of the New Paltz elite is apparent from the 1765 tax list, in which Josiah was ranked second, Hendricus sixth and Noah ninth out of a total of 108 taxables. In comparison to most members of the

Table 7.1
Second Church Membership and Participation (**MEMBERS IN BOLD**)



community, their wealth was enormous. The top ten tax payers were assessed according to their wealth of between £48 5s and £71 3s, while two-thirds of the townspeople were assessed at £10 10s or less; two-fifths received an assessment based on net worth of less than £2.²⁸

For purposes of comparison, DuBois and the Eltinge brothers can be juxtaposed with Major Jacob Hasbrouck, Jr., and Colonel Abraham Hasbrouck who were ranked fifth and first in the 1765 tax assessment, respectively. Jacob Jr. offers a worthy comparison for a variety of reasons, including his wealth, his financial leadership in the First Church, and his political importance as town Supervisor from 1762-1765 and 1771-1776.²⁹ Abraham, who was Jacob Jr.'s second cousin, was the richest man in New Paltz, but his farm in that precinct represented only a portion of his wealth, as he also had substantial property in Kingston where he was domiciled, as well as in New York City. Although Abraham lived directly Kingston, he retained continued ties to the New Paltz church and community. He was also one of the most active lay Coetus supporters in Ulster County, being the leader of the Coetus minority in the Kingston congregation. Although the Kingston congregation never split, there was intense strife within the church, primarily instigated by Abraham Hasbrouck.

When the Dutch Reformed congregations in America divided between Coetus and Conferentie, the majority of the Kingston congregation supported the Conferentie and remained subordinate to Amsterdam. Their dominie, Rev. Hermanus Meyer initially accepted the will of that majority. Though lacking legal or congregational authority, Abraham, with the support of justices of the peace Louis Bevier (Abraham's cousin) and Levi Pawling, convinced/cajoled/forced Meyer in 1764 to take an oath of allegiance to King George, on the

²⁸ Some who received lower assessments were sons who would wait until their father's death before they came into their full inheritance, such as Josiah Eltinge's sons, the 40-year-old Abraham (£3 12s) and 38-year-old Roelof (£1 3s).

²⁹ Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 400.

pretext that such an oath would preclude Meyer's subordination to Classis. (Pawling and Bevier were trustees of the nearby town of Marbletown, as was Jacob Hasbrouck, Jr.) During this conflict, a member of the Kingston congregation said of Abraham Hasbrouck that "The Col., it seems, will now endeavor to gain the Honorable seat of a Pope, but I hope his mercenaries are too weak to raise him to that exalted station." Although the oath and due subordination were not incompatible, Abraham Hasbrouck and Meyer maintained that they were, such that Meyer's decision to take the oath caused a deep division in the Kingston church, although the congregation never officially divided. Abraham was thusly as much if not more of an activist than those in New Paltz who formed the Second Church. Since the Coetus majority of the New Paltz congregants controlled the established congregation, Abraham Hasbrouck did not have to take as active a confrontational position there as he had in Kingston, but it is highly likely that he would have had he thought it necessary, given his behavior in Kingston.³⁰ Not insignificantly, demanding that Rev. Meyer pledge his oath to the King further proved that this group of men, including Abraham Hasbrouck, were loyal to their sovereign, marking them both as Englishmen and as patriots, something that English critics of the Dutch had repeatedly claimed the Dutch were fundamentally unable to be.

Before attempting to compare the elite in both parties, it is first necessary to reiterate that the schism was not fundamentally motivated by a contest between pietism and orthodoxy, as the timing of the division reveals. As noted earlier, John Henry Goetschius had not sparked a division, and in fact, was even accepted by some members of the group who would ultimately wish to remain subordinate to Amsterdam. When the New Paltz consistory called John Henry's brother, John Mauritius, another pietist whose education and ordination was even less orthodox

³⁰Marius Schoonmaker, *The History of Kingston New York. From its Early Settlement to the Year 1820*, (New York, NY: Burr Printing House, 1888), 216-217. For an account of the dispute, see in particular "The So-Called Trial of Rev. Hermanus Meyer, Oct. 9, 10, 1764," in Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 6:3955-3959.

than his brother's, again the church remained essentially unified.³¹ Perhaps the congregation of the Second Church could be seen as more orthodox than the First (Coetus) Church, in that the Second (Conferentie) Church wished to maintain subordination to the authority of Amsterdam. Yet, the First Church did not deny ecclesiastical authority; rather, they lodged that authority with the Coetus. Granted, Coetus supporters were willing to challenge ecclesiastical authority, but they certainly did not wish to overturn it. In other words, neither group was anti-authoritarian, and had J. M. Goetschius and the New Paltz congregants not seceded from Amsterdam, and personally offending Hendricus DuBois in the process, the minister's pietistic behavior and theology would presumably have continued to remain broadly acceptable, as it had been for over a over a decade and a half.

If theology and religious behavior did not motivate the New Paltz schism, neither was it grounded in class distinctions, as there were virtually no economic differences between those that supported the Coetus and those that chose to secede. As a group, if the economic status (based on the 1765 tax list) of those that donated to the building of the Conferentie church in 1766 is compared to the those that provided funds for the construction of a new Coetus church in 1772, the following results are derived: All Donors, 18£ 6s (*n.* 51); Coetus Donors, 17£ 17s (*n.* 39); Conferentie Donors, 19£ 17s (*n.* 12).³² There is a slight difference between factions on average (about 10%) but it is relatively insignificant. If the church affiliation of the six wealthiest members of the community (based on their assessed wealth in 1765) who also donated to the building of one of the churches is compared on an individual basis, the following results are found, which further support the inappropriateness of a class analysis (Table 7.2):

³¹ On January 11, 1757, Classis denied the Coetus' request to ordain J. M. Goetschius (Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 5:3689), but Coetus did so anyway on November 10, 1757 (Hastings, et al, *Ecclesiastical Records of NY*, 5:3710).

³² The figures include only those who were both listed on the 1765 tax assessment and donated to one of the churches.

Table 7.2: Tax Assessments for Highest Donors to Church Construction

Coetus (First Church)	£	S	Conferentie (Second Church)	£	S
Abraham Hasbrouck	71	3	Josiah Eltinge	66	15
Jacob Hasbrouck Jr.	65	0	Hendricus DuBois	55	10
Abraham Deyo	50	0	Noah Eltinge	49	5

Clearly, for the elite, economic status did not reflect church party affiliation.

What did mark the elite leaders of the two parties as different, however, was their attempts to follow different strategies on the cultural frontier. As has been argued, after the descendants of the New Paltz founders relinquished their Walloon culture, they created a hybrid cultural identity using both Dutch and English culture as source material. That hybridity was never stable but irrepressibly fluid, and while Dutch culture remained powerful through much of the eighteenth century, the trend was quite clearly towards Englishness. As this trend had become highly noticeable by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, at precisely the same time as the patentee descendants opened up land in the patent to many non-“Dutch” newcomers, the church, then, was the last firm link with Amsterdam and the fatherland. This link had been present “from olden times,” according to the schismatics, and the repudiation of that bond could only serve to undermine the preservation of Dutchness. When the Coetus separated from Amsterdam through the local influence of the “frontier crosser” Abraham Hasbrouck, it might have felt to the “frontier resister” Hendricus Dubois that the nail in the coffin of Dutchness was being set carefully in place.

Before exploring the issues revolving around the divergent ethnocultural performances of the congregational leadership, a little more biographical information about the key leaders is needed. Abraham Hasbrouck was a colonel in the militia, and while the greatest impact of this

position would reveal itself in the 1770s rather than the 1760s, he was also a longtime provincial politician, having served on and off in the Assembly since 1739 as representative from Ulster County. In addition to his being a member of a family that had a history of political leadership (his grandfather Abraham had also served as a provincial assemblyman), his political power was likely based on his being one of the handful who comprised the merchant class of the region. Such elite rural merchants were few in number, and they were also of the few rural individuals who developed close business relationships with members of the New York City merchant elite, such as William Bayard, Henry Cruger, and Oliver DeLancey who provided local merchants with foreign goods and credit.³³ To support his trade and political career, Hasbrouck even possessed a house in New York City at the time of the Revolution, unfortunately burned during the British occupation. Thus, Hasbrouck was at the pinnacle of the mercantile and political elite in Ulster County, with connections beyond the community that few could rival.

Abraham Hasbrouck was also a man very conscious of his status and desirous of power. As noted earlier, during the heat of the Kingston church dispute, when he convinced Rev. Meyer to take the oath of allegiance to the king, it was said, “The Col., it seems, will now endeavor to gain the Honorable seat of a Pope.” Of course, this came from one of his opponents (whose name was not recorded), but Hasbrouck later declared his concern for rank himself. When in 1775-6, he was passed over for the commission of militia general in favor of (future governor) George Clinton, Hasbrouck refused his commission as colonel, which the legislature deemed “childish.”³⁴ In sum, Hasbrouck was a status-oriented local notable who was serving and competing at the provincial/state level, alongside and with some of the most powerful men in the

³³ Thomas S. Wermuth, “Rural Elites in the Commercial Development of New York: 1780-1840,” *Business and Economic History* 23, no. 1 (Fall 1994), 72.

³⁴ *New York in the Revolution as Colony and State* (Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon, 1904), 1:199; Berthold Fernow, *New York in the Revolution* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, 1887) 1:287-288; Schoonmaker, *History of Kingston*, 175.

region. Less evidence is available concerning Jacob Hasbrouck Jr.'s financial affairs. In c. 1794 or 1795, he delivered 23 bushels of flaxseed to his son Josiah, as merchant, suggesting that his economic connections with the trading networks of New York were indirect.³⁵ Politically, however, Jacob Jr. was more powerful than either Josiah Eltinge or Hendricus DuBois, serving as town supervisor from 1762-1765 and again from 1771-1776, and he was commissioned as captain and later as major in the militia during the Revolution.

