

Year Book

Dutchess County Historical Society

Volume 45

1960

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by the Dutchess County Historical Society

DUTCHESS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Incorporated under the laws of the
State of New York
December 21, 1918
Certificate of Incorporation filed in the office of the
Clerk of Dutchess County
Book 10 of Corporations page 153

DUTCHESS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MEETINGS — MEMBERSHIP — DUES

ANNUAL MEETING, THIRD FRIDAY IN MAY

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, THIRD FRIDAY IN OCTOBER

MEMBERSHIP

Membership in the Dutchess County Historical Society may be had by the election of the applicant at the May or October meeting or at a meeting of the Board of Trustees and the payment of the dues.

Annual dues	\$3.00
Joint membership (two members of one family).....	\$5.00
Life membership	\$75.00

Annual dues are payable on January 1 of each year.

These payments carry with them the right to hold office, to vote and to take part in the proceedings of the society.

Payment of three dollars at date of election entitles a new member to a copy of the year book for that current year. Next payment falls due the succeeding January and covers a copy of the year book issued in the year ensuing.

Copies of the year book are mailed only to those members whose dues are paid to date. Only one copy of the year book is mailed to a joint membership.

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to the

DUTCHESS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

.....Dollars

OFFICERS

1960

President: HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN, PH.D., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Vice President at Large: BALTUS B. VAN KLEECK, Poughkeepsie,
N. Y.

Secretary: MRS. AMY PEARCE VER NOOY, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Treasurer: MISS ALBERTINA T. B. TRAVER, Rhinebeck, N. Y.

Curator:

VICE-PRESIDENTS FOR TOWNS

Mrs. J. E. Spingarn	Town of Amenia
Robert W. Doughty	City of Beacon
Mrs. F. Philip Hoag	Town of Beekman
James Budd Rymph	Town of Clinton
Thomas J. Boyce	Town of Dover
Mrs. Charles Boos	Town of East Fishkill
Miss Edith Van Wyck	Town of Fishkill
Mrs. John Mulford Hackett	Town of Hyde Park
Mrs. F. Jay Skidmore	Town of LaGrange
Henry R. Billings	Town of Milan
	Town of North East
Egbert Green	Town of Pawling
George E. Schryver	Town of Pine Plains
Miss Agnes K. Bower	Town of Pleasant Valley
Miss Annette Young	Town of Poughkeepsie
Mrs. A. N. Mahoney	City of Poughkeepsie
Mrs. Donald E. Norton	Town of Red Hook
Miss Rachel Rynders	Town of Rhinebeck
Mrs. Harrie D. Knickerbocker	Town of Stanford
Mrs. Theodore Coe	Town of Union Vale
Martense H. Cornell	Town of Wappingers
John O. Tyldsley	Town of Washington

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The President, ex-officio

The Vice-President at Large, ex-officio

The Secretary, ex-officio

The Treasurer, ex-officio

The Curator, ex-officio

CLASS OF 1961

Mrs. John H. Darrow
Mrs. Hardy Steeholm

Miss Ruth A. Halstead
Joseph B. Bisbee

CLASS OF 1962

Joseph W. Emsley
R. Watson Pomeroy

Miss Margaret L. Suckley
George E. Whalen

CLASS OF 1963

Harris N. Cookingham
Mrs. Harry H. Hill

Frank V. Mylod
Edmund Van Wyck

CLASS OF 1964

Mrs. Stuart R. Anderson
Mrs. Fred C. Daniels

Clifford M. Buck
John R. Schwartz

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Edited by AMY PEARCE VER NOOY

The Year Book is published in December. Copies of the Year Book are mailed to those members whose dues are paid for the current year. Single issues are sold for \$3.00 each and may be obtained through the secretary or the treasurer. Address: The Dutchess County Historical Society, Poughkeepsie, New York.

OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
DUTCHESS COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

- 1916—PAMPHLET, *Troutbeck, A Dutchess County Homestead*; by Charles E. Benton. Out of print.
- 1924—COLLECTIONS, VOL. I; *Poughkeepsie, The Origin and Meaning of the Word*; by Helen Wilkinson Reynolds. (Price: \$5.00)
- 1924—COLLECTIONS, VOL. II; *Old Gravestones of Dutchess County, New York*; collected and edited by J. Wilson Poucher, M. D., and Helen Wilkinson Reynolds. (Price: \$20.00)
- 1928—COLLECTIONS, VOL. III; *Records of the Town of Hyde Park, Dutchess County, New York*; edited by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Edition exhausted.
- 1930—COLLECTIONS, VOL. IV; *Notices of Marriages and Deaths in Newspapers printed at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 1778-1825*; compiled and edited by Helen Wilkinson Reynolds. (Price: \$5.00)
- 1932—COLLECTIONS, VOL. V; *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Hackensack, Dutchess County, New York*; edited by Maria Bockee Carpenter Tower. (Price: \$10.00)
- 1938—COLLECTIONS, VOL. VI; *Eighteenth Century Records of the portion of Dutchess County, New York that was included in Rombout Precinct and the original Town of Fishkill*. Collected by William Willis Reese. Edited by Helen Wilkinson Reynolds. (Price: \$10.00)
- 1940—COLLECTIONS, VOL. VII; *Records of Crum Elbow Precinct, Dutchess County*. Edited by Franklin D. Roosevelt. (Price: \$15.00)
- 1958—COLLECTIONS, VOL. VIII; *Family Vista, the Memoirs of Margaret Chanler Aldrich*. (Price: \$4.50)

A few copies of some of the above publications are available at the prices listed. For information address: Mrs. Amy Ver Nooy, Secretary, Dutchess County Historical Society, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

SECRETARY'S MINUTES

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

February 17, 1960

A meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Dutchess County Historical Society was held on Wednesday afternoon, February 17, 1960, at the Glebe House, Poughkeepsie.

Present: President MacCracken, Miss Halstead, Mr. Mylod, the treasurer and the secretary.

Upon motion, it was decided to omit the reading of the minutes of the last meeting of the Board of Trustees, they having been read and approved at the semi-annual meeting, held October 23, 1959.

The treasurer reported on the current state of the treasury and on the receipt of dues for 1960.

The matter of the spring meeting was discussed and the president reported that Dr. Warthin of Vassar College, would be willing to attend the meeting and tell about "Land and Water in Dutchess County." The president would set a date acceptable to Dr. Warthin.

For the annual pilgrimage, it was suggested that a trip might be made to the neighborhood of Amenia, on a Saturday, probably in August, and that the Sharon Historical Society be invited to join with this society in the outing.

It was reported that the 1958 year book was about ready for distribution. It was decided to use funds from the permanent account to pay the bills for the year books and that they be issued as promptly as possible, to bring them up to date.

It was reported that the society still had a number of copies of *Family Vista*, the book of memoirs of Mrs. Aldrich and, after discussion, it was decided that the society offer them at \$3.75 per copy to the various bookshops for resale at \$4.50.

Dr. MacCracken agreed to prepare the copy for a descriptive folder for the society which would include an application blank for membership.

There was some discussion about the proposed marker to be placed on the doorway of the Helen Wilkinson Reynolds memorial room at the Glebe House. Miss Halstead, chairman of the Glebe House committee, was authorized to order a suitable bronze plate.

It was decided that the Glebe House Committee arrange for an open-house day to be held Sunday, June 19, for the members of the various historical societies in the county and other interested persons.

Miss Halstead reported that several gifts had been received through the kindness of Mr. Baltus B. Van Kleeck, the vice-president, which include: a framed page of family records from the Bible of Peter De Riemer, who owned the house from 1796 until 1812; an apple parer owned by the DeRiemer family and a foot-warmer made by Joshua Owen Ward.

The matter of the Caroline Thorn Wells estate was discussed and it was decided that the society employ a lawyer to discover what has been done, if anything, toward a settlement of the estate. Miss Wells died in 1939; she made a contingent bequest to the society in her will.

The president said he would prepare a resolution expressing the loss felt by the society in the death of Mr. Raymond G. Guernsey, a long-time member of the board of trustees and a former president of the society.

The views expressed by President MacCracken in his statement of approval of the Clinton House as an historic building worthy of state support were endorsed.

It was reported that a check for \$50.00 had been received as a gift to the society from the Lost Village Foundation. The president said he would acknowledge the check and express the appreciation of the society to Mr. Zurhorst.

Dr. MacCracken reported that the Tappan Zee Historical Society had asked permission to reprint from volumes 20, 21 and 23 (for 1935, 1936 and 1938) of the year book of the Dutchess County Historical Society, "Events on Hudson's River in 1777." He explained that these were reports, on file with the British Admiralty, made by the officers on the British ships which came up the Hudson in the fall of 1777, and were supplied to the editor of the year book by President Roosevelt. It was decided to grant permission for reprinting with the request that credit be given to the year books of the Dutchess County Historical Society.

Mr. Mylod agreed to inquire of the postmaster what the requirements might be for this society to take advantage of reduced postal rates in bulk mailing.

Dr. MacCracken offered to write letters congratulating the various organizations and groups in the county which had sponsored celebrations in their own areas in commemoration of the Hudson-Champlain anniversary, especially those which had published historical sketches of their parts of the county.

The president said that he had been offered the framed discharge papers of Henry Hoffman, who had served in the 150th Regiment of Dutchess County. The trustees decided it would be a desirable addition to the Civil War material owned by the society.

There was some discussion about the prospect of a new county office building and the possibility that this society might be assigned a room better suited for the preservation of its possessions than the one on the third floor of the old post office building.

Miss Traver and Mr. Mylod were appointed a nominating committee to present a list of persons to succeed those trustees and other officers whose terms expire with the annual meeting.

Mrs. Samuel Moore and Miss Traver were elected to life membership and Miss Edith Pearce was elected an annual member.

There was no other business to discuss and the meeting adjourned.

Amy Ver Nooy,
Secretary

ANNUAL MEETING

April 29, 1960

The annual meeting of the Dutchess County Historical Society was held on Friday morning, April 29, 1960, at the Nelson House, Poughkeepsie. Because of the illness of the president and the absence from town of the vice-president, Mr. Van Wyck presided.

The meeting was called to order at 11:30 a.m.

The minutes of the semi-annual meeting, held October 23, 1959, and a meeting of the Board of Trustees, held February 17, 1960, were read and approved.

The treasurer gave a detailed report for the last half of 1959 and noted that most of the bills were paid to date, with a balance of \$4.85 in the treasury for current expenses. She said that a number of members had not yet paid their dues for 1960 and, when these were received, the treasury would be in a better state.

The secretary reported that the society had lost three members by resignation and the following members by death: Miss Alice H. Belding, Mr. Edward R. Corwin, Mr. Robert Hoe, Mr. Jacob H. Strong, Mr. John O. Tyldsley, Mrs. Barnard D. Van Kleeck and Mrs. Edmund Van Wyck.

Miss Halstead reported, for the Glebe House Committee, that some articles had been added to the furnishings. She said that the marker for the doorway of the memorial room for Miss Helen Wilkinson Reynolds had been ordered but had not yet been finished. She hoped it would be in place by the time of the planned open-house day.

She said that Sunday afternoon, June 19, had been selected as the open-house day, when the Glebe House would be on exhibit to the friends of the society, members of the various historical societies in the neighborhood and any interested persons. She also remarked that she hoped the weather would be an improvement over that of the open-house day held in 1959.

It was reported that no definite plans had been made for the annual pilgrimage, but a trip to the eastern part of the county had been mentioned, and it was hoped that it might be held this year on a Saturday in August.

Mrs. Ver Nooy said that she had been asked by Mr. Mylod, who was unable to be present, to request the society, and any members who might be willing to do so, to write the postmaster general, urging that a commemorative stamp be issued to mark the 100th anniversary of the establishment of Vassar College. The secretary was asked to write such a letter for the society.

The secretary reported that Dr. MacCracken was at his home and was recuperating, but it would be some little time before he would be able to resume his former activities. It was moved and seconded that the secretary send a letter expressing the sympathy of the members present and the hope for his rapid and complete recovery.

Miss Edith Austin, a guest at the meeting, presented to the society a Bible which had been owned by the John B. Forbus family, the records from which were printed in the 1959 issue of the year book.

Mrs. John H. Bruns presented to the society two stock certificates of the Poughkeepsie & Eastern Rail Road Co., issued in 1870 and 1871, and made out to Charles Cheesman and to Filkins Cheesman.

It was explained that the gift of \$50.00, mentioned by the treasurer, was a presentation made by the Lost Village Foundation through Mr. Charles S. Zurhorst, a member of the society, who had discovered and restored the Lost Village.

Miss Traver, for the Nominating Committee, presented the names of Mrs. Stuart R. Anderson, Mr. Clifford M. Buck, Mrs. Fred C. Daniels and Judge John R. Schwartz, as trustees for a term of four years, and Mr. Joseph B. Bisbee to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Raymond G. Guernsey. There were no other nominations and they were unanimously elected.

The names of the following persons were presented and they were elected annual members of the society: Mr. Stott Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. Elting G. Burger, Mr. Herbert H. Gindele, Mr. H. Wilson Guernsey, Mrs. Felix K. Parker, Mr. Michael J. Strong and Mr. C. Kenneth Vincent.

There was no further business to be discussed and the meeting adjourned to the dining room, where the usual excellent luncheon was enjoyed.

Following the luncheon, Mr. Van Wyck introduced Dr. A. Scott Warthin, Professor of Geology at Vassar College and Director of Civil Defense for Dutchess County. Dr. Warthin talked about "Land and Water" in the county and showed some interesting colored slides and described the formation of the rocks, their age and variety. He told what was being done in the county in the way of flood control, showing slides of "before and after" areas where recurrent flooding occurred. He explained that property owners were urged against building in such places where floods had occurred and probably would again. He spoke of the increase in population in the county and told of plans for recreational space and urged the acquisition of more and more space by municipalities for recreational parks.

The meeting closed with a rising vote of thanks to the speaker.

Amy Ver Nooy,
Secretary

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

August 16, 1960

A special meeting and garden party was arranged by Dr. MacCracken for the trustees and other officers to meet with the vice-

presidents representing the society in the various townships of the county. It was held at the home of Dr. and Mrs. MacCracken on Tuesday afternoon, August 16, from 3:30 to 5:30 p.m.

In addition to Dr. and Mrs. MacCracken, the following officers were present: Mr. Baltus B. Van Kleeck, vice-president; Miss Traver, treasurer; Mrs. Ver Nooy, secretary; Trustees, Mr. Emsley, Miss Halstead, Mrs. Hill, Mr. Mylod and Mrs. Steeholm. Also representatives from their various townships: Mrs. Charles Boos, East Fishkill; Mrs. Theodore Coe, Union Vale; Mrs. John Mulford Hackett, Hyde Park; Mrs. Harrie D. Knickerbocker, Stanford; Mrs. A. N. Mahoney, Poughkeepsie, and Mrs. F. Jay Skidmore, LaGrange. Mr. George D. Halstead, Miss Bassett, Miss Hazel Skidmore and a photographer from the local newspaper were also present.

After a very pleasant social hour, spent in renewing acquaintances and enjoying the refreshing punch and cookies, Dr. MacCracken called the meeting to order.

Miss Traver gave a brief report on the state of the treasury. Mrs. Ver Nooy reported on the proposal to hold a pilgrimage on Saturday, September 17, to the neighborhood of Amenia Union, South Amenia and the Innisfree gardens at Tyrrell Lake. Those present offered suggestions and a tentative program was approved.

Dr. MacCracken read an invitation from the Historical Society of Quaker Hill and Vicinity asking those present to attend a "White Elephant Sale, Luncheon, Food Sale, Bridge Party and Raffle," to be held on Friday, August 19, at Quaker Hill for the benefit of a fund to provide a new roof for the old Quaker Meeting House. He urged his guests to attend.

Dr. MacCracken outlined a program of activities for the society, to increase the worth of the organization, and there was considerable discussion of the several items. His suggested program included the following divisions, each with a director (unpaid):

1. Division of Records and Documents.
2. Promotion: Speakers bureau
Membership
3. Research
4. Education: Schools, colleges
Courses
5. Genealogy (aid to local families)
6. Regional relations: Hudson Valley societies
Local societies of history

Directors and vice-presidents would meet twice annually with trustees and officers. The secretary could be director of publicity and editor of the year book; or, if necessary, these offices could be separated.

Mrs. Hackett suggested monthly meetings, or less often, at private homes, with papers or topics.

It was agreed that there should be a genealogical committee, the members of which would reply to the numerous inquiries received by the society, even if a form letter had to be used.

It was the consensus of opinion that something should be done to interest younger people in the organization and in the history of their neighborhoods. The matter was discussed but no feasible plan was offered.

Many means were suggested and discussed with a view to obtaining new members. It was agreed that a circular, descriptive of the aims of the society, with an application for membership, should be prepared and distributed.

There was much discussion of the great need of the society for a home for the housing of its possessions, a place where its reference material could be used and where its supplies of year books and bound publications could be safely cared for. This brought about a consideration of the possibility of obtaining for this purpose the house formerly owned by Miss Caroline T. Wells and provisionally left to the society. Mr. Mylod was appointed and agreed to make a study of the matter and to report at a special meeting to be held for that purpose.

Dr. MacCracken recommended a closer relationship with the several other historical societies in the county and it was decided to invite the members of those groups to attend the 1960 pilgrimage to be held September 17.

It was suggested that letters be sent to the vice-presidents representing this society in the various towns of the county, asking for names of possible new members. Those persons listed could be circularized and invited to join the society.

The president stressed the need of cooperation with educational societies and organizations in the county. He told of the course in local history which he planned to give in the adult education program at the Arlington High School during the fall and winter. He invited those present to join the class, which he planned to conduct somewhat along the lines of a similar group which had proved successful in Putnam County. He explained that each member of the class, at some time during the course, prepared a one-page article on some phase of the history of the neighborhood. At the end of the course these pages

were bound into an interesting pamphlet which covered a variety of subjects of local historical interest.

Mr. Mylod spoke of the displays of pictures of older Poughkeepsie which had been exhibited by the Poughkeepsie Savings Bank and by the Farmers & Manufacturers National Bank. He felt that these institutions should be commended for their interest.

Upon motion, the meeting adjourned.

Amy Ver Nooy,
Secretary

MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

October 21, 1960

A meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Dutchess County Historical Society was held at the Nelson House, Poughkeepsie, on Friday morning, October 21, 1960, at 10:30 a.m.

Present: The President, Mrs. Anderson, Mr. Bisbee, Mr. Buck, Miss Halstead, Mr. Mylod, Mr. Van Wyck, the treasurer and the secretary and Mrs. Hackett (representing Mrs. Hill).

Mr. Mylod reported on his inquiry into the present status of the Caroline T. Wells estate and stated that he had had a conference with the attorney and executor of the estate who promised an accounting within two weeks. It was then moved and seconded and passed that Mr. Mylod take such action as may seem to him advisable when a report from the Northern Dutchess Hospital is received.