Hendricus Dubois' political sights were set far lower, or at least his participation was. From 1751-1765, he ran for local office in all but three years (possibly four – the records for 1759 are lost), but was elected to serve only five times, twice each overseer of the poor and assessor, and once as constable. He ran once for town supervisor in 1754 but lost dramatically. For a member of the town's elite, his public service was extremely limited, although possibly more limited than he wished. Unfortunately, little direct evidence concerning his business activities survives. He was a substantial yeoman farmer, having inherited considerable property from his father. The precise size of his landed portion is unknown, but as his brother had received 3000 acres, and both sons had to pay their sisters equal amounts in order to effect an equitable distribution, it is likely that Hendricus' bequest was comparable to that of his brother. He likely only farmed a portion of that land, given his available labor force, but even so, Hendricus could have potentially produced considerable surpluses. The archival record is silent on this point, and neither does it indicate how he got them to market. Nevertheless, as a (substantial) yeoman farmer rather than a merchant, his direct involvement in the business world in the provincial capital would have been far more limited than that of Abraham Hasbrouck, if he was directly connected at all.

³⁵ Josiah Hasbrouck, Account book, c. 1794-1796, *Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection*, HHS.

Financial records of his son Hendricus DuBois, Jr., (1743-1784) lend support to the assertion that Hendricus Dubois Sr. was locally oriented and engaged primarily in a traditional local economy. The son's account book (1770-1783) is comprised of records of moneys owed him by a small group of individuals for making shoes, apparently his chosen by-employment. His artisanal activities, however, were extremely limited; presumably they merely supplemented his work on the family farm of which he eventually inherited a significant portion. He also noted debts due him for trading small amounts of agricultural produce with the same clientele, and he recorded his own occasional daywork for others. Unfortunately, he did not notate how the debts were settled, but the general picture of his economic dealings is not that of one directed towards the market but rather suggestive of a traditional, locally-oriented economy based on community exchange networks. If the son was not market-oriented, it would be unlikely that the father would have been *moreso*.

As for Josiah Eltinge, his financial and political participation was relatively local as well. He was elected to similar positions as Hendricus DuBois and, according to his will, he styled himself a yeoman, although his wealth might have in reality placed him above that social category. While he did produce agricultural surpluses for the market, he also made significant profits as a local creditor.³⁶ When he died in 1784, he had £3580 in bonds lent out at interest dating back to 1760, indicating his acceptance of longterm credit relationships. While his son Roelof Josiah became a merchant by the late 1760s, gathering up local butter production for shipment to (presumably) New York through Kingston merchant Henry Slegt and selling

³⁶ His son Roelof Josiah became a merchant, and in a fragment of an account book for 1768-69, Josiah Eltinge had a credit for three firkins of butter valued at 7.0.3 ½, which partially offset purchases amounting to 15.13.11 (*Roelof J. and Ezekiel Family Papers*, HHS).

imported goods in New Paltz, Josiah Eltinge's financial affairs appear to have been exclusively within the community.³⁷

To sum up this analysis of the political and economic orientations of the elite men involved in the church schism, it is clear that Colonel Abraham Hasbrouck was by far the most active in the province at large, trading and serving politically in the capital, even owning a house near the dock in New York city. At the opposite extreme is Hendricus DuBois, a wealthy yeoman farmer although without significant political authority even locally, whose family was oriented towards local exchange. In the middle lie Josiah Eltinge and Jacob Hasbrouck Jr., both yeoman farmers, although the latter with broader political or social involvement, albeit local. These latter two men, however, were not the leaders of the conflict, and it was the leaders that telegraphed more strongly their divergent local and provincial political and economic lives.

In the context of their biographies, we can also see divergent paths of ethnocultural expression. Beginning with language use, French was language of church and school for the New Paltz cohort that served as leaders in the church dispute, most reaching adulthood in the 1720s. But certainly French was not their only language in their youth. Dutch was the *lingua franca* of the region and was thus a necessity. Yet, beginning in the 1730s, Abraham Hasbrouck chose to begin to keep a personal diary entirely in *English*, rather than one of the languages of his youth. Clearly, such a linguistic choice was no accident, given that it would be over three decades before English became the language of business and schoolroom instruction, which were the areas of New Paltz life that English reached earliest predominance. For Hasbrouck, a merchant, we cannot confirm that English had also become his chosen language in business until

³⁷ Tradition holds that Josiah Eltinge was a merchant as well, but there is no period evidence to confirm this assertion. The earliest evidence for any New Paltz Eltinge involved in mercantile activities is the 1768-69 account book referenced in n. 36 above. Furthermore, in a 1772 bond between Josiah and Roelof Josiah, the father is referred to as "yeoman" and the son "merchant" (*Roelof J. and Ezekiel Family Papers*, HHS).

the third quarter of the eighteenth century, reflecting the general practice in New Paltz.

However, it is highly likely that a transition to English in business occurred much earlier for him than for others, as he began his life as a merchant in the 1730s, which would have required the development of close connections to New York City. It should also not be forgotten that English proficiency would have been necessary for Hasbrouck upon his election to the Assembly in 1739. Perhaps his English-language diary provided him with an avenue for practicing English, given his socioeconomic goals took him into the heart of life in the provincial capitol.

Contrarily, all surviving evidence points to the fact that Hendricus DuBois, while also being educated in French like Abraham, claimed Dutch as his primary language and *never* made the transition to English. All four of the letters from the congregation to DuBois that precipitated the schism were composed in Dutch, presumably because that was DuBois' chosen language. That the chosen language of the DuBois household was Dutch is also evidenced by the fact that personal account books kept by Hendricus' son and wife in the 1770s through the 1790s were also recorded in Dutch. It would be highly unlikely that his son and namesake would have been more conservative in language use than his father, again suggesting that Hendricus Senior preferred to use Dutch. Josiah Eltinge appears to have utilized both languages, as his son Solomon composed five letters to him in the 1770s and 80s while Solomon was a loyalist prisoner and later refugee, three being in Dutch and two in English. Given that Solomon could have chosen either language in which to communicate, he could have accommodated his father's linguistic needs, which obviously was not restricted to one language.³⁸ In short, Abraham Hasbrouck's progressively and precociously made the transition to English, while Hendricus DuBois and his family firmly adhered to the language that was clearly waning. As for Josiah

³⁸ *Cornelius Eltinge Family Papers*, Haviland-Heidgard Historical Collection, New Paltz Public Library, New Paltz, NY.

Eltinge, he was more linguistically flexible, suggesting that he preferred a hybrid linguistic culture, although it should not be forgotten that he was not the leader of the conservative party in his congregation, as he only followed Hendricus once Hendricus made it known that he no longer accepted the authority of the original congregation in the community.

Further evidence of divergent ethnic orientations can be found in gender relations as expressed through property rights. For the elite members of the New Paltz community, the difference between what men in the Coetus party granted their wives upon widowhood as opposed to those in the Conferentie party is striking. Hendricus DuBois, composing his will in 1774, allowed that “[His] wife Jannetie shall remain in the full possession of my whole Estate” “during her lifetime,” even though she was 61 years of age at the time the will was composed. That he granted his widow of so advanced an age the right and responsibility to run a substantial farm suggests a public statement of his Dutchness, particularly if seen in the light of his continued use of the Dutch language and his desire for his church to remain subordinate to the fatherland. Ironically, his wife did not even want such jurisdiction. After Hendricus died in 1780, Jannetje did not choose to maintain control and released it to her sons Hendricus Jr. and Mathusalem, although the contract she provided stipulated precisely what rights she would retain to the family estate. Importantly, although she preferred dependency, she also wanted to ensure that the terms of the contract be met, requiring a £1000 bond from her son Mathusalem. She was not comfortable relying on her sons simply to provide her an “honorable (English) maintenance,” suggesting a still-relevant commitment to female Dutch control within the family.³⁹

As for Josiah Eltinge, in 1767, he denied his wife Magdalena the administration of the estate, and bequeathed to her a £20 yearly annuity (to be paid equally by their children), thus rendering her essentially dependent. However, she had complete discretionary control over such

³⁹ “Indenture, March 9, 1781,” *Hendricus DuBois Family Papers*, HHS.

funds, did not have to rely on her sons' determination of what "a sufficient maintenance" entailed, nor would she have to trust her son(s) to be in honest and diligent in their management of their father's estate that would be the source of Magdalena's support. Although making Magdalena dependent on her children for her income, Josiah Eltinge at least preserved for his widow a limited degree of independence and control.

On the other side, Abraham Hasbrouck provided for his wife in an essentially English fashion, as his 1785 will stipulated his wife's Catherine's rights to portions of the family house, barn and garden, and also her right to the annual interest on £400. As she was not an executor, she would have had no authority over the investments, nor could she have been assured of what her annual income would be. Thus, she was dependent on the financial acumen of her male kin, which they hopefully employed in her best interests.⁴⁰ Jacob Hasbrouck, Jr., was similarly not generous in providing for his widow's power and influence, thus straying from Dutch practices. In his will, written in 1776, he directed that his wife Jannetje would continue to live in the family home with their sons Josiah and Jacob, who would provide her "a good and sufficient maintenance," although he did provide that if she was unhappy with the arrangement, she could have a room in the house and £25 per annum from the estate. While she had options, the options had been specifically determined by her husband.

In sum, Hendricus DuBois preserved his wife's strong social position in Dutch fashion (to the extent she desired it), while Jacob Hasbrouck, Jr. and Abraham Hasbrouck placed their widows in dependent positions, or at least severely limited the control they had over their own future, as was common among Anglo-Americans. As for Josiah Eltinge, the manner in which he

⁴⁰ Abraham Hasbrouck, "Will, September 5, 1785," in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Earliest Records of the Hasbrouck Family*, 53-58.

provided for his wife was somewhere between the two extremes, thus representing a blend of Dutch and English cultural practices.

As the above illustrates, the primary Coetus leader, Abraham Hasbrouck, preferred a more Anglo form of gender relations and a preference for the English language than did the leader of the Conferentie party, Hendricus DuBois. A similar factional cultural dissimilarity is revealed through an analysis of the domestic structures of the key players. For a substantial portion of his adult life in Kingston, Abraham Hasbrouck resided in a one-story linear house built in the Dutch-American mode, which was destroyed in a October 23, 1776, fire (although later rebuilt and occupied by his son Jonathan). Even before that fire, however, Abraham had made plans to move to a more modern structure (that no longer survives), which appears from written descriptions to have been much more English in form. Hasbrouck had purchased this second Kingston house from Robert G. Livingston in 1759, and “several years before” the 1776 fire, Abraham constructed a two-story addition to its north end. Following some health concerns that both preceded and succeeded the fire, Abraham moved himself and his family into that house on May 1, 1777. He described the house in his 1785 will, in which he indicated that his wife Catherine would have use of the new addition, which included a room on the first floor, the room above on the second floor, and the garret and cellar above and below. (There was also a kitchen “adjoining” the first floor room, but whether it was to the rear or appended along the side is unclear.) She also had use of the room over the entry and the use of the two runs of stairs that stood in the entry, which provided access to the basement and the second floor, indicating that the entry was in fact an entry stair hall that separated the new addition from the original portion of the house, which was nevertheless likewise two stories. Although we do not know if Hasbrouck’s addition resulted in a perfectly-balanced Georgian structure, it was nevertheless a

structure that possessed many hallmarks of English Georgian architecture, including a full two-story profile and a center entry stair hall.⁴¹

Major Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. likewise did not end his days in an antiquated house, although his choices were not quite as progressive as his cousin Abraham. At the time of the New Paltz church dispute, Major Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. was living in the 1721 house of his father, Jacob Hasbrouck Sr.. Although idiosyncratic in some respects, as described earlier, that house had most of the tell-tale signs of Dutch architecture, including its basically one-story profile, its use of three Dutch-style jambless fireplaces and its many elegant casement windows. Additionally it had an enclosed box bed for the use of the heads of household, a Dutch-style feature that cannot be confirmed as being included in any other New Paltz house. These Dutch features were becoming antiquated in New Paltz when Jacob Jr. inherited the house in 1761. After the war, in 1784, Jacob idiosyncratically chose to build a new home at the relatively advanced age of 59, at which time he left the old house to his eldest son Josiah, who immediately made modest attempts to modernize his grandfather's home. Jacob's new house down the road was styled basically in the Dutch one-story linear plan, but was nevertheless devoid of Dutch-style casement windows and jambless fireplaces, and he and his wife slept not in an enclosed box bed but a proper bedstead. Significantly, it also contained a passageway, thus reflecting a desire for levels of stylishness, cleanliness, comfort and privacy suggestive of English taste. Granted, this home was not built until decades after the church dispute, but it nevertheless suggests Jacob Hasbrouck Jr.'s tendency to accept innovative architectural elements, even though English in influence. Why Jacob Jr. did not modernize his father's house as many individuals did is unclear, choosing to

⁴¹ "The Diary of Abraham Hasbrouck," in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Earliest Records of the Hasbrouck Family*, 18-19; Abraham Hasbrouck, "Will, September 5, 1785," in Kenneth Hasbrouck, *The Earliest Records of the Hasbrouck Family*, 47-52.

build a new house instead, but perhaps its newness rather than a modernization reflected a desire to separate himself entirely from earlier Dutch elements that were clearly out-of-style.

Hendricus Dubois likewise built a new house for himself in 1775. Although it no longer survives, recent investigations of a later house that employed some reused materials from the Hendricus Dubois House reveal that it was substantially (and conservatively) similar to the Jacob Hasbrouck Sr. House that Jacob Hasbrouck Jr. was soon to leave.⁴² Josiah Eltinge never possessed an up-to-date house. He lived from about 1735 until his death in the home built by a New Paltz patentee, his grandfather Abraham DuBois, which was possibly the oldest home in the village at the time of the church dispute. The 1798 U.S. Direct Tax, the survey which was performed by Josiah's grandson, indicated the house was 113 years old, or having been built in 1683. At the time of the direct tax, the house was apparently so antiquated and/or in such poor condition that it was being used as a granary, but not for much longer. The entry in the tax list was crossed out and no valuation given, presumably indicating that the house was no longer in existence when the tax listing was submitted. If Josiah Eltinge's house was not even worth preserving only a few years after his death, even though he had been satisfied to live there throughout his adult life, he must not have been concerned with the modern (read: English) conveniences and style. In short, members of the different factions demonstrated divergent cultural orientations, however subtly, in terms of their dwellings. Abraham Hasbrouck added to an existing house in the 1770s to create a house with English features, and his cousin Jacob built a new structure in the 1780s, which although more conservative, lacked many of the telltale Dutch features. On the other hand, Josiah Eltinge lived in a highly antiquated structure, and Hendricus Dubois built a new house that was nevertheless an architectural throwback.

⁴² The 1775 Hendricus Dubois house, which is no longer extant, likely had a very similar form, according to architectural historian Neil Larson, who has studied the nineteenth-century house built with some of the original building materials of the Hendricus Dubois house (personal conversation with Neil Larson, 2007).

In sum, the leadership of the two factions clearly made choices that implicated their choices and goals on the cultural frontier. Abraham Hasbrouck, a great advocate of the Coetus, represents one pole, as a member of the provincial elite concerned with status; as a merchant well-connected to the urban mercantile economy; as an anglicizer, adopting English as his primary language, organizing the gendered aspects of a his family along English lines, and relatively late in life creating a new house that possessed English characteristics. He was clearly a “frontier crosser.” His cousin Jacob may not have been quite as progressive, but Jacob nevertheless did demonstrate strong tendencies to Englishness in his housing tastes and gender ideals. Hendricus DuBois, the local Conferentie leader, represents their polar opposite as a “frontier resister.” The patriarch of a locally-oriented yeoman family relatively uninvolved in market relations; a preserver of the Dutch heritage in language and gender; one satisfied with living in an antiquated domestic environment; and one who desired the retention of trans-Atlantic ties with the Dutch fatherland. Although his brother-in-law and fellow Conferentie church member Josiah Eltinge was not quite as conservative, his cultural performance nevertheless likewise tended to include a stronger degree of Dutchness than Englishness. The Coetus leaders thusly were attempting to cross the metaphoric line of the cultural frontier, while the Conferentie partisans were resisting the cultural fluidity of that same, unavoidable line.

Interestingly, when we compare the ethnocultural performances of the elites who were vocal partisans for both American ecclesiastical independence through the Coetus and continued dependence on the Old World through the Conferentie with the ethnocultural performance of the majority, we find them to be anomalies. The patentee descendants in general accepted Walloon-Dutch-Anglo hybrid fluidity, although the Walloon part of the culture had disappeared by the time of the church controversy. While living in a Dutch-Anglo cultural environment, they

neither resisted nor promoted Englishness, but accepted English ways on their own terms and on their own schedule. Without desiring to become English, they nevertheless did not avoid bringing elements of Englishness into their lives when doing so offered a benefit that seemed desirable. They, the majority, were comfortable dwelling in that sometimes ambiguous cultural frontier. The anomalies, however, created both a possibility and an imperative. Members of the majority either had to resist further cultural shift by supporting the Conferentie, or they had to accept the breaking of the last surviving relationship with the Dutch fatherland by joining with the vocal Coetus advocates. While the Coetus itself did not directly promote further anglicization, it nevertheless did diminish the possibility of Dutch cultural preservation in New York. Perhaps surprisingly, the majority followed the local Coetus leadership, although that majority had far more in common with the Conferentie leadership in terms of their socioeconomic and sociopolitical lives. The biographies of no one else amongst the “frontier dwellers” was even remotely similar to that of Abraham Hasbrouck, being far more like that of Hendricus Dubois. That majority of cultural “frontier dwellers” chose to join with the “frontier crossers” rather than the “frontier resisters.” While this fact perhaps seems somewhat ironic, when it is compared to the constantly changing contours of cultural hybridity—a fluidity that was generated within a social environment characterized by a balanced division of power that prevented a general fear of or resistance to the slow and measured acceptance of English people and culture—we should perhaps not be shocked that the conservative backlash demonstrated by the formation of the Conferentie church in New Paltz found few supporters. The majority could accept an independent Dutch Reformed church because their hybrid Dutch-Englishness did not

require dependence upon the original source of Dutchness. They could be Dutch and Anglo-Americans at the same time.

A cultural frontier, such as in eighteenth-century New Paltz, New York, can be an ambiguous space, where cultural trajectories are unclear and the temporal pace of cultural reaction unpredictable. No cultural group held all power in New Paltz, a village founded by Walloons in English-held New York within a primarily Dutch cultural region. As a result, the English could not establish cultural hegemony even if they had tried, although they obviously held the greatest power through their possession of political dominion. The English did force the Dutch of Ulster County and the Walloons of New Paltz to structure their communities and their judicial and political systems according to English forms, and to record their transactions in those social institutions in English. But English cultural power ended there; in many central aspects of their cultural life, the New Paltz Walloons and their descendants determined for themselves whether and when they would adapt culturally or resist. Their agency enabled them to substantially control the pace of change. For the most part, they chose to adapt, but not only to Englishness. Many members of the New Paltz patentee family group accepted Dutchness into their cultural lives in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and some seem to have become part of the ethnically-complex New York “Dutch.”

Yet this reaction to the regional presence of Dutchness was not uniform throughout the community, as almost concurrently with the initial spread of Dutchness in the community, some adopted English ways as well. The result was that few patentees or their eighteenth-century descendants ever settled into an identity that was restrictedly Dutch. Yet, the community as a

whole did not pursue the possibility of bi- (or tri-) culturalism but chose to enact a culture that was perpetually hybrid and fluid—at least through the end of the eighteenth century.

What seems unexpected, given the historiography of Dutch New York, which often stresses cultural resistance and conservatism, is that people felt comfortable living in this ambiguous cultural space, rendering them what I call “frontier dwellers.” In other words, the community in no way polarized between cultural conservatives and progressives. Only a few resisted both cultural hybridity and cultural change and a few “frontier crossers” precociously accepted Englishness. Those in the broad cultural middle basically accepted those at both poles, while accepting the leadership of the frontier crosser. The relationship between the dwellers and the resisters did indeed become strained, yet when the former resisters attempted to return to the majority group, they were welcomed back into the fold.