There was much discussion about a possible arrangement with another organization to share a meeting place with suitable space for exhibits and storage. It was decided that whatever is to be done must be acted upon quickly. Dr. MacCracken suggested that a committee of the historical society meet with a similar committee of the other organization to go over details involving possible costs, etc., and to make a survey to determine if it would be possible for this society to carry out its part if an agreement were made.

Dr. MacCracken reported that he had gone over the building in question and found it seemingly in good repair. He described the rooms in the basement, the main floor and on the second and third floors. It was reported that while this society would obtain free rent, the main-

tenance of the building would be the responsibility of this society. It was pointed out that a new boiler is now needed.

Dr. MacCracken said he would appoint a committee to go over the building and to be ready and able to discuss the matter at a future meeting of the Board of Trustees.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

Amy Ver Nooy,
Secretary

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING

October 21, 1960

The semi-annual meeting of the Dutchess County Historical Society was held on Friday, October 21, 1960, at the Nelson House, Poughkeepsie, at 11:30 a.m., immediately following a meeting of the Board of Trustees. There was an attendance of about one hundred.

The minutes of the annual meeting, held April 29, 1960, and of a meeting of the Board of Trustees, with the vice-presidents of the society, held August 16, 1960, were read and approved.

A report covering the first half of the year, ending June 30, and a brief report of receipts and expenditures since that date, were given by the treasurer. They were accepted as read.

The secretary reported that the society had lost three members by resignation and the following members by death: Mrs. Edythe Harris Lucas, a life member; Miss Mary J. Elsworth, a member since 1923 and a trustee from 1928 to 1941; Mr. Clinton Bleecker Brown, Miss Edna Ruth Kennedy, Miss Elizabeth M. Tompkins and Mr. George Wiberley.

Miss Halstead reported for the Glebe House Committee. She told of the successful open-house day held on June 19. She reported that the bronze marker, designating the room furnished as a memorial to Miss Helen W. Reynolds, had been placed on the door-jamb.

Mrs. Ver Nooy reported briefly on the recent pilgrimage and mentioned the cordial reception given by Mrs. Walter E. Euvrard, the present owner of the Winegar house, and by the Reverend Mr. Kieselhorst, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at South Amenia. She suggested that a special vote of thanks be given to Mrs. Elizabeth Buckley, Mr. Elliott McEldowney and Miss Ruth E. Barlow, who

had given the interesting and informative talks at the church. She spoke particularly of Miss Barlow's cooperation in making the arrangements for that day in her neighborhood and in planning and serving, with her committee, the very excellent luncheon. She told of the gardens and the house at Innisfree and urged those who had not attended the pilgrimage to make an effort to visit Innisfree.

Dr. MacCracken stated that Mr. Mylod had had to leave and he repeated the report concerning the property of Miss Caroline T. Wells which Mr. Mylod had given at the trustees' meeting, held earlier that morning.

The president read a reply which had been received from the office of the postmaster general in response to a request sent by this society asking that a commemorative stamp be issued honoring Vassar College as that institution celebrates its centennial.

Mr. Van Wyck spoke about the sum charged for life membership in the society and Dr. MacCracken asked for an expression of opinion from any of the members present. It was the consensus that the sum of \$25.00 was far too low and, after discussion, Mr. Nichols moved and Mr. Van Kleeck seconded the motion, and it was passed, that the fee for life membership be raised to \$75.00. There was further discussion as to when this new rate would go into effect and, after a motion made by Mrs. Hackett that the advance take effect January 1, 1961, it was passed.

Mrs. Ver Nooy spoke of the gift of a large poster displayed in the room which had been received from Miss Madeline Elwood of Richfield Springs. The handbill announced a ball game to be held at Matteawan in connection with a July Fourth celebration in 1866. Miss Elwood's father, who had preserved the poster, was at one time a cadet at the Poughkeepsie Military Institute, conducted for many years in Poughkeepsie by Dr. Charles B. Warring on the site of the present public school building named for Major Warring.

She also reported that Judge John R. Schwartz and Mrs. Baltus B. Van Kleeck had presented to the society the *Index Rerum*, a book of references kept by Dr. Poucher for many years, and a collection of letters written to Dr. Poucher concerning his published books. They had also given to the society the remaining unbound copies of *Old Gravestones of Dutchess County*, and some copies of Dr. Poucher's *Stories of the Wild Flowers*.

Dr. MacCracken described a gift to the society, the framed discharge certificate issued to Sergeant Henry Hoffman, mustered in Company I, 150th Regiment, in Poughkeepsie, October 11, 1862, and discharged for disability November 30, 1863. It had been the prized possession of an elderly man (son of the Civil War veteran), who had died in New York in 1959.

Mrs. Boos presented ten eighteenth century documents, deeds, leases and mortgages, the gift of Mr. Alfred Bonney, formerly of Hopewell Junction, now of South Harpswell, Maine. The papers had to do with farms in the town of Fishkill formerly owned by members of the Brinckerhoff, Lent, Luyster, Schouten, Van Bunschoten and Van Wyck families.

The president reminded those present that there would be a state-wide and national celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Civil War. He said he would appoint a committee to consider what this society might do to aid in the centennial observance.

Dr. MacCracken also spoke about the series of five weekly talks of one-half hour each, on the Colonial History of New York, which he was to give on Sunday afternoons over radio station WBAI.

He mentioned the \$2,000,000 bequest made by Mr. Stephen Clark to the New York State Historical Association and felt that it would be wisely used and much appreciated.

He also told of the mimeographed bulletin put out by the County Historian of Putnam County, the Reverend Horace E. Hillery, and suggested that a similar sheet might be issued by this society, from time to time, dealing with state and local history. He said he would refer the matter to the Board of Trustees.

The following names were submitted and they were elected members of the society: life members: Mr. Elting Arnold, Mrs. William Lynn and Mrs. Robert Ridgeway; and annual members: Mrs. Mary Bogardus, Miss Mildred Diddell, Mr. and Mrs. Silas Frazer, Mr. John D. Gindele, Mr. and Mrs. Fred Glover, Lieutenant-Colonel G. G. Griffeth, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard J. Hart, Mrs. Mary Elliott Hoe, Mrs. Wesley Vincent and Mr. and Mrs. Henry F. Winchester.

Mr. Cookingham inquired about a Cookingham Family Bible, printed in 1737, which he was most anxious to locate. He said he would be willing to pay \$100 for the Bible, or he would pay \$25.00 to the first person who could locate it for him.

There was no further business to bring before the meeting and the members adjourned to the dining room where they enjoyed an excellent luncheon.

Following the luncheon, Dr. MacCracken, president of the society, addressed the group. His subject was, "Their Eyes Were on New York," and he stressed the important parts played by the men of New York in the early history of the United States, which had not been recognized by many historians who have emphasized the importance of Massachusetts and Virginia.

The meeting closed with a rising vote of thanks to the president.

Amy Ver Nooy,
Secretary

* * *

Erratum. The editor regrets the typographical error which occurred in the minutes of the semi-annual meeting, held October 23, 1959, as printed on page 18 of the 1959 issue of the year book. The last ten lines and the first eleven lines of column 2 were transposed.



1708, April 4. Thomas Christian, a Carolina Indian and servant of Mr. Peter Woglom, who took him to be baptized after previous catechising. He voluntarily promised, before omniscient God and the Christian congregation that after his baptism he will as faithfully serve his master and mistress as he has done before.

Records of St. Matthew's Lutheran Church [of
New York], as published in the *Holland
Society Year Book, 1903*; p. 44.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

January 1, 1960 - June 30, 1960

PERMANENT ACCOUNT — Poughkeepsie Savings Bank	
Balance on hand, January 1, 1960	\$8,966.71
Life memberships	50.00
Gift, Lost Village Foundation	50.00
Interest	158.76
Balance on hand, June 30, 1960	\$9,225.47

CHECKING ACCOUNT — Dutchess Bank and Trust Company

Receipts

Balance on hand, January 1, 1960	\$ 157.34
Received from dues	885.00
Received from sale of books	96.00
	\$1,138.34

Disbursements

Flowers	\$ 10.00
Secretary	50.00
Treasurer	50.00
Stamped envelopes	23.20
Lansing-Broas Printing Co., printing bills	14.15
Junior League, Glebe House expenses	122.04
Rhinebeck Gazette, printing year book	474.15
Lansing-Broas Printing Co., binding year book	29.30
Editing year book	200.00
Mailing year book	15.00
Postage on year book	36.00
Lansing-Broas Printing Co., letterhead & envelopes	28.45
Postage and office supplies	32.90
Nelson House, guest luncheon	2.25
Hyde Park Historical Association, membership	1.00
Expenses, open-house day	18.48
	1,106.92

Balance on hand, June 30, 1960	\$ 31.42
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THE HELEN WILKINSON REYNOLDS MEMORIAL FUND Poughkeepsie Savings Bank

Balance on hand, January 1, 1960	\$2,354.11
Gift	15.00
Received from sale of books (<i>Family Vista</i>)	45.00
Interest	41.86
	\$2,455.97

Balance on hand, June 30, 1960

Respectfully submitted
Albertina T. B. Traver, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

July 1, 1960 - December 31, 1960

PERMANENT ACCOUNT — Poughkeepsie Savings Bank

Balance on hand, July 1, 1960	\$9,225.47
Life memberships	125.00
Interest	159.43
	\$9,509.90
Withdrawn for publishing bills	800.00
	\$8,709.90

CHECKING ACCOUNT — Dutchess Bank and Trust Company

Receipts

Balance on hand, July 1, 1960	\$ 31.42
Received from dues	226.00
Received from sale of books	45.00
Transferred from Permanent Account	800.00
	\$1,102.42

Disbursements

Secretary	\$ 50.00
Treasurer	50.00
E. Van Scoy, bronze plate, Helen Wilkinson Reynolds memorial	25.00
Office supplies	49.42
Junior League, Glebe House expenses	170.50
Nelson House, guest luncheon	2.25
Postage and stamped envelopes	34.82
Dess & Talan, binding ten books	28.50
Rhinebeck Gazette, printing year book	525.00
Lansing-Broas Printing Co., binding year book	21.70
Envelopes for year book	41.00
	998.19
Balance on hand, December 31, 1960	\$ 104.23

THE HELEN WILKINSON REYNOLDS MEMORIAL FUND

Poughkeepsie Savings Bank

Balance on hand, July 1, 1960	\$2,455.97
Interest	43.17
Received from sale of books (<i>Family Vista</i>)	9.00
	\$2,508.14

Respectfully submitted

Albertina T. B. Traver, *Treasurer*

OUR PRESIDENT SAYS:

We were pleased to have Dr. Warthin as our guest speaker on the occasion of our annual meeting and luncheon on April 29. Dr. Warthin, who is Professor of Geology at Vassar College and Director of Civil Defense for Dutchess County, showed a number of slides and called attention to the effects of floods in our area. He urged that more and more land be acquired by the state and local municipalities for recreational areas.

* * *

Open House Day was held at the Glebe House on a beautiful Sunday afternoon, June 19. Special guests were the members of the various historical societies in the neighborhood. Any persons who were interested in local history were urged to visit us on that day.

* * *

On August 16, Dr. and Mrs. MacCracken entertained the officers of the society at their home. After an hour of visiting and reminiscing, plans were discussed for the fall and winter. The President outlined a program for increased activities of the society.

* * *

The annual pilgrimage, held September 17, was a very pleasant occasion. Our members and friends in the town of Amenia were most hospitable and the visit to Innisfree, the home of the late Mr. and Mrs. Walter Beck at Tyrrell Lake, was of particular interest to many members who had not visited the area in years.

* * *

The President was the speaker at the fall meeting, held October 21. He has felt that the importance of New York State should be measured, not in terms of wealth, population or square miles, but in terms of its contribution to the public welfare, the national unity, the literature, art and culture of the American nation. Such standards are all too seldom taken into account by its critics, who are led to believe that in its cultural aspects the state lags far behind. He suggested that its function as a middle state had made its usefulness in mediating between East and West, North and South, Europe and America, of paramount importance.

* * *

Some of the members of our society were in attendance at the Local History Workshop, conducted by the New York State Historical

Association at the State University Teachers College, Oswego, New York, in September. The theme for the session was "New York State and the Civil War."

* * *

During the year, your President made a series of broadcasts on subjects of local historical interest, concerning Dutchess County and vicinity, over the Poughkeepsie radio stations. A series of five programs on New York State history were given over Station WBAI (a non-commercial, non-profit radio station in New York City) in November and December. A second series, on "Crises in New York History," will be broadcast over Station WBAI-FM (99.5) and will start January 25, 1961.

Henry Noble MacCracken



Singular. Some few days ago has been discovered on the east bank of Hudson's river, about a mile below Red Hook Landing, nearly an acre of Land perpendicularly sunk down, from an elevation of about 100 feet above the surface of the river, to a depression of about 100 feet below the surface of the adjacent ground. It is said that the sides of the area of the vacuum are perfectly smooth and than an entrance leads to the bottom from a level of about six feet above the ordinary height of the river. The depressed earth is a solid body of blue clay, devoid of stones, and is covered with oak and cedar shrubs. It is supposed that this singular circumstance happened during the late storms.

Poughkeepsie Journal, November 15, 1815

THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE

On September 17, 1960, the historical society added one more successful and memorable pilgrimage to an already long list of pleasant trips. The members and friends in the town of Amenia planned and carried out a most enjoyable program for their part of the day. And the visit to "Innisfree" was a happy climax.

It was a beautiful late summer morning when forty-two cars were parked on the roadside near the old stone and brick house built by Hendrick Winegar, about 1761. Mrs. Walter E. Euvrard, the present owner of the house, was most hospitable and permitted the pilgrims to roam through her home and examine the thickness of the walls, etc. And the children were polite and entertaining.

From the Winegar house, the procession moved on to Amenia Union, where Dr. MacCracken told of the long controversy before the treaty of Dover, in 1731, settled the boundary between New York and Connecticut. The pilgrims again formed in line and drove to the Presbyterian Church at South Amenia, where they were welcomed by the Reverend Clarence Kieselhorst, and nearly filled the building. Mr. Elliott McEldowney, editor of the *Harlem Valley Times*, was introduced and told somewhat of the history of that newspaper, established in 1852 and edited for many years by Joel Benton. Mrs. Elizabeth Buckley gave a talk on the neighborhood of Amenia Union and Miss Ruth E. Barlow, who compiled a recent history of the church, told of the establishment and growth of the church and something of the history of the vicinity. Mr. McEldowney displayed some old copies of the *Amenia Times*, which preceded the present newspaper, and Mr. James Winchester showed a banknote which had been issued by the Dutchess County Bank in Amenia in 1843.

Following the interesting talks in the church, many of the visitors went to the parish house, where a delicious luncheon was served. Others, who had brought basket lunches, gathered on the lawn outside and enjoyed their picnics. They were served with coffee by the women of the church. It was a delightful occasion and all of those present appeared to be enjoying the day.

After leaving South Amenia, the pilgrims made their way to South Millbrook and on to Innisfree. Some went over Plymouth Hill and others took the Deep Hollow road, a beautiful drive, where they were able to see the remains of the charcoal kilns, beside the road.

Arriving at Innisfree, the cars were left in the parking lot and the guests spread out along the paths of the gardens, up the walks to the house and through the main floor of the building, where they enjoyed the paintings, the exhibits of jade and the beautifully embroidered Chinese robes. The visitors were much impressed with the beauty of the surroundings, the lake, the house, the gardens and the development of the natural features of the area with the many lanes laid out through the woods.

The pilgrims left Innisfree at individual convenience and have, since that date, enthusiastically commented on the plans made and carried out by Miss Barlow and her committee for the most recent successful pilgrimage.



Eating Corn. Miss Martineau thus describes to the life, the mode of eating corn among the Yankees.

"This day I remember, we first tasted green corn, one of the most delicious of vegetables, and by some preferred to green peas. The greatest drawback is the way by which it is necessary to eat it. The cob, eight or ten inches long, is held at both ends, and having been previously sprinkled with salt, is nibbled and sucked from end to end until the grains are got out. It looks awkward enough, but what is to be done? Surrendering such a vegetable from considerations of grace is not to be thought of!"

Poughkeepsie Eagle, June 30, 1838

THE STORY OF AMENIA UNION

Amenia Union is located in Oblong Valley, a tract of land about one and a half miles wide and fifty or sixty miles in length. From the earliest days there were disputes about the boundary line between New York and Connecticut. In 1731, it was settled, after a fashion, giving New York most of Amenia Union. The land which was ceded to New York State was bought up by an association of men who divided it into two tiers of lots, roughly 290 rods square (about 500 acres) each. These lots were numbered and sold; the even numbers were given to the east tier of lots and those in the west tier received the odd numbers. Amenia Union is included in a part of the tract which was later bought by the Hitchcock family and the house which they built is still standing. Amenia Union is still sometimes called Hitchcock Corners.

Richard Sackett was the first settler within the limits of the township of Amenia. He was born at New Haven, Connecticut, and in 1699 was a resident of New York, proprietor of a malt house, or brewery, on Sackett Street, now Cherry Street. On May 11, 1699, he was granted a license to marry Margery Sleade. When a census of the East Ward of the City of New York was taken in 1708, it showed the family of Richard Sackett to consist of himself, his wife, four children (two sons and two daughters) and four Negro slaves.

After the arrival in America of the Palatines, Governor Hunter engaged Richard Sackett to supervise the settling of these refugees and their employment in the manufacture of naval supplies from the tar and turpentine extracted from the pine forests along the Hudson River. He began his work in May of 1710 and was highly praised by Governor Hunter. When the effort to make tar and turpentine failed and the Palatines scattered from their camps to look out for themselves, it is said that the friendly relations between them and Captain Sackett brought about the settlement of many of those thrifty people, which included the Rauh, Kline, Winegar and Nase families, in eastern Dutchess.

In 1703; Richard Sackett had petitioned to purchase from the Indian owners a large area of land in Dutchess County. As a result, a tract of 7,500 acres, known as the Washiack Patent was granted to

*A talk given by Mrs. Elizabeth Buckley at the Presbyterian Church of South Amenia on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage of the Dutchess County Historical Society, held September 17, 1960.

Richard Sackett, Joseph Sackett, Josiah Crego, William Huddleston and John Mitchell. It was found, however, that this land was already included in a grant known as the Nine Partners Patent and Sackett could not obtain title. In 1706, another large tract of land in the county was granted to Broughton and Company, in which Richard Sackett was a partner. This grant was known later as the Little Nine Partners Patent. However, Captain Sackett chose to live in the neighborhood of Wassaic and he brought his family to the home which he built, after 1714, and spent the rest of his life there. He died in 1746.

The Winegar family was the second to settle in this township. They came in 1724. Uldrick Winegar, then seventy-two years of age, a member of the Palatine group, was the head of the family, although Captain Garrett, the son, may well be considered the principal in this undertaking, rather than his father. Garrett's enterprise and excellent personal character made him a leading spirit in the locality. He built a gristmill near his first home, on the hill toward Sharon, above the bridge crossing to Walter Knibloe's. I believe the old millstone can still be seen in the bed of the brook. Garrett died in 1755, aged fifty-three years. His father had died the year before, at the age of one hundred and two.

The stone and brick house, which we have just visited, was built by Hendrick, the oldest son of Garrett. He first had a small house under the West Mountain, back of the Moyer farm. There was no highway, only a line of travel between the Steel Works and Yellow City (the neighborhood of the iron mine), which followed along under the mountain. His house was probably near the path. He built the large house in 1761, and when he died he was so deeply in debt that his sons had to sell the house. Later his family moved to Kent. Eve Winegar, the wife of Hendrick, died in 1749 and her gravestone has the earliest date in the cemetery.

Legend has it that two men, Captain Garrett Winegar and his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Samuel Snyder, walked all the way from East Camp, paused on the brow of a hill and, seeing the pleasant valley below, exclaimed, "This is a goodly land, here is our home!" Like many legends, it made a pretty story but contained little truth. It would be hard to locate such a hill and, at the time, Lieutenant Snyder would have been about twelve years old. He did come, somewhat later, from East Camp and he lived near the present large house at the top of the hill, on the right side of the road, after you passed the traffic circle. He died in 1808, at the age of ninety-six.

Another son of Captain Garrett Winegar was Conrad, who was a magistrate and a prominent citizen of the town. His house was about a half-mile south, probably back of the Moyer house, opposite the Methodist Church (now the grange hall), where it stood until 1820. A son of Conrad was Gerhard, an officer in the Revolutionary army.

The first post office in this locality was in Amenia Union and was called the Union Society Post Office of Amenia. Abiah Palmer was postmaster from January 1, 1815; on July 23, 1823, John J. Hollister was appointed in place of Palmer. The mail route was from New Milford, Connecticut, to Pownal, Vermont, going through Sharon and Salisbury, Connecticut, and Berkshire County, Massachusetts. The main route of travel from the New England colonies was through here, to Fishkill and Poughkeepsie. One week the post would go through Amenia and over Delavergne Hill (Route 44) and the next week through South Amenia and Plymouth Hill (Route 343).

Amenia settled down to a quiet colonial hamlet until about 1853, when several industries came. William Young had a large tannery and tavern, around the corner by the traffic circle. Edward Buckley's father had an iron foundry and made plows and water buckets for barns. There are probably some of the articles on some of the farms around here even now. John D. Barnum and his brother Andrew had a stationery business here; with five wagons, they delivered as far as Hartford, Connecticut, and Utica, New York. After Andrew's death, John started a cigar factory. He ran both for a while but, in 1885, he sold the stationery business to Morgan Potts. Later Mr. Potts sold it to Will Clark, who then lived in the house, owned now by Clement C. Buckley and where we live. There was also a furniture factory and a blacksmith shop here. Most of the locations of the buildings are now uncertain. However, one of the gristmills has been made into a house.

The first church in the southern part of the town was here and was located on high ground back of the Oblong Valley Store, built in 1753. This was a large, square building, with a round cupola on top and was known as the Round Top Meeting House. Judging from its size, a large congregation was at hand. There were windows on all four sides and doors on three, and galleries on three sides. It is interesting to note that it also had a free pew in the gallery for colored people. Moravian missionaries preached here on occasion. In 1759, a church was organized with the Reverend Ebenezer Knibloe, from Carmel, New York, as pastor. Because of the many denominations represented, it was called just "the Society."

The Union Society, organized in 1759, later became affiliated with the Presbyterian Church and we are holding our meeting today in the building of that congregation. Two other churches were established here. St. Thomas' Episcopal Church was organized in 1849 and a Methodist Church in 1859. The Episcopal Church is still flourishing; its beautiful building, erected in 1849, was designed by Richard Upjohn. The Methodist Church lasted about fifty years. The building is now the grange hall.

Dr. Thomas Young, a friend of Ethan Allen, married the daughter of Garrett Winegar. He lived here for a few years and is credited with having given the name of Amenia, derived from a Latin word signifying pleasant, to the area. (He also named the state of Vermont). He was a poet, philosopher, philanthropist and patriot as well as physician. After practicing in and near Amenia for about fourteen years, he moved to Albany in 1764, and then to Boston.

In 1785, Dr. Reuben Allerton was a resident doctor here; other doctors lived here until the end of the last century.

Until this past spring, there has been a general store at Amenia Union since Solomon Hitchcock opened his shop about 1800. The store was owned by Nate Smith and his son, Collins, for sixty-one years, until it was purchased, in 1948, by Henry P. Cross. It was called the Oblong Valley Store in Amenia and has now closed its doors, after more than one hundred and fifty years.



THE SOUTH AMENIA NEIGHBORHOOD*

The first record of any white men being through this immediate valley is found in the diary of the Reverend Benjamin Wadsworth, which is now in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mr. Wadsworth, who later became president of Harvard, was a member of the Massachusetts and Connecticut Indian Commission that went to Albany in 1694 to arrange a treaty with the Five Nations. It was a large party, accompanied by sixty mounted dragoons. On their return trip, they evidently rode through this territory. If young Wadsworth started out with the idea that it would have been a pleasant expedition he must have been sadly disappointed, for he wrote that he often had to climb steep mountains, ride through briars and brambles and sleep in the rain. Somewhat north of Millerton, where the Taconic range rises a sheer thousand feet with a sharp line on the horizon, he dismissed the scene as "on our left a hideous high mountain." But he did give the name of the local stream as "Ten Miles River," so called because it flows ten miles west of the Housatonic and flows into the Housatonic, . . . "by Ye side of which we rode." So, they must have gone down through Dover and Wingdale and through the gap to Bull's Bridge, Connecticut. We have this authority for the name of the river, but the east branch here is locally called the Webutuck, the name used by the Indians.

The first permanent settler, as you probably know, was Richard Sackett, who came here after 1714. At that time there were no neighbors nearer than Poughkeepsie and the total population of Dutchess County was less than two hundred. There is a record that he applied for a patent for land at a place called "Washiack," in 1703, and also that the patent was granted but he was never able to secure a valid title and he died in 1746 in poverty. His sons later tried to confirm the title but were also unsuccessful. Richard Sackett was buried near his home, but if ever there were a stone to mark the spot it has been destroyed. Some years ago, Mr. Sidney Frissell of New York, the son of a former pastor here, erected the present memorial marker. Sackett's was probably the first interment in the town of Amenia. The cemetery is on the old road between here and Wassaic; you do not pass it on the direct road.

*A talk given by Miss Ruth E. Barlow at the Presbyterian Church of South Amenia on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage of the Dutchess County Historical Society, September 17, 1960.

Mrs. Buckley has told you that the next family in this neighborhood was the Winegar family. They were Palatines who were driven from their homes in Germany by the armies of Louis XIV. They fled to England and Queen Anne settled them along the Hudson, expecting them to extract from the pine forests along the river great quantities of tar and turpentine which would be useful in the manufacture of naval supplies.

Other immigrants were the Huguenots who had left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which forbade Protestants a free exercise of worship, and so we had such families as the Delamaters, the Delavergnes and the Delanos. Captain Isaac Delamater, the first of these, was reputed to be rather eccentric but he became a magistrate and his integrity and good sense were never questioned. He often consulted his wife, it was said, and she sometimes sat by his side when he held court.

For a long time the boundary between the colonies of New York and Connecticut was in dispute. A survey was made in 1731 and when the present line was decided upon New York was allowed the Oblong, or Equivalent Land, in exchange for the land on the Sound called the Horse's Neck, which went to Connecticut. The mountain on the west, which we call Oblong Mountain, is the western boundary of this strip and the present state line is the eastern boundary. When you drove up the hill in Amenia Union, after passing the traffic circle, you may have noticed that the Connecticut line is just at the edge of the road. The Oblong was divided into two tiers of lots of approximately 500 acres each. This church property is located about the center of Lot No. 47, which was purchased by Elias Clapp and the area was called Clapp's Patent. Mr. Clapp died soon after buying the lot and it was nearly twenty years before any permanent settlement was made in this immediate place.

After the Oblong was confirmed to New York there was a great influx of settlers from New England. They were attracted by the fact that there would be a guaranteed title to the land from the colonial government and there would be no interference in a freedom of religion. The Moravian preachers, who had established a mission to the Indians at Shekomeko and another at Indian Pond, came over to preach at times to the white congregations here. One such preacher was the Reverend Abraham Reinke, whose diary records that in 1753 he "preached at Oblong" and that the settlers here had come "about five years ago in the expectation of bettering their fortunes by purchasing

cheap land, and for the enjoyment of religious liberty." So, we see our forefathers were not refugees from justice, nor were they broken merchants, bankrupt politicians or wild adventurers. Each expected to gain a subsistence for himself by the honest labor of his hands.

In 1759, a church was organized with the Reverend Ebenezer Knibloe installed as pastor on December 11, of that year. Mr. Knibloe was born in Scotland, the son of a long line of ministers and teachers on both sides of his family. The Reverend John Bowis, his mother's uncle, was one of the translators of the King James version of the Bible. When Knibloe was attending college in Edinburgh, he went out with other students to witness the battle between the army of the King and that of the Young Pretender, Prince Charles, and was thus suspected of being disloyal to the King. He was obliged to leave the country, as he thought, temporarily. He had a friend in Fairfield, Connecticut, whom he visited and while there he preached in various places roundabout. He frequently preached at Newburgh and at Patterson, which was just being settled and was "quite infested with wild beasts." He later had a parish at West Philippi (now Carmel) in the present Putnam County. He came here to preach in 1758 and the next year came as pastor. He first lived in a rented house and later bought a farm on the upper road which runs southeast from Amenia Union. There have been Knibloes living on these lands until very recent years and there are still some of his descendants living nearby, but not of the name of Knibloe. The farm is now owned by Newbold Morris of New York City.

It is evident that there was a building for assembly and worship before 1755, because in that year Deacon Ebenezer Hamlin died and willed "twenty-four pounds toward the worship of God in the newly erected Meeting House." This building was situated about twenty yards west of the Colony Line at Amenia Union, on a hill just beyond the division of the roads. It was a large building with doors on three sides, the one on the east being the front door facing the only road which passed there at that time. On the west was a "common." There were four sides to the roof and it had an ornamental cupola which gave it the name of the Round Top Meeting House.

When the church was organized there were seven men, besides Mr. Knibloe, who signed the Covenant. They were Jonathan Davis, John Beebe, Alexander Spencer, Daniel Waller, John Beebe, Jun., Ellis Dotie and Joseph Chamberlain. In January of 1762, Samuel Waterman and Maltiah Lathrop were elected deacons and, a few years later, Thomas Delano and Moses Barlow were added to that list.

Mr. Knibloe records that his salary was "whatever they wanted to give" him. And it literally was so. The "cloth dresser" scoured and pressed the cloth the family used to make their clothes, the cobbler made and repaired their shoes, the farmers gave grain and other produce and workmen contributed labor.

All went well until the time of the Revolutionary War. These were indeed the "times that try men's souls" here as well as anywhere else. No public man could afford to be called neutral, but Mr. Knibloe dared to be. He *would* pray for the King of England as well as for the colonial cause. So he was suspected of being a Tory and was required to resign. After the war, he preached here for some years until his death in 1785. During the interim there was a variety of preachers. One was Dr. John Rodgers, of New York City, who was obliged to leave that place when the British held the city. He was later a Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly.

Mr. Newton Reed has said the condition of the congregation was desolate, but we find them moving the church about one and a half miles farther south in 1786 and, in 1792, taking advantage of the new state law permitting churches to incorporate. In that action we acquired the name of "Union Society." The corporal affairs of the church are still conducted under that name. The new building was opposite the cemetery and later another building was erected on the same site. The later one was burned in 1880 and the present church edifice was erected the following year.

After Mr. Knibloe's death there was no installed pastor until 1815, although the Reverend John Barnet preached here about twelve years prior to that date. Mr. Barnet had been a chaplain in the army and was a teacher. He conducted a school for young men in his home, which was nearly across the road from the Winegar house. In 1815, the Reverend Joel Osborne was installed and at that time we became affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Osborne preached one Sunday in three at Ameniaville and they paid one-third of his annual salary of \$500. From this time the church really grew and prospered. The parish extended from the state line on the road to Kent, and toward Dover on the east road, to Tower Hill, Wassaic and Deep Hollow on the west, into Connecticut at Amenia Union and to Leedsville on the north. "Out-station" work was done in Dover and at Nine Partners (South Millbrook). At present the limits of the parish are much smaller. The establishment of the Episcopal Church in Amenia Union made its inroads and, after the coming of the rail-

road, the village of Wassaic grew, so there is an independent church there. And, now the pastor has a definite salary and does not depend on the farmer to contribute potatoes or the cobbler to repair his family's shoes!

I spoke of the Reverend Mr. Barnet having a school. There are, however, even earlier records. Soon after the church was organized in 1759, the parents and heads of families were called together to take measures for hiring a schoolmaster, Mr. John Atherton. In 1777, we find Elijah Smith keeping a school and there are mentions of numerous private schools for girls as well as boys. Evidently, the first public school was in District No. 1, south on the east road; they organized and voted, in 1813, to raise \$250 to build a schoolhouse.

As in all new settlements, each family was at first self-sufficient, but we soon see the craftsmen plying their trades. There were carpenters, wagon-makers and blacksmiths; there was a blacksmith shop at nearly every crossroad. One was in the green that is now part of Mr. Winchester's lawn. A wagon shop was on the grounds of the second house down the east road. There were sawmills and gristmills. There were tanneries in various places; there were cloth dressers, cobblers and hat makers. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War a steel mill was established about one mile from here, on the road to Wassaic. The supply of steel was cut off from England and it was necessary to make our own. The crossroads, to this day is spoken of as "the Steel Works." In 1803, John Hinchcliff started a carding mill near the Steel Works. Harry Winchester had a flourishing hat shop in South Amenia, in part of the house directly across the road from here. He conducted it until his death in 1829 and, after that, the business was conducted by Mr. Holley who moved the shop down near the river. Mr. Reed tells of seeing a workman snap a taut string across a pile of fur, time and time again, until it was all broken down. This was the first process in making hats.

The building next door was erected for a store in 1818. There were several owners before the time of Milo F. Winchester who bought it in the 1850's and continued it as store and postoffice until his death in 1909. He was postmaster for sixty-two years, a record that has never been broken. When the rural delivery system was inaugurated in the early 1900's, this postoffice was not abolished, in deference to Mr. Winchester's long tenure of office, and the transportation of mail to this place from Amenia was continued.

But long before Mr. Winchester was postmaster this road through here was a well established post road. About one mile north from here, just this side of the cemetery, is an old post road milestone, erected when Benjamin Franklin was living. It reads: "179 miles to Boston, 35 miles to Fishkill, 29 miles to Poughkeepsie." You may have noticed the stone when you came by. This was an important route between the New England and other colonies while the British held New York and the Highlands. It is said that great numbers of Hessian prisoners were marched through here after the battle of Saratoga.

The earliest store in the neighborhood was started in 1770 by James Reed and his brother at their home, on the hill just north of here. Soon after, Elisha Barlow had another store at his home on the east road. Their principal commodities were tea, spices, salt, rum and molasses; and the trading was done almost entirely by barter.

There was even a bank at Leedsville, long before the era of national banks. Mr. Winchester has a three-dollar bill issued by it in 1843.

The location along the stream, about a quarter-mile below the bridge, was the site of many enterprises. Previous to 1760 there had been a sawmill there and, at that date, Henry Clapp, the son of the original purchaser of this land, sold five acres for the purpose of a gristmill. In 1846, a large stone mill was built and there was quite a business of making flour. Later it reverted to a gristmill again and about twenty-five years ago, it was taken down. The site is that of the present residence of James Chaffee.

There were almost as many taverns as there were blacksmith shops, one at every crossroad. Diagonally from here, on the corner, was a tavern. As early as 1758, Daniel Castle was known to be keeping tavern there; later it was operated by Launcelot Jarvis. In 1816, a very imposing building was erected for that purpose. Until the railroad took so much business to Wassaic, this building was the seat of town business and elections in this precinct. Later the structure was arranged for a dwelling house for two or more families and was finally torn down in 1915 or 1916.

In 1825, Noah Gridley of Northeast, with a brother and two other partners, came to Wassaic and started the business of making iron. They began with the purchase of a few acres of land and one yoke of oxen. By 1844, Noah Gridley was the sole owner. Iron ore came from the ore beds in Amenia, Lakeville, Kent and other places. Char-

coal which was used for fuel was made all over the woodlands. It is possible even now to tell where a charcoal bed had been, as vegetation was well retarded. The beds were about the size of a house, where the wood was stacked and slowburned to make the coal for the iron furnaces. Employment was furnished local men and teams in drawing the charcoal to the furnaces and also drawing the iron ore. On the west side of Route 22, at Wassaic, two old furnaces used by Mr. Gridley can still be seen. They are like huge beehives, more than thirty feet wide and high, different from any other iron furnaces around here. It is said that Mr. Gridley sent two men to Central America to discover how the Aztecs built their furnaces and, in about 1863, constructed his own on the same pattern. They are supposed to be unlike any others in the United States. The remains can still be seen on the Deep Hollow Road, just west of Route 22. Mr. Gridley continued his business until the time of his death in 1887, at which time he owned nearly all of the area that is now Wassaic. In the year following his death, the land was sold and more than twenty houses were built upon it.

The Harlem Railroad was finally extended through here to Chatham in 1850 and, in 1861, Gail Borden purchased land from his friend Gridley and started the business of condensing milk. He had experimented previously, but the need for food for the army and the use of tin cans made it possible to establish a profitable business. In this, his first prosperous factory, he reduced the milk to one-fourth its volume. However, early in the present century when rapid transit and refrigeration made it possible to ship fluid milk at greater and greater distances, the factory was changed to a pasteurizing plant and condensing was done farther and farther in the interior of the country. Now everything goes by tank truck to a central pasteurizing plant at White Plains and the building is used by a box-making concern.

There were over the years several physicians residing here. There is no record of there being any lawyers; evidently the people were free from all ideas of litigation and rivalry.

We note several persons who have gone into the world to make their mark. For instance, there was the Reverend Allen Hollister and his wife, the daughter of Ezra Reed, who, in 1807, went "into the wilds of Western New York" as missionaries. There were Mary and Lucy Lovell who went as teachers to the Choctow Indians, prior to the Civil War. They answered an urgent call for teachers and, with the help of neighbors, had their wardrobes ready, all hand-sewn and were able to go in two weeks. There was the Reverend William

Hutchinson who was principal of Silliman Institute for Freedmen in Alabama, and his half-brother, the Reverend Stuart Nye Hutchinson, who was a minister in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in 1948-9. The Reverend Hollis Burke Frissell, son of the Reverend Amasa C. Frissell, a pastor here before the Civil War, was for many years the principal of Hampton Institute in Virginia.