That these Walloons could have accepted both Dutch and English ways is likely due to the fact that is no evidence of tension between the Walloons and the other ethnic groups. However, given the disdain the English held towards the Dutch, one might have expected more resistance to anglicization once French ways were eliminated in New Paltz and Dutch culture had found such a strong foothold. New Paltz residents probably did know of this anti-Dutch bias, but perhaps many simply ignored it. We also might expect that resistance would have been stronger against Englishness since there was indeed force behind those English ways imposed upon the community. Such force could conceivably have engendered a counterforce, but it did not. It is possible that the development of Dutch-Anglo hybridity in New Paltz was influenced by the fact that it was founded by neither the Dutch nor the English but by Walloons. These Walloons and their descendants had to respond simultaneously both to Dutchness and Englishness, such that the community was never essentially “Dutch.” As such, perhaps it was a

unique rural New York community; it is too early to tell. Nevertheless, the historiography of colonial ethnic New York does need to be adjusted to allow for the possibility and acceptance of creative cultural hybridity and fluidity.

We also need to reimagine the meaning of cultural survivals. All survivals need to be assessed in the context of what did not survive, and multiple areas of culture need to be considered collectively rather than in isolation. Even though there are some bits of evidence that suggest that the French language survived into the first decades of the eighteenth century, “Walloonness” never had a very strong impact on the culture of New Paltz beyond the founding generation and their immediate offspring. And even those early members of the community were rapidly incorporating both English and especially Dutch ways in language, architecture and gender roles. The strongest imprint of Dutchness—material culture—even into the early years of the nineteenth century, hardly represented Dutch resistance to Englishness even in its material expression. More importantly, since the New Paltz denizens incorporated-Englishness in other areas of culture even more rapidly, material culture did not represent cultural experience as a whole but rather reflects the most conservative element. The majority of the New Paltz patentee community did not gradually and slowly acculturate over time, only forming a cultural hybrid by the era of the American Revolution. Rather, that cultural hybridity, first Walloon-Dutch-Anglo but soon losing its Walloon elements, was evident as early as the first generation, and the Dutch-Anglo balance began tipping in favor of Englishness as early as the 1760s. For this to have happened, New Paltz could not have been isolated from provincial currents of culture, even though the village was decidedly rural and few likely had many direct connections beyond their county. It may never be possible to know precisely how they learned English ways, but they nevertheless clearly did.

We should perhaps not be surprised that resistance, conflict, and cultural survival have been brought to the fore of the historiography of early New York. Not only are histories based on those themes more dramatic, the power of the oppressed is still very current. Nevertheless, it seems that historians sometimes want to find such compelling narratives. A more nuanced investigation of the contact and power relations between ethnic or racial groups perhaps makes a less exciting story due to the required close reading and almost microscopic analysis of the evidence. But looking beyond the “big drama” of such controversies as the Coetus-Conferentie struggle, or other events which clearly do show intense cultural conflict, we see that a fuller investigation reveals a far smoother, gentler, and much more subtle experience.

This is not to say that it is only recent historians who have sought (and found) a rural non-Anglo culture in eighteenth-century New Paltz (and in New York in general) far more powerful and far more resistant to change than it actually was. In fact, modern historians can even turn to nineteenth century historians of non-Anglo New York to find secondary interpretations of evidence to support the modern stories of conflict and resistance. Nineteenth-century historians of New Paltz, being descendants, needed to find their own non-Anglo identity when many Americans of old stock had defined America as essentially Anglo-American. The legacy of those that nineteenth-century individuals who claimed to have found a non-Anglo distinctiveness in New Paltz that strongly impacted colonial culture (and thus that of the United States) still impacts both academic and public history of the community, more than 150 years later. What follows is an exploration of one slice of the rich history of the search for and commemoration of the founders, but that early exploration of the founders lay the groundwork for an exploration of the founding and early history of New Paltz, of which this study is just the most recent contribution.

CHAPTER 8

EPILOGUE

On October 7, 1920, Ralph Lefevre, a newspaper editor, local historian, and descendant of the New Paltz patentees, presented a paper to the New York Historical Association. Speaking on the history of the Huguenot emigrants to colonial New Netherland and New York, and in particular, New Paltz, he noted that “there is no place in the state in which the lore of the early settlers has been so well preserved, both by tradition and by document.” He added, “We make the same claim in regard to the old houses on Huguenot Street. Come to New Paltz and we will show you.” “Come to New Paltz and we will show you.” That Ralph Lefevre was able to invite his fellow historians and antiquarians was the culmination of years of zealous collecting, preserving, and interpreting legends, lore, artifacts and documents relative to the founding and early history of New Paltz. Lefevre, however, was not the first, nor would he be the last, of the New Paltz patentee descendants who would explore and share his family history, and not only around the hearths of sleepy little New Paltz. Indeed, many of the early historians of New Paltz strongly held forth that the unique origins of the village had a strong and lasting influence on the course of American history. Their courageous and principled ancestors had risked life and limb to bring their piety, love of liberty and commitment to self-governance to the shores of America. Descendants of many other European colonists of a variety of ethnicities made similar claims, but the New Paltz descendants believed they possessed a particular proprietary right to the origin

of these American political and cultural characteristics. As Rev. Robert Patterson Du Bois offered:

“A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.” The Huguenot and Dutch elements being diffused so early as the seventeenth century through the mass of European emigrants. . . . have always been admitted by our country’s historians to have brought to bear a most powerful influence for good in moulding the character of this whole American people. They greatly aided in making this a protestant nation. They helped to secure its liberty and independence.

Of course, their ancestors were not the only ones who would contribute to the formation of the ideals that would define the United States. As Cornelia Dubois would note, her ancestors were some of those “who fled from France because of religious intolerance, and who eventually came to America for religious freedom, as the Puritans had done in their day.” But the New Paltz patentee descendants knew the significance of theirs and their ancestors’ story transcended that of the Puritans and that the modern nation needed to know of its importance.¹

The historical exploration and public commemoration that helped to define New Paltz in the nineteenth century, and continues to influence its identity today, began in the middle of the nineteenth century and flourished as the century came to a close. At that time, industrialization and immigration produced a nostalgic commitment to a purer, simpler time, when what would become the United States was primarily an English outpost.² Many of the themes that these history-loving descendants explored were indeed part of the national narrative, such as the

¹ Ralph Lefevre, “The Huguenots—The First Settlers in the Province of New York,” *The Quarterly Journal of the New York Historical Association*, 2, no. 1 (January 1921): 177-185; Robert Patterson DuBois, “Characteristics of the Family, Bi-Centenary Reunion of the Descendants of Louis and Jacques Dubois (Emigrants to America, 1660 and 1675) at New Paltz, New York, 1875, 78 (Philadelphia, PA: Rue & Jones, 1876); Cornelia Dubois, *The story of the Paltz: Being a brief history of New Paltz, N.Y., a compilation* (N.p.: privately printed, 1915), 19.

² Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 132-253; Barbara Miller Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 1-81; Kenneth Ames, “Introduction,” in *The Colonial Revival in America*, ed. Alan Axelrod, 10-14 (New York, NY: Norton, 1985); T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1981); James M. Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism, and the Remaking of Memory* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press 1995) 3-13; Wendy Kaplan, “Traditions Transformed: Romantic Nationalism in Design, 1890-1920,” in *Designing Modernity: The Arts of Reform and Persuasion 1885-1945*, ed. Wendy Kaplan, 19-47 (New York, NY: Thames & Hudson, 1995).

origins of the American democratic republic and the striving for such individual rights as religious liberty. However, much of nineteenth-century historical explorations, memory and commemoration revolved around the Anglo origins of the United States rather than its multi-ethnic founding.

Such a narrative was not sufficient for the descendants of the New Paltz patentees, even though their forebears had indeed melded themselves in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century into a culture that was primarily an Anglo one. Those descendants who grew to maturity when Dutchness (let alone Frenchness) had been transformed from a living culture to one of memory were not content with merely accepting that the United States was the product of English culture. They “discovered” that even though French and Dutch had passed into the mists of memory, and even though the form and function of their ancestral Dutch-American homes were not perpetuated in their own new homes, their Walloonness and Dutchness had been stamped into the political and religious institutions upon which their village was built. They believed their particular Walloonness and Dutchness were perhaps even more American than Anglo-America itself. Following the lead of many contemporary academics, Edmund Eltinge, one of the earliest of the New Paltz historians, claimed that his New Paltz ancestors, when they fled persecution in Europe, “In their breasts was carried the precious germ of civil and religious freedom as the basis of our confederated republic, which has grown into a form of beauty, strength and benignity, which has not its like on the globe.”³ These descendants’ desire to revere their ancestors as central to the American story ultimately would cloud their interpretation of the historical record, as commemoration often does. But as their historical efforts would subsequently influence those of later academic historians as well, it would be worthwhile to

³ Edmund Eltinge, “An Account of the Settlement of New Paltz by the Huguenots,” *Collections of the Ulster Historical Society*, 1, part 1 (1860): 40.

explore the perspectives of the early descendant historians of New Paltz in order to uncover why a revision of that history became necessary.

Descendants of the Walloon immigrants adamantly maintained that their Protestant ancestors had been driven by French persecution to flee their homeland for conscience's sake. Yet importantly, their homeland had not been France but the Spanish Netherlands, a land not under the rule of the Catholic French monarch. Their misidentification of themselves as descendants of French Huguenots gave them the opportunity to link their story to that of their highly-persecuted coreligionists, a more well-known story that held much greater dramatic power than their own. By eliding the history of their French-speaking Protestant Walloon ancestors with that of the colonial-era Huguenot immigrants—a rather simple task rendering the Walloons a subgroup of the Huguenots—the descendants of the patentees could make a stronger claim for their ancestors' having been driven across the Atlantic by the quest for religious liberty. Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck, for example, when speaking before the first meeting of the Ulster Historical Society, noted that he possessed a “peculiar and personal interest . . . [in] the history of the Huguenots seeking shelter here . . . from the fiery persecution of their native France.”⁴ Edmund Eltinge, one of the most important figures in the nineteenth-century exploration of New Paltz history, also referred to the founders of New Paltz as Huguenots, as did others. Even though family historians at some early point became aware that the leader of the patentees, Louis Dubois, was referred to in his day in Ulster County as Louis “the Walloon,” and that in 1751 the congregation still referred to itself as a “Reformed Walloon Church,” the street of the forefathers was nevertheless named “Huguenot Street,” the name it bears to this day.⁵

⁴ Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck, “Address,” *Collections of the Ulster Historical Society*, 1, part 1 (1860): 33.