There were also those who remained at home and achieved success, such as Newton Reed, who wrote his *Early History of Amenia* and many other graphs on local history, not a few of them published in the *Amenia Times*. There were the Benton brothers, Myron and Charles, authors of no mean repute. And, there was Joel Benton, their cousin, the founder and first editor of the *Amenia Times* (now the *Harlem Valley Times*.) His birthplace was on the right, shortly after you left Route 343 to come through Leedsville. It is called "Troutbeck" and is on a dirt road, on property that his grandfather, father and uncles owned until the death of Myron Benton, when the place was sold to the late Joel E. Spingarn.

I could go on indefinitely; it seems the tales are endless. If you really wanted to hear of South Amenia you should have been seated around the old stove in Mr. Winchester's store, awaiting the evening mail and listening to the stories told there.

5

THE PUBLIC CAREER OF JAMES TALLMADGE*

PART I

CHAPTER ONE — YOUTH AND ENTRY INTO POLITICS

On the 16th of February, 1819, "a young man of seemingly frail health but of burning eloquence and deep conviction" rose from his chair in the House of Representatives and delivered a fiery speech advocating the prohibition and gradual abolishment of slavery in Missouri. "His crowded hour . . . was one of glorious life; and history must marvel that, living more than thirty years longer, he blew one loud, shivering bugle blast and then passed out, to be heard no more."¹ So wrote James Schouler, in 1885, of James Tallmadge. Although Tallmadge was not "heard" of again in national politics, his "one loud, shivering bugle blast" of "deep conviction" was loud enough to be heard for the next half century and is not forgotten even today.

To the historian, this man's "deep conviction" is of more significance than his "blast." But what was his conviction? The answer can only be arrived at by a careful examination of Tallmadge's entire career. Only then can the true weight of his "crowded hour" be balanced on the scales of history.

James Tallmadge's ancestry was English. His family tree can be traced back to Thomas Talmadge who came to America from England in 1631. Thomas' descendants continued his pioneering activities, his son Robert Talmage being one of the original purchasers of the New Haven Colony in 1639. Robert's grandson, James, married the daughter of Nathaniel Harrison, of the same family from which two presidents of the United States descended. James' son, who was also James Talmage (or Tallmadge), moved to Sharon, Connecticut, in 1739, where he was one of forty-one original proprietors of the common land.² Here, in 1744,³ he had a son born who later earned the title of colonel and three years later he moved his family to Stanford.

Colonel James Tallmadge settled at Stanford, in Dutchess County, New York, in 1772, earning his livelihood as a farmer and blacksmith. He became a zealous supporter of the Revolution and commanded a

*The first of two parts of a dissertation in the department of history submitted by John D. Gindele, April 30, 1954, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at New York University.

company of the Sixth New York militia, a group of volunteers from Dutchess County. With these troops he fought in the battle of Saratoga.⁴ Earlier in the war he had fought in the battles of White Plains and Harlem.⁵ His public career did not end on the battlefield, for he was a member of the state legislative assembly in 1784-85 and 1791-02.⁶ His cousin, Benjamin Tallmadge, was a distinguished colonel in the American army as a field commander and one of George Washington's staff officers. From 1801 to 1817, Benjamin served as a representative in Congress. His term of office there ended as the term of our subject, James Tallmadge, Jr., began. Benjamin's brother, Samuel, was also a soldier in the Revolution and lived in Rhinebeck, New York, not far from his cousin's home.

In 1808, Colonel James Tallmadge was chosen as a presidential elector, being one of nineteen of an all-Republican ticket.⁷ He was also appointed one of three building commissioners for the reconstruction of the Dutchess County court house and jail which were destroyed by fire in this latter year. In the same year, he donated land to the Baptist Church of Poughkeepsie, which to this day is occupied by that church. He died in 1821, in his seventy-eighth year, having been one of the most highly respected men in his community.

Colonel Tallmadge's second son, James Tallmadge, Jr., the fourth of his eight children, was born January 28, 1778, in Stanford, Dutchess County.⁸ It was he who amended the Missouri Enabling Bill in Congress. Although he was never to become a great political leader, he was to play a significant role in the history of American politics. In the life of this man we may observe the rise and fall of at least a not unimportant early nineteenth century politician.

Little is known of James Tallmadge's boyhood, but it is known that he grew up in a farming community. Dutchess County was one of the most productive agricultural areas in the state. Poughkeepsie was the nearest large town to Stanford, and yet it was not incorporated as a village until 1799, when it had a population of under three thousand. Even though James learned farming, he was undoubtedly more fascinated by politics and law, two of the most distinguished vocations of the time. Perhaps his father's political attainments aroused James' interest for politics, while the example of his older brother Matthias, preceding James in the study of law, served as an inducement for him to enter the legal profession.

James graduated from Rhode Island College (now Brown University) with the class of 1798. Graduating with him, but receiving

an A.M. degree, was his brother, who three years before had graduated from Yale.⁹ While at Rhode Island College, James was elected to Phi Beta Kappa honorary society. Thereafter, he studied law and was for a time private secretary to George Clinton,¹⁰ of whom he later spoke as "the friend and patron of my youth."¹¹ His brother Matthias married a daughter of his patron. In this position, Tallmadge freely observed the intricacies of political management, and thus his political education was inaugurated. This was also the first position he received as a political beneficiary of the Clinton family. Nearly all of Tallmadge's political life was dependent on, or a result of, the political fortunes of the Clintons. Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, of Poughkeepsie, United States senator in 1840, was the third cousin to reach the halls of Congress from the neighborhood.

After being admitted to the bar, James Tallmadge began his law career in Poughkeepsie. It was a small village, but the second largest in Dutchess County. In 1810, it had a population of 2,981, while in 1817 it approximated 3,500, but by 1820 the number of inhabitants jumped to 5,726.¹²

The village hugged close to Main Street, which eventually carried straight up a long hill from the wharves on the river until it reached a height of about two hundred feet where the town leveled off upon a plain. Tallmadge's residence was in a choice locality, on the corner of Main and Garden Streets, only one block from the center of town and the top of the Main Street hill.¹³ Tallmadge was interested in preserving and improving the area of the town in which he lived, for in 1807, by order of the trustees of Poughkeepsie, of which he was president, a village meeting of freeholders was called to remove the market from its proud place between church and court house, which was only a block from Tallmadge's home. This unannounced proposal met with much opposition.¹⁴ In 1812, Tallmadge voted for the paving of over nine hundred feet of Main Street, of which frontage he owned sixty feet.¹⁵

Tallmadge seems to have been an able young lawyer, whose practice grew rapidly during his early years. In November of 1804, he was appointed surrogate of Dutchess County by the New York State Council of Appointment, and served six years.¹⁶ The law partnership he formed with George Bloom soon became one of the most prosperous in Dutchess County. It handled a third of all the local mortgages during the years prior to the War of 1812.¹⁷ In 1807, James Tallmadge and

William Tabor were Loan Officers of Dutchess County, positions which they held for some years, while Tallmadge was also New Loan Officer.¹⁸

Tallmadge's rise as a lawyer also brought him into local civic prominence. In 1804, at the annual election of officers for the village of Poughkeepsie, he was elected one of sixteen trustees or fire wardens, the highest governing body in the village.¹⁹ On May 19, 1807, he was again elected to that office, and four days later, at a special meeting of the trustees, was chosen president of their body.²⁰ He was re-elected president the following year and helped to lay out the jail limits of Dutchess County in January of 1809.²¹

It appears that these political offices did not come to James Tallmadge by chance, for he took an active part in Poughkeepsie politics. He was one of a group of Jeffersonian Republicans in 1804, who, desiring a public inn which they could use for their political headquarters, sold \$50.00 shares to buy Robert Williams' Poughkeepsie Hotel. Tallmadge was nominated on a committee of five to supervise and conduct the sale of these shares. He must have been a man of considerable means, for he purchased five shares in the enterprise.²²

By 1810, Tallmadge had built up a large law practice; he had been surrogate for six years; he had a family connection with De Witt Clinton, and thus looked forward to political advancement through the Clinton spoils system. By 1808, Tallmadge had already risen through appointment to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the New York militia.²³ At this stage of his career, and one week away from being thirty-two years old, he married his second cousin, Laura Tallmadge, on January 21, 1810.²⁴ She was twenty-two years of age.

In March 1810, Tallmadge became one of the original plot-holders of the cemetery of the Reformed Dutch Church, situated just north of the village limits of Poughkeepsie on the New York to Albany Post road;²⁵ sadly enough, he was compelled to see five of his six children buried there within sixteen years. His first son was born in 1811 and lived about nine years, while his second son died at the age of seven months in 1813.²⁶ The Tallmadge's one daughter, born in 1816, was their sole survivor. Three more sons were born in 1819, 1823 and 1825, and all died young.²⁷ It was difficult for a man to suffer so much loss while in public office, and yet four of those deaths occurred during the period of Tallmadge's political successes.

While practicing law, Tallmadge also played the role of a businessman. Before 1810, a branch of the Manhattan Bank of New York had been established at Poughkeepsie, with Tallmadge as presi-

dent.²⁸ The original establishment of this bank in New York City was the outgrowth and concealed purpose of the Manhattan Company, established by Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton to supply New York with better water. De Witt Clinton, one of the stockholders of this bank, had Burr turned out of the directorate of the bank in 1802.²⁹ In 1808, Clinton successfully pushed for a renewal of the act incorporating the Manhattan Bank. He also was successful in establishing branch banks in Utica and Poughkeepsie.³⁰ James Tallmadge, with his family connection with De Witt Clinton, was given the office of president of the Poughkeepsie branch. In those days, banks were definite political aids; in 1810, the Federalists, fearing Clinton's powerful control of these banks, unsuccessfully attempted to cancel these branches.³¹ In 1814, Tallmadge was one of thirteen directors of the newly incorporated Dutchess County Insurance Company.³² At a village meeting in 1816, he was appointed to a committee of three to apply to the legislature for a revival of the act incorporating a fire insurance company.³³

The famous Federalist indictment gives the picture:

The second edition of a new catechism, founded on modern practice, calculated to show the faculty of providing for a family in an elective government, by the discovery of a drop of Clintonian blood; and how it qualifies a man for office, or any number of offices, to the exclusion of their fellow citizens, whatever be their talents or merits. . . .

Q. Why is James Tallmadge, the elder, commissioner for building the court-house and deputy marshal for taking the census of the Sixth Congressional district?

A. Because he is the father of Matthias B. Tallmadge, who married the daughter of George Clinton, who is the uncle of De Witt Clinton.

Q. Why is James Tallmadge, Jr., old and new loan-officer of the county of Dutchess, and President of the Manhattan Bank at Poughkeepsie?

A. Because he is the brother of Matthias B. Tallmadge, who married the daughter of George Clinton, who is the uncle of De Witt Clinton.³⁴

This somewhat humorous catechism was summed up with the statement that above forty non-elective offices were held by the Clinton family. The Political Barometer was not the only partisan newspaper in Poughkeepsie. The *Poughkeepsie Journal*, also Federalist in its politics, had been vehement against Jefferson, while the *Republican Herald*, a supporter of Daniel D. Tompkins, was so slanderous in its opposition to Tallmadge that he sued the paper for libel in 1818.³⁵

The newspapers of this period were in general much more partisan in their politics than those of today. The editorials not only shared a comparative greater importance, but they were more direct and frank.

Newspapers were often founded for express political purposes which were frequently revealed in their titles. Since New York witnessed an abundance of political schisms in the early nineteenth century, these Poughkeepsie newspapers rose and fell or changed policies as quickly as the various political factions. For example: the *Republican Herald*, which was opposed to Tallmadge, was discontinued in 1823 at the time when Tallmadge attained his greatest political popularity. And again, in 1789, the *Poughkeepsie Journal* (established as the *Country Journal and Poughkeepsie Advertiser* in 1785) became a Federalist paper in support of the newly established national government, but later changed its name to *Poughkeepsie Journal and Constitutional Republican*, undoubtedly in an attempt to win over some Republicans. The *Anti-Mason*, established in 1829, speaks for itself, but the *Republican Herald*, the *Republican Telegraph* and the *Dutchess Republican* denote nothing more than republicanism at a time when nearly every political faction in New York except the Federalists claimed to be of the true Republican party.

During this time there were usually three or four weekly papers published in Poughkeepsie. The long lives of the two Federalist weeklies can be accounted for by the fact that Federalism clung on for many years in Poughkeepsie after it had died out elsewhere,³⁶ and was the dominant political faction in that Hudson River village.

James' brother, Matthias B. Tallmadge, who married the daughter of George Clinton, came in for his share of the political spoils in 1805, when he was appointed judge of the United States District Court for New York.³⁷ George Clinton, after three years as governor of New York, had been elected vice-president of the United States in 1804. Matthias Tallmadge's appointment came on July 16, 1805, just over four months after Clinton took office, and undoubtedly was a consequence of the latter's influence in national politics.

Because of ill health, Matthias was unable to conduct all the required sessions of the court, so an act was passed on April 29, 1812, authorizing another judge to be assigned to the district. The new judge was William P. Van Ness.³⁸ In March 1813, during an absence of Judge Tallmadge, Van Ness appointed Theron Rudd to the clerkship of the court. When Tallmadge returned later that spring, he removed Rudd and appointed in his place Philip Spencer, Jr., of Albany, brother of the able politician, Judge Ambrose Spencer.³⁹ It was in this year that a schism occurred in the Republican ranks between the Clintonians and Tompkinsites to add to the split which former

Governor Morgan Lewis (1804-07) had opened earlier. Thus, Tallmadge, a Clintonian, turned Van Ness' appointee, Rudd, out of office to appoint the brother of John C. Spencer. Judge Spencer was at this time also a Clintonian, so it appears that Judge Tallmadge was following the principle of party patronage in this appointment.

But, by August, Van Ness had reinstated Rudd to the clerkship during another absence of Judge Tallmadge. In correspondence with Tallmadge, Van Ness reported that the judge did not object to the appointment of Rudd, except that "he complained of the estimation in which he [Tallmadge] was held by the public from this appointment."⁴⁰ This would appear to be Matthias Tallmadge, the politician, rather than the judge, but perhaps he had early recognized the character of Theron Rudd, who later embezzled over \$117,000 of court funds.⁴¹ During this time Van Ness had not only replaced Rudd as clerk, but had evidently been busy in an attempt to secure for himself sole possession of that very judgeship which he had been assisting, for in February of 1814, James Tallmadge wrote to Jonathan Fish:

. . . It is said something is to be done with the District Court of this State. I have no doubt . . . some men will endeavour to promote their own interests. Judge Van Ness it is said is at Washington — & will endeavour to have the State Divided into a fourth & west Judicial District⁴² — & to have Judge Tallmadge assigned to the west & himself to the South. . . . Is this man (Van Ness) entitled to a compliment much more even at the expense of an insult to Judge T?⁴³

James Tallmadge's information seems to have been correct, for an act of April 9, 1814, divided New York into two judicial districts. And Van Ness was given the southern district while Matthias Tallmadge was assigned to the northern.⁴⁴ Two days later Rudd was appointed clerk of the Southern District Court, but his career was cut short when he was arrested in 1817 for embezzlement.⁴⁵

It is evident from this incident how much politics pervaded the "non-political" judicial system. When judiciary offices were filled by appointment rather than by election, the candidates were more likely to be identified with a political party, and thus law and politics were closely connected. It was in this atmosphere that James Tallmadge practiced law.

Between the end of the war and the beginning of his term in Congress, Tallmadge had a flourishing law practice in Poughkeepsie.⁴⁶ George Bloom was no longer his partner,⁴⁷ for their joint efforts had been discontinued after the war's end. Tallmadge managed to carry on his law practice during his term in Congress and pursued it with greater vigor after his term ended in 1819. A number of times he was

the plaintiff himself in money suits.⁴⁸ Although Tallmadge was never first judge of Dutchess County, he held a prominent position at the county bar. In January 1817, he was chosen secretary of the Dutchess County Bar of the Court of Common Pleas.⁴⁹ It is clear that by this time he had become one of the most distinguished men in a county famous for its "Lawyers' Row" in the shire town. Tallmadge Street in Poughkeepsie honors his name today.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

¹James Schouler, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1885), III, 103.

²Arthur W. Talmadge, *The Talmadge, Tallmadge and Talmage Genealogy* (New York, 1909), p. 58; According to Isaac Hunting, *History of Little Nine Partners of North East Precinct, Pine Plains, New York, Dutchess County* (Amenia, New York, 1897), p. 384, the land was purchased in 1738.

³*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Dec. 26, 1821. Until 1815 this newspaper was entitled the *Poughkeepsie Journal and Constitutional Republican*, but will hereafter be referred to as the *Poughkeepsie Journal*; Talmadge, *Talmadge Genealogy*, p. 82. It is stated here that he was born in 1743.

⁴*Idem.*

⁵Frank Hasbrouck, ed., *The History of Dutchess County, New York* (Poughkeepsie, New York, 1909), p. 136.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁷*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Nov. 16, 1808; Talmadge, *Talmadge Genealogy*, p. 82. It is stated here that he was presidential elector in 1812, but in the *Poughkeepsie Journal*, Nov. 18, 1812, it is stated that David Van Ness of Dutchess County was elected for that honor in 1812.

⁸Talmadge, *Talmadge Genealogy*, p. 131; *The Historical Catalogue of Brown University 1764-1914* (Providence, 1914), p. 68, corroborates the above date, but the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1949, Eighty-first Congress, Second Session, House Document, No. 607* (Washington, D.C. 1950), p. 1894, states that Tallmadge was born January 20, 1778.

⁹Talmadge, *Talmadge Genealogy*, p. 130.

¹⁰Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1936), XVIII, 285.

¹¹General Tallmadge's Speech on the Electoral Law in the New York Assembly, Aug. 4, 1824 (from the *Albany Daily Advertiser*), (title page missing), p. 14.

¹²Edmund Platt, *The Eagle's History of Poughkeepsie (1683- to 1905)*, (Poughkeepsie, New York, 1905), p. 306.

¹³Hasbrouck, *History of Dutchess County*, p. 244.

¹⁴*Poughkeepsie Journal*, July 8, 1807.

¹⁵Platt, *Eagle's History*, p. 307.

¹⁶James H. Smith, *History of Dutchess County, New York* (Syracuse, 1882), p. 126.

¹⁷*Poughkeepsie Journal*, 1807-12.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, June 10, 1807; *Ibid.*, June 16, 1813; Note of interest due on the mortgage of Andrew Billings, Feb. 18, 1813, James Tallmadge Papers, New York State Library, Albany; Platt, *Eagle's History*, p. 309.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁰*Poughkeepsie Journal*, June 3, 1807.

²¹J.H. Smith, *History of Dutchess County*, p. 120.

²²Platt, *Eagle's History*, p. 306.

²³Hugh Hastings and Henry H. Noble, eds., *Military Minutes of the Council of Appointment of the State of New York, 1783-1821* (Albany, 1901),

II, 973. This work will hereafter be cited as Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N. Y.*

- ²⁴*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Jan. 31, 1810.
²⁵Platt, *Eagle's History*, p. 311.
²⁶*Poughkeepsie Journal*, June 16 1813; Talmadge, *Talmadge Genealogy*, p. 131.
²⁷*Idem.*
²⁸Platt, *Eagle's History*, p. 89.
²⁹Dorothee Bobbe, *De Witt Clinton* (New York, 1933), p. 88.
³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 133.
³¹*Ibid.*, p. 141.
³²Platt, *Eagle's History*, p. 90.
³³*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Dec. 25, 1816.
³⁴Platt, *Eagle's History*, p. 309.
³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 92.
³⁶Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York*. (New York, 1918), p. 46.
³⁷*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess. (Washington, 1854), p. 1221.
³⁸*Idem.*
³⁹*Poughkeepsie Journal*, June 16, 1813.
⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1813.
⁴¹*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1218.
⁴²New York, Connecticut and Vermont were in the Second Federal Judicial Circuit, there being a district court for each of the three states.
⁴³James Tallmadge, Poughkeepsie, to Hon. Jonathan Fish, Washington, Feb. 9, 1814, Tallmadge Papers.
⁴⁴*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1221, 1217.
⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1219.
⁴⁶Minutes of the Common Pleas Court of Dutchess County, Jan. 1816 to May 1822, Poughkeepsie, New York.
⁴⁷*Poughkeepsie Journal*, 1816-17.
⁴⁸Minutes of the Circuit Court of Dutchess County, Sept. 16, 1816 to Oct. 29, 1836, Poughkeepsie, New York.
⁴⁹*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Feb. 5, 1817.

* * *

CHAPTER TWO — SERVICE IN THE MILITIA

To follow James Tallmadge's military career, it is necessary to understand some important aspects of the New York State governmental structure in the early nineteenth century. "A sinister expedient called the Council of Appointment, . . . controlled all the political patronage of the State, and another cumbrous and absurd piece of machinery, . . . termed the Council of Revision, regulated all the legislation."¹ The governor, a member of each, had no more power in either council than any one member. The Council of Appointment had four members, excluding the governor, who were annually elected by the legislature, and thus the state political patronage was virtually in the hands of the political majority in the Assembly. The New York constitution was conceived in fear of a strong executive, inherited from the British colonial rule, and yet, from aristocratic politics, central control was vested in a small body more dangerous and corrupt than a single man. Thus "in making the office [of governor] a mere figure-head, the convention created in the Council of Appointment an irrespon-

sible, powerful and offensive political machine."² This council, from 1801 until it was abolished in 1821, had concurrent power of nomination with the governor.³ In 1820, it controlled 14,950 appointments; 8,287 military and 6,663 civil.⁴ Needless to say, it undermined and corrupted the civil service.

James Tallmadge was virtually reared by this political ogre. In April 1800, when the Council of Appointment contained four Federalists, Tallmadge was appointed adjutant of a Dutchess County infantry regiment in the state militia.⁵ He was given this post in place of his brother Matthias, who moved to Herkimer in this year. Matthias had held the appointment for the preceding two years as the choice of a predominantly Federalist council of 1798. Both these Federalist appointments were made at a time when the Tallmadges were in no way connected with the Clinton family. After moving to Herkimer, Matthias married on October 25, 1803, Elizabeth Clinton, the daughter of George Clinton, and thus was established the frail, but enduring family connection between the Clintons and the Tallmadges.⁶

The state election of 1800 resulted in a clean sweep for the Republicans. De Witt Clinton became one of the three Republican members of the council of 1801 and, when George Clinton took office as governor in July of that year, De Witt was given a free hand in the matter of appointments.⁷ Matthias Tallmadge was elected a state senator for 1803-05, until he was appointed a United States district judge. It is very likely that the Clintonians made him senator, since by that time he was a son-in-law of George Clinton. One of the last appointments the council of 1804 conferred while George Clinton was still governor (before he began his vice-presidential duties) was that of James Tallmadge as surrogate of Dutchess County in November 1804.

At this time a breach occurred in the Republican party of New York between De Witt Clinton, then mayor of New York City, and Judge Morgan Lewis. Lewis was elected governor in 1804, but Clinton obtained the greater influence in political patronage and antagonized Lewis further by dismissing the Governor's political allies in an attempt to diminish his political power, and thus defeat his prospects of re-election. However, Lewis' friends controlled the council in 1807 and promptly turned Clinton out of the mayor's job.⁸ Throughout this feud, Tallmadge was left unscathed.

Daniel D. Tompkins, then in concert with De Witt Clinton, was elected governor in 1807, an office which he did not relinquish until 1817 when he resigned to become vice-president of the United States.

All members of the Council of Appointment of the new legislature in 1808 were followers of De Witt Clinton, and they lost no time in thoroughly revolutionizing the state political patronage.⁹ Clinton worked on the principal that a political party could be formed on the basis of political patronage returned in kind by political loyalty, rather than on the party discipline of a well-organized machine. Clinton himself was reappointed mayor of New York,¹⁰ while Tallmadge continued his military career by receiving a commission of first major in July, 1808.¹¹ His law partner, George Bloom, became adjutant to fill the vacancy caused by Tallmadge's promotion.¹² Clinton remained mayor until 1815, except for an intermission of one year, 1810, when the Federalists completely dominated the council and legislature.¹³ Despite thorough office removals by the Federalists in this latter year, Tallmadge retained his military commission, but lost his appointment as surrogate which he had held for six years. Robert Williams of Dutchess County was one of two Republicans on the council of 1810, but he cooperated with the two Federalist members in matters of political patronage. Williams was the father-in-law of Thomas J. Oakley,¹⁴ a rising Federalist of Poughkeepsie, a circumstance which helps to explain Oakley's appointment as surrogate for Dutchess County in 1810 and Tallmadge's removal.

In 1811, the Council of Appointment once again contained four Republicans, who were favorable to De Witt Clinton, and who helped reinstate Clinton as mayor of New York. Tallmadge also benefited this year, for he was promoted to lieutenant colonel commandant with complete command of the Eighty-fourth Infantry Regiment,¹⁵ while George Bloom was appointed surrogate of Dutchess County. The council of 1812 was again an all-Republican body; and all members were friends of De Witt Clinton.¹⁶ This year found George Bloom promoted to second major.¹⁷

Presidential politics and the outbreak of war with England made 1812 an eventful year. Nothing was more eventful in state and national politics than the revolt from the Republican party by De Witt Clinton, in a bold attempt to win the presidential election. Clinton fell short of his goal but, in the process, he aligned himself with the Federalists and some dissatisfied Republicans. This political coalition took form in his own state also and, thus in 1813, Federalists controlled the Council of Appointment. They did not overlook the friends of De Witt Clinton in the matter of political patronage.¹⁸

Up until this time, Clinton appears to have been a controlling force in the state Republican party except for the year 1807. History

repeated itself in 1815 when Clinton was again removed from the position of mayor of New York. This occurred as the result of another schism within the party which Clinton effected in 1813. It was nearly identical to the schism of 1804 in its cause and result. In 1813, Clinton broke with Governor Tompkins over the gubernatorial election. Martin Van Buren, who had engineered the legislative caucus a year before which had nominated Clinton for president,¹⁹ supported Tompkins for governor, since Tompkins was the caucus nominee.²⁰ Like Lewis, Tompkins was elected, but Clinton was not ousted from the mayoralty until the Republicans gained control of the council in 1815.

While the Federalists still could win elections under the banner of "peace," they managed to gain a firm majority in the Assembly of 1814. Federalist James Emott of Dutchess County was elected speaker, while the Council of Appointment listed two Federalists and two Republicans. But there was little equilibrium in this council. One of the Republicans chosen was Henry A. Townsend, "who was regarded as Mr. Clinton's personal representative in the Council."²¹ He was elected by the Federalists, who were forced to choose a Republican, since there was no Federalist senator in either the middle or western districts.²² The other Republican was Senator Morgan Lewis of Dutchess County, a leading politician without a party. He had been opposed by Clinton and Tompkins, and yet remained a Republican. Tallmadge, a fellow-Republican from the same locality as Lewis, wrote in February 1814:

The political movements of the new council at Albany are soon to take place. Sent. Lewis is now at his home — expected soon to go on to Albany — what his course will be is uncertain — perhaps unknown even to himself. Federalists profess much hope from the Sent. It seems we are doomed to have our own friends complete our own ruin.²³

The Federalists could hold out this hope for Lewis' support, since their majority had elected him to the council and he had been opposed in the past by the leading Republicans. However, it will be remembered that Clinton was on good terms with the Federalists at this time, and what was uppermost in Lewis' mind was the memory of Clinton's antagonism to him while governor, and the part Clinton played in defeating him for re-nomination.²⁴ So it is not surprising to the historian, although it was to contemporaries, that Lewis should support Governor Tompkins in opposing Federalist appointees. Tompkins and Lewis relied on Townsend's vote to secure a majority of the council; but being a Clintonian Republican, Townsend generally voted with the two Federalist members.²⁵

Tallmadge falsely diagnosed his "own ruin" by his "own friends." In reality, Tallmadge had no enemies, for the Federalists were allied with Clinton to whom he owed his appointive advancements. Tallmadge was apparently unaware of the friendliness of the Federalists toward Clinton's friends in 1813 and 1814. This Clintonian-Federalist alliance was vividly revealed in 1815 when Clinton was ousted from the position of mayor by an all-Republican council.²⁶ What Tallmadge's friendship for Lewis does reveal is that Tallmadge, still a minor political figure, was not at swords' points with the anti-Clintonians and thus was never removed from an appointive office by them. Removal from the New York mayoralty reduced Clinton to impotence, while James Tallmadge was left untouched as a lieutenant colonel. The Tompkins-Clinton feud had not resulted in a clear split of the Republican party, but was confined to the upper ranks.

In 1816, Clinton regained much of his prestige by drawing up a memorial to the legislature to support the building of a western canal.²⁷ The same year Tallmadge received a promotion as brigadier general of the Twentieth Brigade of Infantry.²⁸ Tompkins was re-elected governor in 1816, but resigned the office the next year to be vice-president. A new gubernatorial election in 1817 brought Clinton to power on an internal improvements platform. This gave his faction a majority in the council which they maintained until late in the year of 1820.²⁹ In May of 1817, Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, cousin of James, was appointed aide-de-camp to the brigadier general.³⁰ Nathaniel was later postmaster of Poughkeepsie, United States Senator, and governor of the Territory of Wisconsin. In September of 1817, James Tallmadge was raised to a major general in command of the Twelfth Division of the militia.³¹ In 1818, the militia was reorganized and Tallmadge was retained as a major general, but he was shifted to the command of the Seventh Division in place of the Twelfth.³² In June, his former law partner, George Bloom, was appointed district attorney for Dutchess County.³³ General Tallmadge had now reached the top field position in the militia. The only promotion possible for him would have been that of adjutant general, but he was never elevated to that office.

The ensuing year saw Van Buren head the Tammany or "Bucktail" schism, but Clinton maintained his control of the council since the Federalists voted with him.³⁴ Clinton was re-elected in 1820 and held off Van Buren by a coalition with the Federalists³⁵ until November, when a new council was appointed which was politically hostile to Clinton.³⁶ Tallmadge was in no danger of losing his militia appoint-

ment at the hands of the anti-Clintonians, for he had joined their ranks himself by the spring of 1820, as a result of his failure to be appointed attorney-general of the state by the Clintonian-controlled council of 1819.³⁷ The General's military career ended abruptly when he resigned in 1822.³⁸ Perhaps he made this move out of compunction for holding an office given to him by the Council of Appointment, which had been abolished by the Constitutional Convention of 1821—a convention in which Tallmadge played a conspicuously democratic role.

This parallel of the political character of the Council of Appointment and James Tallmadge's militia appointments reveals the close political connection between De Witt Clinton and James Tallmadge. Clinton did much to clarify and activate the thoroughness of the political patronage of New York, and in so doing he did not hesitate to appoint or promote family relations or political followers as James Tallmadge. Every appointment of Tallmadge, except that of adjutant in 1800 (when Tallmadge was no relation of Clinton's), was made at a time when the Clinton family had control of, or influence upon, the Council of Appointment. The only questionable appointment, as to this statement, might be Tallmadge's promotion to brigadier general in 1816. But he was at that time one of the highest Republicans in Federalist-dominated Dutchess County, and his promotion by a Republican council is understandable in the light of the political conditions in this area. Although Tallmadge received his appointments at the hands of the Clintonians, he was never removed from office by the anti-Clintonians. His only removal came from the Federalists in 1810, when Clinton was also removed by them.

Peace-time militia duty required little more of an officer than calling for a periodic parade and conducting an annual review and inspection, with occasional officer meetings and reports to keep paper work in order.³⁹ But the War of 1812 created an emergency which revealed the inadequacies of the New York State Militia. Few of the higher officers had any military training or experience.⁴⁰ Most of them, like Tallmadge, were civilian appointees who devoted a negligible time to their office. The lack of central authority further weakened the corps, which could be called to duty by the governor or "any divisional, brigade or regimental commander."⁴¹ Discipline was lacking and there were many desertions. And little wonder, the troops were not required under law to serve longer than three or six months,⁴² so it was extraordinarily difficult to keep an army in the field. Unfortunately for New York, most of the land warfare during the three

years of war took place within its borders or in adjacent land in Canada. Thus, the New York militia was taxed to the fullest extent of its capacities and heavier than any other state militia.

An example of the inefficiency in the organization of the militia is revealed by a letter written to Lieutenant Colonel James Tallmadge in answer to a request for information as to the legal and technical chain of command within the militia and the authority of a colonel.⁴³ A year later, in 1812, Tallmadge wrote for information about the legal authority to mobilize delinquents and substitutes.⁴⁴ The fact that an officer such as Tallmadge would have to inquire about such standard procedure is not just the legal inquisitiveness of a lawyer, but reflects rather the unpreparedness and lack of training which prevailed throughout the militia.

Tallmadge had more trouble with his own regiment during the war than he did with the British. In 1812, there arose a controversy in his regiment over the rank of a captain and a major. Tallmadge was appointed to a board of three officers, with a brigadier general and a major, to obtain the facts of the case, but the general declined acting on the board, so another major was appointed and Lieutenant Colonel Tallmadge was made president of it. However, action being delayed, Governor Tompkins finally took it upon himself to settle the dispute.⁴⁵ This was not long settled when the rank of a brigadier general was disputed, and Tallmadge sat on a board of seven to decide that controversy. A more serious incident came to a head in April, 1813, when a number of officers in Tallmadge's Poughkeepsie Fusiliers handed in their resignations because there was much discontent between them and the men. The Governor refused their resignations and asked Tallmadge to investigate the matter and advise him as to what course should be pursued.⁴⁶ These cases are a commentary on the efficiency of the militia, but they also indicate the high degree of democracy within the military order.

As to actual warfare, Tallmadge never got close enough to the fighting even to hear the guns of the British. In the summer of 1812, less than two months after the opening of hostilities, his regiment was alerted to be in readiness to repair to New York City. Again, in the summer of 1813, he was assigned with many others to be ready to defend New York. But Tallmadge's first active assignment came in September of the latter year, when he was ordered to proceed with his regiment to the general rendezvous in Rensselaer County, north of Troy.⁴⁷ From there the troop detachment proceeded to Plattsburgh

for the protection of the northern frontier of New York.⁴⁸ On the march, Lieutenant Colonel Tallmadge became ill and, unable to continue, returned to Poughkeepsie for his convalescence.⁴⁹ On August 4, of the following year, 3,000 militia from the Hudson River counties were called into federal service, and an additional thousand into state service, all of them to serve at New York. Six hundred and forty-eight men of the Twentieth Brigade were ordered to New York, but three hundred men of Tallmadge's Eighty-fourth Regiment, which was within that brigade, remained at Poughkeepsie.⁵⁰ On August 27, the British captured and burnt Washington. Fear of an enemy sea attack against New York City spread quickly north. Two days later a requisition was made for a battalion from the Twentieth Brigade to be sent immediately south for the defense of the city and harbor of New York. But as of September 14, Tallmadge's regiment was still in Poughkeepsie. Baltimore was attacked on the 12th, but three days later news reached New York of an American victory at Plattsburgh. Thus, the threat of the British marching down the Hudson valley to split New England from the rest of the states was wiped out, and the tension and anxiety of the defenders of New York City were eased. War officially ended December 24, 1814, without Lieutenant Colonel Tallmadge ever having witnessed any warfare. This was not due to any fault of the Colonel, who, from infancy, had been taught to hate England.⁵¹ Toward war's end he was personally requested by Tompkins to engage in a bit of secret intelligence concerning production procurement. The Governor was seeking a site for a cannon ractory in August of 1814, and he charged Tallmadge to inquire "confidentially" to see if some land at Hoffman's Stream at the upper landing of Poughkeepsie would be sold.⁵² But peace arrived in a matter of months and James Tallmadge's wartime militia duty came to a close.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

¹Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N.Y.*, I, 55.

²*Ibid.*, I, 56.

³Paul A. Chadbourne and Walter B. Moore, eds., *The Public Service of the State of New York* (Boston, 1882), I, 141.

⁴J. Hampden Dougherty, *Constitutional History of New York State from the Colonial Period to the Present Time* (New York, 1911), p. 84. (In *Legal and Judicial History of New York*, edited by Alden Chester).

⁵Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N.Y.*, I, 505.

⁶*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Nov. 1, 1803.

⁷Bobbé, *De Witt Clinton*, pp. 74-7.

⁸Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N.Y.*, I, 877.

⁹*Ibid.*, II, 919. Bobbé, in her life of Clinton, states that Clinton was not the father of the spoils system and was above party and politics (p. 223),

but she completely neglects any mention of the great number of removals and appointments made in 1808.

¹⁰(Anon.) "Review of *Memoir of De Witt Clinton* by David Hosack," *The American Quarterly Review*, X (June, 1829), 476.

¹¹*Poughkeepsie Journal*, July 6, 1808.

¹²Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N.Y.*, II, 973.

¹³*Ibid.*, II, 1172.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, II, 1109-10.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, II, 1187.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, II, 1283.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, II, 1413.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, II, 1419.

¹⁹Henry A. Minor, *The Story of the Democratic Party* (New York, 1928), p. 77.

²⁰James K. McGuire, ed., *The Democratic Party of the State of New York* (New York, 1905), I, 65.

²¹Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N.Y.*, II, 1438.

²²*Ibid.*, II, 1437.

²³Tallmadge to Fish, Feb. 9, 1814, Tallmadge Papers.

²⁴Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N.Y.*, II, 1438.

²⁵*Idem.*

²⁶*Ibid.*, II, 1535.

²⁷McGuire, *Democratic Party*, I, 72.

²⁸Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N. Y.*, II, 1722.

²⁹*Ibid.*, III, 1859, 1976, 2097.

³⁰*Poughkeepsie Journal*, May 14, 1817.

³¹*Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1817.

³²Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N.Y.*, III, 1974.

³³*Poughkeepsie Journal*, June 17, 1818.

³⁴Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N.Y.*, III, 1976

³⁵*Ibid.*, III, 2097.

³⁶McGuire, *Democratic Party*, I, 80.

³⁷Jabez Delano Hammond, *The History of Political Parties in the State of New York* (Syracuse, 1852), II, 6; De Alva Stanwood Alexander, *A Political History of the State of New York* (New York, 1906), I, 274.