⁵ Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck noted this fact in 1860 (“Address,” 34), and Anson Du Bois reiterated it in his 1875 history of his ancestor [Anson Du Bois, “The Life and Times of Louis Dubois,” in *Bi-Centenary Reunion of the*

Referring to their ancestors as Huguenots thusly lent greater verisimilitude to the claim that in New Paltz, “their flight from their own dear France—like timid hares [ended], with the whole pack let loose after them; their wanderings in strange countries, their perils on the sea, their exposures in a new world among those differing in ancestry, habits and language—yes, here their journey ends; weary, woeful, through the valley of death had they come.”⁶ “Here,” on the New Paltz lands, was “where a pious ancestry, who for freedom of conscience and the love of the truth, had forsaken homes and estates, and titles, and kindred and country, and braved the dangers of the sea and land, gave themselves in humility and sincerity to the Lord.”⁷ Elizabeth LeFever likewise tells of her ancestors who were “cruelly persecuted because they insisted upon worshiping God in their own way,” and that they “fled from their sunny native France to the Palatinate in Germany, where they found safety for a time, but soon the soldiers of the wicked French king crossed the border and began harassing them there, and so they made their way to Holland and . . . set sail for the New World.”⁸ Her romanticizing ignores the fact that no evidence suggests that the refugees were being harassed by anyone for their religious beliefs while in the Palatinate.

In stressing the religious ideals of their “Huguenot” ancestors, descendants could also see themselves as superior to the Dutch, amongst whom they settled in New Netherland/New York, although they would ironically claim their Dutchness in other cultural contexts when such claim would suit their self-aggrandizing commemorative purposes. They claimed that the less-idealistic Dutch had come to the New World for “*peltry* not *piety*,” or as expressed in a common

Descendants of Louis and Jacques Dubois (Emigrants to America, 1660 and 1675) at New Paltz, New York, 1875 44 (Philadelphia, PA: Rue & Jones, 1876)].

⁶ Anson Dubois, “Louis Dubois,” 12.

⁷ Anson Dubois, “Louis Dubois,” 13.

⁸ Elizabeth Lefever, “Story of the rescue of Catherine Dubois from the Indians and the Settlement of New Paltz, New York,” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* (October 1914): 210.

nineteenth-century Ulster County aphorism, “the Huguenots came for piety and the Dutch for pelf [i.e., greed].”⁹ Not so the Huguenots, who “fled from their native country to escape popish bigotry, tyranny and persecution, and where they settled their definite aim was not trade but liberty of conscience, freedom to serve God and one another.”¹⁰ As an anonymous author wrote in 1862, “To serve God according to the dictates of their own conscious. . . . they [the founders of New Paltz] had endured the severest persecution in France, and had sacrificed houses, lands, kindred and their native homes; they had crossed a trackless ocean, and penetrated the howling wilderness, inhabited by savage tribes—and for what?—To serve their MAKER, and the RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE.”¹¹ The founders indeed had faced material and cultural challenges, yet so had most other early emigrants to America. Yet the descendants perceived their ancestors as having been superior to other emigrants—Dutch or otherwise—as the New Paltz patentee families had practically been forced to risk life and limb or else compromise their principles, unlike many other emigrants who came by choice.

Descendants also claimed that their forebears’ desire to create a community of their own was motivated entirely by their desire for “the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty,” in the words of Edmund Eltinge and echoed by Anson Dubois.¹² They conveniently sidestepped the fact that the patentee families had enjoyed religious freedom while living in Kingston and Hurley. Although not a descendant himself but the minister who served them, Rev. Charles Stitt accepted the reminiscences of his congregation, claiming that the Walloons built a rude log building soon after their relocation to New Paltz where they were able to “[drink] in for the first time a free gospel in their own mellifluous tongue. Here in this fountain which God had opened

⁹ J. G. Van Slyke, “The Huguenots of Ulster County,” *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of America*, 2 (1891): 224-236.

¹⁰ Anson Dubois, “Louis Dubois,” 59-60.

¹¹ “The Huguenots of Ulster,” *The Continental Monthly* 4, no. 1 (April 1862).

¹² Edmund Eltinge, “Account,” 46; Anson Dubois, “Louis Dubois,” 59.

up in the wilderness, they had their first draught of the sweets of religious liberty.”¹³ Apparently true religious liberty required one’s own language, even though the Walloons’ ability to attend the Dutch Reformed church in Kingston before (and after) the founding of New Paltz was also possible due to the religious freedom available in Ulster County. Neither was the creation of a Walloon church dependent upon the settlement of a distinct community. In interpreting the motivations for the founding of New Paltz, Ralph Lefevre does not note that “liberty” was a primary concern, but he does suggest that his ancestors’ ethnicity mattered to them, as “No doubt they longed for a settlement of their own where they might speak their own language and form a community by themselves.”¹⁴

For descendant Irving Elting, his Walloon ancestors, as well as the tolerant Dutch who accepted them into their midst, were even more American than the founders of New England. He argued that his forebears were perhaps the most committed proponents of religious liberty to come to the shores of the New World. In eulogizing his ancestors, he remarked that they possessed “that fervor of religious life born only of martyrdom,—a fervor quite as strong as, and more tolerant than, that which inspired the early settlers of New England.”¹⁵ “In marked contrast with the religious intolerance of the New England colonists, was the broad Christian liberality of the Dutch and Huguenots who laid the foundations of New York State,” suggesting that his ancestors were the primary, or at least an extremely important, factor in the spread of American religious liberty.¹⁶ That might have been a rather broad claim, but in the late nineteenth century, even academic historians allowed for the power of a little “germ” to impact a nation.

¹³ Charles Stitt, “History of the Huguenot Church and Settlement at New Paltz,” *Collections of the Ulster Historical Society* 1, part 3 (1862): 190.

¹⁴ Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 11.

¹⁵ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River,” *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science: Municipal Government and Land Tenure* 4, no. 1 (1886): 62.

¹⁶ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 63.

That the New Paltz patentees and their families possessed such soul-filled piety was made evident to the descendants not only through the patentees' supposed flight from religious persecution and their establishment of their own independent French-speaking Protestant town but through romantic stories of capture, rescue, and thanksgiving that were imbued with religiosity. The most telling narrative that evokes the founders' piety and the power of their spiritual essence is the story of the capture and rescue of Catherine Blanchan, the wife of patentee Louis Dubois, a story which supposedly had been orally transmitted from parent to child for 200 years. This event predated the founding of New Paltz and made that founding possible. During the Second Esopus War, several women and their children, including Catherine Blanchan and her sons Abraham, Isaac and Jacques, were taken in June 1663 from their homes in Hurley. The following September, an army of men, supported by reinforcements from New Amsterdam led by Captain Martin Kreiger, attempted to reclaim the captives, whose location they had learned from a captured Indian. Arriving at the Native encampment, according to legend, the captors of Catherine Blanchan were preparing to burn her alive, along with other adult women taken during the conflict. In order to extend their lives, Catherine and the other captive women sang to their heavenly Father, in a scene imbued with a sense of Christian martyrdom. According to Edmund Eltinge, during their time of captivity:

It is said that these devoted women had resorted to singing psalms and hymns to buoy up their own spirits and breathe out their trust upon the All-wise Governor of the universe, and singularly as it may appear, it was the means of prolonging the time of their intended final death by the savages. The Indians were charmed by their music, and having previously discovered this, these prisoners sung their Holy Song—the 137th Psalm in the Ref. Dutch Church Col.—in sight of the place of torture to which they were about to be consigned.¹⁷

¹⁷ Edmund Eltinge, "Account," 44.

Edmund Eltinge, who was a direct descendant of Catherine Blanchan, held such affinity for this event (and its retelling) that in the 1850s he even commissioned a large oil painting for his home depicting the event, serving as a constant reminder of his brave ancestor's spiritual power.¹⁸

The story of Catherine's capture and redemption, told in all the memorial accounts of the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, was seen even in the nineteenth century as somewhat questionable, as no mention of it appeared in New Amsterdam's Captain Martin Krieger's official account of the incident. Ralph Lefevre nevertheless took great pains to support the legend in light of a local Orange County historian's contention that the story could not have been true, as it seems to have run counter to all Indian customs.¹⁹ Although not a descendant, Rev. Charles Stitt likewise claimed that even without "corroborating documentary data, [it] deserves not to be unceremoniously thrown out of the pale of veritable history." Even so, Stitt noted that whether true or not, "there is a naturalness and beauty in the legend . . . which tells of the faith and piety which could only find a parallel in the triumphant death of many of their martyred fellow countryman."²⁰ The Rev. J. G. Van Slyke of Kingston echoed Stitt when he retold the stories of Catherine Blanchan's rescue and the founding of New Paltz to the Huguenot Society of America in 1891, also noting that "The Story has such a strong flavor of the dramatic that cautious historians are inclined to credit it to the creative capacity of an ardent imagination. But we are not aware that there is any other warrant for impeaching its substantial truthfulness."²¹

In light of contemporary critiques, there was no reason to accept the legend either. Descendants nevertheless successfully marginalized such skepticism, at least amongst

¹⁸ Irving Elting, "Dutch Village Communities," 62.

¹⁹ Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 8-9.

²⁰ Stitt, "History," 188.