³⁸Hastings and Noble, *Mil. Min. of N.Y.*, III, 2386.

³⁹*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Aug. 17, 1811; *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1816; *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1818.

⁴⁰Julius W. Pratt, *The War of 1812* (New York, 1934), p. 277. (In *History of the State of New York*, edited by Alexander C. Flick).

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁴²R.S. Guernsey, *New York City and Vicinity During the War of 1812-'15* (New York, 1895), II, 186.

⁴³Adjutant General Paulding to Tallmadge, Sept. 24, 1811, Hugh Hastings, ed., *Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of New York, 1807-1817, Military* (New York, 1898), I, 587-9.

⁴⁴Tompkins to Tallmadge, Aug. 14, 1812, *ibid.*, III, 84.

⁴⁵Adjutant General Paulding to Tompkins, July 20, 1812, *ibid.*, I, 372; Adjutant General to Tompkins, Aug. 21, 1812, *ibid.*, I, 383; *Ibid.*, III, 146.

⁴⁶Tompkins to Tallmadge, April 4, 1813, *ibid.*, III, 306-7.

⁴⁷*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Sept. 15, 1813; *Ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1813.

⁴⁸*Idem*; Tompkins to Brigadier General Hopkins, Sept. 16, 1813, Hastings, *Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins*, III, 384-5.

⁴⁹There is no evidence as to the seriousness of Tallmadge's condition, but the frail health of his later life may be attributable to this illness.

⁵⁰Tompkins to Major General Lewis, Sept. 4, 1814, Hastings, *Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins*, III, 517-8.

⁵¹*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 739.

⁵²Tompkins to Wolcott, Aug. 12, 1814, Hastings, *Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins*, III, 492.

CHAPTER THREE — CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

It was only by a caprice of fate that James Tallmadge became a member of the Fifteenth Congress. Henry B. Lee of Putnam County had been duly elected United States representative from the Fourth New York Congressional District, which comprised the County of Putnam and nine towns of Dutchess.¹ But he died on February 18, 1817, before the beginning of the congressional term. To fill the vacancy, new candidates were nominated for election. On March 12, the Democrats² held a meeting for that purpose, but, “. . . the county of Putnam claimed the candidate, and—on being out-voted by the Dutchess delegates,—refused to vote on the nomination.”³ General James Tallmadge won the nomination, but he did not go unchallenged by the dissenting Democrats, who later nominated Judge Adriance.⁴

This was not the only disagreement within the local Democratic party. On March 17, the Democrats of Dutchess County held their convention for appointing delegates to the state convention at Albany for nominating a New York Assembly ticket. Differences appeared so the anti-Clintonians seceded and had a separate meeting.⁵ From this it appears that the largest faction of the local Democrats was Clintonian in composition, and thus Tallmadge was nominated for Congress by the Clintonians.⁶ This faction was also active concerning the Democratic state senatorial convention in New York, for James Tallmadge and George Bloom were attending delegates.⁷

A month later, after Tallmadge had been nominated, the Federalists, feeling the need of something more than just a party platform, associated themselves with American Independence by choosing Lemuel Clift, an old major of the Revolutionary War, as their candidate for Congress.⁸ Tallmadge, “who at one period, seemed likely to be elected without opposition,” now had two competitors.⁹ At one time the Federalists practically conceded the election to the Democrats and had to deny a rumor of Clift’s declining to run, but they held out much hope from the fact that the Democratic vote would be split. “Mr. Lee’s majority in this district at the last election was about 250. Double this number of democratic votes will certainly be diverted from Gen. Tallmadge.”¹⁰

There were also five New York Assembly offices from Dutchess County to be voted on at this election, and all five were filled by Federalists. But the congressional election resulted in a different decision despite the three-way vote. Tallmadge was elected by a plurality, with 1,373 votes, Clift received about 1,100 and Adriance 477.¹¹ In

Putnam County Tallmadge received a majority vote over his Federalist opponent Clift, whereas, in his own county of Dutchess he eked out a slim plurality of seventy-six votes. Tallmadge won over his anti-Clintonian adversary by nearly a two to one ratio in Putnam, and overwhelmed him by more than three to one in Dutchess. It is interesting to note that Tallmadge lost to Clift in Poughkeepsie because Adriance garnered enough votes to give a plurality to the Federalist. In the towns of Stanford and Northeast, where Tallmadge was born and his family had lived, the General amassed land-slide majorities. The *Poughkeepsie Journal* gave the credit for Tallmadge's election to the Federalists.

There is no doubt that the General is indebted to *them* (Federalists) for his election. We presume it would be highly gratifying to the credulous but honest-intentioned supporters of Major Clift to receive a little of that *light*, which induced some Federalists to give their votes for an *avowed* democrat, in preference to a *uniform* and *decided* federalist; nay it is not impossible, that with the benefit of this *light*, they may be induced to unite with the supporters of General Tallmadge, in celebrating his election, as a great FEDERAL triumph! !¹²

Although, perhaps over one hundred and fifty Federalist votes were instrumental in swinging the election to Tallmadge, he did not receive those votes as aid from the Federalist party (for it had its own candidate in the field), but rather because General Tallmadge was such a popular political figure in his own right.

On December 1, 1817, James Tallmadge's congressional term began. He was not without influential political friends, even though he was a stranger to the halls of Congress. Henry Clay, Speaker of the House, appointed him to the standing Committee on Internal Improvement.¹³ A clue to this appointment can be found in the fact that Clay was a warm political friend of Clinton's.¹⁴ Both men were strong advocates of internal improvements, and thus it is logical that Clay would appoint a Clintonian, such as Tallmadge, to the Committee on Internal Improvement. In the following month, Tallmadge was appointed to a select committee of seven to authorize the laying out of public roads.¹⁵

At this time the constitutionality of federal aid and participation in internal improvements was a burning question in Congress. Madison had vetoed a bill which would have provided federal funds for the development of internal improvements, on the ground that it was unconstitutional according to a strict interpretation of the general welfare clause in the Constitution. However, Madison favored a constitutional amendment which would authorize an internal improve-

ments program. When Monroe took over the presidency in 1817, he assumed the same strict construction toward internal improvements as Madison had. The broad constructionists, such as Clay, killed the proposals for a constitutional amendment, because there was little chance that the required number of states would ratify it; if the broad constructionists were to fail in an attempt to secure an amendment, they would have surrendered, by implication, their belief in the constitutionality of federal aid and participation in internal improvements as the Constitution then read. In support of this position, the House resolved in March, 1818, by a vote of 90 to 75, that Congress had the power under the Constitution to appropriate money for the construction of roads and canals. The New York and Pennsylvania delegations voted strongly in favor of the resolution, but Massachusetts was against it. The New England and South Atlantic states were generally against such a program since they would benefit little. Three more resolutions were considered, but all were negatived by votes of 84 to 82, 95 to 71, and 83 to 81, respectively. The second vote was on the question of whether Congress had the authority to construct roads and canals, the third—if Congress had the power to construct roads and canals necessary to interstate commerce, and the fourth,—if Congress had the power to construct canals for military purposes. Tallmadge voted affirmatively on all four resolutions and oddly enough was also in favor of a proposed amendment to the third resolution which would have required the consent of the states through which interstate roads and canals would travel. From this proposition, which was voted down, 120 to 46, one sees that Tallmadge had a twinge of states' rights philosophy.¹⁶

With President Monroe desiring an amendment, a constitutional impasse was reached, and an internal improvement program was delayed for some time. The account of these resolutions provides an excellent example of the general pattern of many congressional debates during this early era of the Union. Often, as in the above case, the course of debates would dwell on the constitutionality of a measure. The national political parties were originally formed along lines of constitutional interpretation, and naturally so, since much was left unsaid in the Constitution and precedent had not yet been established. Thus, one finds Congress rather than the Supreme Court as the interpreter of the Constitution.

Two days after the internal improvements resolutions were voted on, Tallmadge moved a bill authorizing the subscription of stock in the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal Company. He regretted that the

state of his health had prevented him from taking part in the debate on internal improvements, but went on to say it was essential that the federal government adopt internal improvements for national defense, commerce and the mails. He also cited the revealing fact that the transportation of supplies during the War of 1812 cost more in many instances than the product, and that the money spent could have built turnpikes throughout the west.¹⁷ After this speech perhaps only sectional jealousy can explain Tallmadge's action toward appropriations for the Cumberland Road, which he voted to postpone on March 31, and voted against on April 1.¹⁸

In his later years, Tallmadge was an avid supporter of a protective tariff. One sees a glimpse of this zeal displayed only nine days after the opening of the Fifteenth Congress. When the Committee on Ways and Means reported a bill to abolish internal duties, Tallmadge moved to amend the bill so as to exempt the duties on sales at auctions from the general repeal proposed. He argued that that tax was beneficial,—taxing foreign products and encouraging home manufacturers, and that foreign merchants, by the aid of vendue sales, deprived the government of a part of its revenue and superseded the fair merchant in the market. His amendment was defeated by a large majority and the repeal of internal duties passed 161 to 5 with Tallmadge voting in the affirmative.¹⁹

In January 1818, a very unusual situation occurred concerning the interpretation of the Constitution. A Colonel Anderson had attempted to bribe the Chairman of the Committee on Claims and the House went into a debate over its own jurisdiction to prosecute the colonel. Whereupon Tallmadge rose and stated that

. . . the power of self-preservation of this House is not contained under the Constitution or the common law, but *as incidental to its existence, and an inseparable attendant upon its formation*. In like manner does every corporate body, formed for judicial or legislative purposes, possess the right of self-defence.²⁰

The implications of this theory were dangerous to the American governmental system of checks and balances, because they allowed the legislature to assume a judicial function. Perhaps this implication was not so important at a time when Congress decided the constitutionality of questions, a practice which rightfully belonged to the Supreme Court. This theory of Tallmadge's also implied, unwittingly, state sovereignty, for if a legislative body had the right of self-preservation, then state governments had the right to resist the encroachments of the national government.

Tallmadge defended his position by saying that the prosecution of Anderson by the House would not be a tyrannical measure or interpretation, since only the inexpedient measures are tyrannical.²¹ After Anderson's case was postponed, with Tallmadge concurring, the New York congressman then moved that Anderson be brought to the bar of the House, and this motion passed 118 to 45.²²

Tallmadge frequently participated in debate throughout his congressional term and was present in the House to vote on nearly all questions. Considering his poor health, his attendance was unusually regular. His active participation caused him to be appointed to a number of select committees during the first session of the Fifteenth Congress. He was named to a committee of five to consider a United States Bank petition,²³ a committee to inquire what alternatives were necessary in the act to regulate the compensation of clerks,²⁴ a committee to carry out resolutions resulting from an investigation of governmental clerks and their misconduct,²⁵ and, one month before the close of the first session, he was appointed to fill a vacancy in the standing Committee on Foreign Relations.²⁶ Upon the opening of the second session, Tallmadge's rating, in the eyes of Speaker Clay, had risen considerably, for he was appointed to the most important standing committee in the House—the Committee of Ways and Means.²⁷

On the basis of Tallmadge's congressional record, he could be called an investigator, humanitarian, defender of the Constitution, democrat and patriot, for there is something of all these in his legislative actions. In April, 1818, Tallmadge successfully moved that the Secretary of the Navy lay before the House a report of the condition of the Navy Pension Fund. In an attempt to secure a pension for a widow and child, Tallmadge was refused because of the condition of the fund, whereupon he took the initiative to investigate the situation and found fraud.²⁸ A day later Tallmadge supported a relief bill for the sufferers of the Niagara frontier in the late war.²⁹ But he was against any extension of military pensions, including those to widows and orphans.³⁰ When the Georgia militia claims were aired in the House, Tallmadge came to the defense of the Constitution. Georgia wanted federal remuneration for a state action, and Tallmadge believed that such indemnification would tear apart the Constitution.³¹ At the close of his term in 1819, Tallmadge supported a motion which allowed for the reconsideration at the next Congress of a proposed amendment to the Constitution which would make uniform the mode of electing the electors of the president and vice-president and rep-

representatives to Congress.³² Such an amendment could only have brought a more democratic election of electors by the people, in place of the choice of state legislature, which some states still retained.

Toward the end of 1818, the House became involved in a fierce debate over General Andrew Jackson's conduct in the Seminole War. The Seminole and Creek Indians in Florida had been marauding the Georgia frontier settlements, so Jackson was given discretionary powers to protect the frontier. The main attempt to censure Jackson's actions arose over his execution of two British agents, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, who had been inciting the Indians to war.

On December 25, 1818, John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary that William Crawford's partisans were trying to blame the whole administration, except Crawford, for Jackson's part in the Seminole War. Since this did not suit the views of the Clintonians, they appeared to support the administration on this issue. Tallmadge had told Adams that he had thought of bringing forward a series of "specific, terse, discreet, and firm resolutions, declaring the approbation by Congress of the principal contested measures of Jackson, and of the course pursued by the Administration."³³ Tallmadge was sure of strong support from the New York delegation, and his only doubt was whether he should wait with these resolutions until a move of censure was made by Jackson's opponents.³⁴

As it happened, Tallmadge did wait. At the start of his speech he admitted that Jackson had violated orders, had broken the Constitution and had dishonored the national character. This was actually a clever forensic device, for by the time Tallmadge had ended his peroration he had mapped out a logical and documentary defense of Jackson. Tallmadge argued that the Treaty of Fort Jackson with the Creeks in 1814³⁵ was a just treaty by which some Creeks never abided. Instead they joined the Seminoles in raiding the frontiers of Georgia, and thus Jackson was only engaged in a defensive war to enforce this treaty and to protect the frontier from aggressions. Consequently his entry into Florida was not unconstitutional, for Jackson had been granted discretionary powers to terminate hostilities. Since the President condoned Jackson's actions, who administered them with good intentions, Jackson was cleared, and the question was between the President and the country. Tallmadge then cited the official orders from the War Department to substantiate the defensiveness of the war and Jackson's innocence. His argument grew weak on the point of Jackson's capturing St. Marks, a Spanish post; he contended that the execution of Arbuth-

not and Ambrister was legal because the war was not then over since no treaty had been signed and the commanding general had authority over the treatment of prisoners of war. Did Tallmadge forget the rules of war? With words of indignation and despite for Spain and England, Tallmadge ended his lengthy speech, saying "my feeble health and exhausted strength admonish me to close."³⁶

The politics indicated by Adams can be more clearly seen in the fact that Representative Cobb of Georgia, in a speech in the House, censured Jackson for his conduct, after Cobb had previously requested an adequate defense for the Georgia frontier.³⁷ Cobb was obviously playing politics in support of Georgia's presidential hope, William Crawford. The final result ended in the House disapproving censuring resolutions by votes of 108 to 62 and 107 to 63.³⁸

There was but one other major issue debated in Congress in which Tallmadge played a conspicuous role; the issue was slavery. He always took the anti-slavery side. His record is clear on that account. He was so careful in this matter, that he did not vote on a bill to protect the rights of free Negroes and the return of runaways, a bill which favored and disfavored both slavery and anti-slavery interests.³⁹ Most of the early slavery legislation dealt with attempts to secure a rigid fugitive slave law. On January 30, 1818, a vote was taken on such a bill and was decided in the affirmative 84 to 69. Of the sixty-nine negative votes, thirty-seven were from the states of New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, with Tallmadge and John W. Taylor of New York voting against the bill.⁴⁰ When the bill was returned from the Senate with amendments, a vote to consider it was defeated 73 to 63, and on April 20, the Senate amendments were negatived.

A prelude to Tallmadge's stand on the admission of Missouri occurred over the Illinois Constitution. On November 23, 1818, Tallmadge opposed the admission of Illinois, on the ground that its constitution did not sufficiently prohibit slavery, and therefore was in violation of the North-West Ordinance. Article Six, Section One, of the Illinois Constitution allowed for the future indenture of Negroes for terms of no longer than one year. Section Two allowed for out-of-state slaves to work at the salt mine at Shawneetown for no longer than one year and not after 1825. Section Three allowed for the fulfillment of indentured contracts and slavery until the time set by law would prohibit it.⁴¹ Tallmadge stated that these provisions recognized existing slavery and its future introduction and toleration. After being refuted, he argued that it was expedient to reject this constitution,

but he would not discuss slavery on abstract principles. He closed his remarks by saying it was due to the nation to prevent slavery in a territory where it has the power to prevent its entrance.⁴² Despite Tallmadge's expedient efforts, the Illinois Constitution was passed 117 to 34 without alterations. The New York delegation mustered six negative votes with Tallmadge and Taylor among them.

On February 13, 1819, James Tallmadge voted to table a motion to reduce the army. He knew that the enabling acts for Missouri and Alabama were to follow on the agenda of the House, and he was anxious to propose an amendment to the one pertaining to Missouri. When the Missouri bill was presented, he secured the floor and offered the following amendment:

That the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and that all children born within the said State after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years.⁴³

With these words began a new era in national politics, one which was to leave a permanent imprint on the nation's history, for slavery was to become a political issue as well as a moral question.

Arthur Livermore of New Hampshire and Elijah Hunt Mills of Massachusetts each spoke on the 13th in support of Tallmadge's amendment. At the next meeting, Fuller of Massachusetts, John W. Taylor, and Livermore and Mills again, supported Tallmadge, he being unable to partake in the early stages of debate while it was under discussion in the Committee of the Whole. On the 13th he had just "returned from a journey long in its extent and painful in its occasion; and, from an affection of [his] breast, . . . could not then speak."⁴⁴ A vote on the Tallmadge Amendment on the 15th in the Committee of the Whole passed, 79 to 67.⁴⁵

During the debate on Missouri, a delegate moved to take Alabama's case first, upon which Tallmadge rose and seconded the motion. Tallmadge said slavery in the old states was under state authority, and since Alabama was purchased after it contained a dense population, it would be a violation of the rights of property to restrict slavery there. Tallmadge, therefore moved the question on the bill for admission of Alabama.⁴⁶ In a speech on the 16th of February in defense of his Missouri amendment, he elaborated further on his action toward Alabama. He said he knew the dangers of having free blacks intermingle with slaves and, on that account, with a view to the safety of the whole population of adjoining states, "would not even advocate

the prohibition of slavery in the Alabama Territory.”⁴⁷ Otherwise, he continued, a servile war might result, thus “willingly will I submit to an evil which we cannot safely remedy.”⁴⁸

Tallmadge’s amendment had been attacked so fiercely by southern representatives that the Poughkeepsie politician was forced to defend himself and his amendment. This he did on February 16. He stated that his amendment was intended only for territory west of the Mississippi River. It did not meddle with slaveholding states nor attempt manumission in an original state. The reason for not attempting slavery restriction in Alabama did not exist west of the Mississippi River. He continued, that if slavery were extended, it would prepare the dissolution and weakness of the country. Some day the slaves would revolt and, thus, were dangerous. “While we strive to eradicate it [slavery], we ought to fix its limits, and render it subordinate to the safety of the white population, and the good order of civil society.”⁴⁹ This is hardly the reasoning of a humanitarian, and Tallmadge admitted the same. “I have made no pretence to exclusive morality on this subject, either for myself or my constituents . . .”⁵⁰ His purpose was political,⁵¹ for he argued that the injustice of the three-fifths Negro representation clause in the Constitution should not be extended to new slave states. Therefore, he illogically added, Missouri should not be allowed to have slavery.⁵²

The main attack focused upon the constitutionality of the amendment. The South argued that Congress did not have the right to impose conditions of slavery upon a state for entry into the Union. If so, they would enter as unequals, which was unconstitutional. Tallmadge answered by citing the Constitution. Article Four, Section Three, states that new states *may* be admitted by the Congress into the Union, hereby implying in the word “may,” discretionary powers; and Article One, Section Ten, inferred that no slavery could be prohibited prior to 1808, therefore by reverse implication, slavery *could* be prohibited after 1808. Thus, Tallmadge argued that Congress now had the right and power to prescribe conditions for admission. The Missouri Enabling Act, he said, was full of conditions itself, and that he had submitted amendments to it preventing the state from taxing federal lands, and declaring that all navigable waters remain open to other states and be exempt from tolls or duties.⁵³ What Tallmadge purposely overlooked was the difference between amendments with conditions over which Congress had express control (such as interstate commerce), and amendments (such as his concerning slavery) over which Congress had no express control. Tallmadge also maintained that the restriction

in Missouri did not deprive a slaveholder of any right of the individual, since a slaveholder could not migrate to a free state with his slaves and retain them. It was a restriction on the "particular district of country."⁵⁴ He also refuted the argument that spreading the slave territory would relieve and benefit the slaves. He cited the fact that, despite the prohibition of slavery importation, many slaves were smuggled in every year: 14,000 in 1818 alone.⁵⁵

With a flair for the dramatic, Tallmadge quoted Cobb of Georgia as saying:

If we (the North) persist, the Union will be dissolved; (and with a look fixed on me, has told us) we have kindled a fire which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out, which seas of blood can only extinguish.⁵⁶

To this Tallmadge replied:

My purpose is fixed, it is interwoven with my existence, its durability is limited with my life, it is a great and glorious cause, setting bounds to a slavery the most cruel and debasing the world ever witnessed; it is the freedom of man; it is the cause of unredeemed and unregenerated human beings . . .

Sir, if a dissolution of the Union must take place, let it be so! If civil war, which gentlemen so much threaten, must come, I can only say, let it come!

. . . I know the will of my constituents, and, regardless of consequences, I will avow it; as their representative, I will proclaim their hatred to slavery in every shape . . .⁵⁷

Tallmadge then asked, if slavery causes such heated debates now, what will it cause when slavery has been extended. Therefore, he answered, "Now is the time. It must now be met, and the extension of the evil must now be prevented, or the occasion is irrecoverably lost, and the evil can never be contracted."⁵⁸

Following this speech a vote was finally taken on the Tallmadge Amendment. It was divided into two parts; the first part prohibited the further introduction of slavery into Missouri, and the second part provided that all children born of slaves after admission were to be free at the age of twenty-five. The vote on the first part resulted in an 87 to 76 victory for the affirmatives. Fifty-seven of the affirmative votes came from New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts.⁵⁹ One vote from the slave states (Delaware) favored restriction, while ten votes from the free states opposed restriction, revealing a nearly pure sectional vote.⁶⁰ The vote on part two was also decided in the affirmative by a sectional vote, 82 to 78. The anti-restrictionists gained four free-state votes, while the affirmative side gained one slave-state vote.⁶¹ The vote to engross the bill for a third reading then passed 97 to 56.

During the Fifteenth Congress, the southern portion of Missouri was formed into a new territory of Arkansas. On February 18, an

act providing for a government for this new territory was under discussion, when John W. Taylor of New York proposed a similar amendment to that of Tallmadge's in restriction of slavery. The main difference between the two was that Taylor's applied to a territorial rather than a state government. Although this was a point in favor of the restrictionists, it was outweighed by the fact that Arkansas lay further south than Missouri. The voting on Taylor's amendment was extremely close. It was divided into two parts like that of Tallmadge's, part one being defeated 71 to 70, and part two being passed 75 to 73.⁶² However, the South was able to gain a vote of recommitment on this latter part when Speaker Clay broke a tie vote of 88 to 88. Taylor lost all restriction on Arkansas when part two of his amendment was stricken out by a margin of two votes, 89 to 87.⁶³

Meanwhile, the Missouri Bill had been sent to the Senate complete with slavery restriction. On February 27, it came to a vote. An attempt at postponement was defeated 25 to 14. Then part two, providing gradual emancipation, was negatived 30 to 7,⁶⁴ and part one, prohibiting the further introduction of slaves, was also defeated, 22 to 16.⁶⁵ At this time, there was not a political balance between the free and the slave states as is popularly believed, for Alabama was not admitted until December 14, 1819.⁶⁶ Therefore, the free states with a majority of eleven to ten states in the Senate, could have passed slavery restriction for Missouri. However, they did not, and thus there was not a purely sectional vote. This was the first serious slavery controversy under the Constitution, and a geographical political split had not yet been formed. Of the vote on part two, thirteen free-state votes were against gradual abolition (including that of Rufus King, who was soon to become the spokesman for the North), while only seven were in favor of it. The only thing sectional about this vote, was that no southerner was in favor of gradual abolition. The vote on part one came closer to approximating a sectional vote. The slave states voted in a block, but the free states favored restriction by a split vote of 16 to 5.⁶⁷ Conspicuously, both senators from Illinois, Thomas and Edwards, voted solidly with the South. Perhaps Illinois was antagonized by Tallmadge's attempt to alter its constitution, and thus were opposed to his amendment on Missouri. However, judging from Illinois' slavery laws⁶⁸ and the southern extraction of its inhabitants, it would appear that their views on the subject were more closely allied to those of the South than those of the North.

When the Missouri Bill was returned to the House, all amendments were accepted except the one to strike out the Tallmadge

Amendment. Tallmadge immediately moved for the indefinite postponement of the bill, and he was supported on this by Taylor and Mills. However, his move for postponement was defeated 74 to 69, while seven of the members from New York, who had previously voted in favor of restriction, did not vote.⁶⁹ But Tallmadge was not to see his amendment defeated from lack of support. The House defeated a motion to concur with the Senate in striking out the Tallmadge Amendment by a vote of 78 to 76. So the bill was sent back to the Senate on March 2, with nonconcurrence, and the Senate, just as stubbornly, adhered to its own decision. Taylor then moved that the House adhere to its disagreement with the Senate, which precipitated a renewal of debate with Taylor, Mills and Tallmadge speaking in support of restriction. Taylor's motion was ultimately passed 78 to 66, and there the Missouri Bill died in the Fifteenth Congress on March 2, 1819, one day before the close of the term.⁷⁰

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

¹*Poughkeepsie Journal*, March 19, 1817. The three towns of Rhinebeck, Red Hook and Clinton, all in the northwest corner of Dutchess County, were not within the Fourth Congressional District of New York.

²"Democrat" was fast becoming a synonymous term with that of Republican. The *Poughkeepsie Journal* at this time referred to the Republicans as Democrats, and the Federalists as Federal Republicans.

³*Poughkeepsie Journal*, March 19, 1817.

⁴*Ibid.*, April 23, 1817.

⁵*Ibid.*, March 19, 1817.

⁶See also: Hammond, *History of Political Parties*, II, 170; Elizabeth F. Baker, *Henry Wheaton 1785-1848* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 60.

⁷*Poughkeepsie Journal*, March 19, 1817.

⁸*Ibid.*, April 16, 1817.

⁹*Ibid.*, April 23, 1817.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, April 30, 1817.

¹¹*Ibid.*, May 7, 1817. The election returns from all the towns in Putnam County were not recorded in this tabulation.

¹²*Idem.*

¹³*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 405.

¹⁴*Poughkeepsie Journal*, April 3, 1818.

¹⁵*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 815.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 1385-8.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 1393-7.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 1657.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 426-7, 443.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 713-4.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 718.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 776.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 710.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 815.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1649.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 1401.

²⁷*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 291.

²⁸*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 1692.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 1699.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 1109; *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 383, 397.

- ³¹*Ibid.*, p. 723; *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1107, 1112.
- ³²*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1420.
- ³³Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1874-7), IV, 198.
- ³⁴*Idem.*
- ³⁵When Georgia ceded her western lands to the United States, the federal government undertook to secure for Georgia all Indian lands lying within the state. The relatively civilized Creek Indians inhabited lands in western Georgia, and the Treaty of Fort Jackson was one step in the slow process of their removal.
- ³⁶*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 710-40.
- ³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 1027.
- ³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 1135.
- ³⁹*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 831
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 840.
- ⁴¹*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 306.
- ⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 310.
- ⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 1165.
- ⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 1204. On January 19, 1819, Tallmadge's son, John James, died in his eighth year, at Warren, Connecticut.
- ⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1193. No names were recorded for this vote.
- ⁴⁶*Speech of the Hon. James Tallmadge, of Duchess County, New York, in the House of Representatives of the United States, on Slavery* (Boston, 1849), pp., vi-vii.
- ⁴⁷*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1203.
- ⁴⁸*Idem.*
- ⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 1211.
- ⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 1212.
- ⁵¹Glover Moore, *The Missouri Controversy 1819-1821* (Nashville, 1936), p. 9.
- ⁵²*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1213.
- ⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 1207.
- ⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 1209.
- ⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1210.
- ⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 120+.
- ⁵⁷*Idem.*
- ⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 1206.
- ⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 1214.
- ⁶⁰James A. Woodburn, "The Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise," *American Historical Association Report* for 1893, p. 256.
- ⁶¹*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1215.
- ⁶²*Ibid.*, pp. 1237-8.
- ⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 1272-3.
- ⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 273. This vote is recorded as 31 to 7, but by a count of the individual names of the senators voting, the correct tabulation is 30 to 7.
- ⁶⁵*Idem.*
- ⁶⁶Safford Berney, *Hand-Book of Alabama*, 2nd ed. (Birmingham, 1892), p. 81. However, there was a political balance in the Senate after Alabama's admission and during most of the Missouri controversy.
- ⁶⁷*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 273.
- ⁶⁸J. P. Gordy, *Political History of the United States* (New York, 1904), II, 405. In 1818, Illinois law forbade any Negro to reside within the state without a certificate of freedom. If a Negro were found without such a certificate, he was deemed a runaway slave and rented out by the sheriff for a year of labor.
- ⁶⁹*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 1433-4.
- ⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 1434.

CHAPTER FOUR —

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TALLMADGE AMENDMENT

The Missouri Enabling Bill had died in the Fifteenth Congress because of a political stalemate, but the issue was far from dead. The impasse only served to heighten the dispute. Many state legislatures voted instructions to their respective senators and representatives. Delaware and all the free states, except Rhode Island, Connecticut and Illinois, passed resolutions against the admission of Missouri as a slave state.¹ Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky countered with resolutions opposing restriction.²

The Missouri Bill did not come before the House in the Sixteenth Congress until January 24, 1820. On the 26th, John Taylor moved an amendment identical to that of the Tallmadge Amendment. This stirred up a month of debate until the Senate sent a bill to the House on February 19, combining the admission of Maine with Missouri without restriction. Maine was a part of Massachusetts, but was permitted to form its own government by an act of June 19, 1819. However, this opportunity would be void unless Maine were admitted to the Union by March 4, 1820.³

The Missouri Bill with Maine as a "rider" was not achieved overnight. It was first proposed in the Senate on January 13, 1820, and met stubborn resistance from northern members. Debate lasted until February 16, when Thomas of Illinois moved (what was to become the Missouri Compromise), that the Louisiana Territory north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes latitude (the southern boundary of Missouri), except for Missouri, be declared free of slavery. Barbour of Virginia was not satisfied with this compromise, but nevertheless, it passed the Senate on February 18, by a vote of 34 to 10.⁴ Nearly all southerners admitted that the government did have the constitutional right to restrict slavery in the territories, so the Thomas Amendment was added to the Missouri Bill without too much delay.

The House took up those Senate amendments on February 19, 1820. Four days later it disagreed to the entry of Missouri as a slave state, 93 to 73, and the House also disagreed to Thomas' restrictive amendment by an overwhelming vote of 159 to 18.⁵ It seems that the northern congressmen did not want to allow slavery in Missouri even in a compromise measure, because they would have surrendered the very terms for which they had been fighting. The southern representa-

tives did not approve of restricting so much land to slavery. Debate was then resumed on the Taylor restriction and "there was no more important issue than Northern opposition to Southern 'slave representation' under the three-fifths compromise of the constitution."⁶ Thus it was clearly seen as a fight for political supremacy, in which "the threat of secession proved to be the South's most effective weapon . . ."⁷

Soon the House took another vote on the Senate compromise bill and defeated it again. Following this, a joint committee was formed to find a solution. On March 1, the House repassed its restrictive bill, on March 2, the Senate struck out restriction and added the Thomas compromise amendment. Then the joint committee reported three recommendations: (1), that the Senate should give up its attempt to combine Maine with Missouri, and Maine should be admitted; (2), that the House should abandon its attempt to restrict slavery in Missouri; and (3), that both legislative bodies should pass the Senate's Missouri Bill with the Thomas restriction excluding slavery north and west of that state.⁸ These features did not satisfy the original restrictionists nor the Virginians and other extreme southerners, but there were enough moderates from both sides, with the help from some Massachusetts members who wanted Maine admitted by the March 4 deadline, to pass the Missouri Compromise.⁹ The House voted to give up restriction by the slim margin of 90 to 87, with fourteen of those voting with the majority from free states.¹⁰ There were two other smaller disputes over Missouri which had to be compromised, but the main obstacle had been hurdled, which for over a year had caused heated debates to rage and sectional jealousy to mount.

The controversy solidified a strong southern defense of slavery which had been forming since the advent of the cotton gin.¹¹ The anti-slavery sentiment in the South, which had largely emanated from the natural rights philosophy of the Revolution, was fairly well extinguished. The South was also politically solidified, since an attack upon slavery was not an attack upon the South.¹² Slavery could no longer be viewed by southerners as an evil, but rather as their political existence. The political equilibrium was now of prime importance, and thus, slaveholders ceased to look for the extinction of slavery, so as to maintain their political balance.¹³ The Missouri question caused the first clear sectional split, and it remained permanent.¹⁴ Slavery was now basically a political issue, rather than humanitarian, and served as a basis for the formation of a new political party which threatened southern leadership.¹⁵

All these aspects were outgrowths of the Tallmadge controversy, while the Missouri Compromise was only the temporary settlement of them. Therefore, the Tallmadge Amendment is more significant than the Missouri Compromise, and Tallmadge's relationship to the issue is the clue to the cause of it. So the underlying causes of the issue must be found in the Fifteenth Congress and the Tallmadge Amendment, rather than in the Sixteenth Congress and the Missouri Compromise.

In searching for the causes of the Tallmadge Amendment one must go back to the year 1788, when Washington was elected president. He was the first of four Virginian presidents, who held office for thirty-two years. The only interruption in the southern rule was achieved by the close election of John Adams in 1796, when he won over Jefferson by a mere three electoral votes. After this New England intrusion, Jefferson led his Republican party to victory in 1800, and for the next twenty-four years, the Virginia Dynasty of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe dominated national politics by control of this party.¹⁶ After the turn of the century, for the next twenty-four years, a working alliance between New York and Virginia, buttressed by support from Pennsylvania,¹⁷ obtained the presidency for a Virginian and the vice-presidency for a New Yorker.¹⁸ The only exception to this occurred in 1812 when De Witt Clinton bolted from the caucus nominee in an attempt to win the presidency for himself. However, this was not the first display of northern dissatisfaction with Virginian and southern rule. Until 1808, the vice-president had always succeeded the president when he retired or lost office. During Jefferson's second and last term, George Clinton served as vice-president, and therefore, many supporters of Clinton felt the Republican nomination belonged to him in 1808, but the succession was broken by the nomination and election of Madison. Although Madison was the caucus nominee, the New York legislature, through the work of De Witt Clinton, gave a free hand to their presidential electors. As a result, George Clinton received six electoral votes for president, all from New York,¹⁹ but he was re-elected vice-president. It is interesting to note that Pennsylvania voted exactly the same as Virginia in the five presidential elections from 1804 through 1820, while New York did likewise from 1800 through 1820, except for the two defections in 1808 and 1812.²⁰ It was not only jealousy which led New York to oppose Virginian ascendancy, but also because the national administration under the Virginia Dynasty was jealous of the leading Republicans of New York and the increasing popularity and political strength of

the state. The policy at Washington was to prevent anyone from gaining or retaining the control of the New York Republican party by extending the favoritism of the national government to the minority in the state.²¹

Although New York had formed the only resistance to Virginia within the Republican ranks, there were a number of issues which tended to produce sectionalism, and thus, disrupt the cohesion of the national party. After the War of 1812, the Federalist party was virtually dead, leaving the old Jeffersonian Republicans without any serious opposition.²² Every group, political, religious or otherwise, gains internal strength from external opposition, but when that opposition is removed, the group loses its inner unity. And so it was with the Republican party, which soon found differences among themselves. Sectionalism arose between the North, South and West over the tariff, internal improvements, the three-fifths representation clause and other issues the constitutionality of which was a matter of dispute. Another contributing factor to sectionalism lay in the realization that the Virginia Dynasty was due to expire after Monroe's second term.²³ In short, "the North was ripe for a movement to wrest control of the government from the South."²⁴ The North and South were both vying for the support of the West, and with this in view, some northern leaders thought if slavery were excluded from land west of the Mississippi, southerners would not settle there while northerners would, and thus an alliance of the North and West could be gained to secure northern leadership of national politics.²⁵ Perhaps it was inevitable that slavery would be used to further sectional ambitions,—it certainly presented a ready-made issue.

The Tallmadge Amendment was quickly perceived by southerners to be a political maneuver. Monroe wrote that "The object of those, who brought it forward was undoubtedly to acquire power . . ."²⁶ Pinckney said, "'The love of liberty, humanity, or religion' is not the cause of northern opposition to slavery in the new states. 'It is the love of power and the never-ceasing wish to regain honors and offices of the government . . .'"²⁷ Jefferson wrote, "Moral the question certainly is not . . ."²⁸ Its object is to raise a geographical principle for the choice of a president . . .";²⁹ while Thomas Hart Benton said, "The real struggle was political, and for the balance of power . . ."³⁰ Madison felt that the restriction of slavery had, "with coalesced *leaders*, an object very different from the welfare of the slaves, or the check to their increase; and that their real object is . . . to form a new state

of parties founded on local instead of political distinctions . . ."³¹ Perhaps the best contemporary statement as to the humanitarian aspect of the restriction can be found in the November 10, 1819, issue of the *St. Louis Enquirer*. ". . . as it affects the Slaves, it is only a question of the *place* in which they shall live and can neither diminish their numbers nor better their condition . . ."³² "Jealousy of the political power of the South was . . . the only motive, as it seemed to southern statesmen, which could move anyone to oppose the admission of Missouri either with or without slavery . . ."³³ Jefferson, with his usual insight, saw deeper into the matter, which lay pregnant with potential dangers.