²¹ Van Slyke, "The Huguenots of Ulster County," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of America*, 2 (1891): 233.

themselves. The story was apparently too valuable to be seriously questioned, as to question it would have been to question the power of New Paltz's oral tradition, which was central to the commemorative activities of the descendants. The legend was particularly valuable because it enabled descendants to offer to themselves and others what they thought was a verifiable story of persecution, as they possessed no other vivid relation of such persecution in Europe in either document or legend.²²

The legend is not only important as an expression of the founders' piety, but also because descendants contend that on the return trip to Kingston from the scene of Catherine Dubois' imminent death, her husband Louis Dubois discovered the land that would become New Paltz. As such, Catherine's captivity and near martyrdom at the stake, imbued with scenic elements that linked her story to that of many saints of old, helped to envelope the story of the founding of New Paltz with a religious air. Descendants also viewed that founding as something holy as well, having been inspired by heavenly guidance. In 1860, Edmund Elting wrote that as the patentee families traversed the land from Kingston to their new home in New Paltz in 1677:

On their way, doubtless, these pioneers breathed forth upon the gentle spring breezes their holy songs in which they dedicated themselves anew to the service of their Father in Heaven, whose providences seemed to lead them on to a happy home. Animate creation too seemed playful. The songs of birds and chirpings of squirrels and other game cheered them on their way. At length the place of destination was reached. The renowned "Tri-cor" [i.e., the three wagons upon which they transported their possessions] came to a halt, and when the group first stood upon their own soil, no doubt a sincere offering of gratitude to God ascended from their rude altar. They opened the Bible, brought over with them from their old homes, and read a portion of Scripture for the renewal of their spiritual strength.²³

²² In an obscure and anonymous 1862 article in *The Continental Monthly* (4, no. 1, April 1862), another story is told of one of the Deyo patentees who in Europe "endured severe sufferings for conscience's sake, before he reached Holland from France. For days he concealed himself in hiding places from his persecutors, and without food, finally escaping alone in a fishing boat, during a terrific storm" This story was not widely retold; the only other mention of it was in the 1880 *History of Ulster County* by Nathaniel B. Sylvester (Albany, NY: Everts & Peck). As there are some obvious factual errors in this mention of the story, it is possible that the story was at some point discounted.

²³ Edmund Eltinge, "Account," 47.

Rev. Anson Dubois similarly related to his assembled kinsmen at a 1875 family reunion:

The opening scene in the local history of the New Paltz settlement was filled with romance and dramatic interest. As the evening shadows were lengthening across the valley, the weary train moved slowly into an open space beside the Wallkill. Arranging the *three cars* [i.e., wagons], and making their preparations for the night as quickly as possible, they drew together to offer their thanks to God for the unfailing mercies which had brought them now at length, through perils by land water, to their long-looked-for home. One of their number, whom we are warranted in believing to have been Louis DuBois, reverently opened the old French Bible, and reading with suggestive emphasis the 23d Psalm, led the assembled colony in a prayer of thanksgiving and supplication.²⁴

Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck (president of Rutgers College from 1840-1850) and Ralph Lefevre retold similar stories, although for Ralph it was the 37th Psalm.²⁵ “Under the guidance of Divine Providence,” according to Rev. George Dubois, the founders had struggled through the wilderness and found and founded their own holy land.²⁶

Living descendants are equally committed to this vision of the religious piety of their forebears, who they believe fled from persecution in Europe to the find religious liberty in America, even creating a “tiny French municipality” to achieve complete religious independence.²⁷ In following such a line of thought they marginalize the fact that even if persecution motivated emigration to the Palatine, the children of those emigrants left for the New World for reasons that may or may not have had anything to do with religious persecution. Descendants sometimes consider the patentees almost to have been Protestant saints, whose possessions hold almost holy characteristics. To this day, the “Pierre Deyo chair” and the “Hugo Freer trunk” are “relics” still spoken of, even though there is no evidence to suggest that such objects were in fact owned by those patentees. A particularly telling story is that offered by a current genealogist of the Bevier family, who tells of his first viewing of the Bible once owned

²⁴ Anson Dubois, “Louis Dubois,” 63.

²⁵ Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck, “Address,”; Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 20.

²⁶ George Dubois, “Our History in Europe,” 33.

²⁷ Elizabeth LeFever, “Story,” 212.

by his ancestor, patentee Louis Bevier. Of that Bible, printed in 1644, Dale André Bevier writes that even without evidence, “It is my belief that the father of our Louis [the patentee] gave him the Bible to comfort and sustain him and his family on their perilous journey to the New World.”²⁸ He further tells of his first viewing of the totem, which, when he saw it, was owned by a descendant of its first owner. When he knocked on the door of his kinswoman:

A pleasant lady answered the door and invited me into a warm room with a fire glowing brightly in the fireplace. She then led me to the study where she had already placed the Bible on the desk. *There it was in all its glory* [emphasis original]. She left me alone with this treasure for about 20 minutes and told me to examine it, photograph it, and enjoy the moment. . . . What a thrill to gaze upon, and touch that wonderful old relic.²⁹

Just being alone with the sacred object became almost a religious experience for the descendant of its original owner.

While the supposed piety of the patentees and their commitment to religious liberty represented the importance of the Walloon (or Huguenot) origins of New Paltz, and thus the contribution they made to the growth of both piety and religious freedom in North America, some descendants believed that their Dutchness might have had an even greater impact on the development of the United States. Descendants of an intellectual bent believed that the Old World Dutch had preserved a Teutonic germ of self-government, which was transplanted to the American shores by immigrants from the Fatherland. Furthermore, this commitment to political self-determination formed the basis of the American democratic republic itself. That New Paltz could simultaneously seem both a French and a Dutch town was due to the fact that the local Dutch had accepted the Walloon refugees into their midst and had intermarried with them. In addition, the Walloons had apparently been influenced by the Teutonic germ through their brief sojourn in the Palatinate. These descendants were certainly not the only intellectuals and

²⁸ Dale Andre Bevier, *The Bevier Family*, 71.

²⁹ Dale Andre Bevier, *The Bevier Family*, 72.

academics that held firmly to the Teutonic germ theory, but English and American historians argued that the roots of English and thus American self-government had been transferred from the Black Forest to the New World via the Anglo-Saxons. Patriotic patentee descendants perhaps did not deny the role of Anglo-Americans in the development of the political institutions of the United States, but they at least wanted to offer a corrective, suggesting that it was not solely the Anglo-Saxons who formed the democratic republic.

In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, English historians such as Sir Henry Maine, Edward Freeman, and John Richard Green, following the work of German historians including Georg Ludwig von Maurer and Erwin Nasse, offered a new theory of the development of English self-government, which they believed possessed Teutonic origins. This argument found fertile ground in the United States, particular through the work of Herbert Baxter Adams. According to these scholars, the primary unit of social organization of ancient Germany was a communally-owned area of land called the Mark. Out of this communal ownership arose stronger proprietary rights to portions of the Mark, although such rights were far less than ownership in fee simple. The freeman of the Mark allotted and farmed plots of arable land in “shifting severalties,” in that such plots could be re-allotted as necessary to meet the needs of freemen families in the community, some of whom may not have been original community members. Originally, the distribution was in equal portions, but Adams points out that even in the time of Tacitus, land was apportioned according to “dignity or title.”³⁰ Apparently, reassignment of arable plots occurred at increasingly broader intervals as time progressed, a process which resulted in private ownership of land. Meadow lands were also subject to shifting severalties, but after harvest, the enclosures were removed and the land was thrown open to common grazing of livestock. Lands

³⁰ Henry Sumner Maine, *Village-Communities in the East and West* (London, England: John Murray, 1876), 81; Herbert Baxter Adams, “The Germanic Origin of New England Towns,” *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* 1, no. 1 (1883): 16.

not subject to tillage or hay production, such as for timber and firewood, were commonly available to all within the community.

More important perhaps than the communal rights to land were the means by which the ancient Teutons managed the arable land, as it was those methods that led to the development of democratic political rights and the institutions of self-government. Even though individual families farmed the strips of land, the community managed the arable land cooperatively, making individuals subject to the will of majority in determining what crops would be planted, what land would lie fallow, and when they would plant and harvest. Collective land management by and amongst the freemen became a primary aspect of self-determinative government. It was not just land that was self-regulated by the body of freeman, as they also collectively enacted necessary laws and meted out appropriate justice. It was apparently through this communal ownership and management that “liberty was nurtured.”³¹ These Teutonic principles cast a long and earth-shaking shadow, as “Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights are only the development of those germs of liberty first planted in the communal customs of our Saxon forefathers” who carried the Teutonic germ to England.³²

The simple proof that the Teutonic ideals traveled to England and from thence to America was that common lands and communal regulation were once widespread in England, surviving in certain areas into the nineteenth century, and that such principles of land ownership and management could be found in some colonial American towns, particularly in New England. As Herbert Baxter Adams argued, “Town institutions were propagated in New England by old English and Germanic ideas, brought over by Pilgrims and Puritans, and as ready to take root in

³¹ Herbert Baxter Adams, “Germanic Origin,” 13.

³² Herbert Baxter Adams, “Germanic Origin,” 23.

the free soil of America as would Egyptian grain which had been drying in a mummy-case for thousands of years.”³³ Adams describes the New England town most clearly as being:

. . . like that of their Old English and Germanic prototypes . . . [being] a village community of allied families, settled in close proximity for good neighborhood and defense, with homes and home lots fenced in and owned in severalty, but with a common Town Street and a Village Green or Home Pasture, and with common fields, allotted outside the Town for individual mowing and tillage but fenced in common, together with a vast surrounding tract of absolutely common and undivided land, used for pasture and woodland under communal regulations.³⁴

The “Pilgrims” originally even went to far as to dictate communal labor in addition to communal ownership of land. As Freeman erroneously contended, “The most notable thing of all, yet surely the most natural thing of all, is that the New England settlers of the seventeenth century largely reproduced English institutions in an older shape than they bore in the England of the seventeenth century. They gave a new life to many things which in their older home had well nigh died out.”³⁵ Apparently, “race memory” could carry dormant ideas of social organization, such that the “germ” was more a reality than a metaphor.

This understanding of the Teutonic origins of the Anglo-Saxon commitment to liberty and self-governance, and its transplantation to the American shores, found significant acceptance amongst native-born Anglo-American scholars such as Herbert Baxter Adams and his kinsman Henry Adams who felt deeply troubled by the immigrants hordes flooding into the United States in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The idea was not only restricted to the academy, however, as it was further popularized as a means of proving Anglo-Saxon “racial” superiority. If American self-government, which to such men was obviously a superior form of government, was also essentially Anglo-Saxon, the preservation of the “race,” and its

³³ Herbert Baxter Adams, “Germanic Origin,” 8.

³⁴ Herbert Baxter Adams, “Germanic Origin,” 27-28.