I considered it at once the knell of the Union A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper.³⁴

I thank God that I shall not live to witness its issue.³⁵

On the northern side, the greatest anti-slavery spokesman was Rufus King, a Federalist senator from New York. He did not disregard the moral evil of slavery, but what was more of an evil to him was the injustice of extending and perpetuating its political power by the admission of new slave states.³⁶ King wrote, ". . . my sole & only object being to expose the extension of slavery and the protection of the rights of freemen against further abridgement by the virtual representation of slaves."³⁷ Like the southerners, King felt that the victorious section in this struggle would thereafter dominate the politics of the nation. "The issue, which, if decided against us, settles forever the Dominion of the Union . . . the Presidency will forever hereafter come from the slave Region."³⁸

Both the North and South and succeeding historians overemphasized the balance between free and slave states in the Missouri controversy, for in reality it was largely a political illusion. Because contemporary politicians debated the issue with such fervor, it has been given special attention. Undoubtedly, if one section were to gain a commanding lead in the number of states on its side, then that section could dominate national politics on the slavery issue, but this situation never came to pass, not because the Missouri Compromise divided the western lands evenly (that was discarded in 1854 when the Kansas and Nebraska territories were opened to popular sovereignty), but because slavery was economically profitable in the South and unprofitable in the North.

If one examines the votes in the congressional record on the Tallmadge Amendment, he will find the true balance of power. Of the

House members voting, ninety-six represented free states, while only sixty-seven were from slave states. What this reveals is that the section with the larger population controlled the House of Representatives, irrespective of the number of states within that section. But more important to both North and South was the control of the Senate, for that was considered to be dependent upon the number of free and slave states. On February 27, 1819, the first occasion that the Senate voted on the Tallmadge Amendment, the North had a majority of eleven states represented in the Senate, while the South had only ten.

By arithmetic, the North should have passed slavery restriction, but did not. Since the Tallmadge Amendment was defeated when the North had a Senate majority, it seems that that Senate vote is much more significant in relation to the political balance of power than are the votes on the compromise amendment in the Sixteenth Congress, when there was a balance between the free and slave states. It signifies that there was a greater influence upon the votes of the senators than whether their states were free or slave, and that greater influence was their own and their states' interests and prejudices.

Here lies the political illusion. Illinois was the most recent admission to the Union, having attained statehood in December, 1818, and although free, voted solidly with the South. Her inhabitants had come largely from the South,³⁹ and therefore, had southern interests. If the northerners believed that by admitting Missouri as a free state, they would secure more votes to their views, they were deluding themselves. In the territorial period, the Missouri settlers came almost entirely from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina,⁴⁰ bringing their slaves with them. It is inconceivable that they would have voted on slavery issues with the North, even if they had been admitted as a free state.⁴¹

The political foundation of the Tallmadge Amendment rests on issues other than sectionalism and northern dissatisfaction with the Virginia Dynasty. Although it came unexpectedly to southerners, restriction must have been a well-thought-out plan on the part of its supporters. There was no difficulty in planning it several years in advance, for westward expansion into the territory west of the Mississippi River was in progress, and it was only a matter of time until the required population for forming a state would be reached. On March 16, 1818, Missouri petitioned for statehood, nearly one year before slavery restriction was attempted.

In 1817, James Tallmadge manumitted his slave, or slaves, under a New York act of April 8, 1801.⁴² That act provided that every child

born of a slave after July 4, 1799, shall be free at the age of twenty-eight, if a male, and twenty-five, if a female.⁴³ An act of 1813 changed this somewhat by facilitating emancipation. Slaves born after July 4, 1799, could be legally abandoned at the age of twenty-one, for males, and eighteen, for females, providing official permission be obtained that the slave could care for himself. This act also provided for emancipation by a written statement from the owner. It was also provided that if a master failed to teach his slave to read by the age of twenty-one, then that slave would be declared free. If a slave were brought into New York from outside the state and remained over nine months, then that slave would also be declared free.⁴⁴

It is apparent that anti-slavery sentiment was manifested in New York legislation since the turn of the century. But most of this allowed for gradual abolition which would not be felt until the middle 1820's. In Dutchess County alone, the value of slaves amounted to \$54,357 in 1815.⁴⁵ In January, 1817, before resigning office as governor, Daniel D. Tompkins made a last humanitarian gesture by sending a recommendation to the legislature for the complete abolition of slavery by July 4, 1827, and the legislature passed such an act.⁴⁶ Thus abolition did not interfere with the gradual emancipation provided for in the act of 1801. By 1820, there were 218 free Negroes in Poughkeepsie and only nineteen slaves. Of the remaining slaves, only one male and four females were over twenty-six years of age.⁴⁷

This increase in the number of manumissions might be attributed to the anti-slavery feelings aroused by the Missouri controversy, but James Tallmadge's action cannot be explained on the same ground, for his slave (or slaves) was set free in 1817. The law of 1817 did not force him to take such a humanitarian step, since the law allowed him ten more years as a slaveholder. If his slave (or slaves) was born before July 4, 1799, then Tallmadge could have released him as early as 1813. If the slave (or slaves) was born after July 4, 1799, it would have been illegal (with one exception), for Tallmadge to emancipate him (or them), because the slave (or slaves) would have been too young.⁴⁸ Therefore, it appears that Tallmadge, formerly a slaveholder, suddenly became an emancipator with probably no legal necessity. It is an interesting fact that a person whose moral conscience allowed him to be a slaveholder, could, two years later after emancipating his slave (or slaves), denounce slavery as cruel and evil, and say that his fight against it "is interwoven with my existence, its durability is limited with my life," and "it is a great and glorious cause."⁴⁹

Since Tallmadge's act of emancipation coincided with his election to Congress, one is led to surmise that his motive was political. It would have been ironic for him to be a slaveholder while advocating the prohibition of slavery in Missouri. This coincidence also supports the thesis that Tallmadge was foretold, by his political supporters, to manumit his slave (or slaves) so that he would have a clear record on the slavery issue in order to propose a restrictive amendment in Congress. It is inconceivable that slavery restriction was not the plan of such a political group, because restriction was immediately supported by an array of congressmen.

When Tallmadge defended his amendment in Congress, he said, "I know the will of my constituents, and . . . as their representative, I will proclaim their hatred to slavery in every shape . . ." ⁵⁰ But, was this a correct representation of the New York Fourth Congressional District? The Republican *Dutchess Observer* printed Tallmadge's speech in full on April 7, 1819, and copied from other newspapers notices of approval of his action, but made no comment of its own. ⁵¹ Nor was there any reference to his speech in the Federalist organ, the *Poughkeepsie Journal*. The *Republican Herald* abused Tallmadge, but not for this action, so far as one can tell from the answers to its articles in the *Observer*. ⁵² It would appear from this that anti-slavery feeling had not been clarified as yet, and political backing of such a cause was a ticklish issue. In the spring of 1819, Tallmadge was defeated on a Clintonian ticket for state senator, so it seems that hatred of slavery by his constituents was not yet a moving political force. ⁵³

Another reason for believing that the Tallmadge Amendment was planned long in advance appears when one asks, why did Tallmadge object to Illinois' admission if his anti-slavery leanings were politically inspired? Perhaps he wanted to form a humanitarian basis for his later political action, or else he foresaw Illinois' pro-slavery vote and wanted to prevent it. But then why would he endorse the admission of Alabama as a slave state before the status of Missouri had been decided? (Alabama could have been used as a political "rider" to force Missouri's admission as a free state.)

Tallmadge, thus, objected to the admission of Illinois, a free state, when there was a ten to ten balance in the Senate, and urged the admission of Alabama, as a slave state, when the North had a majority of one state. The only logical conclusion to Tallmadge's actions is that he wanted a balance of free and slave states while the Missouri question was under debate, so that a sectional deadlock would occur in the Senate, or else he desired the Senate to vote against his

amendment, and thus create a congressional deadlock since he was sure of the House's acceptance of his amendment.

How would a political deadlock benefit James Tallmadge? It will be remembered that in New York State the Republican party was split between the Clintonians and the Bucktail Republicans under the leadership of Martin Van Buren and Daniel D. Tompkins. This latter group was favorable toward the Virginia Dynasty,⁵⁴ Tompkins serving as vice-president to Monroe. Tallmadge, being a Clintonian, would have liked nothing better than to see a tie vote in the Senate, so that Vice-President Tompkins would be forced to cast the deciding vote. If he voted in favor of restriction, he would lose the support of Virginia and the South. If he voted against restriction, he would lose the confidence of the North and implicate the Bucktails as subservient to southern influence. However, a senatorial impasse never occurred, but a congressional one did. How would this benefit the movers of the Tallmadge Amendment, more than a quick victory in favor of restriction? The principal points of grievance which New York held against Virginia were the dominance of the Republican party, national politics and the presidency by Virginians. To form a geographical foundation for a new alignment of parties on the slavery issue, a prolonged congressional struggle would serve the best purpose, for, in order to break the old political ties, antagonisms would have to mount to a fever pitch. This could only be achieved through a fierce controversy, while a sudden victory for either side would only tend to bury the issue unless secession were resorted to.

Whether a congressional deadlock or an unspectacular triumph of restriction were to follow, the Tallmadge Amendment was designed to break Virginia's hold upon the Republican party and the presidency. The Virginians recognized well their dilemma. If they were to support New York and Pennsylvania to maintain serenity within the party, the southern wing would desert them. So they chose to resist restriction which, being a slave state, was their natural course. But this road was not without its political perils, for the loss of New York and Pennsylvania would threaten, if not destroy, Virginia's control. Because Virginia apprehended the Tallmadge Amendment for what it truly was, its senators and representatives took the lead of the South in fighting slavery restriction, for Virginia's political future hung on the outcome.

The Missouri controversy also created a debacle for President Monroe, the last of the Virginia Dynasty. He had to consider his re-election in every thought and move he made in connection with

restriction. For that reason he could not follow Virginia's positive attitude. Monroe was in favor of the South voting to admit Maine by splitting it from the Missouri bill, so that the South could claim it was done "to save the constitution, to save the peace and tranquility of their country."⁵⁵ When this desire of Monroe's was revealed, the Virginia legislature adjourned its caucus of nominating presidential electors, so as to hold a rod over the president.⁵⁶ "If Mr. Monroe consents to the bill . . . restricting slavery in the territories, they [Virginia] will look out for a new president. . . . If he rejects it, he loses all the north. . . ."⁵⁷ The true dilemma of Monroe is found in a letter from a Virginia representative in Congress to a Virginia senator.

Better that she (Missouri) shd wait, than that we should shut ourselves out from the Western domains of the U. S. Is it for fear the president may lose his Election? We are unwilling to purchase his service at such a price: still less willing to support him if *he* can with a view to his own Election thus surrender the valuable rights of the South. . . . I trust in God if the president does sign a bill to that effect, the Southern people will be able to find some man who has not committed himself to our foes; for such are, depend on it, the Northern Politicians Mr. Monroe must I am satisfied make up his mind to retain his Southern friends or *exchange* them for those of the North. He cannot keep both.⁵⁸

The ruinous effects of this sectional controversy were not confined to Virginia politicians. William Crawford, a Georgian, but a Virginian by birth, was looked up to by the southern people, "as a *matter of course*, to succeed Mr. Monroe,"⁵⁹ but with a break of northern subserviency to southern influence, his "matter of course" election ended in defeat in 1824, largely due to the antagonism toward the party caucus which the South had controlled since 1800. According to John Quincy Adams:

Clay had been two years laboring . . . to get up a new party But here was a new party ready formed, but of no pleasing aspect to either Clay or Crawford, . . . threatening that political ascendancy of Virginia, upon which Clay and Crawford both had fastened their principal hopes of personal aggrandizement.⁶⁰

Being a compromiser, Clay's political ambitions were hurt in both the North and South.

There was actually no sectional party formed out of the Missouri controversy as Adams hinted. A sectional party would have proven disastrous to the Union as it did in 1860. What did result was a revolt from southern and Virginian dominance within the old Republican party by northern members.⁶¹ It was a revolt strong enough to displace, not only Virginian dominance, but also the dominance of King Caucus, which was a necessary conquest to complete the former. Monroe's nearly unanimous re-election was only the calm before the storm.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

- ¹Herman V. Ames, ed., *State Documents on Federal Relations*, No. 5 (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 4.
- ²*Ibid.*
- ³Woodburn, "Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise," page 258.
- ⁴*Ibid.*, p. 260.
- ⁵*Ibid.*, p. 261.
- ⁶Moore, *Missouri Controversy*, p. 13.
- ⁷*Ibid.*, p. 14.
- ⁸Woodburn, "Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise," p. 262.
- ⁹C. Gore to Rufus King, Jan. 29, 1820, Charles King, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* (New York, 1900), VI, 261; *Ibid.*, (footnote from the diary of Edward Dowse, a member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts), VI, 292; Rufus King to C. Gore, Feb. 9, 1823, *ibid.*, VI, 501.
- ¹⁰Woodburn, "Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise," p. 263.
- ¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 292.
- ¹²*Ibid.*, p. 294.
- ¹³*Ibid.*
- ¹⁴*Ibid.*
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 292.
- ¹⁶Moore, *Missouri Controversy*, pp. 3-4.
- ¹⁷Pennsylvania had been a faithful and almost unpaid ally of the slave states, but a bitter political fight in October, 1817, started a trend to break away from the Republican machine, so that Pennsylvania broke from Virginia for the first time over the Missouri question. Jefferson considered Pennsylvania and Virginia as the pivotal states. As long as the two remained united, "the Atlantic States can never separate." See: Rufus King to J. A. King and C. King, Feb. 20, 1820, *Life of Rufus King*, VI, 278; Schouler, *History of the United States*, III, 47-8; and, Jefferson to Albert Gallatin, Dec. 26, 1820, Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1899), X, 178.
- ¹⁸Frederic Austin Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson* (New Haven, 1919), pp. 75-6.
- ¹⁹Clifford L. Lord and Elizabeth H. Lord, *Historical Atlas of the United States* (New York, 1944), p. 223.
- ²⁰Thomas Hudson McKee, *The National Conventions and Platforms of all Political Parties 1789 to 1905* (Baltimore, 1906), pp. 9-19.
- ²¹McGuire, *Democratic Party*, I, 70.
- ²²Moore, *Missouri Controversy*, p. 5.
- ²³Ogg, *Reign of Andrew Jackson*, p. 76.
- ²⁴Moore, *Missouri Controversy*, p. 5.
- ²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 6.
- ²⁶Monroe to Jefferson, Feb. 7, 1820, Stanislaus M. Hamilton, ed., *The Writings of James Monroe* (New York, 1902), VI, 113-4.
- ²⁷H. C. Hockett, "Rufus King and the Missouri Compromise," *Missouri Historical Review*, II (April, 1908), 217-8.
- ²⁸Jefferson to Albert Gallatin, Dec. 26, 1820, Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, X, 177.
- ²⁹Jefferson to LaFayette, Dec. 26, 1820, *ibid.*, X, 180.
- ³⁰Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1861), I, 10.
- ³¹Madison to Monroe, Feb. 10, 1820, Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The Writings of James Madison* (New York, 1908), IX, 21-2.
- ³²Frank Heywood Hodder, "Side Lights on the Missouri Compromises," American Historical Association *Report* for 1909, p. 154.
- ³³Hockett, "Rufus King and the Missouri Compromise," p. 217.
- ³⁴Jefferson to John Holmes, April 22, 1820, Ford, *Writings of Thomas*

Jefferson, X, 157.

³⁵Jefferson to John Adams, Dec. 10, 1819, *ibid.*, X, 152.

³⁶Woodburn, "Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise," p. 287; Hockett, "Rufus King and the Missouri Compromise," p. 213.

³⁷Rufus King to J. A. King, Feb 25, 1820, King, *Life of Rufus King*, VI, 282.

³⁸Rufus King to J. A. King, Feb. 6. 1820, *ibid.*, p. 267.

³⁹Moore, *Missouri Controversy*, p. 7.

⁴⁰William O. Lynch, "The Influence of the Movements of Population on Missouri History Before the Civil War," American Historical Association *Report* for 1921, p. 190.

⁴¹Although the slave interests held control of Missouri politics at the time of admission, in later years slavery proved unprofitable, and stronger ties were formed with the West rather than the South, with Missouri remaining loyal to the Union in the Civil War.

⁴²Platt, *Eagle's History*, p. 302. The month and day are not given. It is possible that this reference concerned James Tallmadge, Sr., who was then 73 years old, but the records are not consistent. James' father was usually referred to as Colonel and James was never referred to as Junior after his father died in 1821 and seldom in the years immediately preceding.

⁴³*Laws of the State of New York* (Albany, 1802), I, 615-6.

⁴⁴*Laws of the State of New York, Revised and Passed at the Thirty-Sixth Session of the Legislature* (Albany, 1813), II, 202-5.

⁴⁵*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Dec. 6, 1815.

⁴⁶McGuire, *Democratic Party*, I, 73.

⁴⁷*Poughkeepsie Journal*, Aug. 9, 1820.

⁴⁸There would be only one possibility for emancipation if the slave were born after July 4, 1799, and that would be if the slave were a female, eighteen years old. This could not occur until July 4, 1817, at the earliest possible date. If Tallmadge had a female slave born after this date, it is very probable that he would have manumitted her before he left Poughkeepsie to take up the duties of his congressional term. This means that she would have had to be born sometime within the four month span from July 4, 1799, to early November. This is a very slim chance, and it is even more probable that Tallmadge manumitted his slave (or slaves) shortly after his election to Congress at the latest, because he knew, when nominated, that he was required by his political backers to propose an amendment restrictive to slavery.

⁴⁹*Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 1204.

⁵⁰*Idem.*

⁵¹Platt, *Eagle's History*, p. 97.

⁵²*Idem.*

⁵³*Idem.*

⁵⁴William Plumer, Jr. to his father, April 7, 1820, Everett Somerville Brown, ed., *The Missouri Compromises and Presidential Politics 1820-1825* (from the letters of William Plumer, Junior) (St. Louis, 1926), p. 16; George E. Baker, ed., *The Life of William H. Seward* (New York, 1855), p. 30.

⁵⁵James Monroe to James Barbour, Feb. 3, 1820, Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "Missouri Compromise" (letters to James Barbour), *William and Mary College Quarterly*, X (July, 1901), 9.

⁵⁶Charles Yancey to James Barbour, Feb. 10, 1820, *ibid.*, p. 10; *Poughkeepsie Journal*, March 8, 1820.

⁵⁷William Plumer, Jr. to his father, Feb. 12, 1820, Brown, *Missouri Compromises*, p. 10.

⁵⁸Henry St. George Tucker to James Barbour, Feb. 11, 1820, Tyler, "Missouri Compromise," p. 11.

⁵⁹William Plumer, Jr. to Salma Hale, April 5, 1820, Brown, *Missouri Compromises*, p. 47.

⁶⁰Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 529.

⁶¹Frederick Jackson Turner, *Rise of the New West 1819-1829* (New York, 1906), p. 172.

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