³⁵ Edward A. Freeman, “An Introduction to American Institutional History,” *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, 1, no. 1 (1883): 15.

dominance, would also allow and perhaps even be required in order to preserve the American way of life during an era of social and cultural turbulence.³⁶

But if the principles of liberty and self-governance were transmitted to the American shores by Anglo-Saxons, ostensibly confirming the argument that Americanness was defined by its Englishness, Americans of Dutch ancestry might be relegated to the sidelines. Even worse, they might be grouped with those immigrant “others,” whose presence in the United States had been the fertile ground in which the Teutonic germ theory grew so powerful amongst American Anglocentrics. In actuality, to bring the contribution of colonial Dutch immigrants to the fore would not be that difficult, as even Freeman noted that Dutch immigrants were “Teutonic settlers” as much as the Anglo-Saxons were, being “both of the same original stock and the same original speech.”³⁷ Yet, little emphasis was placed on the Dutch by American or English historians. In the United States, self-government obviously originated in the New England town meeting, as Herbert Baxter Adams argued in his influential “The Germanic Origins of New England Towns,” published 1882 in the *Johns Hopkins University Series of Historical and Political Science*, which Adams edited. One Harvard-educated New Paltz patentee descendant of mixed Walloon and Dutch blood who read Adams’ seemingly-persuasive argument, Irving Elting, thusly aimed to expand upon Freeman’s suggestion of the Dutch influence in America. That he successfully would do so is evident by the fact that in 1886 Adams would publish a monograph by Elting in Adams’ own Johns Hopkins series. Adams, as the secretary of the American Historical Association, would also speak well of Elting’s presentation on the Dutch political contribution, the principal paper offered on a September 1885 evening at the second annual meeting of the AHA.

³⁶ Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants*, 59-81.

³⁷ Freeman, “Introduction,” 17.

Based on the argument that the existence of a community commons was a vestige of the Teutonic Mark, what Elting would argue is that the Dutch “village communities” along the Hudson River were no less based on Teutonic origins than the New English towns, as they too employed the concept of a “commons.” Perhaps the Dutch immigrants were even closer to the original source. Whereas the New Englanders had, according to Freeman, actually revived a sociopolitical system that had been dormant or nearly-so for centuries in England, that system, according to Irving Elting, had never been lost in “the forest regions of the Lower Palatinate east of the Rhine, and in those northern provinces of the Netherlands—Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe.”³⁸ (Perhaps not surprisingly, the province of Drenthe had been the birthplace of the American progenitor of the Eltinge family, Jan Eltinge, whose son Roelof married Sara Dubois, the daughter of patentee Abraham Dubois.) Thus, “the liberty-loving Netherlanders had . . . preserved much of the freedom of the people, which the feudal system had tended to crush out,” and in the New World, established “village rights of common in regard to land [which] were accompanied . . . by rights of common participation in the deliberative assembly of the people.”³⁹ In a particularly romantic flourish, Eltinge claimed that in the actions of New Amsterdam burghers who unanimously accepting taxes in November 1653, ‘One needs no great power of the imagination to fancy that he hears, in the unanimously spoken “Yes!” of the Dutch assembly something very like the shaking of spears and clashing of shields with which the sturdy warlike Teutons signified assent to the plans of their chieftains in the open-air meetings of the tribe!’⁴⁰ Elting claimed that the principles of New York Dutch had a fundamental impact on the New World, and thus Western history, in that “from this more recent confederation of States in the Netherlands, one may derive by a continuous race-tradition, through the Dutch village

³⁸ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 9.

³⁹ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 11, 25.

⁴⁰ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 25.

communities on the Hudson river, that principle of the union of sovereign powers which gave form to our United States.”⁴¹ For historians such as Elting that looked for the source of Americanness in the ancient Teutons, apparently that Teutonic and American (and Anglo-Saxon and Dutch) institutions correlated was proof of causation.

Although all of the Dutch immigrants to America helped to transfer the Teutonic ideals to the New World, Elting incorrectly argued that New Paltz was established upon the most ancient Teutonic principles, being that the community established a perfect democracy based on communally-owned and farmed land. If it was the most Teutonic, then it was also the most profoundly American of any community in North America. Thus, New Paltz grandiosely could be seen as representing the origins of the American democratic republic itself. Elting knew, however, that New Paltz had not been established by the Dutch, who in addition to the Anglo-Saxons were the ones with the Teutonic roots, but by those of a Walloon (or Huguenot) background. This fact represented a difficult interpretive problem. How did these Walloons create what was apparently a modern version of a Teutonic Mark? Luckily he found a solution: the Walloon founders of New Paltz “had probably gained familiarity with the free village community government, afterwards established here, during their residence on the banks of the Rhine of the German Palatinate,” which was perhaps ironically ruled by the Elector Palatine.⁴² That Teutonic germ must have been particularly powerful if it was able to influence the patentees by merely brushing against it for a few years and if it could generate a new republic upon such a small seed. Yet it indeed was: “From the banks of the Rhine, the germs of free local institutions, borne on the tide of western emigration, found here, along the Hudson, a more fruitful soil than New England afforded for the growth of those forms of municipal, state, and national

⁴¹ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 66.

⁴² Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 67.

government, which have made the United States the leading Republic among the nations.”⁴³

Clearly, little direct proof was needed by nineteenth-century scholars to prove the validity of the Teutonic germ theory.

Elting based his contention that New Paltz exhibited Teutonic roots partly on its unusual institution of “the Duzine,” which others before him had claimed distinctively represented the government of the community. His kinsman Rev. Anson Dubois pointedly remarked during his oration at the Dubois Family bicentenary reunion in 1875 (the presentations of which were printed in book form the following year) that

The *civil government* of the infant colony was wholly of their own devising, and differed entirely from the system in vogue at Wiltwyck [i.e., Kingston] and other Dutch municipalities. The twelve patentees—the “DUZINE,” as they were called—were constituted the legislative and judicial body of the miniature state. The number was supplied, after the death of the original members, by annual election. Decisions in all cases referred to them seem to have been accepted as final; for though we must assume the right of appeal to the colonial government, no such appeal is known to have been made, or disputed boundary, or internal feud to have disturbed the absolute harmony of the settlement. There was no civil government other than that of the Duzine at New Paltz for a period of more than one hundred years.⁴⁴

Irving Elting likewise indicated that ‘The patentees are said to have been called the “Twelve Men” or “Duzine,” and to have had both legislative and judicial powers in town affairs.’ He hedged a bit, however, indicating that ‘For more than a hundred years, the “Twelve Men” or “Duzine” of New Paltz, had *practically* [emphasis added] constituted the only legislative and judicial tribunal of the village. No doubt an appeal lay to the colonial government, but as far as is known, none seems to have been taken.’⁴⁵ Elting, however, extended Dubois’ interpretation, by associating the Duzine as a democratic institution with the government of the ancient Teutonic tribes.

⁴³ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 68.

⁴⁴ Anson Dubois, “Louis Dubois,” 65.

⁴⁵ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 55, 60.

Anson Dubois and Irving Elting obviously obscured the fact that the Duzine had been created merely to manage the lands of the collectively-owned patent, but they were also not aware that the institution was based on a group of New York statutes, as described in Chapter 2. Neither did they, however, look much beyond the local lore of the Duzine, a lore that provided them with the ethnic distinctiveness for which they were searching. Perhaps if these descendants, particularly Elting, realized that the institution of the Twelve Men had been inspired by the New York English provincial government, that would not necessarily have undermined its Teutonic roots, since the idea would have been associated with other Anglo-Saxons. Yet it certainly would have undermined the belief in New Paltz's distinctiveness and thus its supposed broad-reaching impact on the history of the United States. Perhaps Elting and Dubois should not be faulted for their ignorance as to the purpose of and inspiration for the Duzine. Yet, they also obfuscated when it came to the date of the Duzine's creation, which was not born until 50 years after the founding of New Paltz, a fact of which at least Elting was aware. To cover this problematic, they argued instead that the twelve patentee themselves were originally called "the Duzine" or "the Twelve Men" even before the Duzine's official 1728 creation, although no primary source was ever produced to confirm that the patentees were indeed so named. Perhaps most importantly, their amnesia extended to the fact that the village did indeed have a civil government established by colonial law—a government integrated into the political structure of the county and colony—which the town records of New Paltz incontrovertibly proved.

For anyone to have argued that the Duzine had either legislative or judicial powers is simply incorrect. Elting claims that their legislative function was evidenced by fencing requirements established in New Paltz in 1712, yet the county had required the community to

make such rules. He also obscures the fact that those regulations were made by “the inhabitants” of New Paltz, not the Duzine. The Duzine’s supposed judicial powers lay in their power to divide land, and their decisions apparently were always deemed acceptable, since such decisions were never appealed to the colonial provincial government. The process for allotting lands involved the Duzine first dividing such land into twelve lots of equal value; presumably such agreement had to be accepted unanimously. The twelve lots would then be chosen by lot. Perhaps not surprisingly, those involved never seemed to have questioned these divisions, at least in a court of law. If the decisions had been cause for any judicial action, that action might have called into question the entire process, which did not have any legal validity, except the mutual agreement of the heirs made in 1728. For descendants, the lack of judicial appeals and absence of self-generated laws ironically seem to have been evidence of the Duzine’s power. Perhaps it could be argued that in regards to land divisions, the Duzine did possess quasi-legal and quasi-judicial functions, but it certainly did not possess legal and judicial authority, which clearly resided in the institutions that stemmed from the provincial government. For most descendants, believing that the Duzine possessed such power allowed them to perceive New Paltz’s distinctiveness, but for Elting at least, it proved its “Teutonness.”

Ralph Lefevre, the editor of the local New Paltz newspaper and a president of the Huguenot Historic, Patriotic, and Monumental Society, popularized this myth even further, publishing a more comprehensive community history in the 1890s (with two subsequent editions in the following decade). He, too, noted that “The government of New Paltz in the earliest period was evidently a pure Democracy,”⁴⁶ and that the Duzine “exercised, to some extent, judicial as well as legislative Powers.”⁴⁷ He clearly drew from Elting’s Teutonist arguments, as

⁴⁶ Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 66.

⁴⁷ Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 69.

he noted that “This government of the Duzine has no parallel in the colonial history of America. It was transplanted from the banks of the Rhine to the banks of the Wallkill.”⁴⁸ Lefevre also apparently accepted the legend that the Duzine had jurisdiction over a number of types of decisions, noting that in the two books of the Duzine, “One narrates the divisions of the land . . . the other gives an account of the lawsuits in which they were engaged concerning the boundaries of the Patent. There are no records of other action which they may have taken concerning other matters, though there is reason to believe that some action was taken and no permanent record kept.”⁴⁹ What that evidence was, he failed to say. The written evidence clearly confirms that the Duzine performed merely those tasks designated in the document establishing the Duzine, yet this did not seem to disturb Lefevre’s erroneous belief that the government of the Duzine was expansive.

Unlike Dubois and Elting, Lefevre, did know that New Paltz possessed a functioning town government, noting that “besides the Duzine, regularly chosen town officers whose duties were distinct from those of the twelve men.”⁵⁰ Curiously, many descendants chose to ignore this fact, even though they still consult Lefevre’s history today. Upon entering the Huguenot Street historic district, visitors are confronted by an inaccurate 1935 historical marker that reads, ‘DIE PFALZ A FRENCH HUGUENOT VILLAGE GOVERNED BY “THE DUSINE”, A BODY OF 12 MEN CHOSEN ANNUALLY. FOR 100 YEARS THE ONLY FORM OF GOVERNMENT.’” Descendants still offer the same characterization of the Duzine. For example, a recent (2003) genealogy of the Deyo family indicates that the Duzine “had complete civil, military, and religious power,” which is an even broader contention than that offered by

⁴⁸ Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 70.

⁴⁹ Ralph Lefevre, “Appendix,” *History of New Paltz, New York and its Old Families from 1678 to 1820*, 3rd edition (Albany, NY: Brandow, 1909), 16.

⁵⁰ Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 69.

such as Anson Dubois, Irving Elting, and Ralph Lefevre.⁵¹ More research would be necessary to determine how descendants successfully marginalized Lefevre's awareness of the existence of a New Paltz civil government. Clearly, however, if they admitted the existence of a civil government established by colonial statute, the community and its families would have lost much of their distinctiveness, and their supposed contribution to American political institutions would have been diminished.

The Duzine was not the only aspect of the early community that marked its Teutonic origins, in that many descendants believed that their founders and their families originally farmed the land communally and divided the produce equally. If they had, their system would have harkened back to the most ancient of Teutonic roots, and also would have linked the New Paltz founding families with such an important group as the Pilgrims. This mythical tradition dates back to at least 1860, when Edmund Eltinge published a history of the community in the first volume of the *Collections of The Ulster Historical Society*, an institution which Edmund Eltinge help to organize in the same year. His contentions were somewhat contradictory, as he both noted that the patentees "arranged their special ownerships of the rich low lands, and different parcels were designated" by a variety names (names they continued to use throughout the eighteenth century), yet "These lands were first tilled in common and the proceeds were divided equally."⁵² What evidence he possessed to support this contention is a mystery.

Edmund Eltinge would not link this system to its Teutonic roots, but his kinsman Irving Elting certainly did, and the latter took great pains to support the veracity of this legend even though he lacked written documentary evidence. Irving Elting notes that

Perhaps no documents now exist which establish the evidence of this early cultivation in common of tracts of the arable land by the numerous co-owners,

⁵¹ Kenneth Hasbrouck and Ruth P. Heidgerd, *The Deyo (Deyoe) Family*, xii.

⁵² Edmund Eltinge, "Account," 47.

but tradition, both trustworthy and direct, places the matter almost beyond question. . . . If there are no early documents to verify this tradition of a common cultivation and division of the produce, there are those which intimate a common ownership even in the arable land, and show conclusively such common rights in both pasture and woodland as are thoroughly characteristic everywhere of Teutonic village community-life.⁵³

This lack of written evidence forced Elting to rely on oral history claiming, “One of the worthy representatives of her Huguenot ancestors told the writer a few weeks ago that in her younger days she used frequently to hear an old resident of New Paltz relate how his mother . . . after becoming a widow . . . [took] her turn in caring for the common stock and crops, as her husband had done before.”⁵⁴ Elting was clearly relying on myth and legend to support his argument for his ancestral community’s Teutonic roots, which again aimed to prove that the origins of American of self-government lay with his direct ancestors in New Paltz, who in turn were linked back to the ancient Teutonic Mark. Not surprisingly, Ralph Lefevre again followed the lead of both Edmund Eltinge and Irving Elting, indicating “There is good evidence that in the early settlement the land was worked in common . . . Grote Bontecoe [a region in New Paltz settled by an early generation of Lefevres where Ralph Lefevre was born] was certainly worked by the settlers in common, and there is good reason to believe that other lands were also so worked.”⁵⁵ Again, he did not specify what that evidence was.

To this day, more recent descendants have accepted the myth as fact. The Hasbrouck Family Association notes on their website that “The people owned the land in common, and by that arrangement the product of their labors went into common store,” although the author of this statement does indicate that his ancestors eventually abandoned this practice.⁵⁶ The Deyo genealogy also erroneously indicates that initially “The people owned the land in common, in a

⁵³ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 53.

⁵⁴ Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 53.

⁵⁵ Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd edition, 69.

⁵⁶ <http://www.hasbrouckfamily.org/founding.htm> (accessed 11/19/2009).

unique system of government based on sharing. The Patentees and their children tilled the land and divided the produce equally.”⁵⁷

Irving Elting was correct in saying no documents prove communal ownership, but he put too much stock in orally-transmitted legend concerning communal farming. In reality, while the patentees did own the patent collectively, they did divide portions of the patent amongst themselves upon founding the community, both for farming and for house lots. However, it took nearly a hundred years for their descendants to divide up the entire patent, in a manner similar to many New England towns. The resources available in undivided lands were indeed available as a commons to those that collectively owned such lands, as noted by a 1729 indenture between the Duzine and two of patentee Louis Dubois’ sons. The Twelve Men gave this two patentee sons “full power and authority . . . to cut down, load have take and carry away all manner of Timber trees and stones standing. . . within any part of the Commons. . . in the same manner that the said owners and properietors Doe use to Doe in the said Commons, and likewise to mow down and carry away any grass or hay. . . in the Commons.”⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the village of New Paltz never possessed a commons; rather the owners of the land that comprised the village possessed commonly-held land for almost a century.

This is an important distinction which Irving Elting tried to obscure. If the original group of twelve men who collectively owned the patent formed the Duzine (which they did not), and the Duzine was the village government (which it was not), then the village and the patent would have been one and the same, which they were not, even if both village and patent comprised the same geographic space. If that had been one and the same, the village would have had a commons, which would have linked it to the land use and governmental patterns of the

⁵⁷ Kenneth Hasbrouck and Ruth P. Heidgerd. *The Deyo (Deyoe) Family*, xii.

⁵⁸ Reprinted in Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 57.

ancient Teutons, since the existence of a commons was all the proof that was needed to prove Teutonic roots. The myth that the land was originally farmed in common was just additional evidence that supported Irving Elting's Teutonic origin argument.

Importantly, the descendants who memorialized their forbears believed that the piety, belief in religious liberty, and commitment to self-governance of their ancestors continued to be reflected in the character of their late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century descendants. As Robert Patterson DuBois wrote:

When Great Britain began to oppress the colonies, they, in common with others, rose against the oppressor, and in all the dangers and conflicts of the long revolutionary struggle, bore an active and honor part. In all our wars since, they have taken part; and in our late civil contest, they helped to fill up both our army and navy with officers and men. In common with all Huguenot and Dutch families, they have always been interested in national affairs, and have taken a lively part in the politics of the country.

Speaking on behalf of the religious side of his family's history,

As to Religion and Morality . . . these have ever formed striking features of the family character. . . . Their protestantism led them to this wilderness, and staunch Protestants they have ever continued to be. . . .As legislators, they have helped to make the laws; as judges magistrates, attorneys, and jurors, to administer them; but seldom, if ever, have they been found as prisoners at the bar.

These aspects of the family character, according to Robert Patterson DuBois, were a direct result of his ancestors' piety and experience of persecution in Europe, and their difficult and primitive lives in the New World, which produced a vigorousness that enabled them "to transmit the same iron constitution to their posterity."⁵⁹

DuBois was speaking in particular about the Dubois family (although virtually every descendants possessed some Dubois ancestry), but Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck, too, invoked the legacy of his ancestors in the characters of his contemporary kinsmen, "The seed thus sown in the forest by these humble and pious men, has ripened into the stern morality and strict religious

⁵⁹ Robert Patterson DuBois, "Characteristics," 74-77.

observances which, in our day, are the marked characteristics of their descendants.”⁶⁰ By exploring the history of the community, descendants could “define the influences . . . upon our present condition and character.”⁶¹ The Teutonic germ theory itself held that ideas could lay dormant practically in one’s genetic code (to use a modern phrase), such that one’s ancestral blood could have meaning in perpetuity. Thus, according to Irving Elting, a continuous “race-tradition” was possible, apparently making it possible for nineteenth-century descendants to possess the religious and political ideals of their seventeenth-century ancestors.⁶²

Perhaps it is not surprising that nineteenth-century descendants saw their Walloonness and Dutchness as embodied in their religious and civic institutions. If they had not, the several forms of cultural expression that truly had marked the patentees and their eighteenth-century descendants as examples of Walloonness and Dutchness—language, architecture, gender ideals—were those aspects of their culture that were constantly changing and eventually lost. Without their Walloonness and Dutchness having been reflected in their institutions, what claim could they then have made for the importance of their non-Anglo roots? It is also no wonder that the ethnocultural history of New Paltz has been obscured by family historians for at least a century and a half. Clinging to their non-Anglo heritage and driven by patriotism, they nevertheless wanted to prove that their ancestors, too, participated in the development of religious liberty and the creation of the American democratic republic. Discovering the uniqueness of their ancestors’ political and religious experience and institutions, they were even able to invent a history that was perhaps superior and even more influential in the development of American culture than the contributions of Anglo-Americans. Together, they, like Cornelia Dubois, while musing on the spot where her forbears established their village, could exclaim, ‘Of

⁶⁰ Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck, “Address,” 35-36

⁶¹ Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck, “Address,” 37.

⁶² Irving Elting, “Dutch Village Communities,” 66.

this band we can sing as we are taught to sing of the Pilgrim band, “Aye, call it holy ground, The soil where first they trod And left unstained what there they found, Freedom to worship God.”⁶³

⁶³ Cornelia Dubois, “Brief History,” 21.

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